



ROUTLEDGE CRITICAL JUNCTURES IN GLOBAL EARLY MODERNITIES

SOUNDSCAPES OF THE EARLY MODERN HISPANOPHONE AND LUSOPHONE WORLDS

Edited by Víctor Sierra Matute

ROUTLEDGE


Soundscapes of the Early Modern Hispanophone and Lusophone Worlds

This book is an interdisciplinary edited collection that seeks to recognize the radical importance of sound, and center it in discussions in the field of early modern studies.

Bringing together a collection of case studies related spatially and temporally to specific places or events, the volume explores a gallery of soundscapes mapping the early modern Iberian empires. This transnational and comparative style takes a twofold approach: on the one hand, each study works as a snapshot of the soundscape of a given place and time; on the other, the different entries offer a series of paradigms to systematically approach the tensions and developments related to sound in the early modern period. Ultimately, this volume collects soundscapes from multiple territories and geographies: from the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and their expansion throughout the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Pacific.

Soundscapes of the Early Modern Hispanophone and Lusophone Worlds will be of great value to students and scholars interested in the history of senses, emotions and theatre, social and cultural history, and early modern history.

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Soundscapes of the Early Modern Hispanophone and Lusophone Worlds

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First published 2025
by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

and by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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ISBN: 978-1-032-11326-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-11327-2 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-21939-2 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003219392

Typeset in Sabon
by Newgen Publishing UK

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6 Towards the soundscape of a Developing Azorean Port-Town in the Late Sixteenth Century*

Angra (Terceira Island) in the 1590s

Luís Henriques

The town of Angra (after 1830s Angra do Heroísmo) is located in the island of Terceira, one of the nine islands that make the Portuguese archipelago of the Azores. Terceira was the third island of the archipelago to be discovered with settlement beginning in 1450 and was known for a long time as the island of *Jesu Christe*. It would become one of the most important Portuguese coastal towns during the sixteenth century, acting as a meeting point between the fleets that arrived from the *Carreira das Índias* and the fleet in charge of safely escorting it to Lisbon. Its importance gradually declined throughout the seventeenth century, especially during Spanish rule, in result of the Portuguese losing much of the influence in the Oriental spice trade. But during a period of over a century, Angra was a dynamic town full of activity and sounds of a port town with its own characteristics of an urban centre in full development (Figure 6.1).

In 1474, the island was divided in two *Capitanias donatarias*, focused on the two major settlements of Angra and Prais. The *Capitania* of Angra was given to João Vaz Corte Real, which would become one of the most influential families of the island.¹ By that year Álvaro Martins Homem (who would occupy the *Capitania* of Praia) had already built several watermills alongside a *ribeira* that flowed through the interior North to the bay, which would be known as the *Ribeira dos Moinhos*.² As recent studies have confirmed, the town developed around the *Ribeira dos Moinhos*, a watercourse that run several mills and provided fresh water to the village and also supplied the ships in the bay.³

Historiography has established three major factors for the foundation of *vilas* in the Portuguese territory, especially during Medieval times, which revolved around the church, the houses, and the defensive system.⁴ In Angra the existence of a morphologic complex with these foundational characteristics can be observed, unusual in the Portuguese context for its geometry and extension. The planned area has as borders, to the East, the channelled *Ribeira (dos Moinhos)* that ran to the bay; to the South, the [108]**



Figure 6.1 View of Angra do Heroísmo, 2020. Photo by author.

cliffs overlooking the bay; to the West, the Convent of São Gonçalo, and, to the North, the *Rua da Sé*. The four quarters between the cliffs and *Rua da Sé* (South and North, respectively), and *Rua de São João* and *Rua do Salinas* (East and West) correspond to the sixteenth-century foundational core of the town. The castle (of *São Luís*) was built in one of the hills overlooking the bay from the North. The church and the first quarters were established in the most protected area of the bay, to the West of the *Ribeira*.⁵ As seen in Linschoten's map, the quarters surrounding the Cathedral were planned in a perpendicular way, with smaller traverse connections between the main streets (*Direita*, *São João*, *do Salinas*) which ran from the cliffs to the interior (Figure 6.2).

In this way, following the recent work of historian architect Antonieta Reis Leite, we may confirm that, although having its roots in a late Medieval way of settlement in mid-fifteenth century, Angra was a town in development and expansion throughout the sixteenth century. The massive construction projects, the increasing urbanization of land within the town, and the creation of new urban parishes seem to point towards this development. By the end of the sixteenth century, two written descriptions of Angra point these development aspects and, although the crisis from the military conflicts in the island during the Portuguese succession from 1580 to 1585, the town seems in constant growing. These descriptions present the views of a foreign author, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, and a local author (although resident in São Miguel Island), Gaspar Frutuoso. [109]



Figure 6.2 “A Cidade de Angra na Ilha de Iesu XpAo da Tercera, que esta em 39 Graos” (c.1596, detail), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cc-508-a, Digitised at <https://purl.pt/3563> (Public Domain, Creative Commons CC0 1.0). [110]

The first of these descriptions comes from Doctor Gaspar Frutuoso (c.1522-1591), a Jesuit priest of Azorean birth that studied at Salamanca University from 1548 to 1558, returning to the islands in the 1560s and established himself in Ribeira Grande (S. Miguel Island) as *vigário* of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Estrela. His manuscript *Saudades da Terra*, divided into six books, gives a detailed description of Angra and is one of the most important textual sources for the understanding of this town in the second half of the sixteenth century. Book six provides a description of Terceira Island and, particularly, the town of Angra on Chapter III he titled as “Descrição da nobre e populosa cidade de Angra, cabeça do bispado de todas as ilhas dos Açores” [description of the noble and populous town of Angra, head of the Bishopric of all the Azores islands].⁶

Frutuoso described the town from the sea to the land, its orography, and fortifications. He begins with the fort of São Sebastião that protects the Porto das Pipas from the Eastern part. The *Porto das Pipas* was surrounded by a high wall and could house five to six ships that would be brought to land for maintenance and any repairs.⁷ On the Western part of the bay we would find the smaller fort of Santo António on the Western part, at the base of Monte Brasil (both referenced in Linschoten’s map). The town would appear at the centre of the bay defended by the cliffs to one side and a dense wall with artillery pieces to the other and in

the centre the town's two gates.⁸ The town lies in a flat zone of the bay, between two hills, one of which has a fort. He is referring to the fort of São Luís, near the *Ribeira dos Moinhos*, former residence of the *capitão donatário*.

He then follows to describe the town with its wide and coordinated streets pointed to the sea, and the main street that crosses them (*Rua da Sé*) from East to West. The houses are sumptuous, usually with two floors, “edificadas por boa e gentil ordem” [built by good and gentle order].⁹ He cannot avoid mentioning the monumental new Cathedral in construction and the nearby *paço* of the bishop. One important aspect mentioned by Frutuoso was his estimation of Angra's population. One has to bear in mind that the 2,500 inhabitants he mentions corresponded only to the baptized parishioners present in the confessed lists, and we assume that other people (i.e., travellers or the slave population), are excluded from this number. He distributed these 2,500 inhabitants to more than a 1,000 in the parish of the Cathedral, 900 in Conceição, and 400 in São Pedro.¹⁰ Frutuoso does not include São Bento, probably not considering that parish as part of the urban centre, and Santa Luzia, that had not been founded as a parish by the time he wrote the *Saudades da Terra* manuscript. However, he does not present exhaustive statistics of the population of the other Azorean towns for a thorough comparison with Angra.

The second description of Angra comes from the Dutch explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611). He travelled to the Portuguese Indies [111] and several other places in the African and American coasts as well as the archipelago of the Azores where he stayed for a couple of years. Linschoten first published a recount of his voyage in 1596, a collection of four books. His publication was translated by William Philip to the English language two years later, being the version used in the present study. Of the many Portuguese domains that Linschoten visited, the Azores are of particular interest, first because of his foreign look at the archipelago and, in particular, the description of Terceira Island given in the last chapters of the first book. Linschoten seems more concerned with the ships arriving at the bay, providing detailed descriptions of these vessels, as well as the inland information to his fellow Dutch navigators and explorers.¹¹ Second, his great contribution to the history of Angra in the *Itinerario* is undoubtedly the meticulous map of the town, providing a fundamental tool to the cartography and its urban arrangement in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Here we can find clear and detailed views of the town's buildings and public spaces, notably, the Cathedral under construction (Figure 6.2).

The Linschoten map represents a crystallized microcosms of the soundscape of Angra during the 1590s, which can be interpreted through the crossing of the cartographic material with the archival documentation. From the map we can organize several ideas related to the town's soundscape by the end of the sixteenth century, most notably the distribution of religious buildings and the main streets and squares, as well as

the waterfront activity. The first building under construction is the new Cathedral that occupies the centre of the map. Other churches also appear, such as the parish churches, the conventual buildings, and the hermitages. There are also present the ports and main squares, as well as fortifications.

A Town under Construction

Frequently overlooked in historical soundscapes studies the construction of new buildings, besides expanding and significantly altering the geography of towns, had a major impact on the urban soundscape. Here it is important to state that these construction projects had profound changes in the architecture of the buildings also affecting the daily practice of chat that would take place there, in the case of religious institutions. These constructions also constituted soundscapes themselves through the buzzing activity of stone masons, servants, oxcarts bringing stones to the construction sites, among other sounds associated to the activities taking place. Most of what we know about the works in the major buildings of Angra comes from the two seventeenth-century Azorean chroniclers Fr. Agostinho de Monte Alverne, a Franciscan friar that focused on the foundation of the Azorean religious institutions, and Manuel Luís Maldonado, [112] a priest that wrote a 3-volume manuscript, the *Fenix Angrence*, focusing on the town of Angra and Terceira Island.

The two major construction projects of the 1590s that had most impact on Angra's soundscape were, undoubtedly, the Cathedral and the new fort build on Monte Brasil by the Spanish following the pacification of the island. The actual Cathedral was built in the place of the fifteenth-century parish church of São Salvador. The foundation stone of the new building was laid on 18 November 1570, following the project of the architect Luís Gonçalves.¹² This was a massive construction project with the temple occupying a whole quarter in the center of the town. As such, stones had to be brought from the quarries outside the town which meant a complex system of transportation (mostly using oxcarts) and organization of the stone masons available for the project. The sounds in the construction site would have been heard throughout the town, as well as the passing of the carts carrying the stones, which we assume would have circulated through the town's main street (the Rua da Sé) which connected the main square to the *Covas*. Work on the Cathedral was only considered finished in 1630s, although no ceremonies of consecration were recorded in any documentation.¹³

The Fort of São Felipe (after 1640 renamed of São João Batista) was an imponent fortress built in the isthmus at the base of Monte Brasil that dominated the whole town and secured the Spanish rule over Terceira Island. The bay was guarded by the fort of São Sebastião, overlooking the Porto das Pipas, crossing fire with the small fort of Santo António on the other side of the entrance of the bay, at the base of Monte Brasil, and the need for a stronger fortification was already noted by mid-sixteenth

century. After the conquest of the island in 1585, the Spanish saw the need for a stronger fortification to house the large garrison that was left in the island to secure it. The foundational stone of the new fortification was laid down in 1593 at the bulwark of Santa Catarina with the presence of the governor D. Antonio de La Puebla (successor of Urbina) and the Bishop of Angra D. Manuel de Gouveia.¹⁴ The work on the fortress was stopped during several periods due to the lack of funding, since the islands were already heavily taxed, the military part being only considered finished in the 1630s. According to Manuel Luís Maldonado (chaplain of the fort after the Portuguese Restoration, writing in the 1690s), its garrison was around 500 Spanish soldiers. Rules were strict on any crimes committed by them in the town or the island and these were basically punished by forced work in the construction of the fort. Around 150 soldiers were punished in this way, working from early to 11 hours in the morning and after midday to late in the afternoon, and also other convicts in the island were sentenced to the works as well as the galleys convicts.¹⁵ [113]

A significant part of the soundscape surrounding the construction of the fort of S. Filipe was stone working. Besides the work on the walls, with stone setting involving a vast number of workers, oxcarts arriving and departing, the major sounds that have impacted the town came from the several quarries established throughout Monte Brasil. The stone used on the walls came from nearby, the *tufo*, a sort of limestone easy to chisel. A great number of stone masons were employed in the quarries, and this can still be seen nowadays in their signature marks on the stones.¹⁶ The exact number of masons employed at a certain time is unknown, but one may add that a couple of hundred were active throughout the three-decade period of construction. In terms of sound, even a hundred workers chiseling stones every day would have caused an impact on the town's soundscape at the time.

On book three of his *Crônicas*, Fr. Agostinho de Monte Alverne described Terceira Island, as well as Angra, and the religious institutions founded in the town until the year 1693. He also gives account of the construction and reconstruction of churches and convents which signified a profound transformation in the town's religious soundscape. The major conventual house in Angra that saw a significant expansion in the 1590s was the Franciscan convent of the town. Founded in the second half of the fifteenth century, the convent had a significant expansion phase in the last decades of the sixteenth century with the construction of three two-storey dormitories, the expansion of the cloister, and the building of anew church (previous to the monumental church built in the seventeenth century).¹⁷ This involved a significant traffic of oxcarts transporting stone from the quarries outside the town and competed directly with the works on the Cathedral and the fort of S. Filipe both in terms of materials and manpower.

The first Jesuits arrived in Angra in 1570, establishing themselves in the hermitage of Nossa Senhora das Neves, annexed to an orphanage at

the edge of the cliffs overlooking Prainha, a detail Linschoten did not miss in his map of the town. According to Monte Alverne, the location did not suit them and, five years later, an architect of the order was sent to Angra to draw a project for the college, in a clear zone near the hermitage of St Cosmas and Damian.¹⁸ Although the plans for a new building began soon, construction works were only started in the 1630s with the opening of the foundations. In Linschoten's map, the Augustinian convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça was located near the gates of S. Bento. It was moved to the other Western edge of the town, between the parish of Sé and São Pedro, in the place referred by the Dutch explorer as Covas (nowadays known as Alto das Covas). This implied the construction of a new building in a zone formerly used as an underground barn for storing wheat. Not [114] much is known about its construction and the building disappeared in the 1820s.

The Religious Soundscape of Angra

Religious institutions played an important role in the soundscape of European towns and Angra is no exception to this, especially after mid-sixteenth century, following the creation of the diocese. By the end of the sixteenth century, Angra's religious soundscape, by far, the best documented and studied so far, was in full activity half a century after the foundation of the diocese. The second half of the century saw the foundation and development of new convents and parishes in the urban centre, as well as the arrival of the first Jesuit priests to establish a college in the town. We could divide the Angra religious soundscape in three main groups: on one side, the Cathedral and parish network, on the other, the conventual institutions spread throughout the urban area. A third group comprised a number of small hermitages, mostly product of the town's relevant families' private devotions, that were stages of small but concentrated and intense celebrations, often involving musical and liturgical practices.

The musical institutions of the Cathedral were founded and expanded throughout the sixteenth century. The post of organist was the first to appear in the documentation with his salary being established to 8,000 reis in 1540.¹⁹ This document suggests that there was already an organist at the Cathedral by that year since the salary is augmented and not established. The post of chapel master appears in 1563, with the responsibility of teaching the four choirboys (four more added in 1583) and other clergymen to sing plainchant and polyphony. In the 1590s the chapel master of the Cathedral was Francisco Vaz, appointed to this post on 19 February 1579,²⁰ also occupying the post of organist. He held both posts until his death on 17 January 1622,²¹ being succeeded by Gonçalo Nunes. On 7 April 1596 Francisco Antunes Camelo was appointed as director of the chapel, following the licence given to Vaz, relieving him from his duties due to illness on 8 September the previous year.²² It is possible

that Camelo acted as an assistant to Vaz as chapel master, which is further suggested by a *provisão* dated 18 April 1599, mentioning Vaz as a canon of the Cathedral, allowing him to direct the chapel and play the organ, releasing him from his duties as a canon during the time the chapel was to perform music.²³

The second most important parish church after the Cathedral was the Collegiate of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, the second largest parish of Angra, which was elevated from hermitage to collegiate in mid-sixteenth century. By the 1590s the musical structures of the collegiate were fully functional with an organist and a college made by a *vigário*, *cura*, [115] treasurer, and eight beneficiaries that would sing the daily hours in the choir.²⁴ Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, the town saw the creation of other three parishes: São Bento, São Pedro, and Santa Luzia. Not much is known about the musical activity in these churches. Frutuoso did not mention Santa Luzia nor São Bento but identifies São Pedro with vicar and two beneficiaries which did not allow for significant musical-liturgical ceremonies.²⁵

The conventual houses represented a significant part of the town's soundscape. As the seat of the Bishopric, Angra was place for the foundation of houses of various religious orders, most of them with strong and numerous communities. At the same time, we see throughout the sixteenth century new foundations together with the expansion of older foundations which brought much movement and sound to the town as mentioned in the previous chapter. Here we will focus on each community and what our chroniclers (especially Fr. Agostinho de Monte Alverne) wrote about them in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Franciscans were the most powerful religious order in the archipelago and the convent of São Francisco in Angra, founded sometime during the second half of the fifteenth century, was one of the most important houses in the islands, yet to be elevated to seat of the province, which only occurred in the 1640s. According to Monte Alverne, the house had a community of about 60 friars that sung the daily hours in the choir.²⁶

The Jesuits founded a college in the town in the last decade of the century which gained a significant importance in the first half of the seventeenth century. The first 11 Jesuit priests arrived in Angra in 1570 and soon after they began to preach throughout the island.²⁷ They accepted confession and gave communion throughout the town during several earthquake crisis securing salvation for its inhabitants. The priests were established on the college founded in the hermitage of Nossa Senhora das Neves at the end of the *Carreira dos Cavalos* (near the Cathedral and the Bishop's palace) near the cliffs overlooking the bay. Linschoten depicted this building in his map, titled as "O Colégio." Jesuits lived there until the 1640s when construction of the new college in the centre of the town was in its

final stage.²⁸

Augustinians established two convents in Terceira Island, one in Praia, the other in Angra. From its foundation, the Angra house was not a particularly numerous community, with about two dozens of friars. According to Monte Alverne, it played an important role as a place of learning, a charge that was gradually taken by the Jesuits throughout the seventeenth century. Due to its small community and lack of important patrons, it did not contribute much to musical terms for the town's soundscape, although the friars were present in the major festivities such as the *preces* processions. They played an important role (often in direct competition with the Jesuits) [116] in preaching, not only in the town, but also in the rural parishes of the island. Monte Alverne praised them for their eloquent sermons that often gathered many people, captivating their devotion.²⁹

Although hidden from public eyes, the feminine convents were also a significant part of Angra's soundscape. The houses in activity in the last decade of the sixteenth century were numerous and, due to the proximity, most of the choir singing could be heard among the streets noises. During the period we find three feminine conventual houses in various stages of activity in Angra. Again, from what Monte Alverne wrote in his chronicles, we know that the convent of São Gonçalo of Clare nuns, at the Western edge of the town had been founded around 1557 and its church finished three years later. It was in full activity as one of the town's most important conventual houses in the 1590s, with a community of about 62 nuns.³⁰

The numerous hermitages within the urban space of the town played an important part in the soundscape of Angra as a place of celebration of the lower social classes. They ranged from hermitages that had the most influential families as patrons and were located in their properties to the most poor and basic in terms of their donations. One of the richest in terms of musical-liturgical activity was the hermitage of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in the palace of Pero Anes do Canto, provider of the fleet. The image of the Senhora dos Remédios extant was considered miraculous by the island population with many devotional celebrations being held there during the volcanic and earthquake crisis throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the presence of the Bishop and the Cathedral chapter and music chapel.³¹ It was part of a close network of hermitages represented in Linschoten's map including that of Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem dos Mareantes, a poor hermitage overlooking the *Porto das Pipas*, a devotional place for the town's fishermen, the São Sebastião (founded in a Capuchin Poor Clares convent in late seventeenth century), which saw a significant development after the town Senate became patron after the 1599 plague,³² near the Franciscan convent, and the Nossa Senhora do Desterro in the hill (it appears without name in Linschoten's map), close to the fort of São Luís in the upper part of the town. In the case of these three

hermitages, there is very little documented sources of their soundscape, but the surviving references suggest a modest celebration activity except on the saint's feast day. During the days surrounding the festivity except on the saint's feast day. During the days surrounding the festivity the inhabitants of the quarters surrounding the hermitage would gather for religious and popular celebrations.

At the West edge of the town, near the parish church of São Pedro, was the hermitage of Santa Catarina, the smallest of the town but one of its oldest, the São Lázaro, annexed to a leprosy hospital, as well as the São João, located at the corner between the Rua da Sé and Rua de São João. Not much is known of these hermitages with the later one having [117] disappeared to the present day. The last hermitage of Angra in the 1590s was the Nossa Senhora da Natividade, which we find several references in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers. The location of this hermitage provided in Linschoten's map is now lost. It was located in the houses of Pero Anes do Canto and Gaspar Frutuoso associated it as being the hermitage of the blacks. The author also stated that it was immediate to Rome by an Apostolic bull. Although brief, this description meant that the hermitage was a place for the slave population of Angra to celebrate their religious festivities.³³ In her study about the slave population in Angra, Maria Hermínia Mesquita, based on the parish registers of baptisms and deaths, came to a number of at least a thousand individuals, although the exact number is uncertain.³⁴ This meant that the slave festivities around the hermitage of Natividade, would be probably colourful and very rich in sounds and rhythms, much to what happened in other Atlantic port towns.

The presence of musical instruments in the sixteenth-century churches were common and in the case of Angra, although references to the presence of musical instruments is scarce, they are essentially centred on the organs and organists of the town's main churches. One exception to this is the acquisition of an organ for the Cathedral in 1586 which would be in use at this church in the 1590s. We know of its existence from the acquisition contract celebrated between D. Manuel de Gouveia, Bishop of Angra, Baltazar Fernandes, treasurer, and a member of the confraternity of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, established in the Cathedral, with the Nicolau de Resende, a clergyman who was responsible for providing an *orgão de realejo*, which suggests being some kind of portative organ, that was to be used in some important feasts throughout the year. These would include feasts of Our Lord and the Virgin Mary, St Peter, St Paul, St John the Baptist, and the *Cruz de Maio* (Invention of the Holy Cross). The new masses, feast of All Saints and pontifical masses, and the feast of St James the Greater were also occasions in which the organ would be played. Since the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary sponsored its acquisition, the contract also stipulated that the instrument was to be kept and locked in that confraternity's chapel

and was to be used in all feasts celebrated there. There is also reference to the celebration of the *Salve* celebration in that chapel, although no more specifications about this service, nor any further characteristics of the organ, are given in the document.³⁵

One of the oldest sounds that could be heard in Angra was the church bells. Bells are, in most contexts, the oldest instruments, even older than organs. In the case of Angra, as well as Terceira Island, there are almost no bells prior to 1820s due to the Liberal-Absolutist civil war and the establishment of the Liberal government in the island.³⁶ This means that [118] sound references to the 16th instruments are scarce, not to say inexistent (i.e., the oldest bell extant in the Cathedral dates from 1714), and one does not know the exact number of bells extant in the towers of Angra's churches by the end of the sixteenth century. Although the 1590s bells didn't survive, we know who rang them in the Cathedral by 1595. On 8 October of that year Gonçalo Dias, bell-ringer of the Cathedral, buried his wife, Isabel Cordeirain the Church of *Misericórdia*.³⁷

Besides the churches and hermitages, the *Câmaras* (the town hall) also had a bell tower that was rung to alert the inhabitants of pirate attacks pending on the island or in the case of fire. The Angra town hall was rebuilt in the nineteenth century but the one in Praia da Vitória has the primitive architectural characteristics as well as the bell tower. The churches dominated the daily rhythm of life in Angra. According to the early eighteenth-century chronicler António Cordeiro in his *Historia Insulana*, the Cathedral clock bell ruled the other bell towers of the town.³⁸

Streets, Squares, and the Waterfront

As in all modern cities and towns, the streets were one of the major stages in terms of commerce and people gathering which provided a rich soundscape of languages and callings. Linschoten refers that the Spanish had strict rules for soldiers leaving out of town, being afraid of a Portuguese rebellion at any time. These rules also applied to the merchants that arrived at Angra were given a contained area in a street to sell their goods and should not go outside that particular space.³⁹ This meant that much of foreign trade would be made on the main street that connected the *Alfândega* pier with the town's main square, the so-called *Rua Direita*, or the parallel one to the West, *Rua de São João*, which seem most likely as they had direct access to the pier. These streets were, therefore, the town's most rich in terms of foreign languages being spoken, with Spanish, Flemish, Italian, and probably also English and French merchants trading their goods with the local businessmen.

The town had several main squares and smaller ones, the so-called *terreiros*, located outside the parish churches, convents, and hermitages. The main square, the *Praça Grande*, was only projected as such in 1611. It was still an open space in the town in the 1590s and Linschoten

represents this in his map. There it is only referenced as *Praça* (square); it has the townhall and the jail and, in the upper part, a fountain and the hermitage of the Saints Cosmas and Damian, now disappeared. This was a place for the town's main festivities often including bullfights. The *terreiro* of the hermitage of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios was also an important open space of the town. In this case, several penitence processions would go there in order to ask for mercy and the calming of earthquakes.⁴⁰ [119]

As a port town, most of Angra's commercial activity came from the sea and was done near the coastline, mostly in the *Porto das Pipas* and the pear of the *Alfândega*, near the customhouse, where goods were taxed. In the Linschoten map we can see these two harbours, the first well-guarded by the fort of *São Sebastião* with a couple of small ships, and the second one at the centre of the bay, just outside the town's gates and the customhouse with the *Misericórdia* church with its hospital nearby. This would be the central point where every visitor arriving from the sea would enter the town and, thus, would be one of the noisiest places, also used as a fish market. To the left appears the *Prainha*, a small strip of beach where we can see several small boats under construction. Frutuoso speaks of a shipyard in *Prainha*, as well as another one in *Porto das Pipas*. The daily chopping of wood and the constant hammering would have caused some impact in the waterfront inhabitants.

Conclusion

Angra was a developing town during the sixteenth century and the Portuguese-Spanish conflicts over the Portuguese crown in the 1580s did not slow down the several construction projects such as the new Cathedral and the expansion of several conventual houses. The Spanish themselves began the construction of the massive fort of San Filipe in the slope of Monte Brasil which consumed much of the islands' resources. These expansion works made of Angra a town full of sounds caused by the torrent of stones brought to these projects, as well as other small-dimension constructions that were taking place for its expansion. To this we might add the daily routines of the naval shipyards and port activity and the street shops activity.

Together with these daily street and open-air sounds we find the musical sounds mostly confined to the interiors of the churches and convents. As a seat of a bishop, Angra had a significant concentration of convents by the end of the sixteenth century. Mostly Franciscans, both masculine and feminine, in these places the plainchant of the daily hours was sung throughout the day, as well as the major festivities. Although happening in the choirs, the music could be clearly heard on the nearby streets and buildings due to relatively large religious communities performing the chant. Besides the convents, of the five parishes of the town, the Cathedral and the Collegiate of Conceição were by far, the

most dynamic in the daily music practice. The Cathedral with its established chapel would certainly have performed polyphony as it was the case in the first half of the seventeenth century. Other popular musical and sound manifestations happened on the main squares, often located near strong devotional hermitages as was the case of Nossa [120] Senhora dos Remédios, constituting dynamic stages of the town's and nearby villages' people.

The map provided by Linschoten in his Itinerario shows these institutions and places and, although much work is yet to be done in relation to each of its soundscapes, one can have a clear perspective of the visual and cartography display of these places and their integration in the urban network of Angra in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Notes

* Accepted manuscript version

** page numbers between square brackets refer to book pagination.

- 1 Reis Leite, "A fundação de Angra," 12.
- 2 Reis Leite, "A fundação de Angra," 12.
- 3 Reis Leite, "A fundação de Angra," 13.
- 4 Reis Leite, "A fundação de Angra," 13.
- 5 Reis Leite, "A fundação de Angra," 13-14.
- 6 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*.
- 7 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 12.
- 8 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 12.
- 9 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 13.
- 10 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 13.
- 11 Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages*, 181.
- 12 Maldonado, *Fenix Angrence*, vol. 2, 225.
- 13 Although there is no written record of the temple ever been consecrated, it functioned as the chief Azorean church since then. In 1807 the Bishop D. José Pegado de Azevedo officially consecrated the church with a full music setting of the office of Matins being composed by Portuguese composer João José Baldi for the occasion.
- 14 Maldonado, *Fenix Angrence*, vol. 2, 14.
- 15 Maldonado, *Fenix Angrence*, vol. 2, 16.
- 16 Visual inspection of the walls by the author identified at least 200 different stone mason marks (most of them repeated), which suggests that, at least, this number or more workers were employed throughout the construction period.
- 17 Fr. Agostinho de Monte Alverne, *Crónicas da Província de São João Evangelista das Ilhas dos Açores Vol. III* (Ponta Delgada: Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, 1962), 27.
- 18 Monte Alverne, *Crónicas da Província*, 98.
- 19 BPARLSR, Fundo do Cabido, Documento n. 6.
- 20 ANTT, Chancelaria Antiga da Ordem de Cristo, Livro 4, fol. 108v.
- 21 BPARLSR, Fundo Paroquial, Sé, Óbitos, Livro 4, fol. 9r.
- 22 ANTT, Chancelaria Antiga da Ordem de Cristo, Livro 10, fol. 40r and 174v.
- 23 ANTT, Chancelaria Antiga da Ordem de Cristo, Livro 10, fol. 227v.
- 24 Henriques, "A atividade litúrgico-musical," 141-142.

- 25 Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 13.
- 26 Monte Alverne, *Crónica da Província*, 27.
- 27 Cordeiro, *Historia Insulana*, 284.
- 28 Cordeiro, *Historia Insulana*, 284. [121]
- 29 Monte Alverne, *Crónicas da Província*, 101.
- 30 Monte Alverne, *Crónicas da Província*, 49.
- 31 Henriques, “A atividade litúrgico-musical,” 141.
- 32 Maldonado, *Fenix Angrence*, vol. 1, 398.
- 33 “[D]os pretos, imediata a Roma por bula apostólica” [Two black people, immediately connected to Rome by apostolic bull]. Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 13.
- 34 Mesquita, “Escravos em Angra,” 213.
- 35 BPARLSR, Fundo da Mitra, Pasta 2, Documento n. 48, fol. 1v.
- 36 A decree by D. Pedro stated that all church bells were to be melted in order to make bronze coins to finance the Liberal expeditionary force to the Portuguese mainland.
- 37 BPARLSR, Fundo Paroquial, Sé, Óbitos, Livro 3, fol. 2v.
- 38 Cordeiro, *Historia Insulana*, 279.
- 39 Linschoten, *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten*, 184.
- 40 Henriques, “A atividade litúrgico-musical,” 156.

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