Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918

Edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson
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The intense changes that transformed Lisbon’s urban fabric between 1864 and 1908 were a key agent in reshaping the political economy of sound in the city. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Lisbon was getting to grips with modernity in a period when not only was the term ‘modern’ starting to be seen in a positive light, but modernity itself was also being commodified. Furthermore, changes in the entertainment market and the replacement of several elements of urban everyday life that were perceived as representatives of an earlier ‘Romantic’ Lisbon (such as pleasure gardens and theatres) with spaces that echoed transnational articulations of modernity (such as wide boulevards) were essential to the emerging sociability networks of that time. Moreover, these developments played a key role in the new forms of entertainment available, and the repertoires produced for this market were rapidly integrated in the city’s soundscape, from the stage to the streets and to domestic spaces. In this sense, urban change is deeply associated with the new sounds that permeated the capital and with a dynamic relationship between the sonic materials and the spaces they crossed.

**Lisbon’s Modernity: The Building of a New Capital**

I start this chapter by outlining the profound changes that transformed Lisbon’s urban fabric during the period and, in particular, relate them to a wide leisure market. This market included a varied set of spaces and goods, including theatres, taverns, retiros, hortas, cafés, shops and music stores (that sold instruments, sheet music, or phonograms). Moreover, the music that circulated through these settings was transformed, according to the spaces and contexts it traversed, to maximise its reach. For example, opera arias originally sung in the theatre were also published as sheet music for domestic consumption, transcribed for wind band or issued as a piano roll or record. Thus, its ability to be adapted for a wide variety of settings – both public and private – promoted the ubiquitous circulation of music in Lisbon. Indeed, the popular theatre stage provided a focal point in the city’s music life, and was of particular significance to the dissemination of musical repertoires throughout Lisbon in a variety of forms and commodities. The entertainment market consisted of a set of venues where people would spend their leisure time, including, in particular, theatres and taverns. This circuit was central
to the reshaping of Lisbon’s soundscape because the music originally presented in such venues was also arranged and performed in other urban contexts and became a ubiquitous presence in the city’s auditory landscape. The activity of non-subsidized theatrical endeavours tended to be ephemeral, a characteristic of Lisbon’s market for cultural goods during the period. In this sense, it is possible to trace the transformation of the entertainment circuit by analysing changes in both theatrical repertoire and venues.

One of the most significant reformulations of urban space that was to reshape Lisbon and its entertainment spaces, and one of the most symbolic, was the opening of the Avenida da Liberdade, a wide avenue that linked the city centre to the new urbanized areas further north. This required the destruction of the Passeio Público, a public park built in the eighteenth century. Despite constant work to make the park more attractive, it was not until the second third of the nineteenth century that the Passeio Público finally became a venue for aristocratic and bourgeois sociability. In his study on Romanticism in Portugal, José-Augusto França associates the everyday life of the aristocracy and of the bourgeoisie of Portugal with the idea of ‘Passeio’ (promenade). França describes ‘Passeio’ as an activity that is enacted in venues such as theatres, cafés, the circus, the bullring and the parliament and includes all aspects of public entertainment and ‘publicness’. In this sense, Passeio consists not only of the physical spaces frequented by the economically privileged strata of Lisbon’s society, but also the social spaces where the process of seeing and being seen (key in the establishment and reinforcement of sociability networks) is played out. Thus, read in the context of França’s ‘Passeio’, the Passeio Público stands as a metonymical representation of aristocratic and bourgeois lifestyles in Lisbon during the second third of the nineteenth century, a period when the Portuguese Constitutional Monarchy was stabilized after a long period of intense turmoil that included a civil war between 1828 and 1834.

From the Liberal Revolution of 1820 until 1846, theatrical activity in Lisbon was focused mainly on three theatres built in the eighteenth century: the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (a theatre established in 1793 to perform mostly opera in Italian, run by an impresario, although subsidized by the state); the Teatro da Rua dos Condes (established in 1765 and mostly focused on the presentation of drama and, occasionally, musical events); and the Teatro do Salitre (established in 1783, presenting the same genres as the Teatro da Rua dos Condes). The opening of the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II in 1846 was a key moment in the development of Lisbon’s theatrical activity, reshaping Lisbon’s cultural market and providing a venue for the presentation of drama. The same year saw the opening of the Teatro do Ginásio, a theatre mostly devoted to drama, but which, as in most of the other theatres, presented several types of entertainment. Alongside drama, for instance, Teatro do Ginásio also staged several comic operas. Another venue for the study of theatrical activity was the short-lived Teatro de D. Fernando, in use between 1849 and 1859. Smaller theatres were also established in Lisbon during the 1850s, such as the Teatro da Floresta Egípica or the Teatro do Calvário, most of them of ephemeral duration. Relating theatrical life with the established sociability networks of the time, a journalist writing in 1853 noted that Lisbon’s city life
spanned only from the Teatro do Ginásio (in Trindade) to the Teatro de D. Maria II (in Rossio), a relatively small area within the city.\textsuperscript{9}

Associated with the demolition of the Passeio Público was the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade on the same plot, a process that started in 1879, and which enabled the expansion of the urban centre of Lisbon. Just as the Passeio Público metonymically stood for everyday bourgeois life, so the Avenida da Liberdade is emblematic of its time. The construction of the avenue had been an intention of the city council since at least 1859.\textsuperscript{10} Nevertheless, it is a work that reveals the emergence of new planning strategies for the city, especially after the appointment of the engineer Frederico Ressano Garcia (1847–1911) as head of the technical department of the city’s council in 1874. Ressano Garcia had studied in Lisbon and in Paris and was responsible for planning and constructing the new and expanded areas of Lisbon.\textsuperscript{11}

During the period in which Ressano Garcia led the city council’s technical department, Lisbon was deeply changed by the reconfiguration of its urban landscape, an important process that was reflected in the auditory landscape of the city. New neighbourhoods were built in the city and were linked to new and broad avenues (such as the Avenida da Liberdade and the Avenida das Picoas). Furthermore, a network of streetcars (horse-drawn and, later, electric) was created to facilitate the circulation of people inside the city.\textsuperscript{12} Another aspect of the development of the transport system was the construction of several funiculars and elevators (such as the Elevador de Santa Justa, the Ascensor da Bica, the Elevador do Lavra and the Elevador da Glória – the last two leading to the new Avenida da Liberdade). These new facilities seemed to epitomize the trends of modernity realized in the new planning of Lisbon, especially by the integration of iron as a visible construction material in a modern city (see the Elevador de Santa Justa, for example) and by the definitive altering of Lisbon’s auditory landscape.\textsuperscript{13}

Another important development in the transport network was the development of the railway system leading to Lisbon, especially the Sud-Express (that linked Paris to Lisbon and started operating in 1877) and the regional railways (such as the West railway and the Sintra railway, that started operating in 1887). As a consequence of the development of rail travel and of its integration in a wider transport planning strategy, a new railway station, the Estação da Avenida (Avenida Station, nowadays called the Rossio Railway Station), was inaugurated in 1890.\textsuperscript{14} Situated at the southern end of the Avenida da Liberdade, close to the city centre, it was the terminal for several national and international routes. Moreover, alongside the screeching of the railways and the bells of the trams, the sounds of the automobile became part of Lisbon’s auditory landscape in the last decade of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{15}

While studying in Paris, Garcia had come into contact with new perspectives on urbanism operating in that city, especially its reconfiguration promoted by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–91) between 1853 and 1868. In this sense, the Avenida da Liberdade can be compared to the wide Parisian boulevards built according to Haussmann’s principles of urban regeneration.\textsuperscript{16} The process of so-called ‘Haussmanization’ in Paris had a tremendous impact on urban planning
across Europe at the time, and some of its aspects were adopted in the reconfiguration of Lisbon.\textsuperscript{17}

Another significant process in the development of Lisbon during the period was the several attempts to improve the city’s port (which included the shipyards and the customs’ facilities) and its surrounding areas. Being a littoral capital with a long shoreline, the need for a rationalization of this space emerged during several periods of the city’s history, although with more visibility in the second half of the nineteenth century, when several projects were presented to its council.\textsuperscript{18} The project that started its implementation in 1887 contemplated the construction of several specific docks (for commercial and fishing boats), piers, industrial buildings and railways, concentrating on the Western part of Lisbon’s shoreline.\textsuperscript{19} On the one hand, this rationalization of space was a key aspect for the capital of an empire that depended on its port for an important part of its trading. On the other hand, several authors have associated this modernization with the construction of new buildings that contributed to a physical separation between the city and the river.\textsuperscript{20} Urban interventions of the magnitude of the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade and of the improvement of the city’s port also contributed to the auditory landscape of Lisbon for several years, embedding the sounds associated with the construction works in everyday life.

The modern cityscape as ‘a site of disambiguation and rationalisation of social space through either privatisation and atomisation (in the case of Berlin and Paris) or collectivisation (in the case of Moscow) of built space and hence also atomisation or collectivisation of the subjects who dwelt within these spaces’ is a key aspect in the work of Walter Benjamin.\textsuperscript{21} Benjamin points out a tendency for a stricter separation between public and private spaces in Paris starting from the reign of Louis-Philippe I (1830–48).\textsuperscript{22} Furthermore, this separation displays the rationalization of space as a tendency inherent in the development of modern cities. Subsequently, during the Second Empire, Paris was transformed in order to suit the needs of an imperial capital of an industrial state, much to the concerted efforts of Napoleon III and of Haussmann.\textsuperscript{23} During that time:

Haussmann’s urbanistic ideal was one of views in perspective down long street-vistas. It corresponded to the tendency which was noticeable again and again during the 19th century, to ennoble technical exigencies with artistic aims. The institutions of the worldly and spiritual rule of the bourgeoisie, set in the frame of the boulevards, were to find their apotheosis.\textsuperscript{24}

Furthermore, Benjamin associated Haussmann with the ‘rendition into stone’ of what he called the phantasmagoria,\textsuperscript{25} an image a ‘commodity-producing society … produces of itself … and that it customarily labels as its culture’.\textsuperscript{26} When discussing the commodity-form in \textit{Capital}, Marx states that: ‘It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic [the German term Marx uses is \textit{phantasmagorische}] form of a relation between things’.\textsuperscript{27} Thus, according to Derrida, Marx analyses ‘not only the phantomization of the commodity-form but the phantomalization of the social bond’.\textsuperscript{28}
In *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin expands on Marx’s concept of phantasmagoria, specifically those elements of the theory that relate to the commodity-in-the-market. Benjamin shifts his emphasis to a concept of phantasmagoria associated with the commodity-in-display, thus stressing its representational value.\(^{29}\) Shifting the focus from the spectacle of commodities to the process that relates capital to labour, David Harvey has argued that Haussmann’s projects were, indeed, a contribution to solving the issue of the concentration of unemployed surpluses of both capital and labour power.\(^{30}\) Therefore, at that time, urbanization in Paris can be seen as a way of absorbing those surpluses, acting as a vehicle for social stabilization.\(^{31}\)

During the period on which this chapter focuses, gas was still the main fuel for public lighting in the city, but the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries saw electric-powered public illumination reaching a significant part of Lisbon’s centre.\(^{32}\) The shift of public lighting in Lisbon from gas to electricity was uneven throughout the city, first benefiting both the new areas and the traditional commercial and entertainment districts. Consequently, the first spaces to have a definitive installation of electrical lighting (from 1889) were: Chiado, Rua do Ouro, Praça D. Pedro IV (Rossio), Praça do Municipio, Praça dos Restauradores and Avenida da Liberdade.\(^{33}\) This planned use of lighting created a kind of delimited corridor for a specific kind of publicness in Lisbon, putting sites such as shops, theatres, public buildings and cafés on display (an aspect I discussed earlier in this chapter).\(^{34}\) Furthermore, several commercial enterprises helped the reshaping of the Chiado from the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, especially the first multi-storey department stores in Lisbon (analogous to the French *magasins* of that time): the Grandes Armaçães do Chiado (established in 1894) and the Armazéns Grandella (established in 1907).\(^{35}\)

The establishment of several stores focused on the commercialization of talking machines and recorded sound expanded the market for musical commodities in Lisbon. Starting from the middle of the nineteenth century, several commercial spaces dedicated to selling instruments and sheet music were established in Lisbon, mainly through the action of European immigrants, such as the German Eduardo Neuparth (1784–1871, owner of the Armazém de Música e Instrumentos de Eduardo Neuparth) or the Italian João Baptista Sassetti (1813–89, founder of the da Sassetti e Comp.).\(^{36}\) At the beginning of the twentieth century, the establishment of the stores of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone (a company affiliated with the The Gramophone Company, Ltd) and of the Simplex company can be seen not only as an expansion of the market for musical products, but also as a symptom of the incorporation of modern technologies/commodities of sound reproduction into everyday life.

**The Theatres of Modern Lisbon**

The entertainment business was not immune to the changes operating in the urban landscape during the period 1864–1908. With entertainment being a volatile activity, several theatres opened and closed in various areas of Lisbon, such as the
Teatro do Salitre, which changed its name to Teatro das Variedades in 1858, and was demolished in 1879 during the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade. Another space demolished for the building of the new avenue was the Circo Price, which presented mainly circus, although there are references to operettas and zarzuelas also being staged there. The Teatro da Rua dos Condes closed down in 1882 and a provisional theatre was built on that same plot, the Teatro Chalet da Rua dos Condes, which lasted only three seasons. During the last years of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, the revistas (revue theatre) were the most important source of income for the theatre and that same repertoire was also hegemonic in its successor, the short-lived Teatro Chalet. In 1888, a new theatre, the Teatro Condes, was opened in the same space as the older theatres and also concentrated on presenting operettas and revistas. It can be argued that this process of the sequential opening of three theatres on the same ground is related to the operative dynamics of a spatial habitus. Of the theatres working in the first 40 years of the nineteenth century, only the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the Teatro de D. Maria II and the Teatro do Ginásio (where the first revistas were presented in the 1850s) survived and maintained regular activity throughout the nineteenth century.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, a significant number of theatres were built in Lisbon and in other towns and villages, which perhaps indicates an expansion of theatrical activity in Portugal during this period. Despite the ephemerality of the theatre business, a few of these new venues were key for the expansion of entertainment in Lisbon, especially by becoming prominent venues for the presentation of new genres of musical theatre, which were then becoming hegemonic: the operetta and the revista (revue theatre). Lisbon’s theatrical scene during this period relied, to a great extent, on translations. In this sense, the presentation of operettas (mostly associated with the French tradition) and zarzuelas in Portuguese came to be central to the entertainment market in Lisbon. The performance of these new theatrical genres contributed to the reshaping of Lisbon’s auditory landscape because the songs were rapidly adapted and performed in the city’s streets and parlours.

Some of the theatres that opened in Lisbon during this period were: the Teatro do Príncipe Real; the Teatro da Trindade; the Teatro Taborda; the Real Coliseu de Lisboa; the Teatro D. Amélia; the Teatro da Avenida; the Teatro da Alegria; and the Coliseu dos Recreios. The Teatro do Príncipe Real opened in Mouraria in 1865 and focused on melodrama and, occasionally, operetta. The Teatro da Trindade opened in 1867 as a venue that could accommodate both drama, comedy and comic operas in the main hall (mainly presenting operetta and revista) and concerts and balls in another hall (the Salão). The Teatro Taborda, situated in the Costa do Castelo, and focusing especially on drama, was inaugurated in 1870. The Real Coliseu de Lisboa (mostly dedicated to circus, but also presenting opera, comic opera, operetta and zarzuela) opened in 1887. Furthermore, the first projections of film in Lisbon took place in this theatre (from 1896 onwards) and this new type of entertainment was soon shown in other theatres, such as the Teatro D. Amélia, and in venues built mainly for its presentation, such as the Animatógrafo do Rossio (established in 1907). In 1888, the Teatro da Avenida...
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opened, one of the first buildings on the Avenida da Liberdade focused especially on performing comedies and revistas.\textsuperscript{46} The short-lived Teatro da Alegria (near the Avenida da Liberdade and dedicated to spoken theatre) was built on the same grounds on the Rua Nova da Alegria where a provisional theatre had once stood, and opened in 1890.\textsuperscript{47} Later that year, the biggest venue in Lisbon, the Coliseu dos Recreios (an octagonal hall with a glass and iron dome), was opened. The Coliseu premiered with a comic opera by an Italian company, although it mainly specialized in the production of circus shows.\textsuperscript{48} Nevertheless, it accommodated several theatrical genres (such as operetta, zarzuela and Italian opera), public concerts, film (with Edison’s projectoscope) and wrestling.\textsuperscript{49} In 1894, an operetta was the inaugural offering at the Teatro D. Amélia, located in Chiado, but the theatre would mainly present drama, comedy and cinema.\textsuperscript{50} By interlocking theatres and spaces of circulation and sociability, it is possible to grasp that most of the recently built theatres were still in the areas traditionally associated with leisure (such as Chiado or Trindade), but the expansion of the city with the Avenida da Liberdade also enlarged the theatrical circuit (especially with the Teatro Condes, the Teatro da Alegria, the Teatro da Avenida and the Coliseu dos Recreios).

Furthermore, theatrical repertoire was also changing at this time, especially due to the presentation of naturalist and symbolist plays in several of Lisbon’s theatres, performed both by Portuguese and foreign companies.\textsuperscript{51} From the 1860s onwards, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos started to regularly present works by Gounod, Halévy, Auber, Thomas, Massenet, Délibes and Bizet. During the 1890s, performances of operas associated with Italian verismo and the incorporation of works by German composers (especially Wagner’s musical dramas; \textit{Lohengrin} premiered in that theatre in 1883) were key events in Lisbon’s operatic seasons.\textsuperscript{52} Nevertheless, and considering that the paradigm was changing at the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of these operas were presented in Italian, which reflects the Italian scope of the S. Carlos.

\textbf{Porosity in Lisbon: Sound and Everyday Life}

This section will examine several aspects of Lisbon’s urban fabric that contributed to the structuring of everyday life in the city. Focusing on the concept of porosity, I will examine practices such as fado and its sites of performance, the cries of street vendors and pedlars, the sound of church bells and the use of music in the public spaces of the city, with a particular emphasis on the ensemble banda.

Extending the analogy of the then recently built areas of Lisbon with Benjamin’s Paris, I would also like to propose a parallel between the old neighbourhoods of Lisbon and Benjamin’s and Lacis’s reading of Naples.\textsuperscript{53} In their short essay, ‘Naples’, Benjamin and Lacis stress the porosity of the architecture of that Southern European city, in which ‘building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways’.\textsuperscript{54} In this sense, the forced socialization imposed by poverty and the ‘passion for improvisation’ are linked to ‘the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations’.\textsuperscript{55} For the authors, another important aspect of Naples was the interpenetration of public and private spheres, a distinction they
stress when comparing Naples with its Northern European counterparts. So, in Naples ‘each private attitude or act is permeated by streams of communal life’. Furthermore, ‘buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable, simultaneously animated theaters. Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stage and boxes’. Hence, to a rationalized concept of urban space where the public and the private is separated, characteristic of modern industrial cities, the writers see Naples as a chaotic and almost archaic city, not yet subject to the rationalization embedded in the capitalist development. On that specific point, ‘the structuring boundaries of modern capitalism – between public and private, labour and leisure, personal and communal – have not yet been established’. However, the presence of multi-layered and shifting concepts of publicness and domesticity cannot be consistently and directly translated into a polarity between public and private realms. Boym argues that porosity is a quality present in all cities, consisting in a spatial metaphor for a ‘variety of temporal dimensions embedded in physical space’ that reflects multiple ‘layers of time and history, social problems, as well as ingenious techniques of urban survival’ and creates ‘a sense of urban theatricality and intimacy’. Lisbon’s older districts, such as Alfama, Bairro Alto, Madragoa and Mouraria stand out as examples of Benjamin’s and Lacis’s notion of porosity. In these neighbourhoods, the concentration of dwellings and the cohabitation of a significant number of people in small areas were indicative of that forced socialization. Taverns played a key role in the sociability of such districts, marking a space for the performance of fado (especially in what might be called its vernacular form). A socially diversified spectrum of frequenters gathered in the taverns and alcohol was constantly mixed with violence. Furthermore, the sounds of the taverns bled into the streets, a fact that displays the porosity inherent to those spaces of the city.

Apart from taverns and brothels, the hortas and the retiros situated on the rural outskirts of the city also played a relevant role in the sociability of the bohemian segments of Lisbon’s population. According to José Machado Pais, these spaces of sociability mixed aristocrats, coach drivers, prostitutes, fadistas, journalists and bullfighters, who mingled spontaneously in a non-stratified way. In his text on Marseilles, Walter Benjamin describes the outskirts as ‘the state of emergency of a city, the terrain on which incessantly rages the great decisive battle between town and country’. Furthermore, these interstitial spaces between the country and the city and, within the city itself, were privileged places for the sociability of the unstructured communitas of Lisbon’s bohemians. Other events in which that communitas emerged were related to bulls, an aspect associated with the performance of a specific type of masculinity. Both bullfighting and the espera de touros (an event where men would taunt a bull that was released in a delimited space) became also places for the sociability of several segments of the population during the period, especially those integrated in the bohemian circles previously mentioned. As a consequence of the industrialization of Lisbon and its outskirts, the creation of workers’ accommodation from the 1870s onwards contributed to the
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Reshaping of the auditory landscape of the city at that time. The reconfiguration of the urban landscape in neighbourhoods such as Alcântara, Graça, Xabregas ou Poço do Bispo, which were situated in the vicinities of industrial activity through the construction of páteos and vilas, is a significant element in this process. Initially, workers were accommodated in previously existing spaces, such as converted palaces or convents, where the individual rooms were rented and the environment was obviously unwholesome due to the inadequacy of the facilities. Later, several private agents (entrepreneurs, industrialists or co-operatives) started to purchase lands specifically for the building of workers’ accommodation. On this aspect, physical and cultural space merged in a narrative of class, sociability and habitus. Due to migration, these neighbourhoods became privileged sites for the contact between Portuguese regional cultures and for the emergence of specific traits of a vernacular culture, frequently aestheticized in periodicals and literature.

Another important concern regarding urban planning in Lisbon at this time was public health. The improvement of sanitation through the renewal of the sewer network and the establishment of several indoor markets, such as the Mercado da Ribeira Nova (inaugurated in 1882) and the Mercado de Alcântara (inaugurated in 1905), for example, can be related to public health policy. Nevertheless, this attempt to centralize the commerce of fresh products collided with what was, at that time, the crystallized habitus of trading them in the street. Fresh goods were mainly concentrated in outdoor markets (such as the Praça da Figueira), fairs or in the carts or baskets of the pedlars (especially inbound from the rural outskirts of Lisbon known as the região saloia), who contributed with their cries to the auditory landscape of the city.

This issue of the perambulating pedlars is deeply associated not only with the city’s auditory landscape, but also with the structuring of everyday life through sound. Due to its specific qualities, sound played a key role in announcing the presence of the pedlars. Furthermore, each product had its own specific cry, the pregão (in some instances added by a horn or a flute), that informed the customers of who was coming to sell their goods. This practice is recorded since at least the sixteenth century and, in very few cases (such as lottery sellers), remains to the present. Furthermore, Júlio de Castilho states that the pregões (cries) were seasonal and varied according to the neighbourhood, due to the fixed routes of the sellers. In that sense, the seasonality embedded in the commerce of fresh products and its advertisement throughout the streets of Lisbon contributed also to the structuring of everyday life on a yearly basis. During the spring, pedlars advertised strawberries and tender vegetables, whereas during the autumn they would sell boiled chestnuts, for example. Conversely, the produce advertised also varied according to the time of the day; Castilho presents milk as being a morning good and associates products such as roasted broad beans or lupini beans with the leisure Sunday afternoons of the working classes.

Apart from the vegetables and dairy products previously mentioned, street pedlars (in which bakers and butchers were included) sold a wide variety of goods. For example, characters such as the ardina (paperboy), the coal seller, the...
Migration also played an important role throughout the history of Lisbon. Although I have already mentioned the role of Central European immigration in the establishment of several music shops in Lisbon, I will now stress several specificities regarding certain migrant communities. As the capital of an empire that included colonies in Asia, Africa and South America, Lisbon was home to several communities associated with this colonial process (especially populations of Brazilian and African descent). These communities contributed to Lisbon’s multicultural character, and their presence was reflected in its auditory landscape. Furthermore, Graça Indias Cordeiro relates the inclusion of migrants in the work marketplace with their integration into city life, an aspect I will now develop.

An interesting case of immigration is the galego (Galician), who exerted a strong presence in Lisbon especially from the nineteenth century onwards. In Lisbon, male galegos did all sorts of work that involved carrying weights (such as carrying the injured from the brawls in which the fadistas were involved), but they became particularly associated with water-selling in such a way that galego became almost a synonym for that activity. In that activity, their role both as a supplier of household water and as key agents in fire extinction was extremely important for the everyday city life.

Another interesting case of migration was the varina, mostly a female migrant, originally from the littoral region of Ovar, who sold fresh fish in the streets of Lisbon using specific pregões. Cordeiro states that some of the professions stated earlier became associated with the so-called ‘popular types’ of the city of Lisbon, and gives the varina as an example. According to the same author, their ubiquitous visibility, their specific sound markers, their role in supplying the city with products from the river and the sea (displaying a proximity between the seller and that specific urban environment), their conspicuous and exuberant group sociability and their working in the public space contributed to that association.

A ubiquitous presence in the auditory landscape of Lisbon was the sound of church bells. In his study regarding church bells in the nineteenth-century French countryside, Alain Corbin points to several ways in which bells were used to impart ‘a rhythm to the ordinary functions of the community’, acting as an ‘auditory synchronizer’ of everyday life. In that sense, church bells were used to summon the community for religious services, to punctuate religious and secular festivities, to mark the passage of chronological time and to ring the alarm, for example. Thus, ‘a subtle auditory rhetoric was developed’ and integrated in the everyday life of Lisbon. As an example of the usage of bells in Lisbon, I will use some references from Maria Rattazzi’s book Portugal de relance (‘Portugal at a glance’), a set of satirical letters written by Rattazzi about her travels in Portugal. Originally written in French (bearing the title Le Portugal à vol d’oiseau), the book was translated into Portuguese and published in Lisbon in 1881. Despite its satirical vein (in which a deeply ethnocentric perspective surfaces) and the poor documentation of the author, some of the
first-hand aspects of this account may be useful when dealing with the toolls and peals of the bells in Lisbon.

In her account, Rattazzi comments upon the ubiquity of churches in Lisbon and, consequently, on the sounds of their bells. Moreover, she associates bell ringing with several religious solemnities (such as christenings, funerals and other celebrations) and with the sounding of fire alarms. Apart from the standard toolls and peals, Rattazi emphasizes the usage of melodies such as the national anthem, operetta arias and urban songs in Lisbon’s bell ring. Bearing in mind that a significant part of the sheet music market of the time was based on theatrical music, this points to a porosity between stage, street and domestic space in Lisbon. In this sense, a common repertoire unifies several of the spaces in the city, which displays an auditory continuity amongst them.

Music in the open air was also an important facet of Lisbon’s everyday life. Buskers, beggars and street musicians were a frequent presence in the city’s streets. A ubiquitous presence in Lisbon’s auditory landscape was the mechanical organ (also called barrel organ). For example, in 1890 the music periodical Amphion published an article that depicted the sound of the barrel organ as a scourge that afflicted the city of Lisbon and several novels include scenes in which the organ grinder would perform well-known operatic extracts, illustrating both the porosity between the stage and the street and the prominence of theatrical music in other performance contexts.

The magazine O Occidente published a small article on itinerant musicians, observing that groups of wandering musicians were frequently seen in Portuguese towns and villages. According to the article, these groups of buskers consisted mainly of a singer and a guitarist or a fiddler and predominantly performed songs drawn from the successful comic operas of the time and their double entendre coplas. This view is reinforced by Alberto Pimentel in Vida de Lisboa, in which he writes that the most successful theatrical songs were adopted by pedlars and children and immediately reproduced in the city’s streets. The involuntary exposure of the inhabitants of Lisbon to the omnipresent sounds of church bells and of the barrel organ, as well as the cries of the pedlars, helps to situate the resulting sonic realm in what Anahid Kassabian designates as ‘ubiquitous musics’, ‘the musics that are always there, beyond our control, slipping under our thresholds of consciousness’, a sort of soundtrack of everyday life.

A more organized grouping started to perform in Lisbon’s public spaces: the banda (an ensemble of wind and percussion instruments). The constitution of these ensembles varied, but they generally included flutes, reed instruments, brass instruments and percussion. Furthermore, some of them were affiliated with military and police institutions, while others were associated with voluntary societies (some of them established by the agents connected to the workers movement). The bandas usually performed on Sundays and bank holidays in theatre halls, balls, gatherings promoted by several societies and public gardens (such as the Jardim da Estrela, the Praça D. Fernando and the Avenida da Liberdade). These ensembles performed a heterogeneous repertoire that extended from marches, waltzes, polkas and anthems to transcriptions of classical pieces, such as opera overtures.
The impact of this movement in the city’s musical life cannot be overstated, due to their frequent presence in public spaces and gatherings. Furthermore, several military and police bands were among the first Portuguese ensembles to be recorded by international companies such as The Gramophone and Typewriter Ltd and Pathé.

The rise of new forms of political demonstrations in public spaces towards the last third of the nineteenth century also contributed to the reshaping of Lisbon’s auditory landscape. Especially associated with forms of republican and socialist propaganda that emerged in the period, the rally became an important event in the urban space. This form of demonstration enabled the congregation of a significant number of people and was mainly held in public spaces, such as Lisbon’s avenues. The bustling of the crowd, the speeches and, sometimes, the performance of a banda helped to delimit and demarcate a specific place and time in the city.

Between 1864 and 1908 Lisbon was undergoing a significant period of modernization and several major developments that helped to reshape the auditory landscape were introduced. The weaving of sounds produced by tramways and automobiles in the city’s sonic fabric added several layers to the constant bustle of the capital. Despite the trend for the rationalization of space and time associated with modern urban planning, Lisbon (and other cities) retained a significant presence of elements of the past. Modern amenities such as markets and boulevards coexisted with the labyrinth of streets of the older districts and the cries of the peddlars were intersected by the sounds of the phonograph and the automobile. This porosity between different spaces and times is central to understanding Lisbon as a complex and changing sonic site where the shifting relations between music, sound and noise helped to structure everyday life until well into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to show, in a way similar to that used by James Clifford in his approach to Michel de Certeau’s theory of everyday life, how: “space” is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced”.94 This aspect of space brings to mind Henri Lefebvre who concentrated ‘not on space as an a priori or ontological entity, but on the processes and strategies of producing space, which are by definition historical’ 95 About his groundbreaking book The Production of Space, Deborah Pellow observes that Lefebvre ‘emphasizes the symbolic meaning and significance of particular spaces, in effect how spaces are culturalized, but also how culture is spatialized, how practices are lived in space’.96 In this sense, spatial and cultural practices are not only inseparable, but are inherently intertwined with each other, a process this study of Lisbon’s urban reconfiguration in the period 1864–1908 evidences.

In his work The Urban Revolution, Lefebvre constructs a synchronic analysis of space in contemporary societies divided into three levels: the global, the mixed and the level of habiting.97 Although the author was theorizing about contemporary society, due to the necessary historicity implicit in his thought, these
analytical levels can be applied to other historical moments, especially if one pays close attention to their historical specificities. In Lefebvre’s theory, the global level is presented by its association with the exercise of power (by politicians, for instance) and it relates to what he terms institutional space. By assuming that the global level ‘projects itself into part of the built domain: buildings, monuments, large-scaled urban projects’, it is possible to relate the planning and construction of the Avenida da Liberdade, for example, with this level.

The mixed level is, for Lefebvre, the specifically urban, an intermediary level between the global and the private, where elements related to ‘institutions and higher-level entities’ are removed from the cityscape. On this specific point, Lefebvre’s examples relate, in a particular way, to contemporary society, because he includes, for example, avenues and a few institutional buildings such as city councils and parish churches on that level. Regarding a city with the dimension of Lisbon and the centralization of local and national institutions in the period 1864–1908, there is a complex permeability between the global and the mixed levels, a kind of porosity between them.

Finally, the level of habiting is associated by Lefebvre with the private realm, mainly housing. Again, the blurring of the threshold between public and private spaces presented in Lisbon points to a bleeding of the mixed level into the level of habiting and vice-versa. In the case of Lisbon during the second half of the nineteenth century, it is possible to observe a porosity not only of spaces, but also of levels. Therefore, a hypothetical reconstruction of the produced land/ soundscapes in the several levels of the city of Lisbon can only be multi-layered and complex.

Notes
3 About the constitution of the Passeio Publico as a Romantic garden see Maria Alexandra Salgado Quintas, ‘Do Passeio Público à Pena: um percurso do jardim romântico’, Master’s thesis (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2001).
8 This survey of regular theatrical activity in Lisbon relied heavily on advertisements published in the press. This method is, of course, limited because it excludes spaces that did not advertise and those associated with amateur theatrical activity.
9 A Revolução de Setembro, 24 January 1853: 1.
12 Rodrigues, ‘As avenidas de Ressano Garcia’.
16 The idea of Paris as the epicentre of European cultural life and a model to emulate is very much present in Portugal during this period. See, for example, Álvaro Manuel Machado, O ‘francesismo’ na literatura portuguesa (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984). On the association of the Parisian boulevard with the rise of a mass culture in Paris in which entertainment and the spectacle are embedded see Vanessa R. Schwartz, Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in fin-de-siècle Paris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
17 About the processes of Haussmannization see, for example, Schwartz, Spectacular Realities, pp. 16–26. Aspects of that paradigm of urbanization were also incorporated in the reconfiguration of Rio de Janeiro in the first decade of the twentieth century. See Jaime Benchimol, Pereira passos: um Haussmann Tropical (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, 1992) and Glória Kok, Rio de Janeiro no tempo da Av. Central (São Paulo: Bei Comunicação, 2005).
18 For a detailed discussion of these projects see Júlio de Castilho, A Ribeira de Lisboa: descrição histórica da margem do Tejo desde a Madre de Deus até Santos-o-Velho (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1893), pp. 639–701.
19 This is as according to the blueprint of 1887, made by João Veríssimo Mendes Guerreiro, and extant in the National Library of Portugal (shelfmark C.C. 316 A.).
24 Benjamin, ‘Paris – Capital of the Nineteenth Century’: 86.
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33 Fernandes, Lisboa e a electricidade.
34 In 1907, there were 75 cafés and 51 restaurants in Lisbon. See Manuela Rêgo (ed), 1907: no advento da República. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007), p. 11.
38 O Occidente, 11 April 1883: 83 and 85 and Bastos, Dicionario, p. 194.
42 Bastos, Dicionario, p. 355.
44 Bastos, Dicionario, p. 371.
46 Bastos, Dicionario, pp. 312, 318.
47 Ibid., p. 316 and O Occidente, 1 June 1890: 123.
48 Bastos, Dicionario, pp. 309–10. Another possible entertainment for the population of Lisbon was the bullfight. These have been frequently presented in Lisbon since, at least, the last years of the eighteenth century (first in Salitre, then in the Campo de Santana). In 1892, a modern and specially designated space for its practice was opened, the Praça de Touros do Campo Pequeno.
50 Bastos, Dicionario, pp. 332–3. For several reviews of presentations in the Teatro de D. Amélia (among other chronicles) see Fialho d’Almeida, Actores e autores (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925). This spatial distribution of theatrical genres was presented both in Bastos, Dicionario, p. 35 and in Rebello, O teatro naturalista, pp. 53–4. About the presentation of film in the Teatro de D. Amélia see Dias, Lisboa desaparecida, p. 145.
51 Rebello, O teatro naturalista.
250 João Silva

57 Ibid., p. 167.
69 Ibid.: 511.
70 Pereira, ‘Pátios e vilas de Lisboa’: 511.
72 See, for instance, Fialho D’Almeida, Contos (Porto and Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1881) or Abel Botelho, Amanhã! (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1901).
73 Lisboa, Os engenheiros, pp. 151–77.
75 Júlio de Castilho, Lisboa antiga (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1904), p. 216.
76 Ibid., pp. 217–18.
77 Ibid., pp. 218–19 and pp. 229–33.
78 One of the foremost guitarists at that time was Luís Carlos da Silva (1859–1934), nicknamed Petrolino possibly due to his profession. See Alberto Pimentel, A triste canção do Sul: Subsídios para a História do Fado (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904), p. 62.
80 Cordeiro, ‘Trabalho e Profissões’: 11.
82 Cordeiro, ‘Trabalho e Profissões’: 8.
85 Ibid.
86 Maria Rattazzi, Portugal de relance (Lisbon: Livraria Zeferino, 1881).

Ibid.


Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 79.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 80.

Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, pp. 80–81.