

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

THE SAVAGE ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE: CALIBAN'S COLOUR-

Liliana Tronea Ghidel

Junior Assist., PhD, University of Craiova – University Center of Drobeta
Turnu Severin

Abstract: “The Tempest” is the last play attributed exclusively to Shakespeare. Written in 1611 and first performed in November that year before King James I at Whitehall, it remains one of the playwright’s most popular works. Often presented as a visual spectacular of magic, song, dance and masque, it has also served as an allegory for every imaginable political and psychological situation. The sources for The Tempest are not known and what Shakespeare had in mind is an enigma. One view is that, about to retire, he uses the magician Prospero to reflect on his own life as a poet and playwright – in the Epilogue Prospero claims that his ‘art to enchant’ has come to an end. But The Tempest speaks with fresh purpose to each age. In Shakespeare’s day, it echoed popular belief in witchcraft, excitement at the discovery of exotic new lands, and disapproval of usurpation of power. In post-imperial times, the play was frequently used as a vehicle for denouncing the excesses of colonialism.

Keywords: colonialism, race, cannibal, Indian, Native American

In the realm of English literature, few characters have stirred up more international debate in a postcolonial world than a certain deformed, rebellious slave: Shakespeare’s Caliban.^[1] As pointed out by Virginia Mason Vaughan, Caliban’s relatively small yet vital role in Shakespeare’s final play *The Tempest* has led to a myriad of responses portraying him as everything from a genetic missing link to a victim of colonialism. ^[2] The role of Caliban has taken on new life in the postcolonial world. As pointed out by noted postcolonial authority Edward Said, “every subjugated community in Europe, Australia, Africa, Asia, and the Americas has played the sorely tried and oppressed Caliban to some outside master like Prospero”. ^[3] Therefore, in addition to the Native American portrayal of Caliban, there are several other possibilities, such as Imtiaz Habib’s depiction of Caliban as a “colonized black

¹Hoban, Russell ‘Some Episodes in the History of Miranda and Caliban’, *The Moment Under the Moment*, 1992

²Vaughan, Virginia Mason. “‘Something Rich and Strange’: Caliban’s Theatrical Metamorphoses.” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36.4 (1985): 390-405, p. 390.

³ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 214.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

male”.[⁴] This recalls the multiple black Caribbean interpretations of the play, including Aimé Césaire’s *Une Tempête* and the work of George Lamming. Furthermore, Ania Loomba asserts that *The Tempest* “speaks to Mediterranean, North African, and Irish, as well as Atlantic contexts”. [⁵] These are valid arguments, but none of these critics addresses Caliban’s exposure and reaction to alcohol, a topic that undeniably links him with Native Americans more so than with other ethnic groups.

A wealth of scholarship already exists on the subject of Caliban as a representative of oppressed Native Americans, but why critics have chosen to underplay his encounter with alcohol is indeed perplexing. Allen Carey-Webb’s approach to teaching *The Tempest* focuses a great deal on Caliban’s conflicting roles, but he never once mentions his drunkenness, perhaps due to a reluctance to discuss the topic of alcohol in the classroom. Jeffrey Hantman’s detailed accounts of the indigenous people of Virginia in relation to Caliban make no mention of spirits.

The place of *The Tempest* in the Shakespearean canon is well-defined: it is one of the romances and a comedy, and – because of Prospero’s breaking his magic rod and throwing away his books of magic – it is Shakespeare’s farewell to the stage. We should say that *The Tempest* pushes otherness to geographical and mystical extremes: not only is the location an as yet unidentified island, but the protagonist deals in white magic – contrary to another witch, his former opponent, who obviously dealt in black magic.

The action of *The Tempest* takes place almost entirely on an island. Though the location is not specified, the island evokes fantasies of paradise and political utopia. It resembles an idealized New World colony of Shakespeare’s era, a powerful realm of the imaginary, like the theatre itself. King Alonso, his heir Ferdinand, and members of the court of Naples are returning home by ship from Tunis, where they have attended the marriage of Alonso’s daughter to the King of Tunis. Also on board is Antonio, the usurper Duke of Milan who twelve years earlier ousted his reclusive but popular brother, Prospero. Prospero and his baby daughter were left to die on a leaking boat, but instead ended up on a tiny tropical island. They found the island had been settled by Sycorax, a witch banished from Algiers who had already died, but whose evil influence lived on. The spirit Ariel, who had been imprisoned for refusing to obey her, somehow remained her captive, while her monster-son, Caliban, still wandered by the island, claiming to be her heir. When Prospero and Miranda land the magician quickly asserts his power, turning Ariel and Caliban into his subjects. Now, learning that Alonso’s fleet is sailing nearby, Prospero prepares his revenge. And this is where *The Tempest* starts.

In his essay “On Cannibals,” Montaigne continually asserts that what is natural is synonymous with what is good, and that Nature herself ought to be the light by which human action is guided. It is not surprising, then, that he presents a highly idealized characterization of the natives of the New World. He perceives these “cannibals,” as he calls them, to be men who

⁴ Habib, Imtiaz. *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000), p. 208.

⁵ Loomba, Ania. *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 165).

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

live in the way Nature intends them to live, unadorned and unfettered by modern civilization. Montaigne goes so far as to claim to have found in these cannibals the “golden age,” spoken of so often by philosophers and poets as merely an unattainable dream. He boldly asserts that in the character of these people, all of “the true, most useful, and natural virtues and properties are alive and vigorous.”

The characterization of Ariel and Caliban in *The Tempest* is significant in relation to Montaigne’s essay, which was one of Shakespeare’s main inspirations for the work. In “On Cannibals” and in *The Tempest*, both Montaigne and Shakespeare explore the relationship between human nature and modern civilization. Montaigne’s idealization of the cannibals contrasts sharply with Shakespeare’s unsympathetic portrayal of the brutish Caliban, whose name thinly veils the influence of Montaigne’s essay. Whereas Montaigne’s cannibals are praised as “wild fruits,” produced by nature in her ordinary way and without any artificiality, Shakespeare’s cannibal appears to be as pathetic, crass, and vulgar as any individual can possibly be portrayed. This seems to imply that Shakespeare’s portrayal of Caliban is a direct attack against the form of wistful idealizing of Nature that Montaigne is so fond of. Yet the complexity of *The Tempest* lies in its essential ambiguity. This ambiguity stems from the juxtaposition of the brutish and pathetic character of Caliban with the sprightly and sympathetic character of Ariel. Both Caliban and Ariel are natives of the island, and hence can be thought of in terms of Montaigne’s cannibals. By analyzing the characterization of these two characters in relation to Prospero, one comes closer to determining how *The Tempest* as a work of art responds to and challenges Montaigne’s essay. Lying at the root of Shakespeare’s response to Montaigne is a differing conception of human nature and the extent to which modern civilization suppresses it.

The Tempest, then, represents a unique opportunity to understand that the pre-Enlightenment vision of deductive thinking based on Aristotle did not necessarily promote racial hierarchy, even though later systems would be used to assert that there were distinct lines between races. Although the play explores the methodology for understanding difference, it differs from the simple allegory of colonial encounter that it is sometimes purported to be. However, the fact that Caliban is forced into servitude is less relevant than the way in which he is used to promote a sense of difference, just as other captives of the Americas were. Complicating the colonialist reading is the fact that bringing Caliban from the Americas to England would not be the correct leg in what historians call the triangle of trade. Manufactured items were brought to Africa to barter for individuals to enslave, Africans were taken to the Americas on what was euphemistically called the middle passage to produce raw materials, and raw materials were brought to Europe to create more manufactured goods for barter (Williams 150). Bringing Caliban from the Americas to England does not fit directly with the institution of slavery and only makes sense in the context of the ideological work to make slavery acceptable.

Over and over again, Shakespeare uses the Mediterranean as a watery realm uniting peoples and nations. The explicit geography of *The Tempest* points primarily to Italy and North Africa. The place names mentioned in the text include Milan, Naples, Tunis, Carthage and

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

Algiers. And the ship that is wrecked in the opening scene is making the return journey to Naples after Claribel's wedding to the King of Tunis, which places Prospero's island, if we are being literal-minded, somewhere in the Sicilian archipelago. Most of the sources and analogues that have been proposed for *The Tempest*, moreover, derive from European and Mediterranean rather than English or American texts. The region was once seen as the ground for the unified, traditional readings that New World materials would challenge and complicate. In the last decade, however, Europe and the Mediterranean have begun to generate readings and appropriations of surprising currency and complexity. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's audiences had all the reasons to believe that the island could also be situated somewhere in the Caribbean Archipelago, and that the author was definitely hinting to topical events.

When Shakespeare and his contemporaries wanted to represent other European powers (or to represent English power through indirect means), they most often turned to Italy for the settings of their plays. While *The Tempest* is not, strictly speaking, set in Italy, Jan Kott was not alone in considering it "the most Italian of all Shakespeare's plays". [6]

To Shakespeare and his contemporaries, the Mediterranean represented more than just the source of the *Aeneid* and other classical texts, and the last few years have seen some forceful attempts to recover *The Tempest's* contemporary Mediterranean contexts and its representation of the international relations in what Andrew Hess has labelled the 'forgotten frontier' between Europe and North Africa. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this frontier was the site of active contact between European and Ottoman rulers, involving both cultural exchange and military confrontation. [7]

While England's role in these transactions was relatively marginal (compared to that of the Habsburg Empire), by the time *The Tempest* was written – as Hess here explains – the English sense of and relationship to the Mediterranean was particularly charged. During Queen Elizabeth's reign there was considerable traffic – both mercantile and diplomatic – between the English and the Ottomans; [8] and they contributed both personnel and technology to the violent and intensely multicultural pirate community that would have a major impact on the balance of power in the region – and a considerable presence in plays and popular literature back in England. By 1604, English and North Africans were working together in the crews of pirate

⁶ Jan Kott, "Prospero, or the Director", in *The Bottom Translation: Marlowe and Shakespeare and the Carnival Tradition*, trans. Daniela Miedzzyrzecka and Lillian Vallee (Evanston, 1987), p. 134; he cites not only the plot and the names of the characters but also "Ariel's recitativo, Stephano and Trinculo's *lazzi*, repeated after the [commedia] *dell'arte* scenarios, [and] the Roman goddesses of the betrothal masque".

⁷ Jerry Brotton and Lisa Jardine, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 2000); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996), *passim*.

⁸ "While etymologists agree that the term "trafficking" arose in the context of Mediterranean commerce, there are equally reasonable arguments for a Latin derivation from *tra/trans* (across) and *facere* (to do or make), and an Arabic origin from *traffaqa*, which can mean 'to seek profit' or *tafriq*, signifying distribution. This divided etymology makes 'trafficking' all the more attractive as a descriptive term aimed to displace unidirectional models of early modern cross-cultural encounters" (Jonathan Burton, " 'A most wily bird': Leo Africanus, *Othello* and the Trafficking in Difference", in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, London, 1998, pp. 43-63.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

ships; and after 1610 Mediterranean piracy could be described as “systematic plunder transcending religious barriers”.^[9]

In an essay devoted to *The Tempest*, Goran Stanivukovic comes with the following comment:

“Since the peak of postcolonial approaches to Shakespeare’s work in the decade between the 1980s and 1990s, *The Tempest* has been read as a drama of colonial expansion and a play about the subordination of the natives of the New World. Yet Ariel’s allusion to ‘the still-vexed Bermudas’, which expresses the play’s concern with Jacobean colonial projects in the New World, also captures the ambiguities of Shakespeare’s geography because the island is located in the Mediterranean, somewhere between Tunis and Naples.”^[10]

In his introduction to *The Tempest*, Stephen Greenblatt sees the play as ‘a kind of echo chamber of Shakespearean motifs’ which not only belongs to the group of romances – *Pericles*, *The Winter’s Tale*, and *Cymbeline* – but also ‘resonates [...] with issues that haunted Shakespeare’s imagination throughout his career.’ These issues, according to Greenblatt, are:

- (1) “the painful necessity for a father to let his daughter go (*Othello*, *King Lear*)”;
- (2) “the treacherous betrayal of a legitimate ruler (*Richard II*, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*)”;
- (3) “the murderous hatred of one brother for another (*Richard III*, *As You Like It*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*)”;
- (4) “the passage from court society to the wilderness and the promise of a return (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *As You Like It*)”;
- (5) “the wooing of a young heiress in ignorance of her place in the social hierarchy (*Twelfth Night*, *Pericles*, *The Winter’s Tale*)”;
- (6) “the dream of manipulating others by means of art, especially by staging miniature plays-within-plays (*1 Henry IV*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Hamlet*)”;
- (7) “the threat of a radical loss of identity (*The Comedy of Errors*, *Richard II*, *King Lear*)”;
- (8) “the relation between nature and nurture (*Pericles*, *The Winter’s Tale*)”;
- (9) “the harnessing of magical powers (*The First Part of the Contention* [2 *Henry VI*], *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *Macbeth*)”.^[11]

What Greenblatt does not mention is the more subtle connection between *The Tempest* and the other Mediterranean plays.

Although continental and domestic politics provide important historical contexts for *The Tempest*, there may be more relevance in Tudor and Stuart England’s incipient empire.

⁹ Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615*, trans. Janet and Brian Pullan (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 75, 86.

¹⁰ Goran Stanivukovic, ‘*The Tempest* and the Discontents of Humanism’, *Philological Quarterly* 85:1-2(Winter-Spring 2006): 91-119.

¹¹*The Norton Shakespeare* (Based on the Oxford Edition). Stephen Greenblatt, General Editor. (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997, 2008), p. 3055.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

According to many critics, the extensive and varied discourses on colonialism are deeply embedded in the play's language and events. Thus, Prospero commandeers a distant island and imposes his superior technology (books, magic) and his language as tools of conquest and domination. Ariel wants his 'liberty' from the servitude Prospero imposes as his price for liberating the sprite from an earlier captivity, but the best Ariel can expect is that his master will 'bate [him] a full year':

PROSPERO

How now? Moody?

What is't thou canst demand?

ARIEL

My liberty.

PROSPERO

Before the time be out? No more!

ARIEL

I prithee

Remember I have done thee worthy service,

Told thee no lies, made thee no mistaking, served

Without or grudge or grumblings. Thou did promise

To bate me a full year.

PROSPERO

Dost thou forget

From what a torment I did free thee?

ARIEL

No. (*Temp*, 1.2.244-51)

In his Introduction to the 1954 edition of the play, Frank Kermode thinks that "Prospero's assumption of his right to rule the island, 'to be lord on't', is the natural assumption of a European prince... There is ample testimony to the corrupting effect upon natives of contact with dissolute Europeans" (Kermode, xxxvii)

It is known that Shakespeare's and his audiences' familiarity with American colonization was not restricted to England's incipient possessions on the North American coast. For more than a century, reports of discoveries and settlements to the west by Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and eventually English chroniclers produced a growing flood of fact and myth – some of it in print, much of it oral – that formed a huge 'linguistic and narrative force-field' (Frey, 1979:33). One early account on which Shakespeare perhaps drew for incidental items in *The Tempest* was Antonio Pigafetta's short account of the Magellan expedition's circumnavigation in 1519-1522, originally published on the Continent, but subsequently translated into English in Richard Eden's travel anthologies of 1555 and 1557. [¹²]

¹² A few English narratives appear in Eden's first anthology (1555) and far more in his second (1577). Similarly, but on a far greater scale, Hakluyt's collection of 1589 is greatly expanded in his three-volume edition of 1598-1600, although the latter omits a few important documents that appeared in its predecessor.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

The Patagonians of lower South America, Pigafetta reported, worshipped a ‘greate devyll Setebos’ – the first known precursor of Sycorax’s deity. Pigafetta also described St. Elmo’s fire, great tempests, giants and ‘Canibales’. But this is only one possible example Shakespeare could have read and used. According to Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan,

“[...] the voluminous literature of European exploration was rife with tempests, wrecks, miracles, monsters, devils and wondrous natives. Although many of Shakespeare’s contemporary playwrights drew on that literature more overtly than he did, *The Tempest* may nonetheless be his oblique dramatization of Europe’s age of discovery.” (Vaughan, V. and Vaughan, T. 2011:41)

That Shakespeare borrowed from the sixteenth-century travel narratives is obvious. On the other hand, he was certainly familiar with William Strachey’s *True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* on Bermuda in July 1609 [13]. Strachey had been aboard Admiral George Somers’s *Sea Venture*, flagship of a relief expedition en route to the English outposts in Virginia, when a hurricane scattered the fleet, sank one ship and drove *Sea Venture* on to Bermuda’s rocky coast. All passengers and crew reached shore safely. Despite a disgruntled faction’s abortive revolt, the survivors flourished for nine months in Bermuda’s salubrious climate and on its abundant provisions before sailing to Virginia in two newly constructed vessels.

In early September 1610 – one year before the first production of *The Tempest* – Sir Thomas Gates arrived back in England with Strachey’s epistolary *True Reportory*, written during or immediately after the events. Shakespeare may have been acquainted with members of the Virginia Company of London and other officials, perhaps with Strachey himself, thus having the possibility of reading the manuscript himself. References have been made to Strachey’s mentioning ‘A most dreadfull Tempest’, a long and vivid description of St Elmo’s fire, names that suggest Gonzalo and Ferdinand, and some specific words and phrases evocative of *The Tempest*. More thematically significant are the seemingly miraculous survival of the mariners and passengers, their almost magical rejuvenation on the enchanted island’s bounteous flora and fauna, and their governance by a dominant and resourceful leader who overcame ‘divers mutinies’. [14]

According to John Wylie’s postcolonial reading of the play,

“*The Tempest*’s uneasy geographies, its ambivalent mapping of both Mediterranean and Atlantic contexts, may be usefully related to the philosophical and moral problematics which the discovery of the New World occasioned for the *imago mundi* of Renaissance Europe. From within this context, *The Tempest* may be seen to mobilize images of elsewhere, of spaces distant from an English centre. What this reading reveals, is that both colonial discourses and the colonization process were complex and even hesitant in their

¹³ Although it was not published until 1625 in Samuel Purchas’s *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes*, the manuscript may have been read by many of London’s cultural and political leaders.

¹⁴ Excerpts from William Strachey’s ‘True Reportory’ are published in Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan. Editors. *The Tempest*. The Arden Shakespeare. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), p. 309-24.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

formation. Through *The Tempest* they may be understood as both emerging from, and relying upon, a series of European theological and classical understandings of the morality of voyaging, and the nature of the geographically distant.” [15]

The presence of Caliban in *The Tempest* triggered the postcolonial interpretations of the play: a (post)colonial narrative which follows upon early modern voyages of exploration and discovery, “first contact” and the encounters with, and exploitation of, indigenous peoples in the New World. Whether the play refers to the newly-discovered ‘New World’ or to the Old World, the Atlantic or the Mediterranean world, is still a debatable matter. There are different theories regarding the name of Shakespeare’s character. A very simple explanation would be that the name is simply the anagram of the Spanish word *cannibal*, designating the Carib people, on the Island of Carib, which Christopher Columbus found in the afterward-mentioned Caribbean Sea. Skura was very sure of Caliban’s not being a cannibal, when she wrote:

“Caliban is not cannibal – in fact he rarely touches meat at all – his name seems more like a mockery of stereotypes than a mark of monstrosity, and in our haste to confirm the link between ‘cannibal’ and ‘Indian’ outside the text, we lose track of the way in which Caliban severs the link within the text.” (Skura, 1989:217)

Last but not least, one interesting etymology sends to the word *kaliban* in the language spoken by the English Gypsies, who had arrived in England one full century before Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* and whose unusual looks and manners might have inspired the Elizabethans. Whatever Caliban’s origin – or, to be more precise – the etymology of his name – he suits the postcolonial interpretations of the play. To give an example, here is Skura’s comment to New Historicist readings of Caliban as an American Indian:

“Caliban is taken to ‘be’ a Native American despite the fact that a multitude of details differentiate Caliban from the Indian as he appeared in the travellers’ reports from the New World. Yet it does seem significant that, despite his closeness to nature, his naiveté, his devil worship, his susceptibility to European liquor, and, above all, his ‘treachery’ – characteristics associated in the writings of the time with the Indians – he nonetheless lacks almost all of the defining external traits in the many reports from the New World – no superhuman physique, no nakedness or animal skin, [...] no decorative feathers, no arrows, no pipe, no tobacco, no body paint, and – as Shakespeare takes pain to emphasize – no love for trinkets and trash.” (Skura, 1998:48-49; cited in Gillies, 43)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

[15] John Wylie, “New and Old Worlds: *The Tempest* and early colonial discourse,” in *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2000, p. 45-63.

Iulian Boldea, Dumitru-Mircea Buda (Editors)

CONVERGENT DISCOURSES. Exploring the Contexts of Communication

Arhipelag XXI Press, Tîrgu Mureş, 2016

ISBN: 978-606-8624-17-4

Section: Literature

Brotton, Jerry and Jardine, Lisa *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* London, 2000; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* London, 1996

Habib, Imtiaz. *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000

Hoban, Russell 'Some Episodes in the History of Miranda and Caliban', *The Moment Under the Moment* , London, 1992

Kott, Jan , "Prospero, or the Director", *Marlowe and Shakespeare and the Carnival Tradition*, Evanston, 1987

Loomba, Ania. *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* ,New York: Oxford University Press, 2002

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* , New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993

Vaughan, Virginia Mason. "'Something Rich and Strange': Caliban's Theatrical Metamorphoses." *Shakespeare Quarterly* ,1985

Wylie, John "New and Old Worlds: *The Tempest* and early colonial discourse," in *Social & Cultural Geography*,2000