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CORRESPONDENTE

'THE BEST OF THEM THAT SPEAK THIS SPEECH:'

LANGUAGE AND EMPIRE IN

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST*

POR

SEBASTIÃO ALVES TEIXEIRA LOPES

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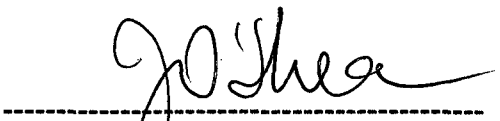

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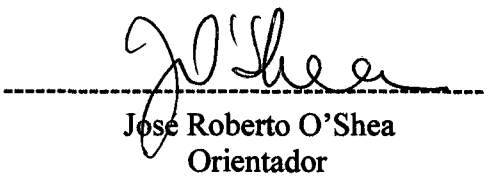

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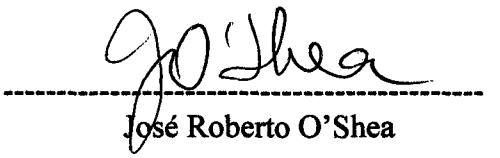

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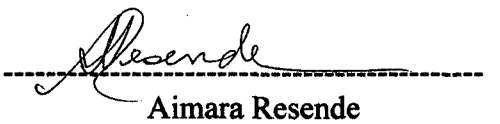

Aimara Resende

Bernadete Pasold

Florianópolis, 14 de outubro de 1996.

To my Father (in memoriam)

and my Son,

excusing myself for being away.

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ABSTRACT

'THE BEST OF THEM THAT SPEAK THIS SPEECH:'

LANGUAGE AND EMPIRE IN

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST*

SEBASTIÃO ALVES TEIXEIRA LOPES

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Supervising Professor: José Roberto O'Shea

As early as 1486 and 1492, Antonio de Nebrija and the Bishop of Ávila, and also Nicolò Machiavelli, in 1513, pointed out the relationship between language and empire. The present dissertation examines this relationship, emphasizing the effective process of colonization of a people and their territory. I agree with Alfredo Bosi that colonialism is a totalitarian process which affects present, past, and future, and on both the physical and metaphysical levels. My hypothesis is that a process of colonization may be seen as taking place in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and that dominion over language is instrumental for this process. I base my analysis of *The Tempest* mostly on postcolonial literary theory and criticism. In Chapter I, I make a general review of the criticism produced on *The Tempest* from the Restoration to the present days, which, in a way or another, deals with the issues of imperialism and colonialism. In Chapter II, I point out, in a panorama of an

asymmetrical cultural encounter, what I think are some important thematic and interpretative implications of Caliban's supposed lack of speech. In Chapter III, I work on the effective process of colonization of Caliban and his island by Prospero and Miranda, which causes his dispossession and enslavement. In Chapter IV, I analyze some Caribbean appropriations of the play (George Lamming's *The Pleasures of Exile*, Aimé Cesaire's *Une Tempête*, Edward Brathwaite's "Caliban," and Roberto Fernández Retamar's *Caliban*), pointing out how these authors deal with the issue of language and colonization already in a postcolonial context. In the conclusion, I demonstrate that a process of colonization can indeed be perceived as taking place in *The Tempest*, and that the spread of a European language is crucial to this process. Through the analysis of some postcolonial appropriations of *The Tempest*, I reinforce the notion that it is also necessarily through language that Caliban can free himself from the constraints of Prospero and Miranda's colonization, reconstructing a new sense of identity.

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RESUMO

Já em 1486 e 1492, Antonio de Nebrija e o Bispo de Ávila, bem como Nicolò Maquiavel, em 1513, perceberam a relação entre linguagem e império. A presente dissertação examina essa relação, com ênfase no efetivo processo de colonização de um povo e seu território. Seguindo Alfredo Bosi, entendo colonialismo como um processo totalitário que afeta o presente, o passado e o futuro, assim como os níveis físico e metafísico. Minha hipótese é que um processo de colonização pode ser percebido em *A Tempestade* de William Shaskespeare e que o domínio sobre a linguagem é um fator decisivo para esse processo. Minha análise baseia-se, principalmente, na teoria e crítica literária pós-colonial. No Capítulo I, faço uma revisão geral da crítica produzida sobre *A Tempestade*, desde a Restauração até os dias de hoje, que, de uma forma ou de outra, lida com as questões de imperialismo e colonialismo. No Capítulo II, aponto, em um panorama assimétrico de confronto cultural, o que considero importantes implicações temáticas e interpretativas acerca da suposta ausência de linguagem de Caliban. No Capítulo III, trabalho com o efetivo processo de colonização de Caliban e sua ilha por parte de Prospero e Miranda, o que causa seu desapossamento e sua escravização. No Capítulo IV, analiso algumas apropriações caribenhas da peça (*The Pleasures of Exile* de George Lamming, *Une Tempête* de Aimé Césaire, "Caliban" de Edward Brathwaite e *Caliban* de Roberto Fernández Retamar), apontando como esses autores lidam com essa relação entre linguagem e imperialismo, já em um contexto pós-colonial. Na conclusão, demonstro que um processo de colonização pode, de fato, ser percebido em *A Tempestade* e que a assimilação de uma língua européia é crucial para esse processo. Através da análise de algumas apropriações de *A Tempestade*, reforço a noção de que é também

necessariamente através da linguagem que Caliban pode livrar-se da colonização de Prospero e Miranda, reconstruindo sua própria identidade.

Número de páginas: 136

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INTRODUCTION

Language is the perfect instrument of Empire!

(Bishop of Ávila)

In 1492 Elio Antonio de Nebrija published the first grammar of a Romance Language (1), *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, 37 years before Trissino's first Italian grammar (1529), 44 years before Fernando de Oliveira's first Portuguese grammar (1536), and 58 years before Louis Meigret's first French grammar (1550) (Quilis 80). Though being a great Latinist and having also written a Latin grammar, Nebrija wrote a *Gramática* not merely as a translation of a Latin grammar into the Castilian language, for he considered the two languages independent and at the same level of linguistic achievement. Nebrija believed that it was even necessary, and easier, to dominate the Castilian grammar in order to understand the Latin grammar ("Prólogo" 100; Quilis 82).

For Nebrija, grammar is the basis for all sciences and the guide to truth (Quilis 20). In his works he deals with at least two conceptions for the term grammar: grammar as authority to set norms, and grammar as "Arte de las Letras" (qtd. in Quilis 20), i. e., a science which is based on the knowledge of letters and their representation. While Nebrija's first use of the term grammar is widely influenced by Latin grammatists, the second considers grammar almost as a literary science, from which terms such as *litteris* and *literature* are derived (Quilis 21-22).

The publication of Nebrija's *Gramática* in 1492 coincided with two fundamental events in the history of Spain: the fall from power of Muslim dominion in Granada and the discovery of America. The conquering of Granada sealed the unification of the Spanish nation which officially began in 1469 with the marriage of Ferdinand, heir to the kingdom of

Aragon, and Isabella, sister of the King of Castile and Leon. This national unification was rooted on three basic pillars: unity of faith, unity of army, and unity of laws. Nebrija believed that his *Gramática* could also be of service toward the unification of Spain. He felt that the *Gramática* would help in stabilizing the use of the vulgar Castilian language, avoiding later changes and variations, for, if the Castilian language remained without rules, it would admit to such a great number of variations that in few centuries it would distinguish itself as an independent language, as happened some centuries before with Latin (2). Actually, Nebrija conceived the unity of language as the fourth great pillar for the unification of the Spanish nation, and as the starting point for constituting Spain as the center of a great empire.

As early as 1486, the same year in which his *Introducciones Latinas... Contrapuesto el Romance al Latín* was published, Nebrija presented a sketchy version of his grammar on the Castilian language to Queen Isabella in Salamanca, as the Queen was on her way back from a pilgrimage to Santiago. During the encounter, she asked Nebrija about the worth of his grammar. Hernando de Talavera, then Bishop of Ávila, replied to the Queen, informing her of the use of Nebrija's *Gramática*. This is part of the Bishop of Ávila's reply to the Queen as written by Nebrija in the "Prólogo" of his *Gramática*, in 1492:

> *después que vuestra Alteza metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros [y]naciones de peregrinas lenguas, [y] con el vencimiento aquellos ternían necessidad de recebir las leies quel vencedor pone al vencido, [y]con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces, por esta mi Arte, pondrían venir en el conocimiento della, como agora nos otros deprendemos el arte de la gramática latina para deprender el latín. I cierto assí es que no sola mente los enemigos de nuestra fe, que tienen ia necessidad de saber el lenguaje*

> *castellano, mas los vizcainos, navarros, franceses, italianos, [y] todos los otros que tienen algún trato [y]conversación en España [y] necessidad de nuestra lengua, si no vienen desde niños a la deprender por uso, pondrán la más aina saber por esta mi obra* (101-102).

The Bishop of Ávila based his answer to Queen Isabella's question on the distinction between civility and barbarity, affirming that the lack of a stable language is the very indication of barbarity. And, although his reply expresses a certain concern with a friendly spread of the Castilian language, it seems more committed with imperial expansion--the conquering of 'barbarian peoples.' In the "Prólogo" of his *Gramática*, Nebrija points out that language and empire are intrinsically related, and he uses the Bishop of Ávila's reply to Queen Isabella as a justification for his *Gramática.* According to Nebrija, "*siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio; [y] de tal manera lo siguió, que juntamente començaron crecieron [y] florecieron, [y] después junta fue la caida de entrambos*" ("Prólogo" 97). In order to support his point of view, Nebrija mentions several empires whose beginning, growth and decline coincide with that of language; he refers to the old empires of the Assyrians, the Hindu, the Sicyons, and the Egyptians, of which we have only an "*imagen [y] sombra de la verdade*" ("Prólogo" 97), and includes the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin empires, about which there is plentiful documentation.

Nebrija's "Prólogo" tries to convince Queen Isabella (to whom the "Prólogo" is dedicated) that Spain, with the stability and strengthening of the Castilian language, has all the possibilities of becoming a great empire--an empire which started with the Judges and Kings of Castile and Leon, and which flourished under the King, Don Alfonso, who wrote the *Siete Partidas* and *General Istoria*, and who demanded the translation of several books from the Latin and Arabic languages to Castilian. For Isabella's reign, following the

conquering of Granada, the purgation of the Christian faith, the implementation of justice, the creation of laws throughout the Castilian kingdom, and the unification of the Spanish nation, Nebrija predicts a tranquil period in which will flourish what he calls "*las artes de la paz*" ("Prólogo" 100), of which language is the most important.

After the reunification and consolidation of its territory in 1492, Spain was prepared for new conquests and the establishment of a Spanish empire. The growth of the Spanish empire imagined by the Bishop of Ávila and Nebrija is first directed toward Africa, where Queen Isabella could continue her combat against the Islamic religion. The Spanish imperial impetus was thus "justified" by a religious mission, a Catholic crusade against the Muslims. It was the discovery of America, however, which represented the possibility of Spain to enlarge its empire in a way never imagined before. Nebrija and the Bishop of Ávila were somehow prophetic in relation to the Spanish imperial and colonial presence in Africa and especially in the New World after 1492.

The Castilian language, as announced by Nebrija, accompanied the growth of the Spanish empire both in Africa and in the New World. In Africa, the Castilian language became an instrument for apostolic evangelization by the Roman Catholic Church against the Muslims, as suggested by José Ibañez Martín, in his "Prólogo" to the 1946 edition of Nebrija's *Gramática* (x). But, in addition to a religious perspective, language transmits, first of all, the culture from which it comes, thus becoming a decisive instrument to any imperialist and/or colonialist project. It was in the New World, however, that the Castilian language could expand and develop as never before. In that "newly discovered" site, considered not only wild and seemingly uninhabited, but also banished and abandoned by God, language becomes an instrument of Christian evagelization, but it also transmitted most

of the European culture and perspective which thus began to be transplanted to the New World.

Nicolò Machiavelli is also concerned with the issue of language and the growth of Empire. In *The Prince* (1513) he discusses the characteristics of different types of principalities, particular features that make a prince either a good or a bad sovereign, the means by which some principalities are acquired and held, and the means of offense and defense offered by these principalities. Machiavelli first divides states, or dominions, into republics or principalities, addressing himself only to principalities. Then he dismembers these principalities into those which are hereditary and those which are new. Focusing on the new principalities, he then subdivides these into entirely new and mixed principalities. Machiavelli then concentrates on the entirely new principalities, subdividing these principalities into those which are acquired through the arms of others or by good fortune and those which are acquired through one's own arms and ability.

In fact, new principalities which are acquired through the arms of others or by good fortune are Machiavelli's major concern, for the princes who govern them, according to him, are the weakest and most in need of skillful advice. Critics have highlighted the influence of the Italian politics of 1513 and incidents in Machiavelli's own life on the writing of *The Prince*. In March 1513, Cardinal Giovanni de Medici became Pope Leo X and the Medici family, through good fortune and helped by the arms of Ferdinand of Spain, recovered its dominion over Florence (Skinner 44). Perhaps Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* in an attempt to prove to the Medicis that he was a loyal subject, and that he was also the skillful adviser that they most certainly would need in the future (Skinner 41-42).

Machiavelli expresses his preoccupation with the issue of language as an impairment for the maintenance of a principality, when dealing with mixed principalities. According to

Machiavelli, those principalities annexed to ancient states which are from the same country and speak the same language are easier to retain; it is only necessary that the old lord's family be destroyed and that neither law nor taxes be altered. Principalities from a different country, with a different culture and law, and speaking a different language, however, are more difficult to retain. Machiavelli lists four measures that would aid these princes in the process of keeping their dominion over such principalities secure and lasting: 1) the prince should reside in the acquired principality; 2) the prince should prefer to send colonists to one or two key sites rather than to keep guards on the annexed principality; 3) the prince should become the leader and defender of his less powerful neighbors, thus weakening the more powerful of them; 4) and the prince should be aware that no powerful foreigner should come into the principality.

It is important to notice that the difficulties pointed out by Machiavelli in the annexation of a new principality to an ancient state are based on the complexities of encountering and coping with the stranger, the unfamiliar. The strategy for confronting (and subduing) a new land, a new country whose people possess a different culture and practice a different law, and who speak a different language, summarizes the essence of any imperialist and colonialist project. Machiavelli perceives 'difference,' in terms of culture, law, and language, as an added deterrent to the subjugation of a people, and theorizes on the destruction of such an impediment.

Machiavelli's suggestions for a long holding of such principalities are based on the attempt to diminish the deterrents to a new rule caused by difference in terms of culture, law, and language. Machiavelli first recommends that the Prince should fix residence in the newly acquired principality, which is a way not only to demonstrate power over the land, but also a way to introduce aspects of his own culture, to impose his own law, and to initiate a process

of linguistic replacement. Machiavelli's second suggestion, that the prince should prefer to settle colonies rather than guards on the annexed principality, also reinforces this imperialist and colonialist project of cultural, legal, and linguistic replacement.

In this dissertation on William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, I will focus on the close relationship between Language and Empire, as indicated by Nebrija and by the Bishop of Ávila, as early as 1486 and 1492, and by Machiavelli in 1513. I will be dealing, however, with insights taken from recent literary criticism and debates on the issue of imperialism and colonialism, especially those insights provided by postcolonial literary theory and criticism.

I begin this analysis with Alfredo Bosi's remarkable contribution to certain etymological concerns on the semantic field of the word 'colonialism' presented in "Colônia, Culto e Cultura," chapter one of *Dialética da Colonização* (1992). According to Bosi, *culture*, *cult*, and *colonization* derive from the same Latin verb *colo*, past participle *cultus*, future participle *culturus*. The present form of *colo* involves basically two meanings: 'I occupy the land,' and 'I cultivate the land.' Certain Latin nouns also derive from *colo*, such as *incola* (the inhabitant), *inquilinus* (the one who resides in someone else's land), and *agricola* (related to the idea of working the land). *Colony* also derives from *colo*, meaning space which is being occupied, or yet land or people which is possible to be worked or to be subjugated. *Colonus* alludes then to someone who cultivates or has the land cultivated in the place of its owner. The *incola* who emigrates becomes a *colonus*. Bosi perceives the notion of movement as essential to the distinction between simply living on or cultivating the land as opposed to a process of colonization, in which someone else's land is occupied and another people is subjugated. The colonizer, however, argues Bosi, does not necessarily see himself as a conqueror, and often alludes to himself as only an adventurer or a discoverer, even though many times this leads to the destruction of ancient cultures and peoples.

Bosi also lists two nominal forms of *colo*: *cultus* and *cultura*. The past participle *cultus* is the action of *colo*, and also the result of this action of cultivating. *Cultus* is something cumulative, signifying at the same time the action of cultivating and the result of this labor, and *culta*, meaning plantation, refers to the cultivation of the land exerted through generations. The noun *cultus* also refers to the idea of 'cult of the dead,' first sort of Religion. *Cultus* expresses then not only the idea of both process and product of what was cultivated on the land, but also the idea of burying the dead, or rituals celebrated in their honor. Bosi thus shows a close relationship of mankind to the land, evident both at the physical and metaphysical levels.

From *cultum* (supine of colo), derives the future participle *culturus*, meaning what is going to be worked, or that whose cultivation is desired. The noun *culturus* expresses then the idea of working the land (agriculture), and also the educational endeavor in relation to human beings from childhood on to adulthood. The termination *urus* in *culturus* refers to something yet to come, or movement in the direction of something. Culture then refers to values which should be transmitted to new generations in order to establish a cohesive state, a concept close to the Greek notion of *Paideia*. Culture represents an ideal project which each society proffers to itself, education being essential to this process. Culture is then perceived as a social project in which the main objective is the bettering of human life in the polis.

Some of Bosi's conclusions are noteworthy. He demonstrates, for instance, that colonization is a totalitarian project whose effects act upon present, past, and future. Making evident the semantic field concerning the term colonialism, Bosi makes explicit certain power relations that lead to the domination of other peoples and other peoples' land. Power relations which imply not only the economic and political space presupposed in any relation of subjugation, but also a whole field related to the sacred and metaphysical in which symbols

are constructed and identity is reinforced, as well as an entire project through which this identity is purified and perpetuated.

Bosi also explains the close relationship of faith and colonialism, a relationship already perceived by Nebrija and by the Bishop of Ávila, who, as early as 1486 and 1492, apprehended the alleged Spanish empire as closely related to the spread and purgation of the Christian faith. According to Bosi, rituals performed in honor of the dead are the first known form of Religion. These rituals provide a linking of the present experience with the eternal and sacred, but this link is constituted through a process of occlusion which determines what is to be perpetuated, what should belong to the level of the sacred, and what should be purified, in an attempt to hide the perpetual struggle for power and domination. Bosi cites two more recent examples of this relationship between faith and colonialism: the Portuguese colonization of the Americas, Asia, and Africa, apparently concerned with the spread of the Christian faith, and the English colonization of New England by the Puritans, who were determined to 'perform the ways of God.'

Another important conclusion presented by Bosi is that any colonialist impetus needs to construct a discourse able to justify its actions. This discourse, produced under the colonizer's control and perspective, obscures power relations which ultimately lead to the dispossession and subjugation of a people. In such discourse the relationship colonizer / colonized is presented, or re-presented, through the perspective of the colonizer, who will not perceive him or herself as a conqueror but rather as someone predestined to a great task, that of improving other peoples and cultures--the 'civilizing mission' so pleasing to the European center. The colonized, on the other hand, is perceived as a defective being, a barbarian, who is not able to develop a governmental system by him or herself, and who would necessarily regress to a primitive state as soon as the conqueror's presence was removed.

In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Edward W. Said draws an important distinction between the terms 'imperialism' and 'colonialism,' which is based on the control of the earth by other peoples. According to Said, "'imperialism' means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism,' which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (9). Imperialism is the economical, political, social, or cultural control over distant lands and over native populations; it predates colonialism, and generally persists after a process of colonization. Colonialism is part of a greater process of imperialism; it is the effective control of peoples through the establishment of communities in the very soil they owned and over which they ruled before the arrival of the colonial intruder.

In the development of the analysis proposed, I will also be using Said's notion of 'discourse' and of 'representation,' developed in *Orientalism* (1978). The notion of discourse has been indeed crucial for postcolonial studies. Said explains in *Orientalism* how, through the centuries, Europe has developed a whole body of knowledge about the Orient which is centered more on the Western conceptions of the Orient, rather than on the Orient which it tries to analyze. Orientalism as a discourse, writes Said, "is a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient--dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3).

As Said himself makes it explicit, the notion of Orientalism is directly influenced by Michel Foucault's notion of discourse and his analysis of the relationship between knowledge and power, and the construction of "truth." Foucault has avoided the comprehension of power relations only in terms of repression; according to him, power cannot be perceived only as prohibition or occlusion. Foucault believes that it is the constructive aspect of power which

must be examined; that is, more important than focusing on the limitations or silences imposed by power, it is necessary to concentrate on what is erected by power relations, especially the elaboration of discourses and constitution of 'truths' (*Power / Knowledge* 119) (3).

Truth, according to Foucault, is not outside power; it is given rise under economic and political constraints which demand its production--what Foucault calls the 'régime of truth,' or the 'general politics of truth;' that is, the constitution of certain discourses which allow particular statements to be considered as true, in detriment of others, considered as false. According to Foucault, it is only through the production and circulation of such discourses that power can be exercised; there is a dialectic relationship in which power enables the production of truth, at the same time that power cannot be exercised unless through the production of truth (*Power / Knowledge* 93).

According to Said, Orientalism as a discourse is constituted by a set of statements, images, or 'truths' concerning the Orient presented by poets, novelists, scholars, or imperial administrators, centered on the European perspective. Such discourse, produced somehow to justify European conquering impetus and colonialist desire aimed at the Orient through the centuries, is also necessarily a discourse of encounter, a discourse for dealing with the Other. In *Orientalism* Said assesses the Orient as "Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the other," and submits that the Orient "has helped to define Europe as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1). Said suggests Orientalism as a discourse in which "truths" about the Oriental are produced, as a discourse in which the other is represented or brought under European scrutiny.

One of the main features of such a discourse based on the representation of the "Other" is its exteriority. Writers, scholars, or administrators who produce such a discourse do not belong to the Orient which they are about to display to a European audience, representation being the direct product of such sense of detachment, of such exteriority. The notion of representation, or re-presentation, however, is in itself problematic, since it is necessarily embodied in language, explains Said in *Orientalism*, resorting to Nietzsche's notion of truth of language: "a mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphisms--in short, a sum of human relations which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people: truth are illusions about which one has forgotten that this is what they are" (203) (4).

Said's notions of discourse, as demonstrated through the concept of Orientalism, and his concept of representation, as part of a greater discourse of the "Other," are extremely important for postcolonial studies. However, it is only after the publication of *The Empire Writes Back*, by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, that postcolonial literary theory is developed and organized in a coherent whole. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin propose a 'post-colonial' literary theory based on the relationship between the metropolitan center and the peripheries; they use the term 'post-colonial,' "to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (1).

However, the term 'post-colonialism,' hyphenated as suggested by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, incites some misunderstandings. First of all 'post-' seems to refer to what happened after the process of colonization, after the departure of the imperial power, or after political independence, although the three scholars use the term to relate to a period beginning with colonization up to the present moment. Following Vijay Mishra and Bob

Hodge's suggestion presented in their essay "What Is Post(-)Colonialism?," I have been using (and will continue to do so) the term 'postcolonialism' or 'postcolonial' (without hyphen), not to refer to an implicit idea of linearity--pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial--, but to refer to a continuum in which the past is still decisive to how we perceive the present. Postcolonialism, Mishra and Hodge argue, is "an always present tendency in any literature of subjugation marked by a systematic process of cultural domination through the imposition of imperial structures of power" (284). Or, as Said puts it, "not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms" (*Culture and Imperialism* 3).

I do not think, however, that the term 'postcolonialism' is free of problems. The presence of the prefix 'post' induces a connotation of "later," somehow emphasizing the fallacy which characterizes the past. Most important, however, is that postcolonial theory refers to all literatures produced in those formerly colonized nations, especially those which once constituted the British Empire, reducing them to a common past of imperialism and colonization, homogenizing widely different cultural and historical experiences. The most striking example of this over-generalization is the undifferentiated treatment bestowed by postcolonial theory on white colonies such as Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, and non-white colonies such as the African countries, or the West Indies. The multi-faceted aspect of postcolonial societies leads to what Mishra and Hodge have called 'many postcolonialisms' which obviously cannot be contained in a single generalizing theory of the 'Other' (284).

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin also refer to the issue of place and displacement as a crucial topic for postcolonial theory. The idea of movement is indeed essential to the conception of colonialism: in the "Prólogo" to his *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*,

Nebrija has imagined Spain moving toward Africa and toward the New World; in *The Prince*, Machiavelli suggests the fixation of royal residence or colonies in the newly acquired principality; in "Colônia, Culto e Cultura," chapter one of *Dialética da Colonização,* Bosi perceives the notion of movement in the very etymology of the word *colonization*--the moving *incola* becomes *colonus*; and in *Culture and Imperialism*, Said differentiates imperialism from colonialism, emphasizing that colonialism presupposes movement, a local domination; ultimately, in *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin indicate d*islocation*--resulted from a process of migration, enslavement, transportation, or 'voluntary removal,'--as a major feature of postcolonial literary theory.

This great sense of 'displacement' caused by colonialism also leads to a great crisis of identity. Such a crisis of identity between 'self' and 'locality' affects both the colonizer, who needs to face an unfamiliar scenery, generally widely different from that left in Europe, and the colonized, who suffers a process of cultural denigration in which his or her former personality is occluded. The notion of identity, however, is at the same time essential and problematic for postcolonial studies. Said points out that we have inherited a static notion of identity that goes back to the ancient Greeks and that peaks during the height of Europe's imperialist impetus in the nineteenth century. According to Said, since the Greeks, who constructed their identity in opposition to their barbarian 'others,' Europe has established its identity in opposition to its 'others,' as in the dichotomy 'us' in opposition to 'them' (*Culture and Imperialism* xxv). But this static dichotomy 'us' in opposition to 'them' is no longer valid after the experience of imperialism. Said maintains that "[i]mperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental" (*Culture and Imperialism* 336).

Said's suggestion is that after the experience of colonialism and imperialism it is no longer possible to perceive reality in terms of monolithic cultural or ethinical blocks. The adventures of imperialism and colonialism have given rise to a situation that can better be understood as multicultural and multiracial, and that such aspect is present not only in the peripheries, but also in the metropolitan centers. But a still unresolved question arises: should we consider the metropolitan European centers also as examples of postcolonial societies? The European imperial centers have also been deeply influenced by the colonies. The monolithic dichotomy center / periphery does not correspond to the reality inherited from the experience of imperialism and colonialism, since both colonies and the metropolitan centers have absorbed several cultural and ethinical elements from each other, bequeathing a tableau of multiculturalism and multiracism not only in the colonies, but also in the metropolitan centers.

In any case, the recovery or construction of identity is crucial to postcolonial societies. The recovery of identity, or the desire to return to an original identity, is very complicated, considering that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to erase the marks left by the experience of imperialism and colonialism. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, identity in formerly colonized societies is constituted in terms of difference and not of essence. "Post-colonial literatures," they argue, "emerged in their present form out of the experience of colonization and asserted themselves by foregrounding the tension with the imperial power, and by emphasizing their differences from the assumptions of the imperial centre" (2).

Identity is then what is able to distinguish one people, nation or community from another, especially from the old colonizing society. The construction of identity in societies which endure an experience of colonialism, however, is necessarily a process of crisis in

which a community partakes of several cultural legacies; these cultural legacies go all the way from indigenous cultural remainings to the very cultural code of the colonizer, including cultural elements gathered through processes of migration due to enslavement or voluntary removal. I consider that one of the main features of identity in postcolonial societies is precisely this aspect of plurality that turns persons into multicultural and multiracial individuals.

The struggle to recover or construct identity is necessarily disputed in the field of language. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin list some key situations in which a 'gap' occurs between language and place in postcolonial societies: for the colonizer whose language is inadequate to characterize a new landscape; for the slave whose language the colonizer tries to annihilate; and for the native whose language is taken as unprivileged in relation to that of the colonizer (*The Empires Writes Back* 09-10). To fill in the gap between place and language is a fundamental issue in any postcolonial context and a prerequisite to the end of the strong sense of alienation present till the imperial language has been replaced or assimilated, through a process of "abrogation" or of "appropriation," as suggested by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (*The Empire Writes Back* 38-77).

In *The Empire Writes Back* Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin also affirm that "One of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language. The imperial education system installs a "standard" version of the metropolitan language as the norm, and marginalizes all "variants" as "impurities." And they add:

> Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth,' 'order,' and 'reality' become established. Such power is rejected in the emergence of an effective post-colonial voice. For this reason, the discussion

> of post-colonial writing which follows is largely a discussion of the process by which the language, with its power, and the writing, with its signification of authority, has been wrested form the dominant European culture. (7)

Keeping in mind this conception of language as a medium of cultural domination, political oppression, and as the medium through which the empire imposes upon its colonies metropolitan conceptions of reality, the present analysis has as its objective an understanding of how Prospero and Miranda, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, usurp from Caliban his island, making him their own slave, and imposing upon him the intruders' cultural code, by means of a dubious gift--the gift of language.

Imperialism and colonialism are processes through which other peoples and their territory are kept under political and economical dominion. Following Bosi, I understand colonialism as a totalitarian project whose effects act upon present, past and future, as well as both at the physical and metaphysical levels. Colonialism also demands the construction of a discourse, the construction of "truths" capable of justifying the intruder's actions. Colonialism, because of its local domination, is also more traumatic than imperialism. It presupposes local impositions and restrictions of power which can be perceived in daily life. My hypothesis is that a process of colonization can be perceived as taking place in *The Tempest*, and that language is instrumental to this colonizing project. The main purpose of this dissertation is, then, to investigate how language plays a crucial role in Prospero and Miranda's dominion over Caliban and his island. Based on the analysis of some Caribbean appropriations of *The Tempest*, however, I suggest that it is also through language that Caliban can free himself from this process of colonization. In other words, language is the instrument used by the imperialist centers, in order to establish and perpetuate the

metropolitan power all over the colonies, but it is also through language that postcolonial societies must struggle in order to reconstruct and reinforce their own identities.

I follow those critics and writers who perceive *The Tempest*, especially the relationship between Prospero and Caliban, as paradigmatic for the relationship between colonial and colonizer. Caliban, however, is perhaps the most disputable of all Shakespeare's characters. The Dramatis Personae already registers key information on Caliban's personality: that he is "salvage," that he is "deformed," and that he is a "slave."

According to critics, in depicting Caliban as a "salvage," most probably Shakespeare has been influenced by Medieval folklore on the European wild man (Kermode xxxix; Vaughans 62-71). These savage men were normally described as man-beasts, men living as social outcasts, like animals, naked, or wearing pelt or twisted vine, hidden in forests and sleeping in caves. They were alluded to as hairy, ape-like men, with moral depravity, and no development of a true language. They are also generally referred to as possessing superhuman powers, such as great strength and an immense sexual appetite. These wild men also presented no development of reason, no sense of God, but a great knowledge of nature. Caliban's savagery, therefore, may refer to his violent and cruel temper; to his unfriendly behavior; to his evil and depraved nature; to his wild and untamed way of living; or to his cultural status.

Caliban, as a wild man, inhabits a desolate, natural site, dwelling in a cave. He presents an original lack of language and moral depravity, possessing also great sexual voracity. Caliban is described as a man-beast, irrational, but holding a certain knowledge of nature. Some features of the European wild men, however, do not fit Caliban. He is not characterized as a hairy man, and there is no allusion to the fact that he uses any animal pelt or twisted vine as clothing. Caliban also maintains a sense of divinity; he worships his

mother's god Setebos (name of a Patagonian god, supposedly worshipped by South-American giants, which Shakespeare may have taken from Pigaffetta's account of Magellan's travel of 1519-22).

Shakespeare's depiction of Caliban as "salvage" may also have been influenced by the then recently discovered natives of the New World. The discovery of the American natives caused a great shock in Europe and brought about a widely diverse rank of beliefs concerning them. Shakespeare's description of Caliban as a watery monster, a kind of 'land-fish' (Kermode's term) may allude to the American character of Caliban, since natives from the New World were often alluded to as a "watery people." But American natives were also often alluded to as natural men, those who live in conformity with the laws of nature. The notion of "natural men," however, is full of controversy. While some believe that they are brutal, and cannibalistic--nature in its most threatening and terrifying aspect--, others accept them as innocent, pure, and happy--nature in its most idealistic form.

Caliban's portrayal as "deformed" suggests that he is distorted or misshapen in form, physically imperfect, disfigured. Kermode points out, however, that Caliban as a monster follows the Old World tradition of grotesque creatures: Caliban is a "born devil," the result of sexual intercourse between a witch and an incubus, and his misshapen appearance indicts the malignant character of his ancestors (xl). Caliban's deformity, therefore, may indicate that he is the offspring of the devil himself, a kind of fallen man, or yet a descendant of Cain. Caliban's deformity may also allude to his moral distortion. He is treacherous, perfidious, sexually depraved, and his inner nature cannot be altered by any educational endeavor, even though Prospero tries to do so.

Finally, Shakespeare's description of Caliban as a "slave" is also influenced by the Old World tradition as well as by recent accounts of historical incidents concerning the

discovery and early colonization of America. In order to explain the slave-like character of Caliban in *The Tempest*, Kermode quotes Aristotle who says that "men ... who are as much inferior to others as the body is to the soul ... are slaves by nature, and it is advantageous for them always to be under government" (xlii). Caliban's alleged inferiority in relation to Prospero makes him Prospero's natural slave. Kermode, however, does not explain Aristotle's notion of inferiority, whether it is economical, social, psychological, moral, or even racial inferiority of which he speaks. It is clear, however, that Aristotle suggests that, in such a situation of inferiority, it is more profitable to accept and endure the reality of slavery than to resist. Caliban, however, resists Prospero's enslavement throughout *The Tempest*, and loses the "benefits" of his slavery, especially Prospero's "human care."

In this dissertation, although quite aware of the great controversy surrounding this character, I deal with Caliban as a dispossessed aborigine of the New World. Caliban reflects the dispossession, enslavement, and even extermination of the American aborigines. Caliban, as most New World natives did, welcomes and even worships the European intruder; he is taught a new language, and, in recompense, he is treated as a human beast. Like Caliban, the aborigines were owners and kings of their lands, and were deprived of these after the arrival of the European intruder, who, like Prospero, came "to be the lord on 't."

As to my working methodology, I shall deal with the primary source, especially Kermode's 1954 Arden Edition of *The Tempest* (from which I shall be quoting illustrations), focusing on the encounter of the European characters and Caliban, on the annihilation of Caliban's cultural legacy, on the process through which the European characters, especially Prospero and Miranda, attempt to make their dominion over Caliban and his island prevailing and continuous, and on the socio-political consequences to Caliban for having acquired the European cultural legacy, especially a European language.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, "Imperialism and Colonialism in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*: Review of criticism and Appropriations," I present an overview of the vast criticism produced on *The Tempest*, since the Restoration until the present times, addressing particularly critics who have dealt with the issue of imperialism and colonialism, focusing on the relationship of language and colonization. In the second chapter, "Learning How to Name: Prospero and the Rise of Language," I concentrate on what I believe are important thematic and interpretative implications of Caliban's presumed lack of language, demonstrating, in a panorama of asymmetrical cultural encounter, that control over language and discourse are fundamental for Prospero and Miranda's dominion of Caliban and his island. In the third chapter, "Learning How to Speak: Miranda's Schooling, or The Empire at Work," I focus on the effective process of colonization imposed upon Caliban and his island by Prospero and Miranda, which culminates on Caliban's dispossession and enslavement. In the fourth chapter, "Learning How to Curse: Caliban and The 'Departure' of Language," I analyze some Caribbean appropriations of *The Tempest* (George Lamming's novel *The Pleasures of Exile*, Aimé Césaire's drama *Une Tempête*, Edward Brathwaite's poem "Caliban," and Roberto Fernández Retamar's essay *Caliban*), pointing out how these authors deal with the issue of language and colonization, already in a postcolonial context. In the conclusion, I demonstrate that a process of colonization can indeed be perceived as taking place in *The Tempest*, and that the spread of a European language is instrumental to this process. Through the analysis of some postcolonial appropriations of *The Tempest*, however, I reinforce that it is also necessarily through language that Caliban can free himself from the constraints of Prospero and Miranda's colonization, reconstructing a new sense of identity.

NOTES

1 - In 1486, Nebrija presented to Queen Isabella a sketchy version of his *Gramática* which must have been concluded, at least the "Prólogo," after January 2nd, 1492, since Nebrija mentions the conquering of Granada in it; the *Gramática*, or the "Prólogo," however, may have been finished before May, 1492, for Hernando de Talavera is still mentioned as Bishop of Ávila; and it is almost certain that the printing of Nebrija's *Gramática* was completed by August 18, 1492, in Salamanca (Quilis 14).

2 - This endeavor to fixate the Castilian language is based on the ideas of Flavio Biombo, from Italy, who exhorted the possibility to provide a vulgar language with norms and status similar to those of classical languages. Nebrija is the first to put Biombo's ideas into practice (Quilis 81-82).

3 - although Foucault's notion of discourse is essential to Said's notion of 'Orientalism' as well as to Postcolonial theory and the analysis of colonialist discourses, Foucault's philosophy is out of the methodological process of this dissertation.

4 - Although Nietzsche's nihilism in relation to language is fundamental to Said's notion of 'Representation,' Nietzsche's philosophy is also out of the main objective of this dissertation.

CHAPTER I

IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST*: REVIEW OF CRITICISM AND APPROPRIATIONS

> *Gon.* Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,--
> And were the King on 't, what would I do?
>
> (*The Tempest*)

From the Restoration to present time, vast and widely diverse criticism has been dedicated to *The Tempest* as well as it has been appropriated for several purposes. In this review of the history of *The Tempest*'s criticism and appropriations, I will focus on those critics and authors who have pointed out connections between *The Tempest* and British colonization of the New World, or connections between *The Tempest* and the issue of colonialism in a more general sense. My reasons are twofold: the issue of colonialism has been one of the most, if not the most, debated issue among recent twentieth-century critics of *The Tempest*; and the issue of imperialism and colonialism is the main focus of this dissertation, with specific interest on the relationships of language, imperialism and colonization.

During the restoration, *The Tempest* seems to bring into play the contrast of savagery and civility. It is important to remark that any connection between *The Tempest* and early British colonization of the New World simply was not perceived by critics of the play contemporary to Shakespeare. Critics of the Restoration period saw in Caliban a monster whose bodily deformity denounces a corrupted mind; Caliban represents the lowest nature of mankind, not yet blessed by the "whispers of civility" (Vaughans xxii, 89-95) (1).

Eighteenth-century critics laud the fact that *The Tempest* follows the classical unities of space, plot, and especially of time--the whole action of *The Tempest* lasts only about six hours. *The Tempest* also caters to the neoclassical concern with the importance of reason; man is seen as a rational being who is able to acquire knowledge and who should be able to control his baser instincts and passions. Caliban, who at that time still represented the lower facet of humankind, is presented as the personification of several vices, with emphasis on his 'cruelty,' 'malice,' 'idleness,' 'lust,' and 'ill nature' (Vaughans xxii, 95-109). These critics also extol the power of Shakespeare's imagination in creating such a character as Caliban without clear literary antecedent, and they also foment a great debate on Caliban's language (Vaughans 95-102; Kermode lxxxi). Eighteenth-century critics, however, began to point out some connections between *The Tempest* and the colonization of the New World. These connections refer basically to Ariel's remark on the "still-vex'd Bermoothes" (I.ii.229), Sycorax's god 'Setebos' (I.ii.375; V.i.261), Trinculo's comment that Neapolitans would gladly pay "to see a dead Indian" (II.ii.33-34), Miranda's exclamation "O brave new world" (V.i.183), and "carib" and / or "cannibal" as possible roots for Caliban's name (Frey 29).

It is also already generally accepted by eighteenth-century critics that Shakespeare was influenced by Pigafetta's account of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage to South America in 1519-22. Pigafetta's narrative was first published in French about 1526 and translated into several languages. In 1555, Richard Eden published *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*, an English translation of an Italian version of Pigafetta's account by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, and in 1577 Richard Willes completed Eden's volume *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, which included a condensed version of Pigafetta's narrative. It is believed that Shakespeare could have read one of the versions in French or Italian, or he also could have read one of Eden's versions of Pigafetta's report (Vaughans 37).

As to the preoccupation of eighteenth-century criticism in relation to Caliban's language, the same seems to stem from a mid-seventeenth century conversation among Lucius Cary (Viscount Falkland), Chief Justice Henry Vaughan, and jurist John Selden, in which they emphasize that Shakespeare "had not only found out a new Character in his Caliban, but had also devis'd and adapted a new manner of language for that Character" (qtd. in Vaughans 95-96). William Warburton explains that "what they meant by it ... was that Shakespear[e] gave his language a certain grotesque air of the Savage and Antique; which it certainly has" (qtd. in Vaughans 96-97); John Holt and Benjamin Heath, diverging from Warburton, assert that Caliban's language is adapted to his origin and nature (Vaughans 97-99); Samuel Johnson adds that Caliban's language denounces his malignant temper (Vaughans 99); and George Steevens, commenting on Caliban's "O ho! O ho!," argues that "[t]his savage exclamation was originally and constantly appropriated by the writers of our ancient Mysteries and Moralities, to the Devil; and has, in this instance, been transferred to his descendant Caliban" (qtd. in Vaughans 99-100).

Nineteenth-century criticism on *The Tempest* is mostly influenced by the Romantic movement and by the Darwinian theory of the evolution of species, but some critics propose *The Tempest* as Shakespeare's allegorical farewell to the stage, and some hints on Caliban's social and political rights begin to emerge. Romantic criticism admires the natural scenario of *The Tempest* as well as Caliban's natural qualities. Caliban is still considered 'wild' and 'brute,' but not 'vulgar,' and his poetical speeches are especially praised. The Romantic criticism which expresses a more sympathetic attitude in relation to Caliban, with some emphasis on his social and personal rights and in which Caliban becomes a symbol against slavery in England and in the United States, tends to shift after the middle of the nineteenth century. Critics of *The Tempest* begin to be influenced at this time by Darwin and his

speculations on the evolution of human and other species. They come to see Caliban as a kind of 'missing link,' an intermediate being who could illustrate humankind's evolution (Kermode lxxxi-lxxxii, and especially Vaughans 109-14).

Some nineteenth-century critics, however, already engage themselves on the issue of colonialism. Edmond Malone, in his *An Account of the Incidents, from Which the Title and Part of the Story of Shakespeare's* Tempest *Were Derived; and Its True Date Ascertained* (1808), asserts that Shakespeare is influenced by the so-called 'Bermuda Pamphlets'--pamphlets that narrate the incidents involving Sir Thomas Gates and the crew of the *Sea Adventure*. Malone's Posthumous Variorum Edition of *The Tempest* (1821) also recognizes that Shakespeare was influenced by Pigafetta's account of Magellan's journey to South America, and that the bard had Pigafetta's description of wild Patagonian giants in mind when he constructed the character of Caliban. Malone, however, also mentions other possible sources for Caliban, such as the creatures of Pliny's *Natural History*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Shakespeare's own Robin Goodfellow (Vaughans 119).

The 'Bermuda Pamphlets' report incidents involving an expedition of the Virginia Company, made up of seven ships, two vessels, and about five hundred colonists, sailing from Plymouth to Virginia. On July 25, 1609, the fleet was castigated by a storm, but all the ships and vessels arrived safely at Jamestown in August, except for the *Sea Adventure*--the flagship which carried the Admiral (Sir George Somers), the future governor of Virginia (Sir Thomas Gates), Captain Christopher Newport, and about 150 colonists. The *Sea Adventure* was presumed lost but, without loss of human life, she reached the shores of the Bermuda Island on July 28, where both crew and passengers remained for about nine months. Although the Bermuda Islands, known as the Isle of Devils, had been consistently avoided by sailors, the English colonists found there a delightful and abundant place, where they disposed of enough

wood to make two small sailing boats. Somers and his men left the island on May 10, 1610, arriving at Jamestown on May 23. In September, Gates and Newport arrived in England, leaving the Virginia Colony under the control of Lord Delaware (Kermode xxvi; Vaughans 39).

The news about the incidents involving the *Sea Adventure* and her crew impressed England of the early seventeenth century, and in 1610 three pamphlets and one manuscript narrating these incidents circulated in that country. Richard Rich, a member of the *Sea Adventure*'s crew, published his ballad *Newes from Virginia*, which, according to scholarly consensus, seems not to have influenced Shakespeare; Silvester Jourdain, also a member of the *Sea Adventure*'s crew, published a pamphlet entitled "A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils," with a dedication date of October 13; the Council of Virginia published an official version of the incident in a pamphlet entitled "The True Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, With a Confrontation of such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to the Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprise," registered on November 8; and William Strachey, another member of the *Sea Adventurer*'s crew, sent to England a long letter, dated July 15, which arrived in England with Gates, in September. This letter was only published in 1625, in the 4th volume of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, by Samuel Purchas, under the title of "The True Repertory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates" (Kermode xxvii; Smith 1607; Kittredge xii-xiii; Vaughans 30-31, 38-43; Frey 29-41).

Following Malone, other nineteenth-century critics also relate *The Tempest* to the colonization of the New World. William Hazlitt, in his *The Yellow Dwarf* (1818), introduces a new political approach to Caliban; perhaps for the first time, he explicitly considers *The Tempest* in terms of imperialism. For Hazlitt, Caliban is the rightful owner of the island, not Prospero or the Neapolitans, who are seen as usurpers (Vaughans 104). In his *The Dramatic*

Works of William Shakespeare, Vol. I (1837), Augustus William Schlegel, endorsing the influence of Pigafetta's account of Magellan's journey to Patagonia, considers Caliban a "mixture of gnome and savage" (qtd. in Vaughans 120). In his Darwinian interpretation of *The Tempest--Caliban: The Missing Link* (1873), Daniel Wilson affirms that Shakespeare's pre-Darwinian construction of Caliban is explained through the influence of travelers' description of inhabitants of the New World (Vaughans 110-111). Adolphus William Ward, in his *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queene Anne*, Vol. I (1875), addresses Caliban as a satire on Montaigne's "noble savage," and, in the Rugby Edition of *The Tempest* (1876), J. Surtees Phillpotts asserts that Prospero's appropriation of Caliban's island reflects England's dispossession of the American aborigines (Vaughans 120).

Due to the vast amount of criticism on *The Tempest*, dealing, in one way or another, with the issues of imperialism and colonialism in twentieth century, I will limit my analysis to the two main branches of such criticism: 1) the criticism produced in English by Anglo-American critics, and 2) the criticism produced in English or in other languages by intellectuals from different developing nations, especially those from Latin America (2).

The first tendency to appear among Anglo-American critics is formed by those who advocate that Shakespeare intentionally meant *The Tempest* to be a portrait of early British colonization of the New World, sometimes more specifically a portrait of the colonization of the United States. Sidney Lee, going beyond the parallels of *The Tempest* and some travel narratives pointed out by nineteenth-century critics, begins the new tendency, with his *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1898). According to Lee, Bermuda is Prospero's island, and Caliban, a native aborigine of the New World. In his article "The Call of the West: America and Elizabethan England" (1907), Lee emphasizes the liaison between *The Tempest* and the colonization of America, affirming that *The Tempest* is "a veritable document of early Anglo-

American history" (qtd. in Vaughans 121). And Lee's essay "Caliban's Visits to England" (1913) suggests that Shakespeare had been witness to the exhibition of American Indians in England, in order to construct his Caliban (Vaughans 120-122).

At the turn of the century, in his *Shakespeare and America* (1898), Frank M. Bristol depicts Caliban as an American, and affirms that *The Tempest* "has an entirely American basis and Character" (qtd. in Vaughans 122). Walter Alexander Raleigh, in "The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century" (1905), endorses *The Tempest* as "a fantasy of the New World" (qtd. in Vaughans 122). In *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (1917), Charles Mills Gayley, writing about Anglo-American concerns over World War I, highlights Shakespeare's influence in both England and the United States (Vaughans 126-127). And A. W. Ward, in *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* (1919), contributes to the Americanization of *The Tempest*, arguing that it is an Anglo-American play (Vaughans 127-128).

It is Robert Ralston Cawley, in his essay "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*" (1926), however, who exhaustively points out parallels between *The Tempest* and earlier narratives by travelers to the Americas. Besides the wreck of the *Sea Adventure* and Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage to South America, Cawley also cites probable sources for the island's flora and fauna, as well as a plot of conspiracies against Europeans. In his depiction of Caliban as an Indian, Cawley lists several parallels between *The Tempest* and narratives of early colonization of America: 1) that Indians initially view the European intruders as gods and help them; 2) that Europeans repay the native's help with scorn and abuse; 3) that Indians are taught a new language; 4) that natives acquire European vices rather than their virtues, and 5) that some of these Indians are taken to be exhibited in England (Vaughans 128-129).

The idea of the Anglo-Americanization of *The Tempest*, however, is not unanimously accepted by critics. In his essay "Certain Fallacies and Irrelevancies in the Literary Scholarship of the Day" (1927), Elmer Edgar Stoll, although recognizing some parallels between *The Tempest* and some travel narratives of the seventeenth century, does not acknowledge any great relevance of these parallels. According to Stoll "[t]here is not a word in *The Tempest* about America or Virginia, colonies or colonizing, Indians or tomahawks, maize, mockingbirds, or tobacco. Nothing but the Bermudas, once barely mentioned as a faraway place, like Tokio or Mandalay" (qtd. in Vaughans 129). And Frank Kermode, in his introduction to the 1954 Arden Edition of *The Tempest*, seems to be forced, by the hard work of previous critics, to recognize parallels between *The Tempest* and travel narratives of the seventeenth century. Although Kermode begins the third part of his introduction on "The New World" by saying that "[it] is as well to be clear that there is nothing in *The Tempest* fundamental to its structure of ideas which could not have existed had America remained undiscovered, and the Bermuda voyage never taken place" (xxv), he adds that "it is none the less clear that the industry of Luce, Lee, Gayley, Cawley, and Hotson has put the issue beyond reasonable doubt" (xxvii), or that some portions of Strachey's letter and an extract from Jourdain's "A Discovery of the Bermudas," reprinted as appendices to his 1954 Arden Edition of *The Tempest*, will "justify the assumption that Shakespeare has these documents in mind" (xxviii).

In the early 1960s, a new tendency begins to develop, proposing a metaphorical reading of *The Tempest*, which is more concerned with the suitability of the play's setting and plot in relation to the example of colonization provided by America, rather than with Shakespeare's American intentions. Leo Marx's essay "Shakespeare's American Fable" (1960), later also published in his *The Machine in the Garden* (1964), proposes that if the play

is not literally about America, America supplies an extraordinary example of details related by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*. Marx stresses that the relationship between America and *The Tempest* is not merely external, such as the shipwreck or Bermuda once mentioned by Ariel, but he contrasts the play's remote setting and its plot to America of early colonization (Vaughans 131-132). Marx argues that:

> The play, after all, focuses upon a highly civilized European who finds himself living in a prehistoric situation of voyagers in newly discovered lands. I am thinking of the remote setting, the strong sense of place and its hold on the mind, the hero's struggle with raw nature on the one hand and the corruption within his own civilization on the other, and, finally, his impulse to effect a general reconciliation between the forces of civilization and nature." (35)

Marx also points out that Prospero's island is described through a spectrum that ranges from an edenic vision of paradise regained to the terrifying description of nature in its most threatening aspect, and that this description of Prospero's island fits Elizabethan images of the New World. In summary, Marx proposes not only a 'genetic connection' (68) between *The Tempest* and America, but he claims another association that can only be recognized as 'prophetic' (69).

Like Marx, Leslie Fiedler ("The New World Savage as Stranger; or, 'Tis New to Thee,'" 1972) is more concerned with the appropriateness of some emblems in *The Tempest* for early American history than with Shakespeare's intentions. Fiedler, dealing with themes of colonialism and race, sees *The Tempest* as a paradigm for exploitation. For him, Caliban is an American Indian, but also an African slave, a European wild man, and a classical monster. As an Indian, Caliban is a mixture of Columbus' New World inhabitants, Montaigne's noble savages, Somers' supposed Bermudan natives, and Pigafetta's Patagonian giants. Fiedler

asserts that Caliban's sexual lust comes from the sexual potency that wild Europeans were presumed to possess. As a classical monster, Caliban is as a kind of Minotaur--the product of woman's lust and sexual intercourse without the necessary ceremonies. According to Fiedler, *The Tempest* prefigures 1) the initial act of the exploitation of the American Indians by Europeans and the war against reservations that eventually followed; 2) the enslavement of black Africans, followed by revolts and escapes, and 3) the beginning of a society in America, constituted by depraved and uneducated Europeans (Vaughans 132-135).

Since the 1970s, but especially in the 1980s, the New Historicists propose yet a new reading for *The Tempest*. In contrast to source criticism which claims that Shakespeare was influenced by specific texts, and indifferent to intentionalist readings, New Historicists emphasize the similarities between *The Tempest* and congenial historical and literary texts. According to Richard Wilson, however, the term is first used by Stephen Greeblatt who, in the early 1980s, edited a selection of essays on the Renaissance and pointed out that the collection constituted a "New Historicism" of Renaissance Drama ("Historicising New Historicism" 1).

Frey, in his essay "The Tempest and the New World" (1979), endorses the reading of accounts of travel literature, not looking for Shakespeare's possible sources, but rather searching for 'telling patterns' that will help disclosing the play's meaning (33-34). Barker and Hulme, in their co-authored essay "Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish: The Discursive Con-Texts of The Tempest" (1985), recommend the reading of Shakespeare's text "with and within series of con-texts" (194-195); "con-texts," they explain, is used with a hyphen to differ from the usual relationship of text/context, since "[c]on-texts are themselves *texts* and must be *read with*: they do not simply make up a background" (Note 7, 236). And Brown, in his essay "'This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine': *The Tempest* and the Discourse of

Colonialism" (1985), proposes that British colonial discourse "will help us to establish a network of relations or discoursive matrix within and against which an analysis of *The Tempest* becomes possible" (51).

The critical interpretations of *The Tempest* produced in developing countries, or colonized nations, particularly those of Latin America, have given new meaning to *The Tempest.* Diverging from the twentieth-century more traditional search for Shakespeare's possible sources or intentions, the Latin American critics focus on how *The Tempest* symbolically functions in representing their historical and present situation of exploitation and colonization.

During a visit to New York in 1893, Nicaraguan Rubén Dário, perhaps the first to use images from *The Tempest* to represent power relations among American nations, described the city by applying to it Caliban's most barbarous qualities, such as savagery and greed. Five years later, Dário's article "The Triumph of Caliban" (1898) described North Americans as being "like animals in their hunt for the dollar" (qtd. in Vaughans 147). Dários' remarks reflect an anti-American sentiment which would increase in the same proportion as the expansion of the American imperialism over Latin American countries.

Roberto Fernández Retamar points out that the discourse pronounced by the Franco-Argentine writer Paul Groussac, in Buenos Aires on May 2, 1898, well exemplifies the way in which Latin American writers used symbols from *The Tempest* at that time. According to Groussac "since the Civil War and the brutal invasion of the West, the *Yankee* spirit had rid itself completely of its formless and "Calibanesque" body, and the Old World has contemplated with disquiet and terror the newest civilization that intends to supplant our own, declared to be in decay" (qtd. in Retamar 10). Two points are important to highlight here: 1) that the cultural elite of Latin America at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the

twentieth century was identified with the European culture, and 2) that Caliban's savagery and voracity were used to represent the United States in its most offensive and bellicose aspect.

In 1900, Uruguayan José Henrique Rodó also used images from *The Tempest* to represent the relationship between Anglo- and Spanish-America. Rodó's analysis is based on the dichotomy Ariel/Caliban. For him, Ariel is symbolically related to reason, the higher and nobler part of the human spirit, while Caliban exemplifies the lower stimulus of irrationality. Rodó relates Ariel's higher qualities to Spanish America's search for intellectual and artistic improvement, summarized in his notion of '*buen gusto*,' and relates Caliban's lower qualities to Anglo-American's materialism and utilitarianism. Rodó's critique of Anglo-Americans, however, is far from being as sharp as Dário's observations. Rodó, in fact, desires that these two different nations may eventually interact, in order that a new and rejuvenated civilization may emerge, following the example of the interaction of Athens and Lacedemony which produced the Hellenic civilization. This new civilization would then be based on Anglo-American positivism complemented by Spanish-American intellectual and moral achievements.

After the 1920s, the old Latin American intellectual elite, as exemplified by Groussac and Rodó, began to decline and in its place a new political and cultural dominance which claimed a non-European heritage was born. Rodó's belief that Anglo-Spanish cultural interaction would naturally cause a selected and improved civilization was criticized as being too idealistic. And more importantly, Rodó's cultural dichotomy between the Anglo- and Spanish-Americas was questioned by politicians and intellectuals who claimed that many of America's inhabitants had no Anglo-Spanish origin at all, e. g., Indian Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans. Finally, because of his European or classical origin, they

also questioned the use of Ariel as a symbol of the Latin America's search for freedom. Caliban begins to be seen as the Latin American symbol of exploitation, and Prospero becomes the incarnation of the imperialistic impetus of both Europe and the United States.

In 1938, Aníbal Ponce, of Argentina, published *Humanismo Burguês y Humanismo Proletario*, using images from *The Tempest* in the third chapter of his book which was entitled "Ariel: or, The Agony of an Obstinate Illusion." Ponce follows the French tradition and identifies Caliban with the exploited populations. This tradition began in 1878 with the publication of *Caliban: Suite de "La Tempête* by Ernest Renan, who identified Caliban with the French people, especially the French communists. Renan, a writer of the French aristocracy, however, sees Caliban as exemplifying the negative qualities of the people, especially their inability to form an enduring government. In 1929, another Frenchman, Jean Guéhenno, published *Caliban Parle*, in which he follows Renan's identification of Caliban with the French people, but offers a more sympathetic reading of Shakespeare's savage. Ponce's identification of Caliban with the masses begins to change his symbolic representation in Latin America.

It is only in 1950, however, when the Frenchman Octave Mannoni publishes *La Psychologie de la Colonization*, translated into English in 1956 as *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*, that Caliban's image shifts completely. Caliban, who had hitherto represented the worst of Anglo-American culture and also the exploited masses both of Europe and Latin America, now begins to be representative of those populations who were victims of colonization. According to Mannoni, Caliban's hasty desire to exchange his first master, Prospero, for a new master, Stephano, not really searching for personal freedom, is a vivid example of the "dependence complex" in its purest form. According to Mannoni, Caliban could not bear his own freedom. When the bonds of the dependence are broken, the

native's "inferiority complex" quickly appears. According to Mannoni, Caliban does not resent Prospero for exploiting him, but rather for betraying him.

The link between the dependence complex and the inferiority complex, which Mannoni perceives in colonized people, is the basis for Frantz Fanon's most vigorous criticism. In the "The So-Called Dependency Complex of Colonized Peoples," which appears as the fourth chapter of his book *Black Skin, White Masks,* first published in French in 1952 under the title of *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* and translated into English in 1967, Fanon, a Caribbean from Martinique, argues that, according to the theory of Mannoni, colonized people have no choice other than to consider themselves as inferior. Fanon also criticizes Mannoni's assumption that both the dependence complex and the inferiority complex are innate to colonized people, thereby suggesting that these complexes antedate colonization.

Fanon remarks that the colonial situation is created in a condition of encounter. The confrontation between civilized Europeans and primitive peoples gave rise to colonization, as we know it today. European civilization has also produced colonial racism. According to Fanon, it is the European racist civilization that perceives other peoples as inferior. Fanon believes that the inferiority complex of colonized people is the direct result of the European superiority complex. He does not agree with Mannoni's psychological model in which the white man's authority and leadership complex meets a colonial dependence complex, and the colonial situation is merely the encounter of already innate psychological tendencies.

Fanon perceives colonized black men as rejected by the civilization which they have been forced to assimilate. The colonizing process, however, is by no means a pacific one. Colonized people have on various occasions and in various places revolted against the white man's hegemony and superiority complex, a pattern which does not correspond to Mannoni's psychological model of white authority and black dependence. Fanon demonstrates that the

colonial situation is often strengthened by economical motivation. The European colonial, Fanon argues, is often a merchant or trader. Most often, Europeans maintain their colonies because of the possibility of becoming rich and affluent, due to products which may be obtained in these locations. The psychological model described by Mannoni simply does not recognize this economical perspective, considering the complexity of colonial relationships only in psychological terms.

Barbadian novelist and poet, George Lamming published in 1960 *The Pleasures of Exile*, which is also widely influenced by *The Tempest*. In the introduction to the 1984 edition of this book, Lamming remarks that when he began to write the book in 1959, there were no independent countries in the English-speaking Caribbean, and that in Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, only Ghana was independent. It is very important to keep this point in mind, for Lamming writes *The Pleasures of Exile* in a period in which the whole British Caribbean was under England's dominion, and also because Lamming's narrative is mostly autobiographical. He writes about his departure from the Caribbean and his arrival in London, describing the personal experience of having been born into a colonial community and his subsequent relationship to the colonizing metropolis. Lamming's departure for London, however, is not an isolated case, for many other Caribbean writers also left their native islands, some going to Canada, others to the United States, but the largest number seeking refuge in England. One of the important themes of *The Pleasures of Exile* is the migration of a West Indian writer from his Caribbean island (Caliban's home) to the colonizing metropolis (household of Prospero and his language).

According to Lamming, *The Tempest* reflects England's early experiments in colonization, at the same time that it predicts a political future which is demonstrated by the present situation of Caribbeans. Lamming himself, as an exiled colonial and twentieth-

century descendant of Caliban, is a living example of this prophecy. In *The Pleasures of Exile*, Lamming admits that *The Tempest* should be read in accordance with Hakluyt's narratives, and sees in Caliban the black slave who was taken from Africa and introduced into the Caribbean, but he also perceives in Caliban features of the Caribbean Indians who were considered savages, who presumably fed on human flesh, and who, like the Africans, were considered wild fruits of nature (13). Due to the process of colonization, Lamming considers the Caribbean population exiled from its culture, its gods, and its past, and Prospero is seen as the symbol of the whole European imperial enterprise (*The Pleasures of Exile* 15). But Caliban, Lamming writes in the introduction to the 1984 edition of *The Pleasures of Exile*, is the always present possibility of change and revolt in the Caribbean, which was initiated in 1803 by Toussaint L'Ouverture and his black revolt which resulted in the establishment of the national state of Haiti (6).

To conclude this review of criticism and appropriations of *The Tempest* on the issue of imperialism and colonialism, I present a brief summary of three Caribbean authors who, writing in three different languages and using three different literary forms, published in 1969 interpretations of *The Tempest*, identifying Caliban with the native and exploited populations of Latin America. Aimé Césaire, of Martinique, published in French his drama *Une Tempête; D'Après "La Tempête" de Shakespeare: Adaptation pour un Théâtre Nègre* in which the colonial situation is again enacted, but in a widely modified version of Shakespeare's play. The Barbadian poet, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, published in English his collection of poems, *Islands*, one of which is dedicated to Caliban. And Roberto Fernández Retamar published in Spanish his essay on Fidel Castro, "Cuba hasta Fidel," in which he identifies Caliban with the Cuban people. In 1971, Retamar again made use of images from *The Tempest*, when he published *Caliban: Notes Toward a Discussion of Culture in Our America*,

emphatically refuting Rodo's conception of Ariel as a symbol for Latin Americans. Retamar, however, praises Rodo's book, for, although using what he considers to be a mistaken image, he agrees with the earlier writer in pointing out that the common enemy is the United States.

Césaire's *Une Tempête* differs from *The Tempest* in several aspects. Structurally, *Une Tempête* is reduced to only three acts, containing two, three, and five scenes, respectively. The list of characters is also altered. Césaire begins this list by informing the audience that the characters of *Une Tempête* are the same as those of *The Tempest*, but he subtly cuts off the characters of the lords Adrian and Francisco. At the same time, Césaire includes in I.ii the character of the inquisitional Fratre who condemns Prospero for heretic practice, but does not include the Fratre in his list of characters. Césaire makes two supplementary explicitness: both Ariel and Caliban are slaves, Ariel being ethnically a mulatto, and Caliban, a Negro. Césaire also inserts in *Une Tempête* the character of Eshu, a Negro god-devil, and introduces the figure of Shango, who, although not physically present in the play, is very much present in Caliban's songs.

The changes Césaire makes in the characters of *The Tempest* are very important for understanding his Caribbean appropriation, or adaptation, of Shakespeare's play. Ariel is presented as an intellectual mulatto, who can decide between serving Prospero, reaping the benefits of his tutelage, or helping Caliban in his personal fight for freedom and his political claim for liberation. Ariel, being more literate than Caliban, is given only light works to do. Caliban, on the other hand, is a black slave, forced to carry out hard and laborious tasks. Caliban is violent and he threatens Prospero all the time with the possibility of revolt. Although the two characters are freed at the end of the play, the situations which lead to their freedom are very different. In III.v, Ariel is freed by Prospero, who somehow feels happy and proud of being able to give him his liberty. Caliban, on the other hand, is freed only at the

very end of the play, when Prospero is no longer powerful enough to maintain his dominion over him.

The insertion of Eshu and the pervasive presence of Shango, characters taken from Yoruba mythology, are also important for understanding *Une Tempête*. Eshu, who governs fertility, is at the same time a god and a devil. Shango is a mighty power, who represents the strongest forces of nature and is often associated with lightning and fire. Eshu functions in *Une Tempête* as an instrument of disorder, not only during the ceremonies in honor of Miranda and Ferdinand's betrothal, but especially as disorder in the hegemonic aspect of the European cultural legacy. Shango is the strongest presence in Caliban's spirituality and challenges the supremacy of the Christian faith in relation to other non-European religions. Eshu and Shango dismantle Europe as the only source of the cultural and religious legacy present in the island, thus reinforcing the black, African tradition implied in the character of Caliban.

It is not without significance, therefore, that Eshu, the Yoruba deity of fertility, appears in *Une Tempête* during Prospero's "*divertissement*" to celebrate Miranda and Ferdinand's betrothal, a scene which corresponds to the masque in IV.i of *The Tempest*. In Shakespeare's play, the masque is acted out by Iris, as the messenger of the gods; by Ceres, the goddess of agriculture; and by Juno, the goddess of marriage. Before descending, however, Juno demands that Venus and her infant Cupid do not appear at the betrothal, and their absence is assured by Ceres and Iris. The absence of Venus and Cupid represents the absence of passion as well as of sexual desire. The masque of *The Tempest* is the celebration of a sexless union, well suitable for Miranda and Ferdinand, who celebrate not their wedding, but rather a moment of promises yet to be fulfilled.

In *Une Tempête*, however, Eshu takes the place of the absent Venus and Cupid. He represents the carnal passions and lust, present in *The Tempest* only in the character of Caliban. When Eshu makes his uninvited appearance at Prospero's "divertissement" in III.iii, the three classical goddesses do not feel confortable with him, and, because of Eshu's obscenity, they leave the betrothal ceremony. Like Caliban in *The Tempest*, Eshu is phalocentric. "*Eshu est un joyeux luron, / de son pénis il frappe, / Il frappe / Il frappe...,*" Eshu sings. Eshu's phalocentrism in *Une Tempête* not only questions the privileged position of European culture as the source and the paradigm for Western culture but it also denounces the sterility of this European culture.

In his play, Césaire assumes the colonialist aspect of *The Tempest*, making this point as clear as possible. In *Une Tempête* Prospero discovers, through his studies, unexplored new lands across the sea. Antonio conspires against Prospero, denouncing him to the Inquisition, because he wants to take possession of this future empire. In order to consider Caliban as a black slave from the Caribbean, Césaire must necessarily disregard all the controversies surrounding Caliban's character. Césaire's Caliban is conscious that he has been taken as a slave from Africa, and that he has undergone a process of white colonization and acculturation. Césaire also defines one of the Caribbean islands as the set of *Une Tempête*, thus disregarding all the controversies concerning the actual locale of Caliban's island in *The Tempest*.

Another important point in which *Une Tempête* differs from *The Tempest* is that Césaire includes in his adaptation some remarks concerning decolonization. Although Césaire's Prospero does not leave the island to return to Milan at the end of *Une Tempête*, Césaire's Caliban is committed to the problematic of clearing away all traces of colonialism: "*D'abord me débarrasser de toi... Te vomir. Toi, tes pompes, tes oevres! Ta blanche toxine*!

(III.v), Caliban says. Freedom is what Caliban most wishes and strives for, but he knows that freedom is not merely escaping from Prospero's rule. Caliban needs to cleanse himself of the traces of Prospero's white, European colonization, and, as far as possible, recover or reconstruct his own identity.

Brathwaite's collection of poems, *islands*, is divided in five parts: I "New World," II "Limbo," III "Rebellion," IV "Possession," and V "Beginning." The composition inspired by *The Tempest*, "Caliban," is the third poem of the second part, "Limbo." In a small glossary, Brathwaite himself provides the reader of his collection with the meaning of the word *Limbo*:

> The limbo is a dance in which the participants have to move, with their bodies thrown backwards and without any aid whatsoever, under a stick which is lowered at every successfully completed passage under it, until the stick is practically touching the ground. It is said to have originated--a necessary therapy--after the experience of the cramped conditions between the slave-ship decks of the Middle Passage. Now very popular as a performing act in Caribbean night clubs. (ix-x)

Thus, *limbo* is a dance of African origin but already incorporated into Caribbean daily life. It was introduced in the Caribbean by the black slaves who were brought to America in most degrading conditions on the slave ships. Most significantly, *limbo* is a dance which deals with the physical limits of human body. Brathwaite suggests that Caliban has undergone terrible injuries, first on the slave ships and later, as a slave working on the sugar cane plantations.

The second part of Brathwaite's poem is marked by the image of descending, the idea of always going deeper and deeper, as if Caliban must pass through an always lower stick, in a kind of *limbo* dance. This idea is reinforced by the repeated use of the word "down:"

> And / Ban / Ban / Cal- / iban / like to play / Pan / at the Car- / nival; / pran- / cing up to the lim- / bo silence / down / down / down / so the god won't drown / him / down / down / down to the is- / land town / / down / down / down / and the dark- / ness fall- / ing; eyes / shut tight / and the whip light / crawl- / ing round the ship / where his free- / dom drown / down / down / down / to the is- / land town. / / Ban / Ban / Cal- / iban / like to play / pan / at the Car- / nival; / dip- / ping down / and the black / gods call- / ing, back / he falls / through the water's / cries / down / down / down / where the music hides / him / down / down / down / where the si- / lence lies.

In the second part of Brathwaite's poem, Caliban finds himself in the lowest position possible for a human being. He has endured the trip from Africa to America in a slave ship, and has experienced terrible wrongs imposed upon the black race by slavery.

The third and last part of Brathwaite's poem ends, however, with the image of Caliban rising up again:

> ... and the drummer is calling me / / *limbo / limbo like me* / / sun coming up / and the drummers are praising me / / out of the dark / and the dumb gods are raising me / / up / up / up / / and the music is saving me / / hot / slow / step / / on the burning ground.

Caliban continues the *limbo* dance, and after descending to the lowest limits possible for a human being, he arises. Called forth by the drummers, Caliban re-emerges, raised up by the gods, and saved by the music. After all the wrongs imposed upon him by slavery and white colonization, Brathwaite's Caliban is rescued by elements of his former culture, by his former gods, and, like Shakespeare's Caliban, by the power of music. It is not without meaning that Brathwaite dedicates this poem to the Cuban people.

Retamar's *Caliban*, in its turn, seems to be an attempt to answer a question posed by a European leftist journalist who asked him whether Latin American culture really exists or not. Retamar considers implicit in the journalist's question the assumption that, because of the experience of colonialism, Latin American culture can only be an echo or an imitation of European civilization. Moreover, in the journalist's question it is implicit that a Latin American identity simply does not exist. *Mestizaje* is the first aspect Retamar presents in order to set guidelines toward an understanding of Latin American races and cultures. According to Retamar, in Latin America, as in no other place in the world, *mestizaje* is the general rule. The Latin American population is the direct consequence of the racial merging of Aborigines, Africans and Europeans, which has resulted in a new race. In the same way, Latin American culture, although the immediate result of the interaction of European, African, and native American cultures, is not simply a duplication of any of these cultures, but a new and original cultural form.

Retamar also writes *Caliban* thinking of Rodó's *Ariel*. Rodó uses the image of Ariel to refer to Spanish American spiritual and cultural achievements, in implicit contrast to a calibanic Anglo American materialism and imperialism. According to Retamar, however, Latin American's symbol is not Ariel, but Caliban. After all, it is Caliban who has been dispossessed; it is Caliban who has been enslaved; it is Caliban who has been taught a new language; and it is Caliban who revolts. Retamar does not think that the European origin of Caliban is an obstacle for considering Caliban a symbol for Latin Americans, for he believes that Shakespeare created the figure of Caliban based on the Caribbean reality. Although Retamar emphatically refutes Rodo's choice of Ariel as a symbol for Latin Americans, he praises Rodo's book. As I have mentioned previously, according to Retamar, Rodó has failed in the symbol, but has rightly guessed where lies the greatest enemy of Latin American

culture, that is, the United States. Retamar even makes clear that his book is called *Caliban* because Rodó's book is called *Ariel*. Retamar wishes to pay homage to the Uruguayan intellectual, on the occasion of his 100th anniversary.

In his book, Retamar gives a new dimension to the character of Ariel. He points out that Cuban politics has positioned the contrast between two kinds of intellectuals in Latin America: the bourgeois intellectuals, linked to the European tradition, and those intellectuals who have rejected new forms of imperialism, especially that imposed by the United States. Retamar does not perceive any dichotomy between Caliban and Ariel, since both are from the same island and both are slaves in service of Prospero. The real dichotomy present in *The Tempest* lies between Prospero and Caliban. It is Prospero who usurps and enslaves Caliban who, in turn, revolts and plots against his master. According to Retamar, the intellectualized Ariel has to face a dilemma: either he joins Caliban in the search for freedom, or he goes on serving the imperialist Prospero, receiving from him the benefits of a metropolitan tutelage.

This is a brief review of a vast and diverse amount of criticism, essays, and literary works produced on or off *The Tempest* which emphasize connections between Shakespeare's play and the issue of imperial and colonial domination. My objective is first to demonstrate that this is by no means a new topic; on the contrary, it has been debated for centuries and certainly it will go on being discussed by intellectuals all over the world. A second objective is to demonstrate how this imperialist and colonialist approach to *The Tempest* has changed through the years. Caliban, who moves from the mere representation of Anglo-American imperialism to the representation of exploited and colonized people, is a prime example of such a change. Another important point is to perceive how place of birth, personal experience, and even the skin color influence the way Shakespeare's play is understood by readers and audiences. Even while maintaining a certain degree of empathy, politicians,

writers, critics, and even common readers and viewers of *The Tempest* look to the play for traces of their own historical experience.

NOTES

1 - I must remark that most of the criticism produced on *The Tempest* during the Restoration and the eighteenth century was based on Dryden and William Davenant's adaptation of Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest: Or, The Enchanted Island*, published in 1670 (Vaughans 91).

2 - This Classification of *The Tempest*'s criticism is suggested by the Vaughans. Frey, however, points out a subgroup in the Anglo-American branch of criticism, right between the "intentionalists" and the "prophetists." This subgroup is constituted by scholars such as Frank Kermode, Geoffrey Bullough, and Hallett Smith who, according to Frey, are concerned to demonstrate what travel accounts Shakespeare "had in mind" during the construction of *The Tempest* (31).

CHAPTER II

LEARNING HOW TO NAME:

PROSPERO AND THE RISE OF LANGUAGE

> *Cal.* When thou cam'st first,
> Thou strok'st me, and made much of me; wouldst give me
> Water with berries in 't; and teach me how
> To name the bigger light, and how the less,
> That burn by day and night: and then I lov'd thee,
> And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
> The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile:
> Curs'd be I that did so!
>
> (*The Tempest*)

In writing *The Tempest*, Shakespeare develops the fascinating issue of cultural encounter. The bard describes how a European Duke, his daughter and a number of other Europeans both of high and low social classes survive in an experience of total displacement, both geographical and cultural. The Italian characters have to face a new place, a new landscape, and, most important, a new cultural code, represented in the play mainly by the character of Caliban who, although not displaced geographically, is perhaps the character who most suffers--and resists--the consequences of this encounter. Throughout *The Tempest*, Shakespeare establishes an atmosphere of estrangement in which the characters suffer a lack of referentials and have to struggle in order to restore a new sense of placement, a new sense of identity, or, as Gonzalo puts it, a sense of finding oneself, "[w]hen no man was his own" (V.i.212-213).

This cultural encounter, represented in the play most emphatically by the encounter of Prospero and Caliban, is at first amiable. "When thou cam'st first, / Thou strok'st me, and made much of me; wouldst give me / Water with berries in 't; / ... and then I lov'd thee, /

And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle, / The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile" (I.ii.334-340), Caliban recollects. There is a period of amiable interaction between the two characters in which cultural aspects are interchanged in a friendly fashion. At first Caliban is happy to receive the linguistic code of the newcomer, and gladly shows Prospero the properties of the island, without which his and his daughter's survival would certainly be impossible. Caliban, however, ends this speech, regretting having taught Prospero how to survive on the island, especially how to get food and water, thus demonstrating that their relationship has deteriorated into conflict.

Prospero, on the other hand, accuses Caliban of being ungrateful and degenerate. According to Prospero, Caliban does not deserve a "human" treatment. He blames Caliban for having tried to rape Miranda. "Thou most lying slave, / Whom stripes may move, not kindness! I have us'd thee, / Filth as thou art, with human care; and lodg'd thee / In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate / The honour of my child" (I.ii.346-350), Prospero accuses. Prospero also claims that he attempted to treat Caliban well, even sharing with him his own home and that, because of Caliban's depraved attitude in attempting to rape Miranda, he has been obliged to make him his slave. Prospero somehow blames Caliban for having forced this decision upon him, suggesting that Caliban's depraved temper has compelled him to incarcerate him and force him to work as a slave. It is of great importance to keep in mind that the relationship between Caliban and Prospero is basically a conflicting one, and that both have widely diverse perspectives on the nature and causes of such a hostile relationship.

The issue of perspective is indeed crucial to understand *The Tempest*. It is necessary to be very attentive to the viewpoints expressed in the play, since the characters reveal diverse and often opposing assumptions concerning each other and the island. In *The Tempest*, Prospero imposes his own perspective of reality, occluding the native viewpoint which,

especially through Caliban, struggles for expression. Throughout *The Tempest*, both Caliban and his mother Sycorax are represented according to Prospero's European perspective. Said's notion of representation, or re-presentation, is marked by this 'exteriority' of perspective. The process of colonization presupposes the construction of a discourse which places those colonized under scrutiny, but according to the imperial point of view. The native personality--its culture, religion, and history--is simply occluded or denigrated, in a process of annihilation which aims at the complete banishment of such a native personality from the territory in order to replace it by the character of the European intruder.

Caliban's encounter with Prospero and Miranda anticipates a whole cultural clash established by the confrontation of one culture basically of oral tradition, and another which is highly literate. Prospero's books are of extreme importance for Prospero's domination over Caliban and his island, as Caliban stresses in III.ii.85-93:

> Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
> I' th' afternoon to sleep: there thou mayst brain him,
> Having first seiz'd his books; or with a log
> Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
> Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember
> First to Possess his books; for without them
> He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
> One spirit to command: they all do hate him
> As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.

According to Caliban, Prospero's books are the source of his power, as is emphasized three times in the above speech. The counsels given by Caliban, "Having first seiz'd his books,"

"Remember / First to possess his books," and "Burn but his books," lead us to perceive that he somehow understands that once Prospero's books are destroyed, his power ceases.

In *The Tempest*, it is Prospero who controls the written language and, consequently, it is he who commands the course of narratives and the construction of discourse. As pointed out by Bosi and Said, any colonialist project presupposes the construction of a discourse able to justify its actions. This discourse is produced by the colonizer, totally within the perspective of the intruder, and its main purpose is to justify a number of perceptible and implicit actions which bring about another people's subjugation and dispossession. In this discourse, while the colonizer usually is depicted as someone predestined to the mission of improving mankind, the colonized is invariably perceived as a barbarian, a primitive not able to conduct his or her own destiny without the presence of the imperial power.

I again remark upon Said's observation that 'representation' is in itself problematic, once it is elaborated within the context of language (*Orientalism* 203). Making use of Nietzsche's nihilism concerning the "truth of language," Said explains that any representation is in itself impossible, once manifested through language. In the colonialist discourse, representation is even more problematic, for there is no intention really to 'represent' the 'other,' but to 're-present' the 'other' in a 'certain way.' Throughout *The Tempest*, Caliban is depicted, or re-presented, from the point of view of the European intruders; it is the European eye which 'presents' Caliban to the viewers or readers of *The Tempest*.

I consider, however, Caliban's supposed lack of language as the most complex representation (or mis-representation) imposed upon him, by European standards. As the words, "and teach me how / To name the bigger light, and how the less, / That burn by day and night" (I.ii.336-338), suggest, Caliban receives from Prospero the gift of language, learning how to name things. Caliban, up to this moment, has been banished from the realm

of words, and, as such, tied to nature. Prospero's suggestion is that Caliban has been merely a human beast, incapable of cognitive thought and living under the constraints of instincts. Caliban thus would have no sense of abstraction, as well as no developed sense of transcendence. With the gift of words, Prospero claims to have raised Caliban from the confinement of nature, giving him the status of a human being.

Miranda also claims for herself the merit of having endowed Caliban with words. "I pitied thee, / Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour / One thing or other (...)" (I.ii.353-355), she says, alleging that she is responsible for Caliban's capacity to speak. "(...) [W]hen thou didst not, savage, / Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like / A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes / With words that made them known" (I.ii.355-8), Miranda adds. According to Miranda, Caliban was not conscious of his own reality, that is, he was not even conscious of himself. Miranda also reduces Caliban to the status of a non-thinking creature, since, according to her, he would not have yet been blessed by the virtue of language and would not have learned words as a medium of expression for his thoughts without her help.

With these thoughts in mind, at least two possible readings of Shakespeare's fable arise: 1) Caliban receives from Prospero and Miranda language in general terms, moving from a pre-linguistic situation to a full dominion of articulated speech, although he claims that he has only learned how to curse; or 2) Prospero and Miranda teach Caliban their own specific language, thus subduing his earlier language that was incoherent to them. To understand the nature of Caliban's "gabbles" is crucial to both of these readings: if we accept Miranda's assertion that she has taught him language in general, it is with the understanding that Caliban, up to that moment, was not able to pronounce words but lived as a brutish creature, babbling like an animal; however, if we accept Caliban's reply that Miranda has taught him

"her" language, however, this presupposes that Caliban was indeed already able to speak, but in a language unintelligible to Miranda and Prospero.

These two ways of understanding Caliban's "gabbles" produce widely diverse understandings of the play. The first emphasizes the moment of the gift of language, in which god-like figures provide the means for the ordering of chaos into ideas; the second presents the encounter of two largely different cultures, in which one imposes itself upon the other. In this dissertation, I work with the second choice, that *The Tempest* is mainly concerned with the issue of cultural encounter. On the one hand, Caliban represents a native culture based on oral tradition; on the other hand, Prospero and Miranda represent a culture based on a written tradition, possessing a more advanced technology and higher scientific knowledge.

Caliban's alleged lack of speech, however, is full of implicit thematic and interpretative implications that must be closely observed. The first implication of Caliban's supposed lack of speech is that he is not a human being, but a brutish, animalized creature. This is part of the larger "strategy of denial" which is pervasive in *The Tempest*, a strategy in which aborigines are reduced to the level of nature, to the level of landscape, thus denying the obvious fact that a native human population lived in the "newly" discovered lands. The "strategy of denial" is very important for the European imperialist and colonialist project in the New World, for it begins to construct a discourse which justifies European actions in America, especially the extermination of native populations, which was excused as the killing of bestial and brute creatures.

Another implied implication in Caliban's alleged lack of language is that he was unable to think or could not express his thoughts. Concerning Miranda's first suggestion that Caliban was not able to think because he lacked a language for the ordering of chaos into articulated ideas, it is important to remark that if Caliban is intelligent enough to learn

Prospero and Miranda's language, he is necessarily capable of thought. If we accept Miranda's suggestion that Caliban could not manifest his thoughts before assimilating the European language, we will have to believe that Caliban was not able to express himself or to communicate before the Europeans arrived on the island. In this case, it is necessary to admit that there was no communication, for example, between Caliban and Sycorax, since there was no language to operate as a medium of thought.

A third implicit implication of Caliban's supposed lack of speech is that Caliban, lacking language, has developed no form of culture. The European depiction of Caliban as a bestial creature presupposes that Caliban, as a fruit of nature, has developed no sort of culture. Caliban's former culture is simply denied by the European intruders who see in Caliban nothing but the manifestation of bestial nature. Caliban's island is then perceived as a virgin land, an empty space which Europeans should fill in with the Mediterranean culture. The "strategy of denial" is thus used in cultural terms, and it presupposes the inexistence of any other cultural code in the "newly discovered island" before the arrival of the Europeans.

Still another important implication present in Caliban's alleged lack of speech is related to the lack of an effective sense of religiosity. According to *Genesis*, language originated from God, who endowed men with the potential for speech. Caliban's presumed lack of speech suggests that he has not received the blessing of God, given to men through the Edenic gift of language. Caliban is perceived as belonging to a whole lineage abandoned or ignored by God, or yet as possessing no spirituality at all. It is important to notice that many critics of *The Tempest* point out that, because of the initial "k" sound and the resemblance of vocal sounds, Caliban's name may be an allusion to Cain--Abel's treacherous brother. Caliban is thus perceived as a lowly descendant of an unblessed lineage who now comes face to face with the blessed descendant of God: that is, the Europeans.

In summary, *The Tempest* illustrates some extremely important thematic and interpretative implications concerning Caliban's alleged lack of speech. The first implication is that Caliban is a less-than-human, bestial creature. He is reduced to the level of nature, and, as such, is bound by the constraints of instinct. Another implication is that he was not able to think, or that he was not able to manifest his ideas since he had no language as a medium of self expression. A third implication is that Caliban possessed no form of native culture. His former culture is simply denied by the European intruders who see in him only primitive manifestations of nature. And still another implication is that Caliban has developed no sense of religiosity, or that he is deprived of spirituality.

Throughout *The Tempest*, however, there is plenty of evidence to question the validity of such thematic and interpretative implications. The first implication which I will analyze is the assumption that Caliban is not a human being, but a bestial creature. Several times throughout *The Tempest*, Caliban is excluded from the domain of the human race, often being designated as a monster, or as an animal-like creature. In a comic scene, in II.ii.24-37, when Trinculo first sees Caliban, he confuses him with a dead fish:

> What have
> we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he
> smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish like smell;
> a kind of, not of the newest Poor-John. A strange
> fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and
> had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there
> but would give a piece of silver: there would this
> monster make a man; any strange beast there
> makes a man: when they will not give a doit to re-

> lieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead indian. Legg'd like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer: this no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt.

Trinculo thinks that Caliban is a fish because of his smell; he compares this smell to one of a dried fish. The jester perceives Caliban as a "fishy" creature also because he is hidden under a gabardine and only two human legs can be seen, with arms that resemble fins. Trinculo, however, soon realizes that Caliban is not a fish, but supposedly a dead native islander, and so he decides to hide himself under the gabardine, for protection from an approaching storm. It is important to notice that Trinculo regrets not being in England, where he could become rich with the exhibition of what he considers a "strange beast." Trinculo's remark reinforces the consideration of Caliban as a native of the New World, since native American Indians were actually taken to exhibitions in England during the reign of James I (Kermode 62 (note)).

A similar confusion occurs when Stephano sees Trinculo and Caliban under the gabardine in II.ii.58-106, mistaking them to be what he considers a four-legged monster. Although Stephano speaks first to Caliban, it is Trinculo whom he recognizes as a man: "If thou beest Trinculo, come forth: I'll pull thee by / the lesser legs: if any be Trinculo's legs, these are / they. Thou art very Trinculo indeed! How cam'st / thou to be the siege of this moon-calf? can he vent / Trinculos?" (II.ii.104-108). It is important to notice that in this passage, when Stephano uses for the first time the term "moon-calf," he is not addressing Caliban, but what he still believed to be a kind of monster or devil of the island. It is only some lines later that Stephano addresses Caliban, no longer confusing him for a monster, although still calling him a "moon-calf." "How now, moon-calf! how does thine ague?,"

Stephano asks in II.ii.135-136. From now on Stephano and Trinculo are already quite aware of Caliban's humanity, although they continue to call him by names such as "fish," "moon-calf," and "monster," throughout II.ii, III.ii, IV.i, and V.i. My point is that Stephano and Trinculo first label Caliban with grotesque characteristics such as "dead fish," "monster," or "moon-calf," because they, in fear, believe that Caliban is such an abominable creature. In time, however, Stephano and Trinculo begin to perceive Caliban as a native islander, but continue to attribute grotesque features to him, as a way of showing scorn and mockery.

Trinculo recognizes Caliban as a man, although he still calls him a monster. "Servant-monster! the folly of this island! they say / there's but five upon this isle: we are three of them; / if th' other be brain'd like us, the state totters" (In III.ii.4-6), says Trinculo. Here Trinculo mentions the fact that there are only five persons on the island, and that Stephano, Caliban, and he himself are three of them, Prospero and Miranda being the other two. Trinculo includes Caliban in his list, thus acknowledging his humanity, despite the grotesque features which both he and Stephano continue to attribute to him.

It is not, however, only Stephano and Trinculo who refer to Caliban by means of brutish imagery. Antonio is surprised when he first sees Caliban, and he also alludes to him as a fish-like creature. "Very like; one of them / Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable" (V.i.265-266), Antonio says in amazement. In this speech, Antonio refers to Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, but it is Caliban whom he considers a "plain fish." The suggestion of considering Caliban "marketable" has earlier been expressed by Trinculo: that Indians from the New World were being taken to Europe as exhibits, and if the Indians did not die during the trip itself, they died within days after arriving. There is no allusion to Caliban as a real fish-like creature, but only amazement at the appearance of the recently discovered native islander.

Prospero, in a moment of anger and lack of patience, also charges Caliban with yet another aquatic reference: he calls him a "tortoise." "Come forth, I say! there's other business for thee; / Come, thou tortoise! when?" (I.ii.317-318), Prospero demands. It is possible, however, that Prospero is referring more to the problem of excessive delay than to a physical description of Caliban. After all, despite Prospero's demand, Caliban has not yet left his cave, and only speaks to his master from within. It is also important to notice that Prospero finishes his speech with the question "When?," which emphasizes this connotation of promptness and of quickness present in his order to Caliban.

In a bewildering passage in which Alonso laments the supposed drowning of Ferdinand, there is still another interesting aquatic reference: "O thou mine heir / Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish / Hath made his meal on thee?" (II.i.107-109). In this passage, Alonso laments that Ferdinand's drowned body has been eaten by an unknown fish. Although this speech makes no direct allusion to Caliban, I believe that it deserves close attention. At the root of Caliban's name, there is the idea of cannibalism, and it is Caliban who has been described throughout the play as a fish-like creature. Could it not be that there is an implicit suggestion of cannibalism in Alonso's moaning, since the idea of cannibalism was indeed among the folkloric and fantastic beliefs in relation to the inhabitants of the New World?

In still another passage, Caliban is further designated as an animal. Stephano calls him "cat," when he is about to offer him wine for the first time. "Come on your ways; open your mouth; here is that / which will give language to you, cat: open your / mouth; this will shake your shaking, I can tell you, / and that soundly: you cannot tell who's your friend: / open your chaps again" (II.ii.84-88), Stephano demands. Here again, I do not believe that Stephano is referring to any physical characteristic of Caliban's, but rather to the fact that he is offering an alcoholic drink to him. Stephano believes that Caliban, because of his tremors, is suffering

from a strong ague, and that, by drinking the wine, he will be cured of his fever. Kermode, in order to explain this passage, makes allusion to the proverb "Ale (liquor) will make a cat speak" (65 (note)), in which the idea of "drinking" and "speaking" prevails.

Trinculo makes still another animalistic reference to Caliban, calling him "puppy-headed." "I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed / monster. A most scurvy monster! I could find in / my heart to beat him" (II.ii.154-156), Trinculo says. Notice, however, that Trinculo uses a tone of mockery and that he explicitly alludes to Caliban as a motive for laughter. Once again, I believe that Trinculo does not intend a physical description of Caliban, but only wishes to mock and scorn him.

Several times throughout the play, Prospero recognizes Caliban's human status. He affirms Caliban's humanity, for example, in I.ii.281-284, when he recounts to Ariel the circumstances that brought Sycorax to the then uninhabited island, where she gave birth to Caliban:

> Then was this island--
>
> Save for the son that she did litter here,
>
> A freckled whelp hag-born--not honour'd with
>
> A human shape.

It is necessary to take a close look at this passage, since it is widely misunderstood by critics of *The Tempest* who have used this speech by Prospero to demonstrate that Caliban is a monstrous, non-human creature. Because of the dashes, however, we must consider "[s]ave for the son that she did litter here, / [a] freckled whelp hag-born" as an appositive. Therefore, the main clause is "Then was this island not honour'd with a human shape." If we extend the appositive to the end of the main clause, it is easier to perceive that Caliban indeed possesses a human shape: "Then was this island not hounour'd with a human shape--save for the son

that she did litter here, a freckled whelp hag-born." It then becomes clear that it was the island which was uninhabited before Sycorax's arrival; and when she died, only Caliban, her son, remained. Prospero's speech in I.ii.281-284 makes evident that Caliban possesses indeed a human form.

Prospero also explicitly alludes to Caliban as a man, when he compares him to Ferdinand in I.ii.481-484. "Thou think'st there is no more such shapes as he, / Having seen but him and Caliban: foolish wench! / To th' most of men this is a Caliban, / And they to him are angels," Prospero admonishes. At this moment, Prospero speaks to Miranda about Ferdinand, whom she considers to possess a great beauty. As part of the love affair Prospero has planned for Miranda and Ferdinand, he tries to convince Miranda that Ferdinand is not so worthy as she thinks him to be. Prospero compares Caliban's ugliness to Ferdinand's beauty, but affirms that other men, or "shapes," still unknown to Miranda are much more handsome than Ferdinand. He describes these other men as "angels," compared to whom Ferdinand would be as ugly as Caliban. Although considering Caliban far too ugly and debased to marry Miranda, Prospero does acknowledge Caliban's humanity.

Miranda's reply to Prospero is that she does not wish to know a better man than Ferdinand. "My affections / Are then most humble; I have no ambition / To see a goodlier man" (I.ii.484-486), says Miranda. She uses the expression "goodlier man" in reference to Prospero's suggestion that other men are much more handsome than Ferdinand, and that she is in love with Ferdinand only because she does not know the others. Although Miranda also considers Caliban ugly and debauched, she does not contest Prospero's allusion to him as a man.

Miranda herself refers to Caliban as a man, when she thinks that Prospero is about to confront Ferdinand. "Why speaks my father so urgently? This / Is the third man that e'er I

saw; the first / That e'er I sigh'd for: pity move my father / To be inclin'd my way!" (I.ii. 447-450), Miranda says in surprise. Miranda affirms that Ferdinand is the third man whom she has seen, but the first one with whom she is in love. The first man known to Miranda is, of course, Prospero himself. The second is obviously Caliban. Naturally, any love relationship between Miranda and Prospero would be incestuous, and Miranda does not wish to marry or to have sexual intercourse with Caliban. Ferdinand, the third man on her list, is also the first and only man of whom she can think of as a husband.

Later, in III.i.48-57, however, Miranda, in a disturbing speech, excludes Caliban from the list of men whom she has already encountered:

> I do not know
> One of my sex; no woman's face remember,
> Save, from my glass, mine own; nor have I seen
> More than I may call men than you, good friend,
> And my dear father: how features are abroad,
> I am skilless of; but, by my modesty,
> The jewel in my dower, I would not wish
> Any companion in the world but you;
> Nor can imagination form a shape,
> Besides yourself, to like of.

Here, Miranda confesses to Ferdinand that she has never seen the face of a woman, besides the reflection of her own image. In I.ii.447-450, however, Miranda remembers the presence of some women when she still resided in Milan. "'Tis far off, / And rather like a dream than an assurance / That my remembrance warrants. Had I not / Four of five women once that tended me?," Miranda recollects. Miranda left Milan when she was only three years old, and, it

seems that her mother had already died, although the play does not mention the circumstances of her death. Sycorax is the other woman whom Miranda could have met, but Sycorax had already died when Prospero and Miranda arrived on the island, although again the play does not provide the details of Sycorax's death. Miranda also tells Ferdinand that she has seen only two men during all of her life: her father Prospero and Ferdinand himself. Miranda informs Ferdinand that, albeit she does not know of other men living outside the island, she has no need of a finer man, or of a better husband. It is distressing, however, that Miranda, despite her list in I.ii.447-450 (seen above), cites only Ferdinand and Prospero as the totality of those men whom she has already encountered. I can find no plausible explanation for this speech by Miranda, but I do not consider it enough to prove that she does not consider Caliban as a man, especially after so much evidence to the contrary.

To conclude this series of allusions to Caliban as a human being, in V.i.267-276, near the end of the play, Prospero still addresses Caliban as a man:

> Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
> Then say if they be true. This mis-shapen knave,
> His mother was a witch; and one so strong
> That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
> And deal in her command, without her power.
> These three have robb'd me; and this demi-devil--
> For he's a bastard one--had plotted with them
> To take my life. Two of these fellows you
> Must know and own; this thing of darkness I
> Acknowledge mine.

Prospero pronounces this speech after the entrance of Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, led by Ariel. Prospero first refers to the three men by the generic designation "these men," alluding to the fact that they are wearing garments robbed from his cell. Prospero then addresses Caliban, labeling him as a deformed villain and alluding to the sorcery of his mother, Sycorax. Later, Prospero counts Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, alluding to them as "[t]hese three," and again remarking on the theft of his possessions. He also emphasizes the fact that it was Caliban who, helped by the others, had plotted against his life. Finally, Prospero divides them into two groups, leaving Stephano and Trinculo to the responsibility of the Neapolitans, and Caliban to his own tutelage.

The assumption that Caliban was not able to think or that he was not able to communicate before the arrival of the European intruders is another implication of Caliban's alleged lack of language which is not well-founded either. Caliban's ability to learn a European language quickly demonstrates that he is intelligent and able to think. He knows where to find "all the qualities o' th' isle, / The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile" (I.ii.337-338); he also knows how to fish, and it is he who best knows how to survive on the island. Thus Prospero needs Caliban, despite his magic. As Prospero himself states: "But as 'tis, / We cannot miss him. He does make our fire, / Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices / That profit us" (I.ii.310-313). All this ensures that Caliban is a thinking being.

If we accept Miranda's suggestion that Caliban could not express his thoughts before assimilating the European language, we must believe that he was previously unable to communicate. We would have to consider that there was no conversation, for example, between Caliban and Sycorax, since there was no language for their communication. Sycorax, however, has bequeathed a whole cultural and religious legacy to Caliban (as will later be seen) which would simply be impossible without effective communication between them.

A third implication of Caliban's alleged lack of language is the false assumption that he possessed no native culture. It is necessary to point out some clues in *The Tempest* as to aspects of Caliban's former culture, which is also recurrently denied by the European intruders. Caliban has a cultural legacy inherited from Sycorax, his mother, who, like Prospero, could control nature and who, consequently, possessed some type of culture. When Caliban curses Prospero because of his enslavement, for example, he recalls Sycorax's dominion over nature. "All the charms / Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!" (I.ii.341-342), Caliban yells. Although not physically present in *The Tempest*, Sycorax is Prospero's first cultural contestant. She is the first to remind Prospero of the disturbing fact that the island was by no means an uninhabited place.

Caliban also knows how to obtain food and water on the island and, better than any European, he knows how to survive. "I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; / I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough" (II.ii.160-161), Caliban promises Stephano. And he adds: "I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow; / And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts; / Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how / To snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee / To clustering filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee / Young scamels from the rock." (II.ii.167-172). Caliban also knows how to differentiate the several natural sources of food and water existing on the island. At the end of II.ii, when Caliban sings the possibility of becoming free of Prospero's dominion, he makes it clear that he also knows how to construct dams for fishing. Many of these details are indications that Caliban possessed indeed a cultural code before Prospero's arrival on the island, and that this native culture is recurrently denied by the European characters.

Another important false implication of Caliban's presumed lack of speech is that he has developed no sense of religiosity, or that he possesses no spirituality at all. Again this is a

very complex issue, deserving an attentive examination. Throughout *The Tempest*, Prospero attributes to Caliban many grotesque characteristics. For instance, he labels Caliban as "[a] freckled whelp hag" (I.ii.283), "[h]ag-seed" (I.ii.367), "[a] devil, a born devil" (IV.i.188), "demi-devil" (V.i.272). It is necessary to take a closer look at the reasons why Prospero and, to a lesser degree, Miranda describe Caliban using such grotesque features, since, as I have tried to demonstrate, they do not refer to Caliban's lack of humanity.

First, it is necessary to examine Caliban's genealogy, since many of Prospero's grotesque references to Caliban are concerned with his origin. In I.ii.263-270, Prospero affirms that Caliban's mother, Sycorax, was a powerful witch, a practitioner of black magic:

> This damn'd witch Sycorax,
> For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
> To enter human hearing, from Argier,
> Thou know'st, was banish'd: for one thing she did
> They would not take her life....
> (...)
> This blue-ey'd hag was hither brought with child,
> And here was left by th' sailors.

Prospero states that Sycorax was capable of evil actions, and that these activities would disgust and horrify common people. He further states that, because of her black magic, Sycorax would have been killed, but she was deported, instead. Although Prospero leaves a trace of doubt in relation to Argier as Sycorax's birthplace, it seems plausible that both Sycorax and Caliban possessed an African lineage. Kermode suggests that Prospero's mention of Sycorax as being "blue-ey'd" is more related to the fact that women were supposed to possess a blue eyelid, as a sign of pregnancy (Kermode 27 (note)), rather than to

any reference to the color of Sycorax's eyes. Someone may then imply that Sycorax was not killed because she was pregnant with Caliban, who was born on a hitherto uninhabited island. But witches were also supposed to possess a blue eyelid as a sign of witchery, and Prospero's description of Sycorax as "blue-ey'd" also may refer to her supposed black magic. The fact is that Prospero does not clarify the circumstances of Sycorax's banishment from Argier and the readers and viewers of *The Tempest* are left without knowing precisely which was Sycorax's action that ended up saving her life.

Although Caliban's father is not mentioned in *The Tempest*, Prospero insinuates that he was an incubus (critics point out Setebos himself). Caliban would thus be the offspring of a devil himself with the lustful witch Sycorax. "Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself / Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!" (I.ii.321-322), Prospero demands. According to Prospero, Caliban is the result of female lust with the devil himself, and is irreparably debased from birth. Prospero's perspective clarifies some of the grotesque designations addressed to Caliban in *The Tempest*, which are supposedly related to his origin. When Prospero labels Caliban, for example, as "[a] freckled whelp hag-born" (I.ii.283), or "[h]ag-seed" (I.ii.367), he alludes to the sorcery of Caliban's mother. And when he charges Caliban, as "[a] devil, a born devil" (IV.i.188), "demi-devil" (V.i.272), he alludes to the grotesque mis-formation, supposedly inherited from his father.

It is necessary to perceive that Prospero begins a number of parallels and contrasts between himself and Sycorax. He contrasts Sycorax's black witchery to his own supposed white magic, Ariel being at the center of this dichotomy. In I.ii.270-281, when Prospero recalls how he found Ariel imprisoned into a pine by Sycorax's sorcery, and how he freed him from a twelve-year torment, he gives us some initial clues for understanding Sycorax's character (at least how it is perceived by him).

> Thou, my slave,
> As thou report'st thyself, was then her servant;
> And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
> To act her earthly and abhorr'd commands,
> Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
> By help of her more potent ministers,
> And in her most unmitigable rage,
> Into a cloven pine; within which rift
> Imprison'd thou didst painfully remain
> A dozen years; within which space she died,
> And left thee; where thou didst vent thy groans
> As fast as mill-wheels strike.

Prospero labels Sycorax's magic as "earthly" and "abhorr'd," making an implicit contrast to his own art, which he considers to be of white tradition. According to Kermode, Sycorax is a witch of "natural magic," a "goetist;" while Prospero is a "theurgist," whose magic belongs to the realm of "civility" and "learning" (xl-xli). Kermode submits that Sycorax's magic is limited, for she cannot control spirits of the highest orders; Prospero's art, on the other hand, can control these spirits, and, through them, also spirits of lesser orders. The suggestion is that Ariel is a spirit of the highest order (notice the onomastic indication of Ariel's name, alluding to an airy spirit), and could not be in Sycorax's service, without being contaminated by her earthly, natural commands. According to Kermode, Prospero, because of the character of his art, can control Ariel, and through him, a number of lesser spirits.

Kermode's analysis, however, does not acknowledge the fact that Sycorax's magic, or her "more potent ministers," has shown itself to be more powerful than Ariel, who was

defeated by her and remained imprisoned until Prospero's arrival. Another problem is that Prospero's art is not so pure and theurgic as he himself (and Kermode) wants us to believe. And, most important, it is Prospero who labels Sycorax's magic as "black" and his own as "white;" it is Prospero's European perspective which we hear throughout *The Tempest*. Sycorax has no presence, no voice; she is only a haunting absence, reminding Prospero of the disturbing fact that she had arrived first and was the owner of the island. Sycorax is Prospero's first contrasting "other" whose death has not been clarified and whose memory must be cleansed from the history of the island. Sycorax is the very portrayal of evil, in a Manichean contrast with Prospero and his white art. Prospero characterizes Sycorax and her descendant, Caliban, as banished by God, while he describes himself as a white, studious mage, whose greatest objective is "the bettering of [his] mind" (I.ii.90).

All these representations imposed upon Caliban by the European intruders reflect a larger discourse used to justify European actions against "Calibans" during a process of colonization. The European intruder designates Caliban as a bestial creature, and, as such, sees him as unable to think or communicate, possessing no culture, and demonstrating no sense of religiosity or spirituality. Caliban's supposed lack of speech before Prospero's arrival is essential to all of these mis-representations. Perceiving Caliban as a non-speaking creature, the European characters, especially Prospero and Miranda, neglect all of Caliban's basic rights, such as the right to freedom or to possession. This same colonialist discourse which justifies Caliban's enslavement and dispossession is also used even as a justification for his eventual extermination.

Whether Caliban really possessed no language before Prospero and Miranda's arrival on the island or not is also a question of great importance. There is plenty of evidence in *The Tempest* that Caliban is indeed a human being who was capable of thinking and certainly able

to communicate before the arrival of the European intruder. He also possessed a native culture, although one widely different from that of Europe. Caliban has also inherited a clear notion of religiosity through the worshipping of the pagan Setebos. My suggestion is that Caliban effectively possessed a native language before the European arrival on the island, but that this language was also denied by the European intruder in the same process of occlusion in which his former culture and religion were also denied.

I do not agree that Caliban receives from Prospero and Miranda language in general terms, but that he was excluded from the realm of words until the European arrival on the island. I believe that Prospero and Miranda have imposed upon Caliban a European language, denying his native language which sounded incoherent to them. Caliban's "gabbles" are of great importance if we take for granted that he was indeed already able to speak, but in a language unintelligible both to Prospero and Miranda. The point is not that Caliban possessed no native language, but that this language suffered the same process of denial and occlusion imposed on his former culture and religion.

Although it is possible to infer that Caliban's "gabbles" are vestiges of his native language, it is very difficult to demonstrate traces of this language in *The Tempest*. But it is also difficult to suppose that a native culture and religion could be developed on the island, or that Caliban could inherit this cultural and religious legacy from Sycorax without the support of language. On the other hand, it is possible to suppose that, as Caliban's native culture and religion were occluded by the European presence on the island, the same happened to his native language. I continue to see *The Tempest* in terms of a cultural encounter: on the one side, Caliban, representing a native culture based on oral tradition, on the other side, Prospero and Miranda, symbols of a culture based on written tradition.

To conclude, I believe that *The Tempest* reflects European colonialist discourse constructed during the early colonization of the New World. I agree with Foucault's warning that it is necessary to pay attention not only to what is blocked out or obstructed by power, but especially to what is erected by power relations. Colonialism as a process of occlusion works in the obstruction of a native culture, a native form of religion, and especially a native language. This series of obstructions result in provoking the annihilation of one's former identity. Concerning the constructive aspect of power, not only Foucault but also Bosi and Said have pointed out that one of the most important creations of imperialist and colonialist societies is the construction of a discourse able to justify a desire for domination.

In order to carry on its imperialist and colonialist project, Europe has forged a European-centered discourse capable of justifying the impetus aimed at other peoples and their territory. I would like to emphasize that European representation of its cultural "other" is essential to the construction of this imperialist and colonialist discourse. In the case of the early colonization of the New World, this European-centered discourse has described America as a virgin land, a natural site inhabited by unblessed human beasts who possessed no form of culture. According to the European perspective, America was an empty arena, a "tabula rasa" which must be filled by Mediterranean culture, religion, and language. America's former cultures, religions, and languages are simply occluded in a discourse which places American natives under European domination. The European imperialist and colonialist project, however, was not able to sweep away all the traces of this indigenous legacy which even today struggles to be acknowledged. History in the New World, one must say, does not begin with the arrival of the European intruder.

CHAPTER III

LEARNING HOW TO SPEAK:

MIRANDA'S SCHOOLING, OR THE EMPIRE AT WORK

> *Mir.* I pitied thee,
> Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
> One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
> Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
> A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
> With words that made them known.
>
> (*The Tempest*)

I begin this chapter explaining the title, since it contains two references to published critical works: "Miranda's Schooling" is a section of Ania Loomba's "Seizing the Book" (sixth chapter of *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama*, 1989), and "The Empire at Work: Verdi's *Aida*" is taken from the fourth section of Said's "Consolidated Vision" (second chapter of *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993). Loomba's phrase refers to the interesting fact that one of Delhi's oldest colleges for women has been called "Miranda House." According to Loomba, the colonial scene has imposed 'contradictory' demands upon white women: on the one hand, Prospero's white patriarchalism has demanded of Miranda silent and unquestioning obedience and on the other, has introduced her to the white colonialist project (153-154). My use of Loomba's phrase acknowledges both sides of Miranda's apparently 'contradictory' role in the colonial enterprise, but I am most concerned with the recognition that Miranda indeed participates in the whole process of the colonization and dispossession of Caliban. Said's phrase, in its turn, alludes to the effective process through which the empire establishes and maintains its dominion over the colonies, which is one of the main issues of this chapter.

There is a great controversy among critics and editors of *The Tempest*, in relation to Miranda's speech in I.ii.353-364, in which she claims for herself the responsibility for having endowed Caliban with articulated speech. The controversy is that some assign this speech to Prospero, although it clearly appears as being Miranda's in the 1623 Folio. In an explanatory note to this passage, Kermode alludes to this controversy. He explains that this dispute started with Dryden who wrote *The Tempest: Or, The Enchanted Island*, published in 1670, and that some editors have followed him, but none have succeeded in justifying their editorial choice. Kermode, however, lists some justifications for considering this speech as being Prospero's: 1) that the language used in the passage is at once too indelicate and too philosophical for Miranda, and 2) that Miranda would be too young when she arrived on the island and could not have assumed responsibility for Caliban's education, despite Caliban's speech in II.ii.141 in which Caliban admits Miranda as his "mistress."

Furthermore, in Caliban's first entrance onto the stage, he recognizes that Prospero has taught him language. Caliban admits that it was Prospero who taught him how to name things, during a period of amiable exchange of experiences: "...and teach me how / To name the bigger light, and how the less, / that burn by day and night..." (I.ii.336-338). It is interesting to note that during this process of giving names to things, Caliban probably is also named. I believe that just as Caliban has been taught a foreign language he has also been given a name by the European intruder, a name which does not acknowledge his former cultural background but, on the contrary, reinforces stereotypes of Europe's beliefs concerning native Americans. Through Caliban's name (possibly an anagram from the English word "cannibal"), Prospero imposes connotations of brutality and savagery upon Caliban, thus creating a series of socio-political relations that will be fossilized by language.

Still another reason pointed out by critics for considering the I.ii.353-364 speech as belonging to Prospero is that he is the only character who, throughout *The Tempest*, alludes to Caliban as a "slave." It is Prospero, through his magic, who submits Caliban to forced labor; however, Caliban is, in fact, slave to both Prospero and Miranda. In the speech which we are considering, Miranda does not refer to Caliban as "her" slave. On the other hand, the speech is pronounced immediately after Caliban's clear allusion to Miranda in I.ii.351-353, bemoaning the fact that Prospero has prevented him from a rape attempt against Miranda. "O ho, O ho! would 't had been done! / Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else / This isle with Calibans" (I.ii.351-353), Caliban laments. Following the 1623 Folio, and acknowledging that the speech is uttered by Miranda, it is possible to understand it as Miranda's irate response to Caliban's previous speech bemoaning his failed attempt against her chastity. Caliban's response using the pronoun "you" is obviously directed to Miranda, or at least to both Miranda and Prospero, since at all other times Caliban speaks to Prospero using the pronoun "thou."

I believe that both Prospero and Miranda are responsible for teaching Caliban a new language, and, through this new language, they are also responsible for his colonization and dispossession. Prospero acknowledges that he is responsible for an attempt to educate Caliban. After interrupting the mask because of the conspiracy of Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, Prospero observes the following in relation to Caliban's character: "A devil, a born devil, on whose nature / Nurture can never stick; on whom my pains, / Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost; / And as with age his body uglier grows, / So his mind cankers" (IV.i.188-193). According to Prospero, then, he has tried to educate Caliban, but this educational effort has been useless, because of Caliban's debased nature.

This speech by Prospero is very rich and complex, deserving of close attention. Kermode explains nature in opposition to Art and Grace, and nurture as a process of education. Nature, Kermode explains, implies the idea of innate character, but also the idea of graceless, fallen life; nurture presents learning as a compensation for the fall, and often implies a noble birth (106 (note)). Kermode's suggestion is that nurture, as a process of education, has worked on Miranda because her nature is different from Caliban's, who is irremediably debased from birth. While Miranda, because of her high birth, is predisposed to virtue, Caliban, because of his devilish lineage, has no choice other than being vile and treacherous.

In this case, then, Antonio's perfidious character becomes a problem to be solved, for he, too, is of high birth and, thus, should also be predisposed to virtue, and not to evilness, capable of the treachery described by Prospero throughout I.ii. However, Antonio's corrupted nature may be explained simply as a fault of nurture, or it may be that Antonio, unlike Caliban who would have no choice other than being vile and depraved, being free to choose between good and evil, has deliberately chosen to be perfidious, thus exercising his free will. Miranda, however, presents still another explanation: the acknowledgment that often perfidious sons are born into noble families. Miranda thus admits the possibility of corruption among the world of "civility" represented by the Europeans. After all, "Good wombs have borne bad sons" (I.ii.120), she herself comments.

Kermode perceives Caliban as part of nature, and, as such, in opposition to Art and Grace. Nature in opposition to Art implies that Caliban possesses no control over his instincts and appetites, that he lives in the world of sensations, and that he has developed no form of civility. Nature in opposition to Grace implies that Caliban, as we have seen, has developed no sense of "true" religion, or that he has not transcended to a world of spirituality. Nurture,

or education, does not affect Caliban because he is bound to nature, and for this reason is unable to assimilate the benefits of Art or the blessings of Grace. Learning, understood in this way, is an escape from nature and a compensation for man's fall from paradise, but it is necessarily related to the idea of high or noble birth. Caliban, as perceived by Kermode, is then irremediably linked to nature, meaning basically that he has developed no sense of civilization, that he has acquired no sense of "true" religion, and that he is hopelessly condemned, since he cannot achieve enlightenment through knowledge.

I believe, however, that the way Kermode perceives Caliban reinforces the European prejudice and (mis)-representations concerning non-European populations present in *The Tempest*. Kermode's analysis follows the tendency of the European characters, especially Prospero and Miranda, of not really acknowledging any kind of civilization or any sort of "true" religion outside the European territory. Kermode reinforces the distance established between the European "self" and its barbarous "others," which is so pleasing to the European centers. In *Orientalism*, Said has warned that the Orient is not only the source of Europe's culture and languages, but also Europe's "cultural contestant" and one of Europe's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (1). In relation to newly discovered America, Europe's colonialist discourse does not acknowledge America's native civilizations and languages at all, thereby reducing America to the level of nature. America is perceived as an empty space to be filled in by white European language, culture, and religion.

Kermode's analysis also illustrates the close relationship between the spread of European languages and the dissemination of a European notion of religion. According to him, Caliban fails not only in transcending the world of sensations, but also is unable to control his passions and instincts. Most importantly, Caliban also fails in achieving Grace, which implies that he does not deserve to be saved. In this view, the European language is the

instrument given to Caliban by Prospero and Miranda in order that he might achieve Grace. By accepting Prospero and Miranda's language, Caliban would be able to free himself from the constraints of nature and transcend to a higher level of spirituality. Prospero and Miranda's language is the instrument given to Caliban so that he might experience spiritual regeneration and sanctification. However, from the perspective of the colonizer, Caliban seemingly only denigrates this gift through his cursings.

For Kermode, Caliban is a complete failure, which supports Prospero and Miranda's perspective. Caliban is described as one who fails to liberate himself from the limitations imposed by nature, who is not able to live within the principles of civility represented in the play by Prospero's Art, and, finally, as someone who is not able to achieve Grace. I think, however, that in his analysis, Kermode clearly accepts Prospero and Miranda's European perspectives and is not able to perceive the justice of Caliban's claims. The greatest irony in Caliban's supposed failure is that, although he learns to speak, he is accused of only learning to use language in its lowest form, which is represented most emphatically in the play by the cursing which marks his speech. It is interesting to note that, although Prospero curses throughout the play at least as much as Caliban does, he is not considered base or corrupted because of this (1).

Although Prospero is clearly responsible for attempting to educate Caliban, there is not a solid reason for not considering I.ii.353-355 as Miranda's speech. After all, Miranda plays a decisive role in the colonialist project presented in *The Tempest* (2). The disregard of this passage as Miranda's speech effectively purges her of participation in such ignoble issues such as racial prejudice and enslavement, implicitly suggesting that she takes no part in the colonialist project carried out in *The Tempest*. Loomba, however, has highlighted Miranda's importance to the plot of *The Tempest*, demonstrating that most of Prospero's actions in the

play are carried out because of Miranda, as Prospero himself concedes in I.ii.16. The rise of the magical storm in I.i, and Caliban's imprisonment after having been accused of attempting to rape Miranda in I.ii.346-350 are two examples of how Prospero's actions in *The Tempest* are mostly performed because of her.

Miranda does indeed take part in the white European colonization project, and her speech in I.ii.353-364 is impressively full of colonialist implications. She labels Caliban an abominable and disgusting slave, incapable of virtue or morality, but full of wickedness and depravity. Her harsh tone is apparent when she replies to Caliban's speech in I.ii.351-353. As he laments having failed in his offensive against her chastity, Miranda repels him: "Abhorred slave, / Which any print of goodness wilt not take, / Being capable of all ill" (I.ii.353-355).

Miranda then begins to speak in the first person: "I pitied thee, / Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour / One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage, / Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like / A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes / With words that made them known" (I.ii.355-360). As I have pointed out previously, there are several important assumptions implied in this speech by Miranda, especially that of presuming Caliban possessed no previous language and grunted like an animal before Miranda's bestowal of language, and also that he was unable to think or be conscious of himself. As I have also indicated, Caliban's representation as a brutish, animal like creature is part of a greater colonizing project which tends to ignore his former cultural legacy. Now, I stress the beginning of Miranda's speech, when she alleges to have "pitied" Caliban. In one sense, the sentiment of pity is in itself a demonstration of inequality. Often enough, one feels sorry for another's agony and misery because the other's misfortunes are apart from one's own situation. Miranda reinforces the distance between herself and Caliban by using the

pronouns "I" and "thou," thus demonstrating the superiority complex that white Europeans possess in relation to non-European races.

"[I] Took pains to make thee speak" (I.ii.356), Miranda adds, still using the first person. This statement is ambiguous: on the one hand, Miranda reinforces the idea of "pity," repeating that it was out of compassion that she taught Caliban how to speak; on the other hand, she calls attention to the fact that Caliban's teaching has been arduous for her, a fact which Caliban himself does not recognize. Miranda assumes that it was she who taught Caliban how to speak, thereby participating in his process of acculturation and colonization. I do not believe, however, that Miranda taught Caliban how to speak because she felt pity for him. Obviously both Prospero and Miranda needed to learn how to survive on the island. They needed to communicate with Caliban for they needed the information which he could provide. After all, as Caliban himself makes clear in I.ii.338-341, it is he who has taught Prospero how to survive on the island.

"But thy vile race, / Though thou didst learn, had that in 't which good natures / Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou / Deservedly confin'd into this rock, / Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison" (I.ii.360-364), Miranda concludes. Miranda's justification for Caliban's enslavement is clearly based on racial prejudice. She acknowledges that Caliban has learned how to speak, but infers that his "vile race" is incompatible with the virtues of language. According to Miranda, Caliban's race is so debased that his assimilation of language can only result in linguistic corruption, represented in the play by Caliban's cursings. Miranda makes a contrast between Caliban's race and her own, affirming that his race is degraded, but implying that hers is noble. She suggests that it is the refined character of her race that permits her to learn language without corrupting it. It is important to note, however, that Caliban is responsible for some of *The Tempest*'s most inspired blank verses,

and that the beauty of his poetry can easily be compared to the beauty of Prospero or Miranda's own verses. We can then conclude that Caliban has not only learned how to speak, but has acquired a high dominion of poetic form (3).

Miranda affirms that it is Caliban's debased and corrupted character which is the cause of his own enslavement. The adverb "therefore" used by her expresses this idea of logical consequence. Miranda adds that Caliban deserved more than the severe limitations imposed by Prospero upon him, perhaps, implicitly suggesting that he really deserves extermination. Her suggestion that Caliban should be exterminated seems not to be wholly unconsidered by Prospero. "But, as 'tis, / We cannot miss him: he does make our fire, / Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices / That profit us" (I.ii.312-315), Prospero alleges, when Miranda says, in I.ii.312, that she does not like to look on Caliban. Prospero is more practical than Miranda. He knows that Caliban's forced labor is necessary, if not vital, for their safe permanence on the island. It is Caliban's usefulness that prevents Prospero from eliminating him altogether from the island, as Miranda wishes. Prospero is quite aware of the economic benefits of colonialism, and he knows that Caliban's labor is necessary to his colonizing project.

It is disturbing that it is Miranda who seems to suggest Caliban's extermination, especially if we take into consideration the fact that she demonstrated such a high sense of compassion towards the crew and passengers of the ill-fated ship, as we see at the beginning of I.ii:

> O, I have suffered
> With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,
> (Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,)
> Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock

Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perish'd!
Had I been any god of power, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere
It should the good ship so have swallow'd, and
The fraughting souls within her.

The same Miranda who demonstrates a great depth of sympathy for Europeans who were unknown to her manifests no trace of compassion in relation to Caliban. Although she uses the excuse of having been the victim of an attempted rape as the reason for her repulsion towards him, this rejection is most probably based on a personal sense of superiority as well as racial prejudice.

Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda, as an important element in the play, deserves a closer look. *The Tempest* ends with the engagement of Ferdinand and Miranda, which is desired not only by the couple, who are in love with each other, but also by the two fathers, King Alonso and Duke Prospero. Miranda and Ferdinand's engagement solidifies the reunion of the kingdom of Naples and the dukedom of Milan, which were previously at war against each other. Marrying Miranda, Ferdinand obtains through love and peace what his father, King Alonso of Naples, intended through war, that is, the conquest of Milan. This idea is reinforced by the fact that Prospero is already an old man and certainly will die soon. Prospero plays a decisive role in bringing about this marriage: he causes Miranda and Ferdinand to fall in love with each other, just as he causes King Alonso to wish for and accept the marriage of the young couple.

I think, however, that the most important reason that Miranda and Ferdinand's marriage is so highly praised is not only because it is an engagement between nobles, but most importantly because it is an engagement between European nobles. A contrast may be

drawn between this engagement and the marriage of Alonso's daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis. Claribel and the King of Tunis are not present in the play, and all that the reader/viewer of *The Tempest* knows about them is what is revealed through the perspective of the other characters. Sebastian points out that Alonso has wrongly married Claribel to the King of Tunis: "Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss, / That would not bless our Europe with your daughter, / But rather loose her to an African; / Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye, / Who hath cause to wet the grief on 't" (II.i.119-123). When Alonso laments at the same time Claribel's marriage to an African and supposedly black king and Ferdinand's supposed death by drowning at sea, Sebastian accuses him of being the cause of his own grief. It was because of Claribel's forced marriage in Tunis that Alonso and his entourage were caught in the storm on the way back to Europe. It seems implicit in Sebastian's speech that the marriage of the white European Claribel to the African King of Tunis has caused bad luck for the travelers and that Ferdinand's death is the punishment deserved by Alonso for such an abomination. The separation of white Europe and black Africa can also be perceived in Sebastian's tone. The white bride would "bless" Europe, but in Africa she is only "banished" and "lost."

Sebastian also accuses Alonso of having not listened to the advice he received concerning Claribel's marriage to the King of Tunis, and points out that Claribel herself did not desire to marry the black king: "You were kneel'd to, and importun'd otherwise, / By all of us; and the fair soul herself / Weigh'd between loathness and obedience, at / Which end o' th' beam should bow" (II.i.124-127). According to Sebastian, Claribel only marries him in obedience to her father. Alonso also comes to believe that his daughter's marriage to an African is the cause of his misfortune on the journey back home, and also of Ferdinand's supposed drowning. "Would I had never / Married my daughter there! for, coming thence, /

My son is lost, and, in my rate, she too, / Who is so far from Italy removed / I ne'er again shall see her" (II.i.103-107), Alonso laments. He emphasizes the idea of the loss of Claribel by exaggerating the distance between Tunis and Naples. Alonso laments the loss of Ferdinand at sea and believes that Claribel is permanently removed from Europe and irremediably lost in Africa.

The racial and ethnical prejudice demonstrated by the European nobles in *The Tempest* is reinforced by Adrian when he comments the marriage of Claribel to the King of Tunis, affirming that "Tunis was never grac'd before with such a paragon to their Queen" (II.i.71-72). Adrian also refers to the European racial prejudice and the superiority complex demonstrated by Prospero and Miranda in relation to Caliban. The sexual miscegenation of a white European and a supposedly black African is depicted in *The Tempest* as a taboo, but the marriage of Claribel to the King of Tunis, although disapproved, is acceptable. A supposed sexual intercourse between a white European and an American native, who is still considered to be at the level of nature, is simply unaccepted, since dangerously close to bestiality.

Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda displays the crisis between Caliban's personal project and that of Prospero and Miranda. Caliban wants to share the island on equal terms with Prospero and Miranda, but they do not consider him to be worthy of this. By establishing a sexual relationship with Miranda, Caliban wishes to maintain his lineage. It is important to bear in mind here that he considers himself of noble dynasty, and, as such, worthy of Miranda: "For I am all the subjects that you have, / Which first was mine own King" (I.ii.343-344). But the possibility of sexual intercourse between the white European and the aborigine Caliban is simply ignored by Prospero. Just as he provokes the love affair between Miranda and Ferdinand, Prospero also prevents Caliban from having a sexual relationship with Miranda.

Caliban's attempt at violating a white female's body displays widely different viewpoints and attitudes in relation to the near future each character has imagined for himself. On the one hand, Prospero's prevention of Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda demonstrates all the repulsion caused by the American aborigine to the European psyche. As we have seen, Caliban's sexual intercourse with Miranda is simply unacceptable, and Caliban's repulsion is based not only on racial and ethnical prejudice, but especially on the European conviction of superiority. On the other hand, Caliban's attempt against a white European represents a most emphatic affirmation of discontent in relation to the political project carried out in *The Tempest* by the European intruders. Caliban feels rejected by Prospero's political project, and, in trying to rape Miranda, expresses his political disappointment and dissatisfaction.

The European colonization project, as evident in *The Tempest*, is essentially a process of occlusion and replacement, and Miranda participates in this process, especially through the teaching of a European language. Caliban's former language is substituted by a European language, although Miranda insists on affirming that, before receiving this language, Caliban was only capable of emitting brutish "gabbles." As I have tried to demonstrate in Chapter II, Miranda does not acknowledge Caliban's earlier native language, which, as we have seen, seemed incoherent to her, by ignoring this language, Miranda, like Prospero, also disregards Caliban's former cultural legacy.

Initially, Caliban gratefully receives the European language, because he is also given the promise of power. By teaching their language to Caliban, Prospero and Miranda implicitly promise him that he will become like them, which, as Caliban soon learns, is an illusion. Miranda and Prospero use language as a medium of consolidating and perpetuating their power over Caliban and his island; they promise him the illusion of freedom, but this promise

is broken by the reality of enslavement and dispossession. I consider Miranda and Prospero as prototypes of Europe's "civilizing mission." With the excuse of ameliorating Caliban's character, they teach him a different language and, through this new language, a whole new way of perceiving and structuring reality.

After imposing upon Caliban a European language, the path is open for him to assimilate much of European culture and Faith. Along with the new language, Caliban also inherits much of the European way of behaving and believing, as well as both material and spiritual values characteristic of the European civilization. It is necessary to point out once more that the introduction of the European culture occurs at the expense of destroying Caliban's former native cultural code. The same thing happens in relation to his native form of religion, which is also disregarded. The process of colonization culminates in the replacement of a native identity by a foreign personality which imposes itself mainly through the imposition of language.

By teaching their language to Caliban, Prospero and Miranda have, at the same time, fascinated and deluded him with the possibility of becoming like one of the European intruders. Caliban is as intoxicated and deceived by the gift of a European language as he is by Stephano's bottle of wine. He loses his former language, receives the language of the intruder, but is not recognized as a legitimate speaker of the European language. When Stephano first meets Caliban, still confusing him with a devil or monster of the island, he is surprised with Caliban's ability to speak. "Where the devil / should he learn our language?" (II.ii.67-68), Stephano asks in amazement. Although Caliban has learned how to speak, he never becomes more than a second class speaker of the European language. This is a very important moment of cultural clash and crisis of identity. On the one hand, Caliban is deprived of his former language and, together with his lost language, most of his culture,

religion and way of perceiving reality. On the other hand, Caliban, because he is perceived as being vile and debased, is not really allowed to penetrate and be part of the European world.

Hence, he assimilates a European language and culture, but is not accepted by the European civilization, principally because of racial and ethnical prejudice. The same thing happens in relation to Caliban's former religion. He stops worshipping his mother's pagan god Setebos, and ends up mistaking the drunken Stephano for a mighty god. "These be fine things, an if they be not sprites. / That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor: / I will kneel to him" (II.ii.117-119), Caliban confuses Stephano with a god and his bottle of wine with a heavenly liquor. "I'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true subject; / for the liquor is not earthly" (II.ii.126-127), Caliban adds, promising to be Stephano's subject if he will help him overpower Prospero. "Hast thou not dropp'd from heaven?" (II.ii.137), Caliban then inquires. "Out o' the moon, I do assure thee: I was the man / i' th' moon when time was" (II.iii.138-139), Stephano replies, taking advantage of Caliban's ingenuousness. "I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee: / My mistress show'd me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush" (II.ii.142-143), argues a credulous Caliban. "I'll show thee every fertile inch o' th' island; and / I will kiss thy foot: I prithee, be my god" (148-149), Caliban ends, thus abandoning his mother's god, Setebos, and promising to worship and follow the supposed god, Stephano. Caliban was already able to speak the new language, but could not yet discern true grace from the mockery of a drunken white European. Caliban's former religious ties, represented in the play by Sycorax's pagan god, Setebos, are occluded and replaced by the immediate and innocuous transcendence of alcoholic intoxication.

Religious occlusion and replacement is indeed an important aspect in the colonialist process carried out in *The Tempest*. In the play, a primitive form of religion is repudiated and occluded by the European intruder, and then replaced by the virtues and graces of a European

notion of religion. According to Prospero, Sycorax's native religion is unholy and must be banished from the island. Prospero's strategy of dissolving Sycorax's native form of religion is certainly a form of denigration. At the same time that he designates his own religion as heavenly and blessed, he labels the native form of religion as being impious and devilish. Prospero's repudiation of Sycorax's pagan god, Setebos, is a most emphatic example of how native religions were disregarded or considered unimportant by the European intruder, and of how native religions were, often violently, occluded and generally replaced by the Christian faith. The way in which Prospero contrasts his own religion with that of Sycorax, only reinforces the fact of Europe's prejudice in relation to non-European cultures, religions, and peoples. Again the distance between the European self and its "others" is reinforced, and once more, the idea that Europe highlights the standpoint that Europe is the illuminating source for all the rest of the world is pointed out. It is always important to remark that the immediate result of this European civilization project is dispossession, lack of civil rights, enslavement, and many times, extermination of non-European peoples, all of this recurrently carried out in the name of God.

In summary, we may thus conclude that: 1) in a colonizing process such as that present in *The Tempest*, the European intruders label native inhabitants, their language, culture, and religion as corrupted, debased, or defective, but all these assumptions are mostly based on racial and ethnical prejudice, and on Europe's own superiority complex; 2) with the excuse of bettering the lives of other peoples, Europeans have occluded cultures and identities, in a self-centered totalitarian process, with the more obscure aim of dominating both the people and their territory; 3) the insertion of the European language is the determinant for the imperialist and colonizing project as seen in *The Tempest*, since it is especially through language that cultural and religious aspects of one civilization are imposed upon another.

At the end of *The Tempest*, Cahban is at the mercy of his European masters. His last speech in *The Tempest*, pronounced after Prospero dispatches him to his cell, is basically a promise to be wiser and look for grace: "Ay, that I will; and I'll be wise hereafter, / And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass / Was I, to take this drunkard for a god, / And worship this dull fool!" (V.i.294-297). This passage is actually quite complex. It is possible to understand "grace" as dignity, morality, or beauty; in which case Caliban then promises Prospero to search for a greater sense of nobility, virtue, and refinement. But, it is also possible to understand "grace" as pardoning and, in this case, Caliban then promises Prospero that he will be obedient, thereby deserving the forgiveness which has already been bestowed upon Alonso and Antonio. Finally, "grace" can be understood as a divine award given to humans for their regeneration or sanctification. If we accept this last meaning, Caliban then laments having taken Stephano and Trinculo for gods and promises to be more prudent and search for real blessings.

All of three possibilities for understanding "grace" mentioned above, however, demonstrate how the process of colonization has placed Caliban at the mercy of the Europeans. Europe has imposed upon Caliban its own conception of dignity, morality, and beauty. Thus, when he promises to search for "grace," he is repeating words and phrases proper to the European culture and, at the same time, distancing himself even more from his former cultural legacy. If we understand "grace" as pardoning, Caliban promises Prospero to become docile and servile, despite all the injuries imposed upon him by his master. If "grace" is the divine assistance mentioned in the third hypothesis, this implies that Caliban promises to abandon his native form of religion, definitively embracing a European faith.

Although he denounces and revolts against the usurpation of his island and his consequent enslavement, the process of colonization imposed by Prospero and Miranda is so

devastating that Caliban cannot resist it. I then conclude this chapter, portraying Caliban as already colonized. He has been taught a European language. He has lost most of his former culture, and his former religious beliefs. It is not without importance to observe that he has actually acquired more European vices than European virtues. Europe has presented itself to Caliban as a "brave new world," but Caliban only gets intoxicated with the European civilization. Caliban is as intoxicated with the European language as he is with Stephano's bottle of wine, and drunkenly pleads for Stephano to help him against Prospero in II.ii.178-185:

> *Farewell, master; farewell, farewell!*
>
> *No more dams I'll make for fish;*
>
> *Nor fetch in firing*
>
> *At requiring;*
>
> *Nor scrape trenchering, nor wash dish:*
>
> *'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban*
>
> *Has a new master:--get a new man.*

Caliban's song is extremely antagonistical in itself. He sings the possibility of becoming free of Prospero's authority, at the same time that he promises submission to Stephano. Caliban ends his song rejoicing in his freedom from Prospero. "Freedom, high-day! high-day, freedom! freedom, / high-day, freedom!" (II.ii.186-187), Caliban sings. However, he can no longer release himself from the European dominion, for within him the colonizing process has been already assimilated, and Caliban has lost most of his former identity. The most that he can do is substitute Stephano's mastership for Prospero's, in which case he has not really achieved his freedom, but rather opted to remain under the yoke of European colonization.

NOTES

1 - I acknowledge Prof. O'Shea as responsible for calling my attention to the fact that Prospero curses throughout *The Tempest* at least as much as Caliban does.

2 - I agree that there is some legitimate doubt in relation to this issue, but Kermode's observation in relation to these inconsistencies must not be overlooked. Shakespeare himself frequently disregards this kind of "immediate probability," affirms Kermode (32 (note)).

3 - I also acknowledge Prof. O'Shea for calling my attention to the beauty of Caliban's verses, thus recognizing that Caliban by no means has only learned how to curse.

CHAPTER IV

LEARNING HOW TO CURSE:

CALIBAN AND THE 'DEPARTURE' OF LANGUAGE

> *Cal.* You taught me language; and my profit on 't
> Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
> For learning me your language!
>
> (*The Tempest*)

Chapter III of this study portrays Caliban as being already colonized, that is to say, he has assimilated a European language, and, through this language, most of the European culture, faith, and values. Caliban's former cultural and religious legacy as well as his native identity have been occluded in the colonizing process which deprived him of basic socio-political rights. In this Chapter, I wish to deal with the possibility of Caliban's "departure" from the imprisonment of the European colonization, which is mostly a "departure" from Prospero's European language. I take the notion of "departure" from Lamming's *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960) in which he perceives Caliban as wholly imprisoned by Prospero's gift of language.

In the first chapter of *The Example of Shakespeare* (1970), entitled "The Legacy of Caliban," John Pepper Clark makes an interesting analogy between Caliban and the 'African in English Literature,' whom Pepper Clark describes as "the 'native' created out of imagination by some Prospero as well as the 'native' who has become himself a creator of characters after his own image" (1). The 'African in English Literature,' like Caliban, experiences the same historical process of conquest, dispossession, and punishment. According to Pepper Clark, however, the most important connection between Caliban and the 'African in English Literature' is not what they have lost to imperial and colonial rulers, but

what they have inherited: the legacy of language (2). The assimilation of imperial European languages, although on different levels, is the inheritance of almost every former colonized society, and its effects last much after the apparatus of the imperial and colonial power has been dismantled and old colonies have obtained political freedom. It is Caliban's challenge to learn how to handle the traces of this European imperial language--Prospero's legacy.

Caliban assimilates Prospero's language and through this language most of his cultural background, but this does not mean that Caliban is accepted by the European culture. In Lamming's words, "he [Caliban] can never be regarded as an heir of that language, since his use of Language is no more than his way of serving Prospero; and Prospero's instruction in this Language is only his way of measuring the distance which separates him from Caliban (*The Pleasures of Exile* 110). Prospero's language imposes upon Caliban a cultural legacy, at the same time that he is rejected by this same culture. "Where the devil should he learn our language?" (II.ii.67-68), Stephano quizzes. Although Caliban has assimilated Prospero's language, his use of this language causes estrangement, as if it were unnatural for him to speak in a European language. "Caliban," Lamming writes, "is his [Prospero's] convert, colonized by language, and excluded by language. It is precisely the gift of language, this attempt at transformation which has brought about the pleasure and paradox of Caliban's exile. Exiled from his gods, exiled from his nature, exiled from his own name!" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 15).

Caliban does learn how to speak Prospero's language, but he becomes a second-hand, bastard speaker of that adopted language. James Baldwin, as a Black American, has also faced this sense of non belonging and of rejection in relation to Western culture:

> I know, in any case, that the most crucial time in my own development came when I was forced to recognize that I was a kind of bastard of the West; when I

> followed the line of my past I did not find myself in Europe but in Africa. And this meant that in some subtle way, in a really profound way I brought to Shakespeare, Bach, Rembrandt, to the stones of Paris, to the cathedral at Chartres, and to the Empire State Building, a special attitude. These were not really my creations; they did not contain my history; I might search in them in vain for ever for any reflection of myself; I was an interloper. At the same time I had no other heritage which I could possibly hope to use. I had certainly been unfitted for the jungle or the tribe. I would have to appropriate these white centuries. I would have to make them mine... (qtd. in *The Pleasures of Exile* 31)

Lamming points out that Baldwin demonstrates a certain anger, although this is controlled, in relation to white achievements. This anger, in its turn, denounces a certain feeling of inferiority, both personal and racial, in relation to the emblems of white civilization and, at the same time, a suppressed wish to belong to that civilization for, when Baldwin searches for the roots of his own identity, he finds nothing back in Africa, but the "jungle" or the "tribe." Baldwin, however, no longer fits into the jungle or tribal life, and has no choice other than to appropriate the white culture as his own, although the result is the feeling of rejection, the feeling of being a bastard of this appropriated Western culture.

Baldwin and most black Americans have indeed lost the roots of their African cultures and languages. They have also incorporated the values imposed upon them by the white society, and because the process of decolonization is very difficult, if not impossible, their choice of appropriating the symbols of this culture for the construction of their own identity is justifiable. But Baldwin is unfair to Africa when he perceives nothing more there than the "jungle" or the "tribe." This is the very discourse and perspective of the white colonizer,

which is so widespread in society and which contaminates former colonials and/or racial minorities. Cultures outside the European or American white boundaries, especially those of Africa and the native cultures of America, are simply denied and rejected as non-existing in this white imperialist and colonialist discourse.

This same attitude is demonstrated by Hegel, in his introduction to *The Philosophy of History*, but to a degree simply unacceptable and unbelievable, coming from someone so skilled in human thought as the German philosopher. Hegel writes:

> What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's history...
>
> The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia, the beginning. (qtd. in *The Pleasures of Exile* 31-32)

Hegel reduces to historical oblivion all the African experience throughout the centuries. According to him, Africa has not been able to emit a single historical pronouncement worth taking note. The dark Spirit of Africa remains in the shadows, waiting for enlightenment. Hegel perceives the Africans as the fruit of nature, natural men, wild, untamed--those who are not compatible with humanity. Africa has no part in the historical world. This world is geographically confined within Asia and Europe, and Europe is the "end of History." After the European historical experience, Hegel suggests, nothing more can be constructed, formulated, or said.

It would be difficult to find any human thought more Eurocentric than that of Hegel. If we follow his way of thinking, history in Africa begins with white colonization. Before that event only wild nature and its fruits (the African natives) existed, but with no sense of culture or of history, and possessing no logic language. It is the white colonialist and his language

who endows Africa with a historical context. It is only the European movement towards the South that enables the movement of history from the East / West axis. Although Hegel does not mention the American continent, the same could be said in relation to native cultures in the New World. It is the "discovery" of America by the Europeans which marks the beginning of American history, thus disclaiming all previous experience belonging to native American population and cultures. This happened, of course, because it was Europe which produced knowledge; it was Europe which classified and structured reality; it was Europe which imposed its Eurocentric version of history upon other societies.

Lamming energetically criticizes Hegel's assumptions in relation to the African mind in what he considers Hegel's "uncritical folly" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 32). He points out that Hegel has never been to Africa, and that his only source of knowledge in relation to this continent were accounts of the early voyagers. In *The Pleasures of Exile*, however, Lamming unfortunately commits the same error as Hegel and Baldwin. He sees in Caliban a child of nature who is apart from the Word until Prospero's arrival. Lamming further believes that Prospero's first great achievement after teaching Caliban to use the European language is the banishment of the beast within him. Being apart from the word also has other implications: Caliban would not be considered as capable of cognitive thought and would not be seen as a son of God and, capable of achieving Grace. Lamming thus perceives Caliban as being in a worse position than that of the sinner who is a son of God, and thus apt to forgiveness and redemption. Lamming sees Caliban as a bestial man, not capable of intelligent thinking, and abandoned by God. He is tied to his instincts and cannot transcend nature without appropriation of language.

According to Lamming, Prospero is a philosopher, an educator, who endows Caliban with the power of the word:

> Prospero has given Caliban language; and with it an unstated history of consequences, an unknown history of future intentions. This gift of language meant not English, in particular, but speech and concept as a way, a method, a necessary avenue towards areas of the self which could not be reached in any other way. It is this way, entirely Prospero's enterprise, which makes Caliban aware of possibilities. Therefore, all of Caliban's future--for future is the very name for possibilities--must derive from Prospero's experiment which is also his risks (*The Pleasures of Exile* 109).

Lamming sees language as the only way for Caliban to reach self awareness and to achieve new "possibilities." Language does not mean English in particular, or Italian (as is the specific case of *The Tempest*), but rather, "speech" and "concept," that is to say, a way of perceiving, understanding and structuring reality. Caliban receives from Prospero the gift of language and with it much of Prospero's own attitudes, experiences, and culture. Caliban's new possibilities, implied in the gift of language, are derived from Prospero himself. Caliban is thereby bound to Prospero's language and, in consequence, to his history and culture. Caliban's future is also derived from Prospero's experience, and the imperialist language which he has adopted will become his historical and cultural prison.

According to Lamming, Caliban has no escape from Prospero's gift. "There is no extraordinary departure which explodes all of Prospero's premises, then Caliban and his future now belongs to Prospero" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 109), he affirms. Lamming understands that Caliban's culture and history are now irremediably linked to Prospero and his language, because Lamming sees Caliban as a "tabula rasa," that is, a human being in a completely primal state. Thus, his history and culture are indeed restricted to the European experience, for they, through language, begin with and are derivative from that experience.

Caliban is thus historically and culturally trapped by Prospero's language, for his only other choice is the chaos and wilderness of nature. When he realizes that he has been thus trapped, he can do nothing more but curse Prospero and his language. "Blasphemy," according to Lamming, is the only privilege which the excluded Caliban now possesses.

If Baldwin has reduced his lost African legacy to the derogatory notion of the "jungle" and the "tribe," Hegel has simply taken the African experience as non-historical and non-cultural, reducing the continent to the level of wild, untamed nature. And Lamming, in his turn, has failed to recognize in Caliban any language, culture, religion, or history. Lamming's and Baldwin's errors, however, are by no means comparable to that of Hegel. Lamming, induced by the pervasive European perspective of *The Tempest*, reduces a literary character to the level of nature. Baldwin sincerely talks of his personal life and sentiments. Hegel, on the other hand, labels a whole continent (totally unknown to him) as non-historical, in a book which claims to be a philosophical treatise on History.

Lamming fails to acknowledge Caliban's former culture and history because he is influenced by the European perspective of *The Tempest*, which affirms that Caliban is only part of nature. After all, it is Prospero who gives Caliban a name, thus imposing upon him connotations of savagery; it is Prospero and his daughter Miranda who reduce Caliban's earlier language and culture to the status of non existence; and it is also Prospero and Miranda who allege raising Caliban from the constraints of wild nature, by teaching him a language. In *The Tempest*, it is possible to perceive how the European perspective constructs a Eurocentric discourse, in which the depiction of the "other" follows European convenience and, especially, fits the European imperialist and colonizing mind.

The German Janheinz Jahn, however, sees the "extraordinary departure" which Lamming has imagined impossible for Caliban as a future possibility. In the 15th chapter of

Neo-African Literature: A History of Black Writing, entitled "The Negritude School," Jahn affirms not only that Caliban's "extraordinary departure" is possible, but also that it relies precisely on the assumption that Caliban is part of a previous culture, one widely different from that of Prospero's. Jahn believes that Caliban can free himself from the boundaries of Prospero's language and achieve Lamming's "extraordinary departure," not with the aid of Stephano and Trinculo, but by listening to the whispers of his own culture. Caliban's "departure" is then a process of cultural archeology, cultural reconstruction. Caliban needs to seek his former culture in order to recover his own identity.

Jahn believes, however, that Caliban can no longer avoid the influence of Prospero's education. His language and values have become such a part of Caliban's cultural inheritance that it is simply no longer possible to sweep them away. Caliban's cultural legacy is now formed by the remnants of his former native culture and the cultural marks left by the European process of colonization. He needs to learn how to combine these two widely different cultural legacies, and from them construct a new cultural background, thus developing a new sense of identity. A process of complete decolonization is simply impossible, but with this new identity Caliban will no longer be bound by the constraints of Prospero's language and culture.

The language resulting from the merging of the remnants of Caliban's own former culture and the alien culture he has received through Prospero's language and education is no longer subject to Prospero's control. According to Jahn, during this process, Caliban's language changes and acquires new meanings which are no longer comprehensible to Prospero. He can partially interpret this new language, but he cannot really understand it, for he does not possess the cultural background necessary to grasp subtleties and inferences. The language received from Prospero is no longer the same, for Caliban, influenced by his own

cultural background, has actually created a new language. The result is Caliban's "departure" and freedom from Prospero's European language. He has become bilingual, and his bilingualism is a direct reflection of his multiculturalism.

According to Jahn, Lamming is not able to see Caliban's "extraordinary departure" as a future possibility because he understands Caliban as part of nature. Lamming has failed to recognize Caliban's potentialities, for he considers Caliban a natural man and, as such, incapable of transcending the confines of Prospero's language. Caliban would thus have no historical or cultural past on which to rely. As Lamming sees it, Caliban's cultural and historical experience begins with Prospero, and it is confined to the restrictions of his language, culture, and history. Caliban's possibilities, therefore, can transmit nothing original; they will simply be derivations from the European language and experience.

It is important to stress that Jahn uses the relationship between Prospero and Caliban in order to discuss the Negritude School--a Literary movement of 1934-1948 initiated in Paris by black, self-exiled writers, such as Léopold Sédar Senghor from Senegal, Léon Damás from French Guyana, and Aimé Césaire from Martinique. According to Jahn, the Negritude School exemplifies the successful "extraordinary departure," by which Caliban could free himself from the prison of Prospero's language. Jahn believes that the three "calibanic" writers mentioned above successfully adjust the French language to their own cultural background. In this, they are similar to Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian who writes that "[t]he English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings" (qtd. in Jahn 266).

These writers from former colonized nations are quite aware that a complete process of linguistic decolonization is impossible, but they are also aware that the language which

they use to write their poems, dramas, and novels, or even for simple street conversations, is no longer the same imposed by the colonialist Prosperos. Although the language they speak can easily be identified as English, French, Spanish, or any other European language, it is marked by local cultural surroundings. Prospero loses control over Caliban's "new" language; he can no longer even fully understand it. His European legacy, first imposed by colonial enterprise, is now absorbed and rearranged in order to fit a new cultural background and a new historical perspective.

In *Une Tempête*, for example, Césaire makes his Caliban an African Negro introduced into the Caribbean as a slave, who rescues the traces of his former language, obstructed in the colonial period. This is demonstrated in the following passage from the play:

Caliban:

Uhuru!

Prospero:

Qu'est-ce que tu dis?

Caliban:

Je dis Uhuru!

Prospero:

Encore une remontée de ton langage barbare. Je t'ai déjà dit que je n'aime pas ça. D'ailleurs, tu pourrais être poli, un bonjour ne te tuerait pas! (I.ii)

Caliban uses the Swahili word for freedom, *Uhuru*, as a way of emphasizing his African lineage. Prospero is excluded from this mixed language and cannot understand it completely. He simply labels Caliban's former language as a barbarous one, thus reflecting European prejudice in relation to non-European cultures and peoples.

Caliban's use of the Swahili word *uhuru* is at the same time a cultural and a political act of revolt. It is a cultural act of revolt because Caliban has become aware of the power of his former culture and of the process through which this culture was occluded and denigrated during white colonization. He has also perceived that he does not belong to and is not accepted by the white culture which has been imposed upon him, and that he must depend on his own culture to establish his personal identity in contrast to that of the white European. And it is also a political act of revolt because Caliban claims his right to independence in order to recover the freedom he possessed before the white European colonization of Africa and the Americas. He relies upon the remnants of the Swahili language to differentiate himself from Prospero, thereby making it clear that he is no longer bound to Prospero's white language and culture.

Césaire's Caliban also seems to be more conscious of the colonizing process which Prospero has imposed upon him than Shakespere's personage. In *Une Tempête*, Prospero tells Caliban that he rescued him, through the gift of language, from the constraints of brute and savage nature. "*Puisque tu manies si bien l'invective, tu pourrais au moins me bénir de t'avoir appris à parler. Un barbare! Une bête brute, que j'ai éduquée, formée, que j'ai tirée de l'animalité qui l'engangue encore de toute part*!" (I.ii). But Caliban is aware that Prospero's gift of language is only one part of Prospero's colonizing project. He thus replies:

> *D'abord ce n'est pas vrai. Tu ne m'as rien appris du tout. Sauf, bien sûr à baragouiner ton langage pour comprendre tes ordres: couper du bois, laver la vaisselle, pécher le poison, planter les légume, parce que tu es bien trop fainéant pour le faire. Quant à ta science, est-ce que tu me l'as jamais apprise, toi? Tu t'en es bien gardé! Ta science, tu la gardes égoïstement pour toi tout seul, enfermée dans les gros livres que voilà.* (I.ii)

Caliban knows that Prospero has taught him language, not because of sentiments of pity or mercy, but rather because he needs to communicate with him. Prospero needs Caliban's forced labor, and he needs to be able to give orders to him, which will assure his survival and certain comfort while on the island.

Césaire's Caliban is conscious of the dangerous implications of the name he has received from Prospero. Like most Africans who were brought to the Caribbean as slaves, Caliban loses his African name. By giving him the name "Caliban," as is known, possibly a derivation from *cannibal*, Prospero attributes to him primitive forms of brutality and savagery. Césaire's Caliban, however, is conscious of the connotations implied in the name imposed by Prospero, and rejects this name, as is demonstrated in the following passage:

Caliban

Bon! J'y vais... mais pour la dernière fois. La dernière, tu entends! Ah! j'oubliais... j'ai quelque chose d'important à te dire.

Prospero

D'important? Alors, vite, accouche.

Caliban

Eh bien, voilà: j'ai décidé que je ne serai plus Caliban.

Prospero

Qu'est-ce que cette foutaise? Je ne comprends pas!

Caliban

Si tu veux, je te dis que désormais je ne répondrai plus au nom de Caliban.

Prospero

D'où ça t'est venu?

Caliban

Eh bien, y a que Caliban n'est pas mon nom. C'est simple!

Prospero

C'est le mien peut-être!

Caliban

C'est le sobriquet dont ta haine m'a affublé et dont chaque rappel m'insulte.

Prospero

Diable! On devient susceptible! Alors propose... Il faut bien que je t'appelle! Ce sera comment? Cannibale t'irait bien, mais je suis sûr que tu n'en voudras pas! Voyons, Hannibal! Ça te va! Pourquoi pas! Ils aiment tous les noms historiques!

Caliban

Appelle-moi X. Ça vaudra mieux. Comme qui dirait l'homme sans nom. Plus exactement, l'homme dont on a volé le nom. Tu parles d'histoire. Eh bien ça, c'est de l'histoire, et fameuse! Chaque fois que tu m'appeleras, ça me rappellera le fait fondamental, que tu m'as tout volé et jusqu'à mon identité! Uhuru! (I.ii)

Although he knows that "Caliban" is not his real name, Caliban can no longer remember his former African name which was lost due to white colonization and enslavement. This is one of the reasons for Césaire's Caliban to decide that he shall no more answer by the name "Caliban," calling himself, instead, "X," a homage to his suppressed name. Thus, Césaire, in his post-colonial re-writing of *The Tempest*, makes Caliban conscious of the implications of the name "Caliban" imposed upon him, and of the process by which his cultural heredity has been destroyed. But since a process of complete decolonization is impossible, Caliban's demand to be called "X" is little more than a demonstration of the revolt that he feels in

finding himself without a name, or in being forced to use a name given to him by white colonizers.

Brathwaite's poem "Caliban" puts into practice Jahn's concept of Caliban's third language, that is, one resulting from the merging of his former, native language with Prospero's imposed European language, but marked by the burden of Caliban's African roots. Brathwaite writes in English, for he is from the British Caribbean and English has become his own mother language, as a direct result of colonization. Brathwaite's language, however, is by no means similar to the English imposed upon the Caribbean population during British colonization. Brathwaite's English is marked by the weight of his own culture and historical experience. He introduces a new vocabulary with new meanings, and adopts a new rhythm for the English language. Since he has no other language for self-expression, Brathwaite adjusts the English language to the expression of his own culture. He breaks with the cultural prison of the European language by appropriating it to his own medium of self-expression.

Retamar is also concerned with the implications of Prospero's legacy for Caliban's future. According to him, the Caribbean populations, although descendants from Indians, Africans, and Europeans, use only few languages to communicate--those of the European colonizers. "Right now," Retamar argues, "as I am discussing with those colonizers, how else can I do it except in one of their languages, which is now also *our* language, and with so many of their conceptual tools, which are now also *our* conceptual tools? (*Caliban* 5). Thus, he also faces Caliban's problem of no longer having any other language to use except for the one received from Prospero during the colonization of Caliban's island.

In the passage cited above, Retamar points out two crucial problems for the discussion of language as an instrument of colonialist acculturation. First of all, the fact that much of a culture, much of the foreign perspective as well as many "conceptual tools" are transferred

along with language. Caliban has not only inherited language, but a whole cultural code and a specific way of thinking. Secondly, Retamar introduces the extremely complex problem of how to eliminate the marks left by white colonization if Caribbeans continue to use colonialist languages. According to Retamar, Caliban cannot do much about eliminating the marks left by white colonialism because he is still bound, through language, to the imperialist culture. He has then no other choice but to blaspheme Prospero and his language. "You taught me language; and my profit on 't / Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you / For learning me your language!" (I.ii.365-367), Caliban curses.

According to Retamar, there is no other metaphor that could better represent the Caribbean situation than Caliban's cursing. "Prospero invaded the islands, killed our ancestors, enslaved Caliban, and taught him his language to make himself understood. What else can Caliban do but use that same language--today he has no other--to curse him, to wish that the "red plague" would fall on him? I know no other metaphor more expressive of our cultural situation, of our reality" (Caliban 14). Caliban curses Prospero's language even while using it, since he has no longer any other. So, at the same time that Caliban blasphemes against Prospero's language and culture, he is also reinforcing the power of this alien language and culture, to which he is irrevocably bound.

Retamar writes his *Caliban* in the late sixties, a period in which the political relationship of Latin American intellectuals, especially those of leftist orientation, and the politics of the United States are at odds. He chooses Caliban as a symbol for Latin Americans because of his own personal revolt against Prospero's imperialism, now more identified with the politics of the United States than with European colonization. Like Lamming, he sees Caliban imprisoned in Prospero's gift of language, but he also perceives a chance for Caliban to free himself of Prospero's entrapment, by reinforcing his own culture and history. In

Caliban, Retamar associates many of Latin America's greatest historical and artistic personages, as well as some popular artistic manifestations with the character of Caliban:

> From Túpac Amaru, Tiradentes, Toussaint-Louverture, Simón Bolívar, Father Hidalgo, José Artigas, Bernardo O'Higgins, Benito Juárez, Antonio Maceo, and José Martí, to Emiliano Zapata, Augusto César Sandino, Julio Antonio Mella, Pedro Alzibu Campos, Lázaro Cárdenas, Fidel Castro, and Ernesto Che Guevara, from the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the Aleijadinho, the popular music of Antilles, José Hernández, Eugenio María de Hostos, Manuel González Prada, Rubén Dario (yes, when all is said and done), Baldomero Lillo, and Horacio Quiroga, to Mexican muralism, Heitor Villa-Lobos, César Vallejo, José Carlos Mariátegui, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Carlos Gardel, Pablo Neruda, Alejo Carpentier, Nicolás Guillén, Aimé Césaire, José María Arguedas, Violeta Parra, and Frantz Fanon--What is our history, what is our culture, if not the history and culture of Caliban?" (*Caliban* 14).

According to Retamar, Caliban needs to strengthen his culture and proclaim his own perspective of history in order to face the imperialistic politics of the United States. He must emphasize his own culture in order to solidify his own identity, and he must make evident his own viewpoint regarding history--a history of subjugation and exploitation, but also a history of revolt and resistance.

It is important to notice that in *The Tempest* Caliban and Prospero possess widely different perspectives concerning the history of the island. In I.ii.332-346, Caliban accuses Prospero of usurpation. According to Caliban, Prospero has taken the island from him, imprisoning him and making him a slave:

> I must eat my dinner.

This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first,
Thou strok'st me, and made much of me; wouldst give me
Water with berries in 't; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night: and then I lov'd thee,
And showed thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile:
Curs'd be I that did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own King: and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' th' island.

In I.ii.346-350, Prospero, in turn, accuses Caliban of being debased and ungrateful, since he feels he has tried to deal with Caliban on equal terms but, unfortunately, Caliban's corrupted and vicious nature is not able to be bettered, proof of which is the rape attempt against Miranda:

Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness! I have us'd thee,
Filth as thou art, with human care; and lodg'd thee
In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
The honour of my child.

Thus, Prospero and Caliban demonstrate different perspectives concerning the past of the island. But it is Prospero's historical perspective which is imposed upon Caliban. It is precisely this imperialist perspective of history that Retamar tries to transform through the emphasis on Caliban's point of view.

To conclude, Caliban's inheritance of an alien language is indeed a decisive parallel between him and any former colonized populations. Although Pepper Clark has advanced his remarks regarding the comparison between Caliban and the African in English literature, his conclusions can be applied to other colonized nations both in Africa and America. Pepper Clark lists three stages in Caliban's domination of language: 1) Caliban learns his native tongue from Sycorax; 2) Caliban assimilates Prospero's language and 3) he excludes Prospero from his own "new" language constructed on the basis of the other two. Prospero's exclusion from this new language is decisive in Caliban's reconstruction of a new sense of cultural identity, now dependent upon his own culture and history, and no longer on the assistance of drunkards like Stephano and Trinculo.

If Caliban is able to rely on his own cultural legacy, even though influenced by colonial enterprise, he will be able to search for true freedom and will be successful in his revolt against Prospero. In *The Tempest*, Caliban's conspiracy against Prospero is a mockery, since he relies on European aid to cope with an old European Lord. The most Caliban could obtain through the help of Stephano and Trinculo is merely a change of European masters. Therefore, he does not acquire true freedom. And at no moment Prospero is really threatened by Caliban's conspiracy, for it is no real menace to him. "I had forgot that foul conspiracy / Of the beast Caliban and his confederates / Against my life: the minute of their plot / Is almost come" (IV.i.139-142), says Prospero in an aside to Ariel. Although Prospero says that he needs to repose his "beating mind" (IV.i.162-163), and Miranda says that she has never

seen Prospero so "touch'd with anger" before (IV.i.144-145), I believe that Caliban's plot was not really dangerous to Prospero. After all, with the aid of Ariel, he easily impedes Caliban's machinations.

In the new context of post-colonial appropriations of *The Tempest*, as well as in some interpretations suggested by critics of former colonized societies, however, Caliban's revolt tends to be successful. The basic difference between the Caliban of *The Tempest* and the Caliban of these rewritings or interpretations of Shakespeare's play is that the new Caliban must no longer depend upon the ineffective aid of Europeans to cope with European imperialism and colonialism. He must, on the contrary, rely upon his own culture and history in order to recover a new sense of identity. Caliban's "extraordinary departure" marks his liberation from the imprisonment of Prospero's language, but, more importantly, it also rejects Europe as the only source of culture and history.

CONCLUSION

Fer. My language! heavens!
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 'tis spoken.

(The Tempest)

As early as 1492, Nebrija perceived the spread of language as being intrinsically related to the growth of Empire. According to Nebrija, language follows Empire to such a degree that, generally, the beginning, development, and decline of language coincides with that of Empire. At the time, Nebrija imagined the Spanish Empire as moving towards Africa, but it was in the recently discovered New World that Spain and the Castilian language truly developed. Although Nebrija wrote specifically of the spread of the Castilian language and the possible constitution of a Spanish Empire, he also professed the European imperialist and colonialist impetus after 1492, and the spread of several European languages in an imperialist and colonizing process which affected about three-quarters of the population in the world today.

In 1513, Machiavelli also addressed the relationship between the spread of language and imperial expansion. When theorizing on mixed principalities, Machiavelli argues that language works as an obstacle for the annexation of a new principality to an ancient state. According to Machiavelli, new principalities which are from another country, possess a different culture, a different legal system, and a different language are more difficult to retain. It is first necessary to break with this extra protection furnished by a different culture, different laws, and a different language; i. e., it is first necessary to destroy the native identity, which makes a population more resistant to the colonizing process.

Machiavelli is right in pointing out linguistic diversity as an obstacle for the permanent retention of a new principality. On the other hand, after the assimilation of a foreign language by the newly colonized population, it is the process of decolonization that becomes difficult, for the imposition of a foreign language also implies the diffusion of another cultural code. Machiavelli's suggestion that the Prince of an ancient state who has annexed a new principality should reside there for a time, or should send colonists to the newly acquired lands rather than simply maintain guards, demonstrates that he was aware of the relationship between linguistic and cultural expansion, and their effects upon the social and political levels. Machiavelli's advice for subjugating an annexed principality whose population speaks a different language and possesses a different culture, displays the essence of any colonialist project.

More recently, in 1992, Bosi demonstrated that Colonization, Cult, and Culture derive from the same Latin verb *colo*, the past participle being *cultus*, and the future participle *culturus*. Bosi understands colonization as the process of conquering and exploring lands formerly under the possession of other peoples, as well as the subjugation of the native population. The difference between simply living or cultivating the land and a colonialist process is precisely this movement towards the usurpation of other people's land and their resulting subjugation. Cult, according to Bosi, implies basically two things: 1) that which has been worked or cultivated on earth, and 2) burial of the dead, or rituals performed in their honor. He goes on to define culture as the inheritance of values and symbols which are transferred from generation to generation. Obviously, the effort to educate a human being from childhood on is very important to this process. Colonialism, says Bosi, presupposes a physical domination which implies the conquering of other peoples and their territory, but it also presumes a metaphysical domination of their religious heritage.

In this dissertation, I try to demonstrate the close relationship between Language and Empire. I agree with Bosi that colonialism is a totalitarian process, affecting at the same time present, past and future, as well as both the physical and metaphysical levels of experience. Colonialism is a process which causes, not only the political and economic dependence of a people and their territory but also the destruction of a former cultural and religious inheritance which results in the destruction of a people's native identity. My main argument is that a process of imperialism, and especially of colonialism, takes place in *The Tempest*, and that language is instrumental in this process.

The notion of physical movement towards other peoples' territory is inherent to the notion of colonialism. According to Said, the distinction between imperialism and colonialism depends on the fact that colonialism presupposes a process of settlement on distant lands formerly in the possession of other peoples, while imperialism can be exercised from a distance, without the need for physical presence. Although Nebrija imagined the Spanish Empire moving towards Africa, it is in the New World that it is developed in a way never imagined before. In order to obtain a safe and lasting dominion over a new principality which is from a different country, possesses a different culture and different laws, and also speaks a different language, Machiavelli suggests the removal of the royal family to this principality, or the establishment of colonies in the newly acquired lands. Bosi explains that the notion of movement is present in the etymology of the word *colonization*; the one who cultivates the land (*incola*) becomes a *colonus* when he begins to cultivate other peoples' land. And Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin perceive *dislocation* as an important issue for postcolonial literary theory.

The Tempest presents Europeans of both high and low classes moving toward a distant island which is ruled and owned by a native islander, Caliban. First, it is Prospero and his

daughter who arrive on Caliban's island. They are gladly welcomed by him and he teaches them how to survive in this strange, new land. Prospero and Miranda, in their turn, teach Caliban how to speak their language. Later, because of an attempt against Miranda's chastity, Caliban is kept under forced labor by Prospero and prohibited from freely circulating on the island. Twelve years later, another group of Europeans arrives on the island and finds Caliban dispossessed and enslaved. The arrival of the Europeans, Prospero and Miranda, on Caliban's island and his subsequent assimilation of a European language may be seen as a process of acculturation which deprives him of his freedom and his former identity, and which well illustrates the whole process of colonization.

The play develops the fascinating theme of cultural encounter which is exemplified most emphatically by the encounter of Caliban with Prospero and Miranda. Caliban considers Prospero's books the source of his power, and Caliban's revolt against his master is primarily an attempt to destroy his books. Prospero, in contrast to Caliban, who does not know how to read or write, is powerful because of knowledge acquired from books, and the magical storm which he conjures up in I.i, and which provides the play with its title, is the strongest demonstration of his control over nature. While Caliban represents a native culture based mainly on an oral tradition, Prospero and his daughter represent a culture based on a solid asymmetrical written tradition, thus possessing a higher scientific knowledge and more developed technology.

Although the encounter of Caliban with Prospero and Miranda is at first amiable, it soon turns into conflict, and a colonialist process begins, a process through which Prospero and Miranda impose their culture on Caliban, and which results in Caliban's acculturation, dispossession and enslavement. Both Bosi and Said point out that one of the main features of any colonialist project is that it presupposes the construction of a discourse which must be

able to justify the colonizer's actions toward the subjugated territory and its people, and, at the same time, dissimulate his conquering impetus. This colonialist discourse is necessarily a discourse of cultural encounter, whose main objective is precisely to present the "Other" for imperial examination. In an example given by Said, he affirms that Europe has constructed a network of information, or "truths," about the Orient, provided and solidified by poets, scholars, and imperial administrators, which is more based on the European stereotypes than on the Orient it tries to scrutinize. This notion of discourse, although expressed in the concept of Orientalism, also functions for other cases of colonization, for example, the colonization of America.

Bosi and Said also agree that this discourse is constructed within the perspective of the colonizer, who assumes a great sense of detachment from the reality observed. Representation, or re-presentation, is the immediate result of such detachment from the colonial scene. According to Bosi, in this colonialist discourse the colonizer does not describe him or herself as a conqueror, but rather as a discoverer of new lands or as a person who populates empty spaces, or, finally, as one whose mission is to improve the lives of other peoples, their cultures and religions. The colonized, on the other hand, is most often described as a barbarian, a savage, a defective being who is unable to develop a governmental system of his own. Representation is then part of a greater discourse for dealing and coping with the "Other," thus displaying the colonial scene according to the intruder's point of view, and identifying the colonized according to the former's point of view.

Throughout *The Tempest*, Caliban is described or "represented" within the European perspective. He is depicted as the fruit of nature, a human beast who demonstrates no sense of civilization. He is pictured as bodily deformed, and his deformity of body would denounce a corrupted mind. He is also described as a treacherous creature who is morally debased and

unable to control his sexual lust, or as a grotesque monster of devilish descendence. Finally, he is perceived as a fallen man, unblessed and abandoned by God. I wish to stress once more Said's observation that representation, in the colonial context, is very complicated because it is necessarily manifested through language, and also because there is no real intention of truly representing the "Other," but rather of presenting him according to the intruders' demands. The European perspective which is pervasive in *The Tempest* "represents" Caliban, who is acknowledged by the Europeans, but according to their requirements and necessities.

The most complex 'representation' imposed upon Caliban by the European intruders, however, is the assumption that he possessed no language before Prospero's and Miranda's arrival on the island. This supposed lack of speech is full of important thematic and interpretative implications for it leads to the supposition that Caliban is an inhuman brute, the fruit of nature, living within the confinements and restrictions of instinct. Caliban is thus considered unable to think, communicate or to be conscious of himself. Caliban's native culture is ignored and he is believed to have no sense of true religion or to be simply spiritually deprived.

Caliban's supposed lack of speech is the basis for the eurocentric discourse constructed in *The Tempest* to justify his loss of social and political rights, his dispossession, enslavement, and even possible extermination. Throughout *The Tempest*, as we have seen, Caliban is portrayed as a bestial creature, a devilish, grotesque monster, a less-than-human, defective being, who is morally, psychologically, and spiritually debased and corrupted. Most of these "representations" of Caliban rely on his presumed lack of speech, and reinforce the European prejudice and superiority complex in relation to non-European cultures and peoples. These "representations" are part of a greater colonialist discourse which is fully carried out by the colonizers. This colonialist discourse justifies and dissimulates the

colonizer's actions in the usurped lands, which culminate in the subjugation, dispossession, and enslavement, if not extermination, of native populations.

But there is also evidence in *The Tempest* that such implications, often present in colonialist discourse, should not be left unquestioned. Although recurrently described through images and connotations of savagery and brutality, Caliban is explicitly recognized as a man in several moments throughout the play. He is indeed a human being and, as such is able to think. Caliban has extensive knowledge of the island on which he lives; he knows how to obtain water and food, and he is also intelligent enough to learn a European language. Caliban also possesses a native cultural legacy inherited from Sycorax who, like Prospero, could control nature through her magic. His abilities to fish or construct dams are also important indications of Caliban's former culture. Concerning his previous sense of religion, Caliban has inherited from Sycorax a clear notion of divinity in the figure of the pagan god Setebos, but this native form of religion is also ignored in favor of the European faith.

Caliban inherits from Sycorax a cultural and religious legacy that presupposes the existence of a former language before the arrival of the European intruders. He was certainly able to communicate with Sycorax, denying Miranda's assertion that it is the European language which allows Caliban to express himself and his thoughts. Although it is possible to infer that Caliban's "gabbles" are remains of this former language which, because they are incoherent to Miranda and Prospero, are simply labeled as brutish grunts, there is no textual evidence for this. But it seems logical to infer that he possessed a native language and that it was denied and occluded in the same process that his native culture and religion were rejected and occluded by the European colonizers.

It is important to keep in mind that *The Tempest* deals with the issue of an asymmetrical cultural confrontation. Caliban's encounter with Prospero and Miranda

represents the confrontation of a culture which is basically of oral tradition and which will eventually be subdued and annihilated by another culture based on a solid written tradition. Prospero and Miranda dominate the production of signification, or 'truths,' which will come to be fossilized by language. The representation of the "Other" through a eurocentric perspective is very important in the construction of this colonialist discourse. The production of discourse is totally under European control, and this discourse will characterize Caliban according to European standards. This discourse will also justify the actions of the European colonizer in the new land, at the same time that it will dissimulate the European imperialist and colonialist impulse which is directed to other peoples and their lands.

As we have seen, colonialism is basically a process of occlusion and replacement carried out on the very soil of the colonized. In *The Tempest*, Caliban's native culture, his former religion, and probably his native language are denigrated and denied in a process which culminates in the intrusion of an alien personality and identity. Miranda and Prospero's teaching Caliban their own European language plays a decisive role in this process of cultural and religious replacement. The effective process of colonization relies very much on the spread of language, for it is primarily through language that cultural and religious legacies are transmitted to new generations.

Caliban's assimilation of a European language opens the way for the intrusion of European values. Along with the gift of language, he must accept the European way of living, as well as the European culture and faith. Prospero and Miranda are prototypes of Europe's civilizing mission. With the excuse of improving the culture, religion and character of Caliban, they teach him a new language, in order to consolidate and perpetuate their dominion over him and his island.

Although some editors and critics of *The Tempest* have attributed Miranda's speech in I.ii.353-364 to Prospero, thus denying the participation of white women in such ignoble issues as dispossession, slavery, or ethnical prejudice, Miranda does play a decisive role in Caliban's colonization. After all, it is both Prospero and Miranda who teach Caliban a new language, thus imposing upon him an alien cultural legacy. Both Prospero and Miranda are responsible for Caliban's acculturation, dispossession, and enslavement. It is important to keep in mind Loomba's remark that most of Prospero's actions in *The Tempest* are performed because of Miranda ("Seizing the Book" 153). It is also important to point out that Miranda even suggests Caliban's extermination, which is not carried out by Prospero, mostly because of the necessity of his forced labor. In the play the native personality is systematically occluded, giving way to an intrusive European identity, as part of a colonizing project mostly based on the spread of a European language, and Miranda certainly is instrumental in this process.

Miranda also takes part in the construction and solidification of the colonialist discourse produced in order to justify and dissimulate European actions on the colonial scene. Her speech in I.ii.353-364 is marked by an extremely colonialist perspective. She first describes Caliban as an abominable and disgusting slave, morally debased and sexually perverted. Then she alludes to his supposed lack of language, at once suggesting that Caliban is a beast, and not really a human being. Finally, she concludes the speech, affirming that Caliban's race and repulsive character are the very cause of his enslavement. Her justification of Caliban's enslavement, therefore, reinforces the distance between the European "I" and its "Others," thereby denouncing her ethnical prejudice in relation to the non-European populations and her personal sense of racial superiority.

After twelve years of close interaction with Prospero and Miranda, Caliban ends *The Tempest* under European colonization. He has lost his former native identity, but he is not

allowed to partake of the European world. He has learned the European language, but he is not considered a legitimate speaker of that language. Stephano is amazed at Caliban's capacity for speaking the "Italian" language in II.ii.67-68, as if such a feat were unnatural, for a native of colonized lands to speak a European language. The same thing happens in relation to the European cultural and religious legacy inherited through the gift of language. Although Caliban assimilates most of the European culture and faith, he is not accepted by this civilization. He thus becomes a bastard son of the European civilization which has created him.

It is important to keep in mind that colonialism presupposes local domination. Removal towards unfamiliar territories, however, causes a great sense of 'displacement,' a great crisis between self and locality. Language is also important in order to turn an unfamiliar landscape into a familiar one. When Ferdinand wonders on Miranda's capacity of speaking the "Italian" language, for example, he wishes to be where "Italian" is spoken: "My language! heavens! / I am the best of them that speak this speech, / Were I but where 'tis spoken," (I.ii.431-433). Of course, Ferdinand wishes to be where "Italian" is spoken, because he wants to be safely back in Naples. But this speech also reflects the great sense of displacement felt by him, because he is lost and supposedly alone in the wild and natural landscape of the island. If Ferdinand's language were spread on the island and, consequently, most of (in this case) the Italian culture, perhaps he would not be so desirous of returning to Europe, for he would not then feel so completely displaced on Caliban's island.

It is important, however, to be attentive to the scope of Ferdinand's affirmations. Thinking that King Alonso is dead, Ferdinand affirms that he is the King, not only of Naples, but of those who speak the Italian language. If the Italian language is spread over other territories, it is implicit that he would also rule over them. The presence of the Italian

language on Caliban's island presupposes its natural annexation to the Kingdom of Naples, which confirms the close relationship between the spread of language and the growth of Empire already perceived by Nebrija in 1492. This direct relationship between the spread of language and European colonization has caused what Lamming calls a "strategy of fragmentation by language," in which political dependence is defined according to the language spoken: French West Indies, British West Indies, Dutch, Spanish West Indies, and so on (*The Pleasures of Exile* 8).

Although not displaced geographically, Caliban is the character who most suffers the consequences of the asymmetrical cultural encounter enacted in *The Tempest*. As I have already mentioned, Caliban assimilates the European cultural legacy, but he becomes a bastard son of the European civilization which was imposed upon him by a totalitarian process of colonization. Although he learns how to speak a European language, he becomes a second-hand user of that language. According to Lamming, Caliban is an "exile" who is at the same time colonized and excluded by language; he is exiled from his own culture, from his own religion, and must even forfeit his own name, but he is not accepted by the European civilization which has created him. I must remark on the absolute rightness of Prospero's speech in V.i.275-276, when he alludes to Caliban as "this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine." Although Prospero seems to be uncomfortable with Caliban's presence, he is obliged to recognize that this acculturated native is indeed his own creation.

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin also affirm that control over language is fundamental to imperial domination. They remind us that language is the medium through which notions of 'truth,' 'order,' and 'reality' are constructed. It is through language, therefore, that the European center consolidates and perpetuates its dominion over the colonies; it is also in the field of language that such power must be rejected in a process of wresting European

hegemony over the control of language (*The Empire Writes Back* 7). Although Caliban can no longer free himself from Prospero's dominion, it is necessary to challenge the European supremacy over this language which now has also become Caliban's property.

A complete process of decolonization is very difficult, if not impossible, but it is necessary to adjust the European concept of language to reflect the cultural and historical legacy of colonized people. According to Jahn, Caliban can no longer avoid the influence of Prospero and Miranda's language, but he must adapt this language to his own culture, which, although widely influenced by the white European civilization, is still very different from it. Caliban also needs to learn how to make this European language reflect his own history of dispossession and enslavement, as well as his present situation as subject to imperialism and exploitation. In doing so, Jahn believes that Caliban will be able to achieve the "extraordinary departure" considered impossible by Lamming, i. e., the liberation from the constraints of Prospero's language.

Caliban's language is really no longer similar to that of Prospero and Miranda; neither is it totally under the European control. Another language has resulted from the interaction of different cultural legacies formed by his own former native culture and the European culture imposed upon him during Prospero and Miranda's colonization of the island. This language has acquired new significations, new associations, and a new rhythm, which now begins to express a native perspective of history and reality. Prospero and Miranda are excluded from Caliban's "new" language; they are no longer able to grasp its subtleties and inferences. They can now only partially understand Caliban's language, because it is based on a cultural legacy not shared with the European colonizers.

Postcolonial appropriations of *The Tempest* tend to acknowledge this necessity of Caliban to liberate himself from the constraints of Prospero's language. In *Une Tempête*,

Césaire's Caliban is quite aware of the colonizing process which has destroyed most of his native culture and has imposed upon him the values of white European civilization. Although a complete process of decolonization is impossible, Césaire's Caliban relies on reminiscences of his own native language and culture in order to construct and reinforce a new sense of identity. The use by Césaire's Caliban of the Swahili word *Uhuru*, which signifies freedom, contests the supremacy of Prospero's language at the same time that it reinforces Caliban's African lineage and culture. The presence of the Yoruba divinities, Eshu and Shango, also demonstrates that Césaire's Caliban is not only influenced by the European faith. Rescuing elements from his own African language, culture, and religion, Césaire's Caliban makes evident that he is no longer confined to Prospero's language and culture.

In the poem "Caliban," Brathwaite endows the English language with an entirely new African rhythm. He makes English words prance according to the Limbo dance, at the same time that he rescues elements of Caliban's former African culture and subverts the language which was imposed upon him by European colonization. Since now Prospero's language also belongs to him, Brathwaite's Caliban must adapt this language to express his own identity. This new language, however, is no longer similar to that received from Prospero. As a matter of fact, Prospero can only partially understand it, because it contains a new vocabulary, a new rhythm, and also new meanings which are suitable to Caliban's cultural and historical experience, but which are no longer similar or dependent on the European experience.

In "Caliban," Retamar also believes that Caliban's assimilation of a European language has profound implications for his future. According to Retamar, along with language, Caliban inherits most of the European culture and the European way of perceiving reality, or "conceptual tools" ("Caliban" 5). Caliban's choice is to use this language, since he now has no other, but in a blasphemous manner, thus implying a rejection of the imperialist

cultural legacy imposed on him by European colonization. Retamar considers almost impossible to extirpate the influence of European colonization in Latin America, since Latin Americans, like Caliban, still use European languages, inherited from the process of colonialism, in order to communicate.

Although the process of complete elimination of the marks left by European colonization is simply impossible, Césaire, Brathwaite, and Retamar tend towards decolonization. Césaire's Caliban is very conscious of the colonizing process imposed upon him by Prospero, and recovers elements of his former language, culture and black religion, in order to reconstitute his own identity. Brathwaite adapts the English language to an African rhythm, ajusting this language to the weight of Caliban's African descendence. Retamar, in his turn, perceives Caliban as a symbol of Latin America's search for cultural identity and reaffirmation of its own historical perspective, which is mostly based on the reconstruction of Caliban's former enslavement and dispossession.

Although it is impossible to recover all that was lost by European colonization, the issue of identity is very important for postcolonial societies. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin consider identity in formerly colonized societies in terms of difference, rather than of essence (*The Empire Writes Back* 2). Postcolonial societies need to distinguish themselves from the colonial center, in order to recover their own cultural identity. The complete reconstruction of a former native identity, however, is simply impossible, because the marks left by the experience of colonialism are so well consolidated. Caliban needs to construct his own identity out of the widely different cultural legacies that he has inherited. These legacies overlay the remains of the native culture which was his before the imperialist culture imposed upon him during colonization. The cultural elements gathered through slavery and voluntary

migrations must also be integrated into this new identity. After the experience of colonization, postcolonial societies have irrevocably become multicultural and multiracial communities.

The effort of postcolonial societies to reconstruct their lost identity is necessarily disputed in the field of language. As I have argued, it is through language that the imperial center has consolidated and perpetuated its dominion over the colonies. It is also through language, however, that postcolonial societies must struggle in order to reconstruct their own sense of identity. According to Pepper Clark, Caliban's use of language is divided into three stages: the acquisition of a native language from Sycorax, the appropriation of Prospero's language, and the exclusion of Prospero from his own new integrated language. Caliban becomes bilingual, and his bilingualism is a direct reflection of his multiculturalism. Prospero, in a postcolonial context, loses control over Caliban's language, once he is excluded from it.

Although Caliban resists and revolts against Prospero's domination of his island throughout *The Tempest*, Caliban does not fully succeed in his attempt against the European domination. In Shakespeare's play, Caliban depends on the ineffective aid of two European drunkards as he conspires against his master. In postcolonial appropriations of *The Tempest*, however, Caliban's revolt tends to be successful. This vision of Caliban see him as now depending upon his own cultural and religious legacy, as well as possessing his own perspective of history. The imposition of language has been the source of Caliban's enslavement, therefore it can be only through the mastership of a "new" language and the reinforcement of his own identity that he can achieve the "extraordinary departure" from the prison of Prospero's gift, which is delineated by Lamming and pointed out by Jahn as a future possibility.

To conclude, I would like to deal with some other important insights taken from Said's book *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). In this book, Said develops some important considerations on the criticism of canonical texts and demonstrates how intrinsic is the relationship between culture and imperialism. Said works with two basic concepts for culture (concepts, in fact, roughly valid for both *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*). Firstly, culture is defined as "all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have related autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure" (p. xii). Said also adheres to Matthew Arnold's description of culture as a "refining and elevating element, each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought" (p. xiii). His discussion of culture in such terms is very important, for it shows how great canonical artists, especially dramatists, poets, and novelists, are purified from involvement in such processes as imperialism, colonialism, slavery, or racial extermination. Even though these authors often use, and reinforce, current images and stereotypes on 'Blacks,' 'Indians,' 'Orientals,' or 'inferior races.' Culture, as perceived by Said, functions as a separate domain where truly great artists belong and by which they are protected.

These remarks are important because canonical authors, Shakespeare, for example, are excluded from involvement in less "refined" issues, such as imperialism and colonialism. Readings of canonical texts based on theories such as Cultural Materialism, New Historicism, Feminism, and surely Postcolonialism are often criticized for neglecting the aesthetical perspective, in favor of social energies, ideologies, power relations, or colonialist discourses. This critique in itself is not false, but the suggestion that non-Shakespearean aspects have been imposed on his plays, in detriment to the aesthetic ones, which are the qualifying mark of the bard, is grossly inaccurate. The aesthetic value of Shakespeare's plays

is tremendous, a fact which no one surely intends to deny. On the other hand, it is precisely because the plays are such masterpieces that they must be carefully analyzed and contextualized. Social and political tensions are unavoidably present in Shakespeare's plays, since they were written in a specific social and political context. These tensions are innate to the texts, and their analysis helps to disclose the amplitude of signification which they offer.

In "*The Tempest* and After," an essay concerning several Scandinavian authors who wrote "after" *The Tempest,* Inga-Stina Ewbank makes further interesting remarks on the issue of meaning and *The Tempest*. According to Ewbank, "*The Tempest* presents a gap between text and meaning which gives the play a particularly shell-like nature: so much of what you hear in it--be it Shakespeare's autobiography or colonial discourse--is yourself" (109). Ewbank points out that the play tends to become a seashell which you put to the ear and what you hear is yourself, in a "self-reflexive" process which is mostly dependent on the personal experience of each reader/viewer of the play. In general terms, this would explain why Scandinavian authors and critics tend not to see *The Tempest* in terms of colonialist discourse, since the recent history of Scandinavia is not marked by the experience of colonization. The authors and critics from former colonized nations, however, because of their recent past of European imperialism and colonialism, do not fail to recognize the relationship between Prospero and Caliban as paradigmatic of the asymmetry of colonialist confrontation. The "gap" between text and meaning present in *The Tempest* may then be seen as a process of self-realization in which the reader/viewer of the play provides his or her own meanings.

One cannot really say to what extent Ewbank is right or not. I do not know to what degree my own reading of *The Tempest* is influenced by the fact that I was born in a developing country, formerly colonized by Europe, which even today suffers the consequence of North-American imperialism. Possibly, it is my personal experience which has made me

more susceptible to Caliban's claims. Perhaps, too, I impose my own meaning upon Shakespeare's play. If so, I quote Lamming who considers himself both a colonial and exiled descendent of Caliban in the twentieth century, an example of what he considers as a prophecy of *The Tempest*: "It will not help to say that I am wrong in the parallels which I have set out to interpret; for I shall reply that my mistake, lived and deeply felt by millions of men like me--proves the positive value of error" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 13).

Finally, I would like to advance some indications for further research on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Postcolonialism has caused the emergence of a great number of critical and creative interpretations, responses, adaptations, or, generalizing, "appropriations" of *The Tempest* throughout formerly colonized societies. These appropriations are widely marked by nationality, culture and local history. It would be interesting to investigate these "appropriations" in terms of national cultures: "Canadian appropriations of *The Tempest*;" "Caribbean appropriation of *The Tempest*;" "African appropriations of *The Tempest*" and so on. Each of these formerly colonized societies have appropriated different symbols from *The Tempest*, adapting the play to their particular colonial history. Such research could be very important toward an understanding of aspects of the national culture studied, as well as the type of relationship which the former colony maintained with the European center. Such studies could also be done in comparative terms, "Caribbean and African appropriations of *The Tempest*," for example. Research based on national culture and history should also be extended to Brazil. It is necessary to research and analyze Brazilian appropriations of *The Tempest*, as well as the influence of *The Tempest* on Brazilian literature.

It would also be interesting to investigate whether postcolonial critical and creative appropriations of the play have been assimilated in recent productions of *The Tempest*. How has this assimilation been carried out by directors and actors? What are the theatrical

elements used to present a postcolonial approach to *The Tempest* on stage? And what is the response of the audience to these adaptations of the play, following a postcolonial perspective? In summary, it is important to examine how postcolonial critiques of *The Tempest* have found an echo of their own history in more recent theatrical productions.

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