The Eye

The Atlantic is a stormy moat; and the Mediterranean,
The blue pool in the old garden,
More than five thousand years has drunk sacrifice
Of ships and blood, and shines in the sun; but here the Pacific—
Our ships, planes, wars are perfectly irrelevant.
Neither our present blood-feud with the brave dwarfs
Nor any future world-quarrel of westering
And eastering man, the bloody migrations, greed of power, clash
of
faiths—
Is a speck of dust on the great scale-pan.
Here from this mountain shore, headland beyond stormy head-
land
plunging like dolphins through the blue sea-smoke
Into pale sea--look west at the hill of water: it is half the
planet:
this dome, this half-globe, this bulging
Eyeball of water, arched over to Asia,
Australia and white Antartica: those are the eyelids that never
close;
this is the staring unsleeping
Eye of the earth; and what it watches is not our wars.

Robinson Jeffers

FROM THE MARE NOSTRUM TO THE MAR OCÉANO AND BACK: OCEANIC STUDIES, MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES, AND THE PLACE OF POETRY

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Sixty-odd years ago, Fernand Braudel made the case for a sixteenth-century "global Mediterranean," arguing that it was the Mediterranean Sea that gave shape to the Atlantic. The eminent *Annales* School historian began his section on "The Atlantic Ocean" by asserting that the ocean did not yet have a fully independent existence during that century, and that Mediterranean peoples were only just beginning to take the measure of the very *Mar Océano* that was to have an increasing impact on their economies, to "construct an identity for it with what could be found in Europe, as Robinson Crusoe built his cabin from what he could salvage from his ship."[1]

For that reason, Braudel affirmed that it would be more useful to outline a history of the Atlantic "from the point of view of its relations with the Mediterranean" (226). Focusing on the Spanish Atlantic ("Seville's Atlantic") to talk about what he called "the Atlantic destiny in the sixteenth century," the French historian then detailed transatlantic and transpacific trade relationships that formed an "immense and complicated system, drawing on the economy of the whole world" (226-27). Braudel argued that this system, which maintained the link between the Iberian Mediterranean and the world ocean until the very last years of the sixteenth century, lasted much longer than historians who use 1588, the year of the Invincible Armada, as its expiration date, would have it (229).

It is striking that Oceanic studies scholars regularly, though not without ambivalence, invoke Braudel's conceptualization of the Mediterranean region as a complex physical and historiographical unit, perhaps even as a model of sorts, even as their own field develops quite

separately from scholarship on the Mediterranean Sea. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the academic world has at once confirmed Braudel's views on the slow, gradual waning of the Mediterranean and has seemingly moved on without giving them more than dutiful attention.[2]

What I set out to do in this essay is to consider the disciplinary ramifications of this turn of events, especially as concerns links between the Mare Nostrum and the global ocean that remained vital in the first part of the early modern period but that are de-emphasized by the parallel development of Oceanic studies and Mediterranean studies as separate academic fields today. I begin with a review of the evolution of Atlantic World History, a field from which literary and cultural "transatlantic studies" derive, and point to recent heightened scholarly interest in the Iberian Atlantic, both in history and in literary and cultural studies. By pondering the place of Atlantic studies as a subfield within the larger field of Oceanic studies, I am also able to highlight recent cultural studies scholarship on the emerging field of Transpacific or Hispano-Asian studies. I imply, if I do not explicitly affirm, that through recent work on global Catholicism (the analysis of the "relaciones" or travel accounts written by missionary religious, for example), the links between Oceanic studies and Mediterranean studies may have actually grown tighter, not weaker, in the last few years. Finally, I appraise the work that has been done in Mediterranean studies during the last decade, foregrounding the intensely interdisciplinary nature of the field and contemplating what it might look like to focus on early modern Spanish poetry in a manner consistent with theories and methods that typify work being done in Mediterranean studies today.

In recent years, early modernists have recognized that the global ocean and its shores play a hugely important role in accounting for economic and cultural connections during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Works such as Paul Gilroy's influential *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) advanced an expanded conceptualization of historical and literary or cultural fields long inhibited by national projects, boundaries and traditions. One could argue that the reshaping of these fields was one factor that led to the emergence of Oceanic studies. In history, the new oceanic approach taken by some scholars gave rise to a large body of scholarship, reflected in the publication of an *American Historical Review* Forum

on "Oceans of History" (*American Historical Review* Vol. 111, No. 3, June 2006). Scholars dedicated to the study of literature and culture quickly followed suit.

In this special issue of *Calíope* devoted to Spanish poetic imaginings of the early modern Mediterranean, it is perhaps worth noting that already in 2010, a series of articles dedicated to Oceanic studies occupied the "Theories and Methodologies" section in the May 2010 issue of *PMLA* (Vol. 125, No. 3), and that the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Poetry and Prose Division of the Modern Language Association, together with the Comparative Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Literature Division, organized a collaborative session on "Renaissance Oceans" for the MLA Annual Convention of 2012. In both of these venues the place of the Mediterranean Sea—a smaller body of water surrounded almost completely by land but with an enormously important opening to the ocean—was negligible. While one paper read at the convention session was based on the metaphorical seas of Luis de Góngora's *Soledades*, a poetic text that is perhaps thinkable only from a "Mediterranean world" starting place, the others engaged in cultural work based on the (real, historical) Atlantic, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. It is hard to imagine that this particular breakdown is not symptomatic of the way Atlantic studies and Oceanic studies, generally, are emerging as fields. And in fact, this is the case. In other words, while Atlanticists may be fully conscious of exchange, intercommunication and cultural proximity throughout the Mediterranean basin, the academic field of Atlantic studies has for the most part developed independently of Mediterranean studies, which is roughly its contemporary, if we consider Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II* (first French edition, 1949) as its point of inception.[3]

What those of us who work in the study of literature and culture refer to as Transatlantic studies had its epistemological origins in a field known as Atlantic World History that emerged in the 1950s. I use the term "epistemological" deliberately, seeking to delve deeper than the notion of "intellectual origins" would allow. Atlantic World historians recognize R. R. Palmer as a precursor because of his *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (Vol. 1, 1959) and Bernard Bailyn (*Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*, 2005) as a key figure in defining the field. Atlantic History

has deep interconnections with the study of the Atlantic slave trade and with Diaspora studies. In this context, the well-known work of John K. Thornton is exemplary (*Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500-1800*, 1992, and recently, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250-1820*, 2012). The proponents of Atlantic History are far too numerous to highlight here, but the work of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (*Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*, 2006) and Carla Gardina Pestana (*Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World*, 2009) may serve as just two examples of recent scholarship on the Anglo and the Spanish Atlantic empires that have made a mark on the field.

At first, scholarship on the British Atlantic (the British Caribbean and the early U.S.) overshadowed the rest of the field. Anecdotal evidence for this can be found in an important issue of *The William and Mary Quarterly* dedicated to Atlantic Studies (55.1, 2008), some of whose contributors, interestingly enough, already noted a "literary turn" occurring in their field.[4] Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan's recent *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (2009) makes it clear that Atlantic History has evolved, that it has become more truly global. Indeed, studies on the history of the Spanish Atlantic have become increasingly prominent, as is evidenced in the work of Patricia Seed (*Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*, 1995), J. H. Elliott (*Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*, 2006), and Cañizares-Esguerra, cited above, who with Erik R. Seeman edited a collection of indispensable essays included in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000* (2007).

There is, finally, a new cohort of Spanish Atlanticists whose work promises to be of great interest to historians and literary scholars alike. The work of Rachael Ball may suffice as one example. Her book in progress, *Treating the Public: Public Drama, Public Health, and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, is a work of comparative cultural, social, and political history focused on commercial theater, charitable organizations of welfare and public health, and public opinion in important cities in the Spanish and Anglo Atlantic Worlds during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the context of literary and cultural scholarship focused on early modern Iberia and Iberoamerica, the oceanic turn has produced significant and substantial work on diverse kinds of transatlantic cultural production and exchange. The *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque:*

Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation, edited by Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, is a recent case in point (2013), but one could equally cite Atlanticist monographs such as Lisa Voigt's *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (2009), or collections such as *Women, Religion & the Atlantic World, 1600-1800,* edited by Daniella Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf (2009), and *Women of the Iberian Atlantic*, edited by Sarah E. Owens and Jane E. Mangan (2012), or the recent *Theorising the Ibero-American Atlantic*, edited by Harald E. Braun and Lisa Vollendorf (2013). In the case of poetry, meanwhile, readers of this journal will already be aware of a recent issue centered on the *Transatlantic Baroque*, edited by Crystal Chemris (*Calíope* Vol. 18, No. 2, 2013).

Examples of scholarship in the emerging field of Transpacific or Hispano-Asian studies, meanwhile, might include work in progress such as Ricardo Padrón's *ReOrienting the Indies: Spain, the Pacific, and Asia, 1513-1609*, which challenges established narratives about the invention of America by focusing on the Asia-Pacific region as the westernmost part of a Spanish "Indies" understood as a hemispheric, not a continental space, and Carmen Y. Hsu's *Kingdoms, Peoples, and Manners of Distant Lands: Chronicles of Asia in Early Modern Spain*, which focuses on five of the earliest Spanish chronicles on the Philippines, the Moluccas, Japan, and China. Raúl Marrero-Fente, author of *Trayectorias globales: estudios coloniales en el mundo hispánico* (2013), is also pursuing a transpacific line of research in a book in progress titled *A Global History of Imperialism and Colonialism in the Hispanic and Lusophone Worlds, 1400-1600*, which strives to understand the development of the Iberian empires as the outcome of trans-oceanic networks that established global connections among distant regions of the world. John Newsome Crossley's *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel and the Spanish Philippines in the Golden Age* (2011) is also a valuable read for anyone engaged in oceanic research.

All of the texts mentioned in the previous paragraphs, while maintaining an interest in early modern Spain and/or Iberia that is completely intrinsic to their objectives, have a span and a focus that are situated somewhere other than the Mediterranean world —if not on the dry shores of another continent, then on the wide ocean, itself. From an academic standpoint, the watery world of sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century Iberia has broken up, as it were, and Spanish/Iberian Mediterranean studies has evolved more or less independently, perhaps even in parallel to Atlantic studies and Oceanic studies, as a whole. In fact, the fields of Mediterranean studies and Atlantic studies are analogous in important ways. They are both based on the study of large, aggregate units that are physical, historical, and cultural; they are both committed to the study of connectivity within and across these more or less vast units (hence, to connected histories), and therefore they tend to de-emphasize and surpass boundaries that are strictly national; and finally and in consequence, they both have become increasingly interdisciplinary.

When all is said and done, scholars in these fields are confirming that, whatever limitations Braudel's *longue durée* study of the Mediterranean region may have had, the French historian was right when he affirmed the ultimate independence of the Atlantic and its dominant position vis-à-vis a Mediterranean Sea that was eventually "abandonded by history," to use his words (230). At the same time, we may have occasionally lost sight of just how abundant and sturdy the exchanges and connections were between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds till the very end of the sixteenth century, when the "voyage in search of a Greater Mediterranean" finally came to a close.[5]

The fact that Mediterranean studies has evolved separately from Oceanic studies certainly does not mean that it is a field at the margins. On the contrary, Mediterranean studies is a large and growing field in its own right. Historians have always been concerned with ancient Greece and with the Roman Empire, of course, but in the 1950s a new way of writing the history of the Mediterranean region emerged, thanks in no small measure to Braudel and his colleagues in the early *Annales* School, who emphasized such things as enduring, shared ecosystems and economies rather than political histories of nations and empires. Braudel's way of thinking about the Mediterranean is not really so different from that of Robinson Jeffers, whose poem "The Eye," displayed just before this article, showcases the "blue pool in the old garden" (i.e., the Mediterranean Sea) as an ancient element of the global ocean. The powerful final lines of the poem, ones I think Braudel would appreciate, speak to the timelessness of the entire ocean system of which the Mediterranean is an intrinsic part, in contrast to the foolish wars wrought by human hands, wars that seem even smaller

and less significant from the great expanse of the Pacific. In the same vein, by executing a swerve away from the history of great events (the "rise and fall" histories) and toward that of complex and seemingly lasting structures, Mediterraneanists have managed to link discrete phenomena and local historical narratives with much larger issues and contexts in their work, which has become increasingly concerned with questions of connectivity throughout the Mediterranean world. Molly Greene, for example, demonstrates the surprisingly early assimilation of Greeks into the Ottoman Empire even before the establishment of Ottoman rule in Crete (*A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 2000), and deconstructs an uncomplicated Christian-Muslim opposition in her work on piracy in the eastern Mediterranean (*Catholic Corsairs and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 1450-1700*, 2010). The work of Eric R. Duerstler is also exemplary in this context. Duerstler is the author of *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (2008) and, more recently, of *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (2011), a book that might be of particular interest to specialists in early modern Spanish literature, due to its suggestive treatment of the renegade, an important intercultural figure that stands out in Spanish fiction of the period.

Of special significance for early modernist literary scholars is the fact that Mediterranean studies has also become a richly interdisciplinary field. For instance, the Mediterranean historian E. Natalie Rothman (*Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, 2011) was first trained as an anthropologist. Her work shows how negotiations between Christian Venice and Ottoman Istanbul required the activity of a series of intermediary, "trans-imperial" figures who were able to pass between one political/cultural world and the other. Another example is Julia Schleck, author of *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in Early English Travel Writing, 1575-1630* (2011), who is a professor of English Renaissance literature at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and who also conducts research on Renaissance music and history of science. Cross-listed or joint academic appointments are another highly suggestive indicator of the interdisciplinary nature of the field. Let us take the case of Nabil Matar, a professor of English, History and Religious Studies at the University of Minnesota and the

author of two trilogies on early modern Europe and its connections with the Islamic Mediterranean. Matar's books, such as *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the 17th Century* (2002) and *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (2008), have been extremely important for scholars of English literature working on Mediterranean studies topics. One such scholar is Daniel Vitkus, whose *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (2001) bears an Introduction penned by Matar.

Closer to home for readers of this journal is the work of Mercedes García-Arenal, a specialist in topics pertaining to Islam in late medieval and early modern Iberia and the Maghreb, such as identity, religious minorities, and messianism. Among her published monographs are, with G. Wiegers, *Un hombre en tres mundos* (2002), and with Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (2010). García-Arenal is one of several historians interested in connected histories that have a direct bearing on early modern Spain and the Spanish Mediterranean. Another is Thomas James Dandelet, who is the editor, with John A. Marino, of *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*. Dandelet is the author of *Spanish Rome* (2001), an important book that shows the close ties between Habsburg Spain and a Rome that was no longer the seat of an empire but was nevertheless that of an increasingly powerful Papacy. Other Mediterraneanist historians whose work focuses on Spain include Michael J. Levin (*Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 2005) and Faruk Tabak (*The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach*). The monographs mentioned here, while not denying or minimizing overarching polar oppositions of a religious and military nature in the early modern Mediterranean, emphasize instead the interconnectedness of social, political, and cultural elements across the region.

Before turning to the topic of Mediterranean cultural studies scholarship focused on Iberia, it might be desirable to mention some of the important venues for the exciting exchange of work among Mediterraneanists. These include journals that are dedicated primarily to the publication of work by historians, such as the *Mediterranean Historical Review*, and others, such as the Mediterranean Studies Association's *Mediterranean Studies*, an interdisciplinary journal devoted primarily to the study of the western Mediterranean that occasionally

publishes essays on literature and culture. Other important points for the exchange and dissemination of scholarly research include the Mediterranean Forum, the Mediterranean Seminar, the Palgrave Macmillan Mediterranean Studies Series, and the Spain-North Africa Project (SNAP), an interdisciplinary initiative that focuses on the study of the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb as a unified region.

During the last decade, specialists in early modern Spanish literature and culture have made fundamental contributions to the cultural side of the field of Mediterranean studies. To some extent, their work, viewed as an ensemble, develops along lines similar to those observed in the Mediterranean studies scholarship discussed above. That is to say, this is work that proposes the early modern Mediterranean as a vast, intricate region that is at least as well traveled and linked up as it is torn and divided because of religious and political-military reasons.

The work of Barbara Fuchs is exemplary in this context. Her monographs *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (2001) and *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (2003) examined well-known Mediterranean situated "Golden Age" texts in a comparative context, in the process creating a space for readings that could complicate a more traditional, over-simplified opposition between Christian Spain and its Muslim neighbors in the Mediterranean basin. Fuchs's work on "Moorishness" has given us important studies such as *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (2009) and, with Aaron Ilika, translations of two Cervantes plays, *The Bagnios of Algiers and The Great Sultana: Two Plays of Captivity* (2009). Fuchs has also published, with Larissa Brewer-García and Aaron Ilika, a translation of *"The Abencerraje" and "Ozmin and Daraja": Two Sixteenth-Century Novellas from Spain*.

Other examples of recent contributions to the field of Spanish Mediterranean cultural studies would have to include the important work of Mar Martínez-Góngora, *Los espacios coloniales en las crónicas de Berbería*, Ana María Rodríguez-Rodríguez, *Letras liberadas: Cautiverio, escritura y subjetividad en el Mediterráneo de la* época *imperial española*, both published in 2013, and a special issue of *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* entitled "Cervantes y el Mediterráneo / Cervantes and the Mediterranean," edited by Steven Hutchinson and Antonio Cortijo (*eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 [2013]).

For the most part, the monographs and scholarly articles mentioned above center on the study of narrative and the *comedia*, genres in which questions of narratology, representation and performance are vital to the intellectual and ideological projects of a given play or narrative text. Generalizations about such things as representation of the Islamic "other" will not do, since there was a range of possible strategies for depicting the Orient and a repertoire of possible characters identified with Islam to populate the *corrales*, the novella, and the novel of early modern Spain. Turks, for example, are frequently portrayed as conniving schemers and agents of terror on the water and in the ports of the Mediterranean—a representation that stems primarily from the introduction of a fictionalized version of the real Barbary pirates who established the economy of slavery in the Mediterranean world. The *novela morisca*, in contrast, boasts an image of the Moor that demonstrates nobility of character, chivalric comportment and steadfastness on a par with those of the Christian warrior (whose superiority is nonetheless never really in doubt). At the same time and paradoxically, the masculinity of the noble Moor and other Muslim figures can be quite suspect, as recent scholarship has demonstrated by focusing on matters such as the use of colorful adornment to suggest exoticism and luxury, cross-dressing to conceal sexual identity, and so on.[6]

Thus, in early modern Spanish narrative and theater, the portrayal of the Islamic adversary is not flat and uninteresting, but rather it can be an amalgam of characteristics, frequently negative ones, such as cruelty, treachery, decadence and so on—each distinct but deprecatory in its own way. For example, Cervantes's *La Gran Sultana*, a play set at the lavish Ottoman court in Constantinople, depicts the Great Sultan himself as a recklessly lustful and foolish ruler. This play offers one instance of contemporary Spanish fictional imaginings of the same fabulous Ottoman city viewed by the artist Melchior Lorck and the soldier-poet Alonso de Salamanca, author of the *Libro de cassos impensados* (1576), two first-hand witnesses of Constantinople (though not by choice, in Salamanca's case) who are studied in this special issue of *Calíope*.

Cervantes himself was intimately—not willingly—familiar with Algiers, the place that dominates his representations of the Islamic Mediterranean and the setting of his real captivity and impassioned

longing for freedom—a situation and a theme that are paramount in "Golden Age" writing of the Mediterranean world and, to some extent, in the scholarship focused on it. But in *La Gran Sultana*, the playwright draws us into Constantinople, the alluring seat of the other, rival Mediterranean empire. In it, Cervantes manages to transmit a sense of the Mediterranean as a hotly contested space, from a religious and a military point of view. At the same time, however, the play shows the economic crosscurrents of Mediterranean spaces available for exchange and commercial circulation—a multicultural Mediterranean world, that is, that was still in some ways open to all comers and in which interested parties routinely engaged in trade that benefited both sides. In consonance with that reality, Cervantes's Great Turk, having fallen hopelessly in love with a Christian captive and allowed her to remain Christian and dress as a Spanish woman, if she will marry him, purchases a dress from Spain for her, a Spanish dress brought to Constantinople via Algiers by a Jewish merchant.

It is in such details as these that narrative and dramatic texts situated in Constantinople, in Barbary or Algiers would have interpellated contemporary Spanish readers and spectators, bringing into play a Mediterranean world that lay just beyond their reach, a vast Mediterranean space that was at once fraught with conflict and rich with possibilities for advancement and prosperity. Students of the Spanish Renaissance and Baroque are rightly turning their attention to them.

The case of poetry is different and, in some ways more challenging. This is probably due, in part, to the manner in which lyric was transmitted and to its somewhat circumscribed circulation in early modern Spain, and in part to the fact that Spanish poetry of the early modern period has long been studied and analyzed from within a conceptual framework that is insistently European.[7] Thus, the strongest Mediterraneanist "connectivity" that we have for Spanish Renaissance poetry is the Italian one. The truth of the matter is that too few of us know enough Arabic to bring to light connections between the poetry in Spanish or Portuguese that we love so well, and poetry written in that language. Conceding this much, there remain questions about what it meant to be a Spanish "Mediterranean poet." Were these the soldier-poets who sailed to battle on Mediterranean waters? Did they, like their compatriot novelists and playwrights, negotiate Islam in their verses?

Was it necessary for poets to make war or even to leave the comforts of home in order to write the Mediterranean?

To these and other questions the articles contained in this issue of *Calíope* offer some thought-provoking responses. The preponderance of essays on epic poems about Spanish military campaigns in the Mediterranean will not have gone unnoticed. Those of Mercedes Blanco, Miguel Martínez, and Lara Vilà make evident that it was the epic poets who painted the clearest picture of events on the Mare Nostrum and its shores. This is due, in the first place, to the poets' apparently sincere persuasion that Spain's participation in the ongoing struggle against Islam in the region was righteous and worthy of what was considered the highest poetic genre for Spanish poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A number of the writers of epic were soldiers, themselves, as we know. With the epic came a whole way of viewing history and Spain's key place within it. Epic entailed, also, an ideologically charged writing of alterity that appears in other "Golden Age" genres, but that in the epic is starker. While other Spanish genres, such as the *comedia* or the novella, might lend themselves to a reading that seeks ironies and, at least hypothetically, a critique of empire, the epics of early modern Spain tend to be forthright in their engagement with empire, for the most part. There are demurrals, to be sure. For example, Elizabeth R. Wright, who with Sarah Spence and Andrew Lemon has just published a bilingual, annotated edition of neo-Latin poetry, *The Battle of Lepanto*, has shown that in *The Song of John of Austria* (*Austrias Carmen* or *Austriad*), the black African poet of Granada, Juan Latino (Joannes Latinus) manages to celebrate the victory of the Holy League over the Ottoman Turks and express grief over the horror of war at the very same time.[8] The question of whether the inclusion of unsavory and ignoble events ultimately undermines a triumphalist epic discourse in such poems or whether those same events are finally marshaled into the service of Hapsburg empire is a fascinating one, and one that interests several of the authors included here.

But what of the soldier-poets who did not write epic, and what about the poets of the Spanish south who are not present in this issue? Are they less Mediterranean? Not at all. For the past ten years, starting with a paper at the MLA in 2005, I have poked fun at the unadventurous "stay-at-home poets" of Spain's Renaissance and Baroque, but I have

always done so in reference to canonical lyric poets of the "Golden Age" and their lack of participation in the Atlantic crossing. The Mediterranean is another story, quite clearly, and Spanish poets saw more than their fair share of military action there. It is well known, for example, that Garcilaso de la Vega participated in an expedition intended to prevent the capture of the Isle of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, and that he was seriously wounded in that battle. Readers of this journal will also certainly recall that Garcilaso participated in the Conquest of Tunis (1535).

What is perhaps less remembered is that Garcilaso's friend and collaborator Juan Boscán accompanied him on the Rhodes expedition and that he fought against the Turks again in Vienna (1532). For his part, Francisco de Aldana, whom D. Gareth Walters refers to as "the last of the soldier-poets who are so prominent in Spain in the middle decades of the sixteenth century," served as one of Sebastian of Portugal's commanders at the fated Battle of Alcazarquivir (1578), where he and the Portuguese king both lost their lives (Walters 4). The interesting thing is that these harsh, even tragic military experiences in the Mediterranean region seem to have left relatively few traces in the compositions of the poets mentioned. Garcilaso's sonnets include two that make reference to his participation in the Tunisia campaign ("A Boscán, desde La Goleta" and "A Mario, estando, según algunos dicen, herido en la lengua y en el brazo"), a reference that is ultimately framed in Petrarchan terms. And the long final section of the Égloga *II*, the panegyric on the House of Alba, includes a description of the entry into Cologne of Charles V and his convocation of the Imperial Diet at Regensburg (1532), a meeting designed in part to stir German Protestant support for the defense of Vienna against the troops of Suleiman the Magnificent. It remains the case, however, that Garcilaso's poetic work is made up almost entirely of amorous poetry. The same can be said of that of Juan Boscán. Francisco de Aldana, in turn, wrote a well-known sonnet that suggests the gory and inglorious aspect of war ("Otro aquí no se ve que, frente a frente"), and another that contrasts the experience of the soldier in a real war to the softer life of a caballero at court. Leah Middlebrook analyzes these poems masterfully in her *Imperial Lyric: New Poetry and New Subjects in Early Modern Spain* (2009).

Curiously enough, the most important lyric compositions on Mediterranean battles are written by a gentleman who never got close to the battlefield: Fernando de Herrera. Herrera's *canciones* ("Canción en alabanza de la divina majestad por la victoria del señor don Juan," "Canción al señor don Juan de Austria vencedor de los moriscos en las Alpujarras" and "Canción por la pérdida del Rei don Sebastián") constitute a paean to Spanish military determination to crush Islam both at home and in North Africa. (Let us remember that Sebastian of Portugal was Philip II's nephew.) Herrera's role in chronicling Lepanto simply cannot be underestimated. After all, his *Relación de la guerra de Chipre y suceso de la batalla naval de Lepanto* (1572) was one of the earliest accounts of the battle, one that a number of later poets used to model their Lepanto poems. But Herrera also wrote lyric poems to Lepanto, including his gorgeous *Elegía*, "No bañes en el mar sagrado y cano," a poem in which the speaker addresses the nymphs of the Guadalquivir, celebrating the "gloria" of his unexpectedly requited love at the very moment that part of the victorious fleet arrives from Lepanto. Ignacio Navarrete has discussed this particular fusion of amorous poetic language and heroic or patriotic impulse in some detail (*Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance*, 166 and following). Herrera was apparently thought a recluse by some of his contemporaries, but he kept abreast of events taking place on Mediterranean waters out of his view, and his poems show that from a distance he was an enthusiastic follower of the events that unfolded at Lepanto. The ensemble of Herrera's poetry also makes clear that one did not have to go to war, or even to leave Spanish soil, to be a Mediterranean poet. As Mar Martínez-Góngora's essay makes clear, Luis de Góngora was also very capable of imagining the difficult conditions of the Spanish presidios in Oran from the safety of Spanish shores.

But then, as the essay of Luce López-Baralt demonstrates by means of a detailed, sensitive detection of Sufic traces in the lyric poetry of san Juan de la Cruz, there were many different ways to write Spanish poetry that was "Mediterranean." After all, not only merchandise, but metaphors passed across the blue waters of the Mediterranean, then through Al-Andalus to other parts of the Iberian peninsula. López-Baralt is one of only a small number of specialists in Spanish poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who are well trained in Arabic and who possess in-depth knowledge of the Islamic poets who

wrote in that language. She is, therefore, one of the very few scholars equipped to establish connections between Spanish lyric poets such as San Juan de la Cruz and kindred poets of the eastern Mediterranean world—connections that typify one kind of work currently being done in the academic field of Mediterranean studies.

Mediterranean studies is, as I have attempted to demonstrate in these pages, alive with excitement at this time, in history and in literary and cultural studies alike. We live at a time in which east and west are more attentive to one another, and the Mediterranean is the ancient seat of the joining of eastern and western worlds, after all. For a host of reasons that involve connected histories, geography, economies, geopolitics and cultures, scholars who work on Spain and Iberia, generally, stand poised to make critical contributions to the field. I have suggested some ways in which very recent transatlantic and transpacific scholarship may be creating an effect of tightening the link between Oceanic studies and the study of the Mediterranean world, perhaps without even intending to do so, but there are many other kinds of valuable scholarly interventions that "Golden Age" scholars are making in Mediterranean studies. It is true that much work remains to be done on Spanish poetry in the Mediterranean context. We hope that this special issue of *Calíope* might have helped to partially frame that work to come.

NOTES

[1] Fernand Braudel. *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*. All quotations of Braudel are taken from the English translation of the 1966 edition, prepared by Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), and appear in my text by page number, in this case, 224.
[2] See, for example, Michael Pearson, "Preface." *Indian Ocean Studies: Cultural, Social, and Political Perspectives*. Moorthy, Shanti, and Ashraf Jamal, editors. Routledge Indian Ocean Series. New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2010. Kindle AZW file.
[3] I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Rachael Ball, early modern historian and practitioner of interdisciplinary work par excellence, for her careful reading of this section of my essay and her invaluable suggestions about the academic fields I review here. I would not have been able to point to connections between our two disciplines nearly as well without her help.
[4] See, in particular, Eliga H. Gould, "Atlantic History and the Literary Turn," and Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "Atlantic Practices: Minding the Gap between Literature and History." Both essays appear in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, Volume 55, Number 1, January 2008 (175-80 and 181-86, respectively).
[5] On the limitations of *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*, see *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World, 1600-1800*, edited by Gabriel Piterberg, Teófilo F. Ruiz, and Geoffrey Symcox. Toronto: U Toronto P and UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2010.
[6] See, for example, Laura Bass, "Homosocial Bonds and Desire in the *Abencerraje*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, Vol. 24, No.3 (Primavera 2000), 453-471.
[7] See Antonio R. Rodríguez Moñino's classic *La transmisión de la poesía española en los siglos de oro: doce estudios, con poesías inéditas o poco conocidas* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1976).
[8] See Elizabeth R. Wright, "Narrating the Ineffable Lepanto: The *Austrias Carmen* of Joannes Latinus (Juan Latino)." *Hispanic Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1, *Re-Envisioning Early Modern Iberia: Visuality, Materiality, History* (Winter, 2009), 71-91.

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