

DISPLACEMENT AND POWER IN WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST*

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Abstract: *The Tempest contains several instances of displacement. The play is written at a time when England expands its economic activity to locations at opposite ends of the world. The establishment of colonies on the American continent is paralleled by the new trade relations with the Ottoman Empire, Morocco and Iran. Through the central experience of displacement the play reflects the movements and exchanges between different and conflicting civilizations. The paper adopts a New-Historicist approach which is a suitable theoretical platform for examining the meanings attached to displacement. The paper also probes into the use of displacement in defining the new power relations and in understanding how Europe should play its role in power politics.*

Keywords: *Europe, travel, Muslim, faith, civilization, The Tempest*

The Renaissance is the age of travel, of great movements on the world map that bring together continents and connect regions at the far ends of the world. The process brings about a cultural encounter, a contact between distant civilizations. Global travel is mainly undertaken by Europeans, although cultural interactions are also enabled by the westward military expansion of the Arabs and the Ottoman Turks.

Travel is engaged in for commercial reasons, as in the case of navigators or merchants mandated by European rulers to explore far-off regions for economic or commercial purposes. Trade is the primary motivation for Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and even English navigators who travel across the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. European travellers can also be exiles or self-exiles for religious reasons.

Curiously, being separated from one's homeland does not trigger a sense of estrangement and uprootedness. There is a sense of optimism about the expansion to new territories and markets, about spreading European civilization elsewhere and the consolidation of European power. Many explorers end up settling in the newly-found places and subjecting the natives, establishing their own civilization on the European model. Religious exiles perceive the home as a hostile place. The elsewhere is accordingly seen as a refuge or as a promised land. The transition is facilitated by the influence of religion and eschatological expectations. On reaching the New World, Columbus entertains the belief that he has reached the earthly paradise mentioned in the Bible.

William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* draws on the historical context of the travels to the New World and on a documented incident of a shipwreck in the Bermudas. On the other hand, it makes explicit references to places which are part of North Africa, in particular Tunisia, Algeria and also the Mediterranean. The latter is the plausible location of Prospero's island, which might be identified with Mallorca. While the play's ostensible focus appears to be on the movement to the New World, another equally important focus is on an eastward movement, the interaction with an Eastern civilization, the Muslim civilization.

The play includes two journeys, by Claribel and Prospero respectively, that have a similar itinerary. A tempest is responsible for the shipwreck of the fleet of the King of Naples as he and his court return from Tunis after celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Tunis, and causes them to reach Prospero's island. Both Claribel and Prospero are exiles whose sea journeys involve encounters with the Arab world. Tunisia belongs to the Maghreb, in the Arab-speaking world. On Prospero's island, the islander Caliban is held to be the son of an exiled Algerian

sorceress. The two journeys essentially provide the context for an encounter of Europeans and non-European peoples and implicitly for an encounter of civilizations. A better understanding of the significance of the journeys and of the reason for their prominence in the play requires an inquiry into the successive interactions between Europe and the Muslim world.

Europe has contact with the Muslim world in several historical periods. The first encounter dates back prior to the coming of Islam. 4th-century accounts mention Saracens who raid southern Europe and live by plunder (Rodinson 10). The early medieval Arab invasion of North Africa is followed by the expansion of Arabs and Muslim Berbers to regions of southern Europe on the Mediterranean coast. This concludes with the conquest and arabization of Sicily, Southern Spain, Portugal, Malta and of parts of France such as Provence, Corsica and Sardinia.¹ The negative stereotype of the Moor or Saracen is shaped at the time and reinforced later during the Crusades. It is that of a cruel, violent, bloodthirsty, irrational people “who captured, enslaved, and tortured Christians,” “treacherous, cruel and perverse, [...] [who] resemble animals and lust after filthy gain” (Housley 200). Initially the Saracen is the alien aggressor who invades and attacks Europe. The medieval identification of the enemy by a specific physical trait suggests a racial view of the two civilizations and of the relation between them. This view explains why in the aftermath of the Reconquista even the converted Arabs were expelled (Housley 207). After advancing to North Africa, the Spaniards refrain from attempting to colonize the region. This may have been the result of their interest in American and European expansion, but it may also speak to a lack of interest in regions under Arab control and which underwent Islamization.

The racial view is maintained during the Renaissance. Spain is condemned for the loss of racial and genetic purity as a result of the Muslim occupation. According to Edmund Spenser, “thorough the marriages which they had made and mixture with the people of the lande duringe their longe Continuance there, [the Moors] lefte no pure dropp of Spannishe blodd no nor of Romayne nor Scithian” (Spenser 91).

The second significant encounter of Europe with the Arab world is linked with the pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the crusades (Rodinson 11). The Saracens hold power over territories which used to be part of the Byzantine Empire, such as Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, etc., which were Christianized and are deemed to rightfully belong to the Christians. The origins of Christianity are found in these territories and they are fundamental to Christian believers. Petrarch’s equation of the Arab conquest of the Middle East with a theft probably echoes the popular view of 14th-century Europe:

Julius Caesar: . . . if Julius Caesar should come back from the lower regions, bringing with him his former spirit and power, and if, living in Rome, that is, his own country, he should acknowledge the name of Christ as he doubtless would, do you think he would any longer suffer the Egyptian thief . . . to possess not alone Jerusalem and Judea and Syria but even Egypt and Alexandria . . . ? (Blanks 188)

The Saracen is viewed in the context of a religious war, as the enemy of the faith, and the image is built by recourse to negative figures in Christian Europe. Saracens are identified with pagans, heretics, sinners, sorcerers and even demons and the Antichrist. They are pagans who worship idols, and their religion is a deviation from or a reversal of the Christian religion.

The Muslims are viewed as lustful and depraved; accordingly, one of the aims of the crusades is to cleanse the Holy Land of moral filth. There are fears concerning the contamination of the Christians as a result of their interaction with the Muslims during the Crusades. The Arab population in North Africa is attributed a proliferation of sexual vices and is blamed for the moral corruption of the Europeans who are enslaved there or who use Muslim slaves from the region. A

¹ The Arab rule is established first in the Emirate of Cordoba and afterwards in the Caliphate of Cordoba and the Emirate of Sicily.

similar concern is voiced by D. Acciaiuoli, an Italian humanist who invites a Byzantine scholar that has escaped the siege of Constantinople to Florence “where no barbarians or insolent men live, but rather civilized men ... of good morals” (Blanks 193).

Magic and deception are associated with the Muslim in the context of the war of religions and the danger of conversion to Islam. Muhammad is labelled a false prophet and a magician from the perspective of the assumed deception of Islam and the potential to deceive Christians into converting to Islam (Rodinson 13). Muhammad is also seen as a false prophet on account of the discrepancy between his promise of salvation and the tolerance of vice.

The association of the Muslim with the devil is linked with the popular perception of the Muslim as the ultimate evil. Guibert de Nogent states that “It is safe to speak evil of one whose malignity exceeds whatever ill can be spoken” (Rodinson 14). This may probably be motivated by real character traits and historical encounters, but the perception may have been exacerbated by the influence of religion and the Church. A similar view is put forward to Ademar of Chabannes, for whom Saracens’ evil is such that they are “minions of Antichrist.” The stereotype of the Saracen popularised by Christian theologians such as G. de Nogent includes features derived from the Christian image of the devil. Their appearance is monstrous, they have “some physical deformity, such as horns” (Blanks 175), they are sorcerers and blasphemers.

In Shakespeare’s age Europe interacts with different Muslims, the Ottoman Turks, as a consequence of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and its advance in Europe. The reaction to the Muslim Ottomans varies much with different European states. They are perceived as a serious threat especially in Eastern Europe, although the Ottoman conquests and the forced Islamization of parts of this region are felt to pose a threat to the whole of Christian Europe. Western European states form alliances to halt the Ottoman advancement, such as the Holy League of Venice which included Spain, the Papal States, Portugal, Malta, etc. Strangely, however, conflicts between European powers, such as those between England and Spain, or between the Italian city-states, make possible alliances with the Turks against other European states. England’s rivalry with Spain, the separation from the Catholic Church and its resulting isolation within Europe lead to agreements with the Ottoman Empire, Morocco and Iran which have a commercial purpose but do not exclude military aims, such as the defeat of Spain.

Renaissance England engages in commercial relations with the Ottomans which are condemned by Catholic Europe and the Church but are lucrative and contribute to economic growth. The trading relations and their mutual understanding as enemies of Catholic Spain explain why the Muslims are treated in a fairly friendly and secular way, rather than as enemies of the faith and of Christendom.

A survey of Shakespeare’s work reveals that the Muslim figures are not inspired by the Ottomans, who are better-known to contemporary England, but by Arabs. Othello and, in *The Tempest*, the king of Tunis are Moors. The portrayal of Othello emphasizes the black skin and evokes the medieval stereotype of the “black” Saracen. There is no explicit reference to the skin colour in the case of the king of Tunis, but he is disparagingly called “African.”

In *The Tempest*, Shakespeare views Muslim civilization from a medieval or classical polemical standpoint – not in terms of a religious conflict, but of a racial and cultural one. Claribel’s marriage is plausibly the result of an arrangement between Alonso and the King of Tunis. It appears, however, that the exogamous marriage lacks motivation and reason. Although there is no explicit constraint, the union does not express Claribel’s wishes but is rather contrary to them, and the prospect provokes her disgust. Claribel is torn between loath and the desire to obey her parent’s wishes. Claribel is absent and her voice cannot be heard, but her position is made audible in the reproaches brought on Alonso by characters in the court of Naples. The reaction of the nobles who “kneeled to and importuned” Alonso is one of explicit opposition. There is a general regret concerning Claribel’s marriage outside Europe, viewed as a great loss. According to Sebastian, the blame lies entirely with Alonso:

SEBASTIAN. 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 banished from your eye. (*Tempest* 2.1.118-121)

While the marriage is ostensibly the result of Alonso's agreement to the king of Tunis's request, Alonso's position on Prospero's island suggests deep remorse:

ALONSO. 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. (*Tempest* 2.1.104-106)

There is an underlying negative racial perception of the "African" Muslim ruler. The complaint about the remoteness of the world conceals an objection to another, more important distance, a racial one. This is associated with cultural and religious differences, which are perceived as an unbridgeable gap. Shakespeare shares the Eurocentric cultural perspective of the age, according to which the Muslim civilization is a different world, symbolically located outside the historical world. It lies outside the scope of European knowledge and remains essentially impenetrable.

Political marriages with royal heirs were practised as a means of consolidating royal power, forming alliances and extending influence over other territories, most commonly through new trade opportunities. Marriages between rulers or royal heirs of distant countries and even interfaith romances between knights and princesses (Rodinson 58) are approached in medieval Italian stories and in Boccaccio's works (e.g. the arranged marriage of the King of Babylon's daughter and the King of Garbo or the romance of Gerbino, heir to the Throne of Sicily, with the daughter of the King of Tunis).

Shakespeare exposes the limit of the strategy of expanding power through marriage. *The Tempest* brings into focus, not the expected trade opportunities and a resultant increase in commercial relations, but the severance of family ties and of the relation with Claribel. The limit implied in the play is the racial difference, attended by a more radical cultural one.

Claribel's "loss" stands for her symbolic death. Her marriage is an exile, a banishment, as Sebastian puts it (2.1. 121). It is noteworthy that in the Middle Ages this exile the punishment for criminal wrongdoings and an alternative to execution. Claribel is silent about the spatial and cultural distance, although other characters who speak for her feel her leaving her homeland to be an exile. She is a captive in the midst of an inimical alien civilization, unable to control or alter the new foreign environment. The courtiers fear her imposed adoption of Arab customs and her Islamization. She would thereby be deprived of her cultural heritage and Christian faith so that her European identity would symbolically be erased. Her fate evokes that of the Europeans enslaved by Muslims. The marriage resembles an enslavement and her being "pimped out" suggests her father's betrayal by selling his daughter for a financial gain. It also suggests another negative moral connotation of the arrangement whereby she is disgraced and reduced to becoming a prostitute. Historically, the Europeans captured by Muslims are frequently the victims of sexual exploitation (Trivellato 149).

Enslavement has a complex significance in the context of the medieval relation between Christians and Muslims. The Mediterranean is an area where members of the two faiths interact mainly through trade. Venetian, Spanish, Portuguese and English merchants travel the sea to trade

with the Barbary, Morocco, Tunis and Algiers and with the Ottomans. The flourishing sea trade leads to the proliferation of privateers and slavery. European ships are frequently captured, their valuables seized and their crews sold into slavery. Europeans and occasionally Muslims such as Turks could be thus made slaves. There are many accounts of European merchants who succeed in releasing Christian slaves in North Africa. In the commedia *The Two Old Twins* by S. Flaminio, the Bisognosi twins, two rich Venetian merchants who trade in Spain and Levant, are captured in Alexandria, Egypt. They are sold as slaves to a Turkish merchant and taken to Persia, being eventually rescued by an Armenian merchant who brings them to Florence.

Privateering and enslavement show the risks faced by Europeans who traded with the Muslims and the dire fate of the Europeans who fell victim to Muslim privateers. Many such captives are converted, castrated or murdered. Their original European identity and even life would effectively be lost.

Secondly, Claribel is a European royal heiress, the first in line to the throne of Naples, and can therefore be a source or a founder of new civilization:

ANTONIO. Then, tell me, Who's the next heir of Naples?

SEBASTIAN. Claribel.

ANTONIO. She that is Queen of Tunis. She that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life. (*Tempest* 2.1.239-241)

Claribel's relocation in another world implies the loss of a future European ruler, of a pillar and a bastion of Christian Europe, an insecure future for a European state and symbolically for Europe. The political implications of her loss and the threat to the future of Naples are brought home in the context of the possible death of the next heir to the throne, Ferdinand. Claribel's exile in a distant and hostile civilization shows Europe as vulnerable, weak, under the domination of a foreign and inimical power.

Claribel's comparison to Dido, the ancient queen and founder of Carthage, emphasizes the ambivalent position of exiled queens. Dido is an exile who becomes the founder of Carthage and of the Phoenician civilization. Her life ends in despair and self-inflicted death because of a failed romance with Aeneas, the founder of the Roman civilization. Dido's tragedy, therefore, may conceal a cultural clash. Claribel has the potential to become the founder of a new European civilization elsewhere, but this potential is most likely lost because of the resistance of a rival, conflicting other.

In *The Tempest*, Prospero's protection of Miranda against Caliban's attempted rape indicates the responsible European ruler aware of his role of protecting the European values and heritage. Prospero stands in contrast to Alonso, and the play shows that their respective rejection of and openness to a hostile other has consequences for the fate of Europe. If Claribel's marriage is tragic and involves the loss of a representative of European civilization, Miranda assumes through her marriage to Ferdinand the role of a founder of new world, of an embettered European society reconnected to its Christian roots. It is significant that in contrast to Caliban, who is controlled by his lustful propensity, Prospero puts Ferdinand and Miranda to tests aimed at strengthening Christian virtue, humility, obedience, chastity, and his commands are obeyed by the lovers.

Prospero is a humanist and an ideal ruler, a philosopher king who unites the scholarly interest in magic with political action. He has the vocation of a founder, and under his rule Milan becomes an ideal city-state. Prospero remains the potential founder of a new island civilization after the model of Greek, Roman settlers and colonizers. The figure of Dido, the exiled queen, could serve as a model for the protagonist.

Prospero's journey does not follow the pattern of Renaissance travels. Prospero is a political ruler, although he is fundamentally an explorer, not of the workings of the outside world, but rather of the world of spirit. His voyage is a forced exile and the result of usurpation. The exile is

associated with a sense of dissatisfaction with a hostile homeland and it could be turned into an opportunity, the new hope of a colonization enterprise.

Prospero's discontent with the homeland can be traced in his comparisons and the identification between the savages and the inhabitants of the civilized world. He dismantles the stereotype of the superiority of European civilization:

PROSPERO (aside). Honest lord,
Thou hast said well, for some of you there present
Are worse than devils. (*Tempest* 3.3.35-36)

The stereotype applied to the natives is also questioned by other characters:

GONZALO. [...] I saw such islanders
(For, certes, these are people of the island)
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet note,
Their manners are more gentle-kind than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many—nay, almost any. (*Tempest* 3.3.29-34)

Prospero engages in a relation with Caliban that may suggest an experience of colonization, which nonetheless fails because of their hostility and rivalry. The latter perceives the representative of European civilization as a rival who disempowers him, as an enemy and a threat. Caliban is contemptuous and defiant, challenges his own state of subjection, the legitimacy of Prospero's dominion and the latter's cultural heritage. He recognizes nevertheless the superiority of Prospero's magic and knowledge, which could "make a vassal" of the god worshipped by Sycorax and possibly by himself.

Caliban tries to undermine Prospero's authority and power. His resistance to Prospero's spiritual and intellectual ascendancy is visible in his acquiring learning in order to undermine Prospero. The ultimate expression of resistance is the deliberate search for another ruler by whom paradoxically he is eager to be enslaved.

The new usurper's defeat by Prospero leads to Caliban's rejection of Stephano and his recognition of Prospero as the true ruler. The implication is that Caliban becomes Prospero's loyal and permanent subject:

CALIBAN. 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! (*Tempest* 5.1.297-298)

Caliban is re-created by Prospero and given a European identity. Prospero is essentially not open to the other but classifies Caliban according to inherited Eurocentric and Christian categories and to his sense of European superiority. The hostile alien is viewed as a "poisonous slave" and the product of a monstrous union between a witch and the devil. Prospero has a Eurocentric perspective and he can't envisage a new civilization and a new centre.

Prospero's journey remains an exile and is not turned into an opportunity for transplanting his rule elsewhere. He is a humanist who reaches out to Caliban and to a different civilization from the perspective of his openness to learning, but he maintains a cultural view of them. The experience of the other rather improves his perception of Europe and increases his desire to return to his homeland. He revalues Europe: although European society is seen as imperfect and requiring

improvement, it has the potential of self-reform. On the other hand, Caliban is portrayed as being incapable of bettering himself.

Prospero applies the Neoplatonic scale of being used by the humanists to rank a different people and in particular the native inhabitant of the island (Kingsley-Smith 162). The exotic races are placed on a level with animals and there is not much difference between the witch's son and the American native Patagon. On the other hand, in the encounter between civilizations Prospero is a European scholar and implicitly ranks highest on the scale from animal to god. He is close to a god; Miranda, his offspring and product of his education, is symbolically viewed as a goddess by Ferdinand and Alonso.

Caliban's intended union with Miranda is unnatural and perhaps an impossibility, given that his monstrosity calls into question his membership of the human race. The interracial union is made to appear even more inadequate when it is reviewed as a union between different species. Caliban's non-humanity indicates both the radical difference of civilization, culture, race, etc. and his inferiority or primitivism – as seen by Prospero.

Prospero is a civilizing hero with a colonizing vocation, but who lacks the colonizing will. He civilizes the other, but ultimately does not wish to exercise dominion over them. He chooses not to settle on the island and expand his power, but rather abandon the island rule and the colonizing project. Ferdinand and Miranda do not settle on the island but resume Prospero's rule in Europe.

In the portrayal of Caliban, Shakespeare joins the Far West and the Far East while embracing a Eurocentric perspective and supporting the self-styling of Europe as the climax of civilization. Caliban is often traced to the pagan natives of the New World territories discovered by European explorers. References to Caliban as a curiosity suggest that the source of the character may have been the New World natives:

STEPHANO. What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind, ha? Ha! I have not 'scaped drowning, to be afeard now of your four legs. (*Tempest* 2.2.55-57)

The Patagons are portrayed in a positive light, as a race of giants that are essentially childish and benevolent. Caliban may also be drawn on the exotic races depicted in Pliny's *Natural History* in his inability to speak and his primitive manner: "Tauron gives the name of Choromandæ to a nation which dwell in the woods and have no proper voice. These people screech in a frightful manner; their bodies are covered with hair, their eyes are of a sea-green colour, and their teeth like those of the dog" (Pliny 7.2).

Caliban seems to display features specific of Arab societies. The Arabs and pagans are given a monstrous appearance by Guibert de Nogent and Wolfram von Eschenbach, for whom the pagans were "covered with horn front and back, they didn't have a human voice: the sound from their mouths was the same as a hound or the bellow of a cow" (Blanks 59). They can be giants, deformed creatures, devils. The appearance is attached strong negative, moralizing connotations. There is no reference to Caliban's skin, but his description as 'a thing of darkness' can point to his dark or black skin. His darkness, just like the black skin of the Saracens, connotes evil.

Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda evokes character traits prominently ascribed to the Muslims in medieval Europe, namely lust and depravity. His attempted rape is aimed concomitantly at his empowerment and the suppression of Miranda, who would have no cultural contribution to the new race:

CALIBAN. [...] Thou didst prevent me, I had peopled else
This isle with Calibans. (*Tempest* 1.2.350-351)

This also evokes the Muslim, Arab and Ottoman strategy of gaining control of new territories by colonization. The attempted rape shows, however, that for Caliban the relation with Miranda is not one of harmony and concord that could lead to union, but a conflictual, violent one marked by an attack, an attempted act of aggression.

Concerning the master-slave relation between Prospero and Caliban, the play puts forward the contrary situation where the progeny and successor of the witch from Barbary is enslaved by the European magician. The enslavement is given a moral value as Prospero assumes the position of colonizer and subjects Caliban to prevent his evildoing and elevate him from his primitiveness.

Caliban performs no magic and is only indirectly connected with magic through his mother, the Algerian sorceress. The practice of magic is imputed to the Muslims in the context of the battle of faiths. Magic and the occult arts are introduced to Europe, together with Greek philosophy and science, with the Muslim conquest of Spain; they are also responsible for the secularizing tendency of Renaissance Europe.

Prospero is paradoxical as he is a European Christian who practises an Oriental art. He illustrates the humanist prominence of magic, which is part of the formation as a scholar and a way of attaining knowledge. Magic remains a controversial art and the humanists distinguish between black magic and natural or angelic magic. According to this distinction, Sycorax is a practitioner of black magic who uses it for evil purposes, and this is the reason for her banishment. Prospero uses magic for a positive, moral purpose. He ultimately valorizes an Oriental practice in the attempt to strengthen Christian values and identity. From the medieval standpoint, magic is an illusion, it involves deception and untruth. While Prospero's magic is explicitly shown to reside in the creation of illusion and the play on appearance, magic ultimately effects the undoing of a false reality. Magic is a means of countering usurpation, reinstating the rightful ruler and the natural and divine order. Prospero is a teacher whose magic has a pedagogic purpose of enabling knowledge, unearthing the truth, awakening moral conscience and virtue. On the other hand, the practice of magic remains controversial and Prospero emphasizes his Christian values by giving up magic. The interpretation of Prospero as a Christian figure is supported by his detached attitude to magic, which could even be seen as contempt (Kingsley-Smith 162).

Shakespeare adopts the conservative, Eurocentric position of the humanists who, in spite of the changes in the European perception of the Muslims, maintain a polemical attitude which continues the medieval perspective: "the humanists wrote far more often and at far greater length about the Turkish menace and the need for crusade" (Trivellato 154). For the humanists the fall of Constantinople equates the Ottomans with barbarians. It is followed not only by the destruction of churches, but also by the burning of books, the attempt to annihilate the cultural heritage and ancient civilization of the Byzantine Empire, a major part of the Christian and Roman world. In this sense it is compared with the Goths' sack of Rome and the Greeks' war with the barbarous Persians. The view on alterity in the play reflects the humanists' cultural understanding of the division between Europe and other spaces as that between civilization and barbarity.

On the other hand, Shakespeare's position as conveyed in *The Tempest* evokes the change in the English foreign policy initiated by King James I. This is embodied in a proclamation issued in 1604, which justifies the change "because such a settled amitie might (by an vnion in Religion) be established among Christian Princes, as might enable us all to resist the common Enemie" (Robinson 77). James I ends the relations with the Ottoman Empire and establishes friendly relations with Spain. He is a Christian king interested in the reunification and reconciliation of Europe against the common enemy, which is no longer Spain but the Ottoman Empire. The island plot in *The Tempest* supports this perspective, and the play symbolically advocates the Europeans' return to the matrix of civilization and the work for the unification and consolidation of Europe.

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