# CHAPTER 3

## The sea as a place of musical exchange: shanty singing across the Mediterranean

Mollie Carlyle [Independent Scholar]

### Introduction

Shanties were the work songs of the merchant sailor during the Age of Sail, an integral part of maritime labour that served to co-ordinate heaving and hauling actions, boost morale and distribute exertion evenly amongst the crew. Typically, the definition of the shanty is qualified with reference either to the trade or the region with which it is most commonly associated, i.e. a transatlantic product of the deep-water trade. While it is true that that the links between transatlantic merchant shipping and the practice of shantying have been well-established through numerous song collections published by sailors of the North American, South American and Caribbean trades, this is not to say that shantying was exclusive to this trade. In fact, shanties were a common feature of all of the major shipping lanes of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, closer inspection of shanty repertoire tells us that this was not solely an Anglo-American practice, as it is often framed, but rather shanties were heard sung in French, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Hindustani, Javanese, Samoan, Mandarin, as well as any pidgin combination of the above. France, Germany, Norway and Sweden are themselves responsible for their own published volumes of shanties, documenting the work songs sung aboard ships across the ocean.

One area that is noticeably lacking in documentation of shantying practices and repertoire, however, is the Mediterranean and the surrounding seafaring nations of Southern Europe, West Asia and North Africa. This stark omission is particularly noteworthy when we consider the wider contexts of international trade, imperial forces and inter-cultural exchange that governed the Mediterranean maritime world of the nineteenth century. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, for instance, saw increased traffic to the Mediterranean from around the world, as merchant states were keen to capitalise on shortened journey times and greater accessibility with the East. This paper talks to wider arguments of global maritime music traditions by investigating the hitherto unexamined practices of shantying in the Mediterranean, exploring early references to shanty-like traditions, the function of the Mediterranean port as a socio-cultural nexus, and the economic and geopolitical factors influencing shantying in the region. By challenging dominant historiographies that focus on transatlantic shantying as the sole representative of the tradition, this research contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the shanty as a global maritime music tradition.

### Work songs in Mediterranean waters: the sea as a stage for musical performance

In Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of heterotopia, that is, worlds within worlds, he describes the ship as 'heterotopia *par excellence'*, in which 'the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time delivered to the infinity of the sea'.[1] Similarly, while the individuals that made up a ship's crew may have come from disparate backgrounds on land, a separate, shared identity embodied this community of seafarers, defined by its relationship to the sea and occupation of the heterotopia of the ship. When we are talking about the crews who manned the merchant ships of the nineteenth century, we are referring to a self-contained community of seafarers with its own distinctive culture, customs and traditions. One of these customs was the use of song as a tool for work, which appears to have been an almost universal practice in the merchant service in one form or another.[2] Collections of

shanties published from the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries tend to present these songs in the context of national traditions, inherently bound within land-borders and claiming to be representative of a community of seafarers that identified itself by the shared nationality of its seamen. This perspective is immediately undermined by the mixed-language, multicultural origins of its repertoire, as well as examples of intercultural exchange that is evident in the songs that were recorded. An obvious case in point is the shanty 'Goodbye, Fare-Ye-Well', which appears in the first published collection of shanties in English, *Sailors' Songs or "Chanties",* in 1887.[3] This shanty was later collected by Swedish, Norwegian, and French shanty collectors, presented in a combination of languages, and was definitely sung aboard German ships.[4] Although documentation of shantying practices from a Mediterranean perspective is sparse, the prevalence of shantying around the globe, evidenced by its shared repertoire and diverse origins, leads me to believe that this is not an indication of a lack of tradition, but rather demonstrates certain geographical, linguistic and historical biases in song collection and studies into shantying. Through broader discussion of shantying that considers the practice through a global, or at the very least international, lens, we can create clear links between wider shantying practices and shantying in the Mediterranean.

As a centre of commerce and trade, the Mediterranean during the nineteenth century was of significant economic and geopolitical import. At the time of the Napoleonic Wars, America and Sweden had exploited their neutral positions to form strong merchant ties to the region, likewise demonstrated by the formation of a number of American consulates in Italy, North Africa and Spain that testified to the desirability of Mediterranean trade with the US.[5] In the peace talks that followed, Britain had also laid claim to a number of strongholds in the Mediterranean, which ultimately led to it being referred to as 'The British Lake'.[6] Control over the Mediterranean and its shipping lanes were seen as economically advantageous and the geopolitical influence that Britain held over the powers that encircled the Mediterranean opened up its waters to increased trade. This increase in trade that saw a greater number of ships from Northern Europe and the Americas sail to Mediterranean ports was also exploited by Mediterranean merchants, who set up new merchant houses in places like Manchester and Liverpool. Using their prior connections and contacts in the region, these merchants thus had a competitive advantage over their British and German rivals and were able to create new channels of commerce for British consumers.[7] In the same way that a merchant ship would bring aboard its cargo in a port in, for example, South Australia, and unload it again when it reached the Liverpool docks, so too were sailors liberally picked up and discarded in port cities around the world. The established commercial relationships between Northern Europe, the US and the Mediterranean would likewise have seen sailors recruited from a diverse array of ports, forming a cosmopolitan crew of seafarers manning the ships of the Mediterranean trade. With regards to shantying, therefore, there is demonstrable evidence that American and Northern European ships were travelling to the Mediterranean, where they would pick up both cargo and crew, bringing with them the practices, customs and traditions of their seafaring cultures, which would almost certainly have included shantying. In short, the cosmopolitan make-up of crews travelling to and from the Mediterranean aboard ships with known shantying practices likely fostered musical exchange, suggesting that shanties were sung aboard vessels travelling these waters, even if documentation of this practice is limited.

**Musical entanglements in Mediterranean sailortowns**

An account of a voyage of an Italian ship, the *Sant'Antonio*, sailing from Florida to Genoa gives us a striking example of the multicultural crews that were found aboard ships in the Mediterranean trade, where the Italian captain describes his shipmates as Germans, Norwegians and African-Americans/West-Indians.[8] No doubt such conditions would have stimulated a great deal of musical exchange, the Germans, Norwegians and Afro-Caribbeans all possessing strong shantying traditions and repertoires. It was not only aboard the ships, however, where musical exchange was facilitated between disparate national groups. The port city is famously described as a 'melting pot' of cultures and peoples, where individuals gathered from all over the world for travel, trade

and commerce. In this sense, the port city, and especially the sailortown, functioned as a meeting place or crossroads for sailors from around the world. The sailortown was an area near the dock that was designed to cater to every whim and desire of the sailor ashore. Typically, this confluence of streets contained brothels, drinking dens, tattoo parlours, eateries, junk and pawnshops, dance halls, boarding houses, and any number of entertainments intended to rob the sailor of his pay.[9] Sailortowns play an interesting role within maritime musical networks, functioning as both a place of musical exchange amongst seafarers and also the place of origin of many of the shore songs that the sailors would then carry with them to sea. The catchy melodies of the street organ and broadsheet ballad, for instance, regularly made their way into sailors' repertoire. In the Mediterranean context, shanty collector Richard Runciman Terry suggests that the songs of the Venetian gondolier must have caught the ear of the merchant sailor, as melodic and sentimental similarities in a handful of shanties would attest to – notably, the shanty 'My Johnny'.[10]

The docklands and sailortowns of Mediterranean port cities were not only home to the merchant sailors, but also saw other seafaring occupations working in tandem with the merchantmen. Of particular relevance and import to the Mediterranean were the fishing communities that could be found along the coastal communities that bordered its waters. Tegtmeier, in his collection of German shanties, records two songs sung aboard German merchant ships that were of Mediterranean origin. The first, 'Santa Lucia', is a Neapolitan folk song that is recorded in the German language; the second, 'O, Pescator Dell'onde' is a Venetian fishing song that was regularly sung aboard merchant ships in its language of origin.[11] The fishermen and merchant sailors seem to have been in fairly regular contact in the port cities of Italy, Sicily and France, as the popular Anglophone shanty, 'Reuben Ranzo', also has its origins in Mediterranean fishing song. Melodically, 'Reuben Ranzo' is identical to the Sicilian fishing song 'Brindisi di Marinai', which was sung while hauling in tuna nets. Similarly, 'Reuben Ranzo' is a hauling shanty that was used when a few short, sharp pulls on a rope was needed. The rhythmical emphasis that coordinated the hauling action is remarkably similar in both the merchant version and the fisherman version:

'Sciucamunni 'sta lampa! Lampabbò! Lampa!
Di ccà nun si ni jemu! Lampabbò! Lampa!

Ooh! Poor ol' Reuben Ranzo, Ranzo, boys, Ranzo!
Ooh! Poor ol' Reuben Ranzo, Ranzo, boys, *Ran*zo![12]

It has been posited that the character of Reuben Ranzo himself was a Sicilian sailor who had made the transition from fisherman to the merchant service, bringing his old fishing songs with him.[13] Hugill also gives another Sicilian fisherman's song in his *Songs of the Sea* that was sung by tuna fishermen, entitled 'Cialòma Di Li Tunnari', which Hugill states is "reminiscent of our own *Boys and Girls Come Out to Play*".[14] This is yet another example of a fishing song with lyrical emphasis that lends itself to hauling tasks aboard merchant ships.

Mediterranean port cities served as hubs of cultural and musical exchange, where seafarers of multiple maritime occupations congregated for both professional and personal means. Historical accounts indicate that the merchant seamen serving on ships from varied ports of origin frequently interacted in the multilingual, multinational environment of sailortowns of Marseille, Genoa and Livorno, which may also have resulted in the exchange of their work songs.[15] Several shanties, such as 'Boney' and 'Goodbye, Fare-Ye-Well', are found in collections of songs sung aboard British, German, French, and Scandinavian merchant ships, supporting the theory that cross-cultural exchange and interaction had a significant influence on shanty repertoire. Likewise, evidence of cross-cultural interaction and song exchange in the Mediterranean can be found in both the forebitters and shanties that were sung aboard merchant ships, such as 'Reuben Ranzo' and 'O, Pescator Dell'onde'. The presence of these songs aboard merchant ships travelling around the globe strongly indicates that the same merchant

ships travelling the trade routes where shantying is more commonly associated (and its repertoire ascribed to) also travelled to the Mediterranean. It is no great leap, therefore, to suggest that there is a notable Mediterranean influence on shanty repertoire, which resulted from interactions in Mediterranean sailortowns and port cities, and thus that shantying did take place in the Mediterranean.

**Documented shantying traditions of the Mediterranean**

Up to this point, this paper has justified the statement that the Mediterranean was a venue for shantying and did produce a repertoire of work song through theoretical justification and connections to what we know more broadly about the shantying traditions of the merchant service. There are, however, documented examples of shantying practices that were carried out by Mediterranean sailors within the Mediterranean, though these tend to be little-known and infrequently discussed in the study of the history and repertoire of shanties.

One of the earliest known examples of a practice resembling shantying can be found in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, which dates back to the 3rd century BC. In this passage, we see examples of both a typical song used to accompany rowing and a musical practice with obvious connections to the later halyard shanties of the merchant ship.

> […] they to the sound of Orpheus' lyre smote with their oars the rushing sea-water… then at length they set up the tall mast... And for them the son of Oeagrus touched his lyre and sang in rhythmical song of Artemis.[16]

The detail of the 'rhythmical song' that is used to accompany the hauling of the sail suggests a functionality that a song sung purely to alleviate the boredom of the men would not necessarily have. On a similar note, rowing songs were sung to keep the men in time with one another in a simple working rhythm, as well as combatting the tedium of the repeated action. The rhythms of hauling labour differ from the simplistic, steady rhythms of rowing songs and later capstan/windlass shanties. Likewise, the form of hauling shanties differs from other forms of maritime labour as a result of the often erratic nature of when and where they were needed. Hauling shanties are employed when the concerted effort of a few short, sharp pulls on a rope are required, which means that these tend to be similarly short, nonsensical songs of only a few lines per verse. Although accompanied by a lyre and a poetic song form, we can still see in this example of work song a type of embryonic halyard shanty.

A historical work frequently cited in the history of the shanty as providing an early example of shantying practices is Brother Felix Fabri's account of his voyage to Palestine in 1484. In this work, Fabri gives a detailed account of the customs and traditions of sailors aboard a Venetian galley travelling through the eastern Mediterranean, which includes the following description:

> […] there are others who are called mariners, who sing when work is going on, because work at sea is very heavy, and is only carried on by a concert between one who sings out orders and the labourers who sing in response. So these men stand by those who are at work, and sing to them, encourage them, and threaten to spur them on with blows. Great weights are dragged about by their means. They are generally old and respectable men.[17]

There are three key aspects here that scholars believe set this account firmly within the bounds of the shanty, a) a sung call-and-response, b) emphasis on the relationship between heavy labour and song as a tool for work, and c) the soloist and the chorus, where the lead singer is a man of exalted status within the shipboard hierarchy, i.e. a shantyman. Although Fabri clearly finds this practice noteworthy enough to record it in his account of sailor customs at sea, there is an overall sense that this is not a novel practice, but rather is a well-established part of maritime labour.

Although at this point scholars would typically turn to the sixteenth-century work of Scots propaganda, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549), as the final example of shantying practices pre-1800, it is possible to find another example of shantying published around the same time within a specifically Mediterranean context. Eugenio de Salazar records the following hauling shanty in 1573, sung aboard a Spanish ship crossing the Atlantic:

*Bu izà*
*O dio – ayuta noy*
*O que somo – servi soy*
*O voleamo – ben servir*
*O la fede – mantenir*[18]
[etc.]

Salazar describes the sailors hoisting the sail in time to the song, the first part of the line sung as a solo by the bosun, while the chorus of sailors sings the second part of the line in response. Samuel Morison elaborates on this practice, stating, "the men hauled away on the 'o' and joined in on the second half, while they got a new hold on the halyard".[19] What is particularly striking here is the allusion to the particular rhythms of work required for hauling on a rope. While other accounts simply describe the 'rhythmical' song needed for this work, Salazar and Morison give the exact pattern of hauling, where the concerted effort comes on a particular beat and the time needed to re-establish a hold of the rope is worked into the song: *O dio – ayuta noy, O que somo – servi soy*. This rhythmic and lyrical emphasis is a common feature of the later nineteenth-century halyard shanties, as we have earlier seen demonstrated in 'Reuben Ranzo'.

The final example of shantying in the Mediterranean that we will explore here is the capstan shanty tradition of the Sicilian tuna fishermen. Ordinarily, fishermen's songs are considered to be entirely in maritime work song. Both shanties and fishing songs are used as part of hauling actions in a shipboard setting, however the two genres are musically and culturally distinct. There is one practice, however, that is unmistakably shanty-like and ought to be discussed in discourse surrounding shantying practices of the Mediterranean. In the album, *Music and Song of Italy* (1958), Lomax and Carpitella record "two sea chanties from the Sicilian tuna fleet, recorded at sea as twenty half-naked fishermen walked around the capstan and raised a tremendous undersea net. The words of these songs are usually very bawdy and the pitch of the seamen, singing for their own amusement, is notably lower than that adopted by male singers when they sing serenades".[20] Shanties are not performances in the traditional sense, as their functional use has precedence over aesthetic quality – the mark of a good shantyman was determined by the strength of his voice, quick wit (often bawdy) and varied repertoire. Shanties, by nature, are simple, memorable tunes of limited vocal range, which makes them accessible and perfectly suited to being belted out at the top of ones lungs in their capacity as an instrument of heavy manual labour. The style, content and function of these Sicilian fishing songs are identical to the capstan shanties found aboard merchant ships, undoubtedly making this an example of a Mediterranean shantying practice and giving us proof of an established repertoire of shanties created and performed within the Mediterranean.

**Hearing the Mediterranean in nineteenth-century shanty repertoire**

The main reason why shantying is rarely discussed in the context of the Mediterranean is because, unlike in the transatlantic trade, we cannot find the same established repertoire of shanties that are inherently linked to the Mediterranean trades. One of the ways in which we can situate shanties within specific trades and shipping routes is by looking at the lyrics of the shanties and identifying the most commonly referenced ports, places and journeys that are referred to. Based on a comparative analysis of twenty-two collections of shanties recorded by and from ex-merchant sailing ship sailors, it is revealed that the number of European ports and places are referred to 184 times in the lyrics of shanties, while the Mediterranean and its countries are only referenced ten times (Elba, High Barbary, Italy, Algiers, Corsica, Gibraltar, Jerusalem, Marengo, the Spanish Sea, and the

Lowland Sea). Furthermore, the Mediterranean as a whole is referenced only 21 times in total, recording every mention of the aforementioned places, compared to 130 references to Liverpool and 78 references to New York City alone. What this tells us is that the shanties recorded from the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries were recorded from sailors who were involved in the transatlantic merchant trades, and that the majority of shanties that were preserved through these songs collections were sung aboard the deep-water ships travelling to and from the Americas and Caribbean to Europe.

Nevertheless, although comprising a comparatively small percentage of recorded shanties, we do have a repertoire of shanties that refer to the Mediterranean, and lyrical analysis can give us insight into merchant trade and shantying in the Mediterranean. On the whole, port cities within the Mediterranean are not referenced directly, however references to countries and nationalities belonging to the Mediterranean can be found in the lyrics of shanties. In 'Le Père Lancelot', an obscene French shanty in the outward-bound style, the narrator bids *au revoir* to the English, Portuguese, Norwegians and Italians, indicating the recent destinations of the sailors.[21] Another instance of this can be found in the German shanty, 'Matrosenleben', which translates as, 'We've already been to England, and France is also quite nice. We chose Spain and Portugal, we drink the very best wine there'.[22] Two Swedish shanties, 'It Happened in Gothenburg' and 'Little Boatman', contain references to the waters of the Mediterranean itself, which were also known by sailors as 'the Middle Sea', the 'Lowland Sea' and the 'Spanish Sea': 'It happened then in the Spanish Seas that we should reef the fores'l' and 'Maybe that little boatman is dead in the Spanish Sea'.[23]

The problem with any general reference to the Spanish nationality in the lyrics of shanties is that more often than not the term 'Spanish' refers to anyone from Spain or South America. As the South American trade is greatly connected with the routes set forward in the lyrics of shanties (to Valparaiso, Callao, Cape Horn, and so on), it is more likely in the majority of cases for this to refer to South American ports. There are two versions of 'The Sailor's Way', for example, that refer to the Spanish; the first sings about 'courting' French and Spanish girls, the other to 'sailing amongst' Americans, Spanish and Chinese.[24] This is also the case in 'Paddy Lay Back', "There wuz Spaniards an' Dutchmen an' Rooshians…" and 'Sjömanssaang', 'Home from Britain, India, Spain'.[25] The 'courting' of women from varied nationalities is a common means through which places can be identified. In 'Haul Away Joe', for instance, there are versions that run "Then I had a Spanish girl, she nearly druv me crazy".[26]

On a Naval theme, British military entanglements (pre-1800) with enemy states, privateers and Barbary corsairs that took place in the Mediterranean are referenced in a number of shanties, such as 'The Lowlands Low' ("I wuz aboard of the Golden Vanitee, When we wuz held in chase by a Spanish piratee"), 'High Barbary' ("Cruising down along the coast of the High Barbaree"), Tom's Gone to Hilo' ("Tommy fought at Trafalgar, the old Victory led the way") and 'The Twenty-Fourth of February' ("We spied sev'n sail of Turkish men-o'-war, all belonging to Algier").[27] Additionally, the popular hauling shanty with possible origins in the late-eighteenth century, 'Boney', tells the story of the exploits of Napoleon, mentioning Elba and Corsica within this historical narrative.[28] Maritime conflicts and escapades of other seafaring nations are also captured in a handful of shanties, for instance 'De Sülwern Flott', a German shanty that tells the story of the Dutch privateer Piet Hein and his successful venture against the Spanish treasure fleet carrying gold and silver from the Americas to Spain.[29] Similarly, the Swedish shanty, 'There was a ship in the city of Gibraltar', describes an attack on a Swedish ship by privateers as the ship travelled from Gibraltar to the East Indies.[30] Like 'Boney', there is some overlap between Naval song and shanty in the form of 'Spanish Ladies', which was used as a forebitter and as a capstan shanty.[31] This shanty tells the story of the 'Grand Fleet' leaving Spain and returning home to England, a clear allusion to the British military presence within the Mediterranean.

These references to the people and places connected with the Mediterranean demonstrate that although the Mediterranean is less frequently referenced, it is certainly not absent

within the lyrics of shanties. In fact, analysis of shanties that mention the Mediterranean and its associated nationalities can tell us a great deal about trade routes and shipping lanes, intercultural interactions, and possible instances of musical exchange. From the number of references to the Mediterranean from a merchant perspective, there is an argument to suggest that the Mediterranean featured more prominently within Swedish and German merchant trade, which again gives credence to the theory that prominent shantying nations, such as Sweden and Germany, were regular visitors to Mediterranean ports and almost certainly brought their musical practices with them.

## Conclusions

To conclude, while direct documentation of shantying in the Mediterranean during the height of the shanty is limited, ample evidence prior to this, as well as lyrical references in shanty collections, suggest that the tradition did exist. From early literary references of shanty-like practices that resemble embryonic forms of halyard shanty, to the documented capstan shanty tradition of the Sicilian tuna fishermen, there is strong evidence that shantying did take place in the Mediterranean and produced its own unique repertoire. Furthermore, the clear and unassailable presence of ships and crews coming from seafaring cultures that had well-established shantying traditions that travelled to and from the Mediterranean on a regular basis proves that conditions were ripe for shantying practices to have flourished in this region. The lack of surviving records of shantying in the Mediterranean during the nineteenth century likely reflects biases in historical music collection, for instance, contributors to shanty collections largely came from the transatlantic trade, rather than testifying to an absence of shantying traditions. By starting to open up the world of Mediterranean shantying through more thorough and comprehensive research than has been attempted before, this study challenges narratives that have marginalised the Mediterranean in discussions of shanty practices and repertoires. Further research with a particular focus on non-Anglophone sources and oral traditions may well yield greater insight into this much-overlooked region, as well as situating the Mediterranean within the global network of maritime song. Ultimately, this study talks to wider discourse surrounding shantying as a transnational, polylingual musical phenomenon, indicative of a seafaring community defined by its relationship to the sea, as opposed to the nationalistic framing that has dominated maritime music study.

## NOTES

1. "[…] et si l'on songe, après tout, que le bateau, c'est un morceau flottant d'espace, un lieu sans lieu, qui vit par lui-même, qui- est fermé sur soi et qui est livré en même temps à l'infini de la mer" (Michel Foucault (1984) 'Des espaces autres, Hétérotopies', *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5, pp. 46-9).

2. The Navy was known as a silent service, where singing was not permitted at work. Instead, the bosun's whistle dictated the actions of the men. That said, 'Drunken Sailor' and 'Blood Red Roses' claim a connection to the Navy of the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth centuries and the former was definitely sung as a stamp-and-go shanty aboard British Naval vessels.

3. Frederick Davis and Ferris Tozer (1887) *Sailors' Songs or "Chanties",* London: Boosey & Co., 18.

4. Stan Hugill (1961) *Shanties from the Seven Seas,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 123.

5. Elena Frangakis-Syrett (2010) 'Concluding Remarks', *Rough Waters: American Involvement with the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 221- 32, p. 228.

6. Robert Holland (2013) *Blue-Water Empire: The British in the Mediterranean Since 1800,* London: Penguin Books.

7. Geoffrey Jones (2000) *Merchants to Multinationals: British Trading Companies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, New York: Oxford University Press.

8. Stan Hugill (1967) *Sailortown,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 183.

9. Hugill, *Sailortown* and Cicely Fox Smith (1923) *Sailor Town Days*, London: Methuen.

10. Richard Runciman Terry (1921) *The Shanty Book: Part One*, London: J. Curwen & Sons, viii.

11. Konrad Tegtmeier (1947) *Alte Seemannslieder und Shanties,* Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 19-20.

12. Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*, 240, 245.

13. Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*, 244-5.

14. Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas,* 246; Stan Hugill (1977) *Songs of the Sea,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 118.

15. Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (2010) 'Notes towards a Franco-American Mediterranean "From Below"', in *Rough Waters: American Involvement with the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 63- 76.

16. Apollonius Rhodius (1912) *The Argonautica*, trans. R. C. Seaton, London: William Heinemann, 41-3.

17. Brother Felix Fabri (1896) *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 135-6.

18. Eugenio de Salazar (1866) *Cartas de Eugenio de Salazar*, Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 41-2.

19. Samuel Morison (1942) *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus,* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 176.

20. Alan Lomax (1958) 'Sleeve Notes', *Music and Song of Italy*, recorded by Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella, Tradition Records, 1.

21. Jean-Marie Le Bihor (1935) *Chansons de la Voile "Sans Voiles",* Dunkerque: Les Amis du Gaillard D'Avant, 68-9.

22. Richard Baltzer (1936) *Knurrhahn*, Kiel, 17.

23. Sigurd Sternvall (1935) *Sång under Segel*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 174, 57.

24. Stan Hugill (1969) *Shanties and Sailors' Songs,* London: Herbert Jenkins, 231; Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas,* 386.

25. Hugill, *Shanties and Sailors' Song,* 153; Tegtmeier, *Alte Seemannslieder und Shanties,* 18.

26. Terry, *Shanty Book,* 57.

27. Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*, 62; William Boultbee Whall (1910) *Ships, Sea Songs and Shanties*, Glasgow: Brown & Son, 85-6; Terry, *Shanty Book,* 51; Whall, *Ships, Sea Songs and Shanties,* 133-4.

28. Terry, *Shanty Book,* 54.

29. Tegtmeier, *Alte Seemannslieder und Shanties*, 26.

30. Sternvall, *Sång under Segel*, 201.

31. Whall, *Ships, Sea Songs and Shanties*, 15.