

MAKING WAR, NOT LOVE: THE CONTEST OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE AND THE HONOR CODE IN CALDERÓN'S *AMAR DESPUÉS DE LA MUERTE*

Anne J. Cruz
University of Illinois, Chicago

Calderón's play, *El Tuzaní del Alpuxara*, also known as *Amar después de la muerte*, presents at first glance an idealized view of the Moor typified and encouraged by the sixteenth-century interest in *morisco* literature such as *El Abencerraje* and the *Guzmán de Alfarache's* interpolated story of Osmín and Daraja.¹ Yet the play was written in 1633, when the issue of the ethnic group's despised "otherness" had again flared up, some forty years after the *morisco* rebellion of the Alpujarras.² Quoting Juan Goytisolo's assurance that at the time, "el moro era un simple recuerdo," Melchora Romanos rightly notes the theme's "fuerte impronta de la tradición idealizante" which she attributes to a "defensa tardía" of the *moriscos* (371-72). Numerous critics have traced Calderón's source for the play to Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada*, a novelized recounting of events that advocates for the *moriscos'* assimilation into Christian society.³ Most recently, Diane Sieber develops the play's mythological imagery, which she asserts construes the Alpujarras as the labyrinth that contains the *moriscos* in an inverted heroic role against the Christian monsters. Since Pérez de Hita's narrative may be read—surprisingly, given the times—as a powerful critique of the treatment of the *moriscos* that led to the uprising, we may ask whether the play also serves to communicate Calderón's own negative views of the later expulsion. If, as I hope to show, the answer is overwhelmingly positive, this particular play supports Ignacio Arellano's belief that the Calderón of the millenium, unlike previous interpretations, proves "un poeta trágico, capaz de explorar los laberintos de la opresión ideológica, política y social" (4).

As court playwright to Philip IV, Calderón writes his play soon after the occurrence, in 1627, of another court spectacle, the competition for a Palace painting representing the expulsion of the *moriscos* by Philip IV's father. The winning painting by Diego de Velázquez, who competed with other court painters, situated an armed Philip III at its center, his baton pointed at a group of men, women, and children in tears being taken by force to some carts and boats in the background. At his right, the figure of

Spain, personified as a Roman matron, held in her right hand arrows and a shield, and in her left, blades of wheat, with a Latin inscription at her feet extolling Philip's virtues as "fosterer of peace and justice, preserver of the public order; in recognition of his successful expulsion of the Moors."⁴ The painting, approximately the size of Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg*, was lost in the 1734 fire of the Alcázar; we know, however, that it garnered Velázquez his appointment as painter to the privy chamber (Orso 52-53).

The contest's theme, like the play's, was most probably motivated by the changing public attitudes toward the expulsion, which drastically affected the country's agricultural production. In his analysis of Calderón's *comedia* as an astute commentary on contemporary politics, Alexander Parker identifies the strong presence of an "enlightened" position at court in defense of the *moriscos* (Parker 303). Velázquez's painting, exhibited in the Alcázar's "New Room," a prominent showroom for the royal treasures (Orso 52), was meant to uphold the conviction that Philip III—whose epithet of "pious" underscores his religious zeal—had acted rightly in defense of Spanish orthodoxy. Depicting Spain's motherly countenance holding both the symbols of arms and of nurturance in her hands, the painting attempted to respond to the increasing realization that the expulsion had sorely aggravated the country's economic decline. Admitting to the devastating effect of their departure, the royal confessor Antonio de Sotomayor called for the *moriscos'* return "if they could be persuaded to accept our Holy Faith."⁵ The same year Calderón writes his play, Sotomayor reports to the king on a petition by the Portuguese bishop of Coimbra to expel all *conversos* or New Christians from Portugal. In assessing the likely outcome of such a banishment, Parker adds, the confessor could not help but ask how much more irremediably harmful this expulsion would be than that of the *moriscos*, given the *conversos'* larger numbers (319). Parker points out that the king's confessor was the "keeper of his conscience," taking advantage of the occasion to criticize the *moriscos'* exile and advocate for their return (320). Moreover, the exodus of the *moriscos* from Spain had earlier been lamented by at least one *arbitrista* or economist quick to see that the expulsion was not solely a religious, but an economic concern of the state. Several years before Sotomayor voiced his apprehensions, Pedro Fernández de Navarrete blamed Spain's depopulation on the *moriscos'* departure in a treatise, however, left unpublished until 1626 (67-68). Even earlier, Sancho de Moncada had complained, in 1619, that a country could not subsist without a population. The religious and political discourses circulating at the time Calderón writes his *comedia* reflect this noticeable change in public opinion over the expulsion.

Calderón's critique of the Alpujarras war is grounded in the histori-

cal circumstances of the last decades of the 1500s, which John Elliott has described as "the great depression" (*Count-Duke* 409). Both the unending wars and the hunger brought on by drought in Castile led to exceptionally high mortality rates; it is not surprising that the expulsion, which depopulated Valencia, was also seen as one of the causes of the agricultural depression between the years 1629 and 1632. By focusing on the *morisco* rebellion of the Alpujarras, Calderón's play does not directly address Philip III's edict of expulsion. It does, however, give us reason to believe that the surprising reversal of Christian and *morisco* values—symbolized by the inversion of the monster/labyrinth myth pointed out by Sieber—while displaced chronologically to the earlier conflict, suggests far more than a nostalgically idealistic representation of the *moriscos* as a vanished people. In a 1984 article Thomas Case proposed to "interpret the play from the perspectives of honor, justice, and historical circumstance" (55). My reading of the play wishes to extend his arguments beyond the play's likely political and religious message. I contend that while Calderón's *comedia* proffers a decidedly pro-*morisco* statement on this tragic historical event, it does not merely encompass their economic value to the state or their social acceptability once converted to Christianity. Rather, it stresses the cultural differences between Christians and *moriscos* even as it delineates their participation in the irrationality of a shared honor code that leads them irretrievably to war. I argue that, similarly to Calderón's uxoricide tragedies, this play also is about the rigors of the honor code, albeit practiced by two culturally different groups.

The revolt of the Alpujarras *moriscos* against the Christian army constitutes the background of the play, which centers on the love of the *morisco* noble Don Álvaro Tuzaní for the daughter of Don Juan Malec, an elder statesman whose affront by the Christian noble Don Juan de Mendoza in part triggers the rebellion. In order to understand how the play's main action is integrated with the play's historical base, we need to contextualize this uprising within the broader history of the *moriscos* in Spain, since Calderón's *comedia* not only highlights the Christian attitudes during their rebellion, but also their experiences previously. The expulsion of the *moriscos* from the mountainous region of Andalucía called the Alpujarras in many ways replays the key issues of the Moors' earlier exodus from Spain in 1503, just as it foretells the *moriscos*' later expulsion. The Kingdom of Granada was conquered only after internecine clashes; L. P. Harvey has detailed how the rivalry between Boabdil and his brother, al-Zagal guaranteed Málaga for the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel, while the Muslim aristocracy negotiated successfully with the enemy in order to preserve their wealth and estates (301).⁶ Granada itself was torn by internal dissension, as some Muslims supported a fight to the death, while others advocated negotiation (Harvey 305-06). After the city's fall,

the Catholic Monarchs decreed that the Moors would be protected as vassals and natural subjects, preserved from all oppression, and their habits and customs left undisturbed (Lea 20-21).

Muslim customs, however, contrasted uneasily with those of Christians, especially when concerning relations between men and women. *Moriscos* were considered sexually promiscuous and, although they did not practice it often, the possibility of polygamy was viewed with alarm by Christians. The growing fears of the perceived destruction of social order by their continuing cultural practices resulted in what Mary Elizabeth Perry has called the "sexualization" of Muslim differences. Perry affirms that Christians "transformed *Moriscos* into a deviant group by inscribing the body through a process of sexualization. . . . Seeking to discredit minorities by associating them with sexual perversions, Christians marked their bodies through rhetoric, laws, and institutions that sought to define them" (39). Yet, until the Capitulations were declared null and void, Granada maintained its religious and political cohesiveness (Harvey 324-25). Before his departure for North Africa, Boabdil spent most of his time hunting in his Alpujarras estate, near Dalia and Verja, the same towns where the *moriscos* retreat and come under attack in Calderón's play (Harvey 327). Historians have dismissed the tales of the "harem feud" between Boabdil's mother, Fatima, and his father's Muslim convert slave, Isabel de Solís, known by her Arab name of Zoraya, as the major cause of Granada's weakened state.⁷ Nevertheless, Harvey notes that this legend, which narrates the disastrous consequences of the loves of Boabdil's father, Abu El-Hassan, parallels the legendary loss of Visigothic Spain to Rodrigo's passion for the daughter of Don Julián (266). Moreover, it contributes to marking the Moorish culture as one that endorses promiscuity and debauchery. The Koran had come under attack for giving "great license so that a man can have many women, young ones and as many as he can take in battle and can maintain, and not only single women, but even those belonging to others."⁸ The depravity attached to Moorish customs is, I believe, one of the cultural misperceptions disputed in Calderón's play. For this reason, the consequences brought on by the *moriscos'* adherence to fidelity in love—no less than to their religion—are not, as Case contends, merely moving sentimental aspects in the play (58), but on the contrary, the manner through which Calderón stresses the irrationality of Christian attack based on the honor code on the cultural "Other." It is not coincidental, after all, that the *comedia's* title eulogizes the *morisco* couple's love for each other, even after death.

The eight intervening years from Granada's Mudejar status to the edict of expulsion saw the arrival of Christian immigrants into the city and the increasing conflicts between the two groups. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros's militant efforts to convert the Moors resulted in

the Muslims' armed revolt, effectively undoing the work of more enlightened leaders, such as Hernando de Talavera, Granada's first archbishop, and Íñigo López de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla (Harvey 329, 334; Lea 22). Although Ferdinand had promised to preserve Islamic law, as was the case for the Mudejars of Aragón and Castile, the uprising in the Alpujarras in 1500 over Cisneros's imprisonment and mistreatment of dissidents in turn led to revolt in Almería finally put down in 1501. The insurgency offered Ferdinand the opportunity to cancel the Capitulations of Granada.⁹ Decrees prohibiting Islam were extended in the 1520s to Aragón and Valencia, forcing conversions despite opposition from some nobles (Harvey 334-35). The rebellion of the Alpujarras, some sixty years later, responded to increased oppression due to Philip II's fears that *moriscos* were in contact with the Turks who had taken over much of the Moslem world.

Despite sporadic efforts at enforcement, the pragmatics against Muslim customs had seldom been applied during Charles V's reign. As the century continued, however, the *moriscos* were blamed for joining in the attacks by the Barbary corsairs and the Turkish threat that continued into Philip II's monarchy, appearing as a fifth column within Spain, a position considered a "real threat" by modern historians (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 28-29). Fernand Braudel agrees with this interpretation: "The request for military aid had been made to the Turks by the Morisco envoys, as well as on behalf of the kings of Morocco, Fez, and 'three or four others of Barbary.' This news coincided with reports reaching Madrid almost simultaneously that the Sharif was preparing a military expedition against the *presidios* in Morocco; taken together they engendered fears that a concerted Moslem invasion of Spain was about to take place" (2: 1066). As the Counter-Reformation demanded more aggressive measures against heterodoxy, the Inquisition and the state confronted New Christians with a series of repressive measures. *Moriscos* were forbidden the possession of firearms, required to show title to their lands, and their businesses increasingly taxed. The Granada episcopal synod of 1566 proposed that all Muslim practices be suppressed, Christian families moved to *morisco* lands, and *morisco* children sent to Old Castile to be educated as Christians (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 31-32). According to Elliott, these measures were approved in part because of a family feud between the president of the Granada *audiencia* Pedro de Deza and the Count of Tendilla Íñigo López de Mendoza, whose protectionist policies were opposed also by the Inquisitor General and President of the Council of Castile Cardinal Diego de Espinosa (Elliott, *Imperial Spain* 238-39). Pushed to the breaking point, the *moriscos* first rebelled in the Alpujarras mountains on Christmas Eve, 1568, an uprising aptly described by Braudel as "the inevitable clash of two civilizations" (2: 790). The Granada rebellion lasted

slightly less than two years; historians give from 50,000 to 100,000 as the number of *moriscos* ultimately dispersed from Granada to Extremadura, Western Andalusia, and the two Castiles (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 35; Parker, *Philip II* 107).

It is during the years of the Alpujarras revolt that Calderón's play, *Amar después de la muerte*, takes place. The *morisco* protagonists of the play are divided into two groups: the noble *morisco* leaders Don Álvaro Tuzaní and Don Juan Malec and their female relatives, and the lower class *moriscos*, including the play's *gracioso*, Alcuzcuz, whose name, a play on the typical Arabic dish cous-cous, reifies *morisco* culture at its most elemental level, and also serves as the *gracioso*'s name in Calderón's *El gran príncipe de Fez*. The difference between these two groups is meant to be noted, as the first speaks perfect Castilian, a quality that becomes a thematic and structural element of the play's denouement, when the protagonist El Tuzaní assumes the role of a Christian soldier in order to avenge his bride's murder by a "real" Christian soldier. The second group is defined not merely by their comical dialect, but also by their clothes. As the play begins, the men and women are dressed in Moorish garb, dancing a *zambra*, a dance forbidden by law, as they celebrate their holy day. The play's opening scene takes place in a house locked to the outside. Since the decrees will insist that *moriscos* leave their doors open for inspection to avoid any possibility of insurrection, from the first, the *moriscos* recognize and exclaim their position as one of internal exile:

No entre nadie sin la seña
 Y prosígase la zambra.
 Celebremos nuestro día.
 Que es el viernes, a la usanza
 De nuestra nación, sin que
 Pueda esta gente cristiana,
 Entre quien vivimos hoy
 Presos en miseria tanta,
 Calumniar ni reprender
 Nuestras ceremonias. (1; sc 1, 681)

The *morisco* leader and Granada *veinticuatro* Don Juan Malec comes to warn them of the recently declared edicts that follow on previous decrees:

Las condiciones pues eran
 Algunas de las pasadas
 Y otras nuevas que venían
 Escritas con más instancia. (1; sc 2, 681)

The patriarch's speech relays the historical situation under which the *moriscos* may no longer practice their customs:

Que hoy es caduca ceniza
De aquella invencible llama
En que ardió España, pudiese
Tener fiesta, hacer zambras,
Vestir sedas, verse en baños,
Ni oírse en alguna casa
Hablar su algarabía,
Sino en lengua castellana. (1; sc 2, 681)

While he accepts the conversion imposed on them as a just law and a check on their heterodox religious practices ("Ley justa y prevención santa" [1; sc 2, 681]), he laments the intransigence and violence with which the laws are being applied ("Porque la violencia sobra / Donde la costumbre falta" [1; sc 2, 681]).

At this point, Don Juan de Mendoza, a fictional relative of the Marquis of Mondéjar, arrogantly insults his Moorish heritage as "odious, lowly, and servile" (vil, humilde y baja"), thereby dishonoring him and his family.¹⁰ Malec defends his noble lineage, leading to an argument between them that implicates the *morisco* in the Christian code of honor:

Este agravio que en defensa,
Esta ofensa que en demanda
Vuestra a mí ha sucedido,
A todos juntos alcanza,
Pues no tengo un hijo yo
Que desagravie mis canas . . . (1; sc 2, 682)

The first act thus posits the two cultures against each other as equals, despite Mendoza's disparagement of Don Juan Malec's lineage. As he has no son to defend him, Don Juan Malec expects and demands that the *moriscos* as a group avenge his offended honor. A solution is suggested by a political marriage between Don Juan de Mendoza and Don Juan Malec's daughter Clara. She confesses to her lover Don Álvaro Tuzaní that since she can no longer marry him due to her own dishonored state, she will acquiesce to marry Mendoza only because she plans to murder him. Don Álvaro opposes the match, swearing that he will murder him instead:

Porque son, Clara, tus brazos
Para verdugos muy bellos.
Pero antes que (ya que sea

Ese tu intento) él se vea
 Ni aun para morir en ellos,
 Curaré de mis desvelos
 Yo con su muerte el rigor. (1; sc 7, 684)

The love interest motivates the plot, of course, but what is underscored here as well is the fidelity of the two *moriscos* to each other, not merely as lovers, but as members of a culture that was viewed as “other” and therefore deviant (Perry 38). The values promulgated in this scene are loyalty to family honor and fidelity in love, two virtues that were traditionally—and uncontestedly—considered Christian. However, we find them just as nobly upheld in the tragic relations between two *morisco* lovers. Tragic, because Don Juan Malec’s dishonor will lead to the two lovers’ separation and ultimately to Clara’s death, yet these consequences occur precisely at the moment when the *moriscos* have abandoned their Christian ties and fled to the Alpujarras. They thus cannot be attributed to the *moriscos*’ desire to behave according to Christian principles.

The second act begins with the arrival of the military hero Don Juan de Austria, who comes finally to quell the ongoing rebellion (“Porque vienen conmigo / Juntos hoy mi venganza y tu castigo”). Don Juan de Mendoza’s speech allows the audience to accept the *moriscos*’ worthiness as foes, both militarily and culturally. He starts by praising their ability to garden, farm, and herd cattle in Berja, Gavia, and Galera, the three major villages of the Alpujarras.¹¹ In explaining their revolt to Don Juan de Austria, Mendoza first blames himself for having affronted Don Juan Malec, but then adduces the strict laws against their cultural practices as the underlying cause of the rebellion:

Aunque mejor es decir
 Que fui la causa primera,
 Que no decir que lo fueron
 Las pragmáticas severas
 Que tanto los apretaron,
 Que decir esto me es fuerza
 Si uno ha de tener la culpa,
 Más vale que yo la tenga. (2; sc 1, 687)

Although Mendoza calls the *moriscos*’ revolt a betrayal, he also admits that their actions resulted from their despair:

O sea que ya oprimidos
 De ver cuánto los aprietan,
 Órdenes que cada día
 Aquí de la corte llegan,

Los desespéro de suerte,
Que amotinarse conciertan. (2; sc 1; 687)

Mendoza again praises the *moriscos*, this time for their aptitude to keep secret their plans to mobilize, move to the mountains, and arm themselves. After describing their attack on Granada, he commends them for their organizational abilities. By means of this long *romance*, we are informed that the *moriscos* have elected a leader Don Fernando Válor who has married Don Álvaro Tuzaní's sister Isabel. Under his orders, the *moriscos* reassume their Arab customs, effectively reversing the laws that compelled their Christianization:

La primera cosa que ordena
Fue, por oponerse en todo
A las pragmáticas nuestras,
O por tener por las tuyas
A su gente más contenta,
Que ninguno se llamara
nombre cristiano, ni hiciera
Ceremonia de cristiano . . .
Que ninguno hablar pudiese
Sino en arábica lengua;
Vestir sino traje moro,
Ni guardar sino la secta
de Mahoma . . . (2; sc 1, 687)

At the time of Don Juan de Austria's arrival, Válor, his name changed to Abenhumeya, the name of Cordoban royalty, had distributed the *morisco* forces to the three villages. While he controls Berja, Malec is assigned to Galera, and Don Álvaro, now known by his Arabic name of El Tuzaní, to Gavia. The Christian forces, meanwhile, are comprised of several military factions, including one led by Don Lope de Figueroa, an army hero recognized for his courage and loyalty to Don Juan de Austria. The confrontation between Christians and *moriscos* will push to the fore the metaphorical reversal of the monster/labyrinth myth, to the point that it will be Clara, now known by her father's name as Maleca, the Granada virgin sacrificed to the monstrous Garcés (Sieber 5).

The leitmotif of Maleca's bittersweet love for El Tuzaní is carried forth in a refrain sung by the musicians in the second act:

No es menester que digais
Cúyas sois, mis alegrías;
Que bien se ve que sois mías
En lo poco que durais. (2; sc 5, 689)

As Maleca's father proposes the couple's marriage to Abenhumeya, the two lovers hear and repeat, in asides, the song's couplets. The refrain's sad ending foreshadows the brevity of their happiness. The wedding is celebrated according to Muslim law, with the bridegroom bestowing the dowry jewels on the bride. At the moment the couple holds hands, however, wardrums are heard in the distance. Tuzaní acknowledges the full force of the refrain:

Qué más novedad que ser
 Dichoso yo? Pues el sol
 Mira apenas mi ventura,
 Cuando eclipsan su luz pura
 Las armas del español. (2; sc 6, 689)

The war brings out El Tuzaní's bravery, but also an unthinking boldness that places Maleca in danger. He wishes to carry her off with him, but must depart instead to Gavia ("Mi honor y mi amor están / dándome voces a un tiempo" [2; sc 15, 692]). In a foreshadowing of her death, she is cut when he threatens the *gracioso*, Alcuuczuz, with a knife. El Tuzaní slips back into Galera to see Maleca, highlighting the unbreakable bond between them. There, however, the Christians have prepared an ambush by exploding the entrance to the mine. Under Don Lope de Figueroa's direction, the Christian soldiers attack and plunder the village. Stabbed by a soldier, Maleca dies in El Tuzaní's arms, reinforcing the transcendent quality of the two *moriscos'* love for one another. That her murder at the hands of the cowardly Christian soldier Garcés occurs when the entire village has been vanquished and is consumed by flames further underscores the indivisible thematic bond between the cultural conflict of Christians and *moriscos*, and the love story of the title. In a heartwrenching cry that compels the heavens, the world, and their elements to acknowledge his suffering, El Tuzaní vows to avenge, not only Maleca's death, but the very notion of his affronted Moorishness:

Yo iré siguiendo el alcance [de los españoles]
 Hasta que al mismo entre todos
 Homicida suyo halle:
 Vengaré, si no su muerte,
 A lo menos mi coraje;
 Porque el fuego que lo ve,
 Porque el mundo que lo sabe,
 Porque el viento que lo escucha,
 La fortuna que lo hace,
 El cielo que lo permite,
 Hombres, fieras, peces, aves,

Sol, luna, estrellas y flores,
 Agua, tierra, fuego, aire
 Sepan, conozcan, publiquen,
 Veán, adviertan, alcancen
 Que hay en un alarbe pecho,
 En un corazón alarbe
 Amor después de la muerte,
 Porque aun ella no se alabe
 Que dividió su poder
 Los dos más firmes amantes. (3; sc 7, 695)

The indissoluble union between the two lovers sworn by El Tuzaní confirms that his supposedly brutish "Arabic heart" (corazón alarbe) is capable of an abiding love that transcends the difference between Christian and Muslim cultures. This is not, I would venture, a statement by Calderón on the universality of human emotions; the playwright is too deeply aware of the differences that divide the two cultures. He is, instead, attempting to strike a balance between them through El Tuzaní's suffering to underscore that honor carried to the extreme afflicts both cultures and leads to war.

Parker rightly suggests that Calderón makes an appeal for reconciliation between enemies (317). It occurs, however, through a conciliatory move on the women's part. After saving Garcés's life, El Tuzaní finds out that this is the soldier who had robbed and murdered Maleca. In killing the disarmed soldier, even though he is avenging his wife's honor, El Tuzaní is accused of treason by Mendoza. The two men are ready to do battle when Don Lope de Figueroa interrupts them, concurring with El Tuzaní's actions:

Bien hiciste.—Señor [Don Juan de Austria], manda
 Dejarle; que este delito
 Más es digno de alabanza
 Que de castigo; que tú
 Mataras a quien matara
 A tu dama, vive Dios,
 O no fueras don Juan de Austria. (3; sc 20, 700)

By forgiving El Tuzaní's efforts to regain his honor despite his cultural difference, Don Lope de Figueroa asserts El Tuzaní's right to vindicate the *moriscos'* mistreatment at the hands of the Christians. Indeed, in order to stress that the *morisco's* desire to defend a woman's honor is comparable to that of a Christian, and that it stands as well for the *moriscos'* desire to vindicate their honor in war, the play attributes both desires to Don Juan de Austria, Spain's military hero. Calderón's anachronistic

mention of Don Juan de Austria's participation in Lepanto, when in fact the battle occurred *after* the Alpujarras revolt, is surely due to his wish to assign the military hero an even larger presence in the play.

Yet one of the most important aspects of the play generally overlooked by critics is the relationship of El Tuzaní's sister Isabel with Don Juan de Mendoza and, later, with Abenhumeya. Despite the difference in cultures, Isabel and Don Juan were lovers; she had, in fact, twice saved him from a fight to the death with her brother:

De una confusión en otra,
Mas desdichas me suceden
¿Quién a su amante y su hermano
Vió reñir, sin que pudiese
Estorbarlo? . . . (1; sc 11, 685)

In the first act, Válór had proposed that Mendoza marry Clara to repair the dishonor to her father ("Y que con deudo se suelde / pues dando la mano vos / a doña Clara . . . [1; sc 13, 686]). In love with Isabel, however, Mendoza rejects Clara by insisting on the Malec family's inferiority. The attack on the *moriscos'* bloodline unites Don Fernando Válór and Don Álvaro Tuzaní; reciting alternating lines, each proclaims the boldness and bravery of their family lineage and both vow to rebel against the Christians. On Don Juan de Austria's arrival, Don Juan de Mendoza explains that the rebellion, begun as a resistance against cultural oppression, had turned into civil war. He describes how, once Don Fernando Válór is chosen as their leader, he marries Isabel Tuzaní at the instance of Don Juan Malec:

Hubo algunas competencias
Entre Don Fernando Válór
y otro hombre de igual nobleza,
Don Álvaro Tuzaní;
Don Juan Malec los concierta
Con que Don Fernando reine,
Casándose con la bella
Doña Isabel Tuzaní
Su hermana . . . (2; sc 1, 687)

The war breaks the possibility of union, not only between the two *morisco* lovers, Maleca and El Tuzaní, but between the *morisca* Isabel Tuzaní and the Christian Don Juan de Mendoza. Just as Maleca never stops loving El Tuzaní and is sacrificed to the war between the two cultures, so Isabel must be sacrificed to the *morisco* cause.

Isabel has truly converted to Christianity, but is forced to marry

Abenhumeya. Her melancholy is echoed in the same refrain sung by Maleca and El Tuzaní, with which Abenhumeya now urges her to forget her sorrow:

*No es menester que digais
Cúyas sois, mis alegrías;
Que bien se ve que sois mías
En lo poco que durais. (2; sc 5, 689)*

The parallels between Maleca and Isabel emphasize the confluence of the play's two love plots with the main plot, the *moriscos'* fight for their civil rights. Having sworn revenge after Maleca's death, El Tuzaní is backed by Abenhumeya, who straps on his sword and leaves with him to continue the struggle. Like Maleca, Isabel is left dangerously alone; she pleads to the heavens the destruction of the Alpujarras, if this will stop the war:

*Pluguiera al cielo sus montes,
Que son soberbios Atlantes
Del fuego que los consume,
Del viento que los combate,
Ya titubear se viesen,
Ya caducar se mirasen,
Porque dieran fin en ellos
Tantas infelicidades! (3; sc 7, 693)*

The suffering and the fighting will indeed continue until Abenhumeya, opposing the truce offered by the Christians, is killed by the *moriscos*, who themselves have split into two factions that denote the divided loyalties and origins of the ethnic group:

*Unos "España" apellidan,
Otros "África" vocean;
De suerte que su mayor
Ruina, que su mayor guerra
Hoy, parciales y divisos,
Tienen dentro de sus puertas. (3; sc 15, 697)*

According to Parker, Calderón departs from his historical sources to highlight the rebels' heroism in a hopeless battle. Yet it is difficult to accept his conclusion that Abenhumeya transforms from "a weak and indecisive historical leader into a determined and valiant man of action" (317). This view is proffered by Isabel, who defends her husband's honor and courage in refusing Don Juan de Austria's pardon. Yet it is

Isabel who, in the end, hands over the Alpujarras to Don Juan:

Generoso Don Juan de Austria,
 Hijo del águila hermosa
 Que al sol mira cara a cara,
 Todo ese monte que ves
 Rebelde a tus esperanzas,
 Una mujer, si la escuchas,
 Viene a ponerle a tus plantas. (3; sc 21, 700)

Asking for his pardon, she requests that her brother El Tuzaní also be forgiven for having murdered Garcés. Don Juan's response is, as Parker notes, completely ahistorical, since he forgives the *moriscos* and they are reintegrated into Spanish life. The historical reality was much crueler: the Alpujarras rebels were ultimately either killed or dispersed throughout Spain.

Instead, the play hinges on the two women's sacrifice: Maleca's death results from El Tuzaní's having left her to defend Gavia. She is sacrificed for his honor, jeopardized by the soldier Garcés's abuse of power, a replication of the Christians' abuse of their power over the *moriscos*. And, while Isabel does not die, she too is sacrificed to the honor code. As the sister of El Tuzaní, she must obey the elders who marry her to Abenhumeya to ensure that both *morisco* lineages continue to multiply and rule. Yet, as we have noted, it is Isabel who at the play's end asks the Christians' pardon. Stressing her true conversion, she willingly offers to exchange her role of queen for that of a slave:

Doña Isabel Tuzaní
 Soy, que aquí tiranizada,
 Viví morisca en la voz
 Y católica en el alma. (3; sc 21, 700)

Parker and Case each attempt to read the play's *morisco* protagonists as heroes. According to Case, "El Tuzaní emerges from the action of *Amor después de la muerte* as one of the great personages of Calderón's theater. He is a passionate and faithful lover, a military leader in defense of his people, and a man of proven honor. The Spanish public saw him as a great hero in spite of his *morisco* blood and heritage and the possible stigma of having been a Muslim" (62). The protagonists' heroism, however, relies not so much on their personal characteristics, but on their insistence in maintaining their honor by killing their antagonists. In this, the *moriscos* react no differently from their Christian enemies: both Mendoza and El Tuzaní, under their law, aim to murder each other. The clue is given by Alcuizcuz's rhetorical question: "¿Es ley morir?" The play's answer seems

resoundingly affirmative, especially since the protagonists, unlike the lower-class *gracioso*, must adhere to the tenets of the honor code in their interpersonal as well as their political relations.

The two factions' struggles follow a decidedly labyrinthine course that becomes increasingly irrational as the two opposing forces are drawn further into conflict. From the beginning, the *moriscos* are driven to rebel against Christian oppression in order to protect and maintain their culture. The early battles, however, result in the despoiling and pillaging of Granada and the Alpujarras towns by *both* Christians and *moriscos*. El Tuzaní kills Garcés to avenge Maleca's death in the same way that she wishes to murder Mendoza to vindicate her father's honor. Abenhumeya is assassinated by the *moriscos* who wish to surrender to the Christians after other *moriscos* have died fighting for Don Juan Malec and their honor. Yet the play also instructs us in the alternatives *not* taken. The Christian Capitulations could have allowed for gradual change among the *moriscos*. Don Juan de Mendoza could have identified the *morisca* Isabel as his desired bride in reparation for his having insulted her heritage. And, after the rebellion had already brought about so many deaths, Abenhumeya could have accepted Don Juan de Austria's offer of general pardon.

From the war's beginning until its final outcome in the play, the carnage of both Christians and *moriscos* could have been avoided if, at any particular moment, the chain of catastrophes caused by the unthinking defense of honor had been anticipated. I would argue that the two groups' lack of vision is not an issue of cultural difference, rather, Calderón makes sure to equalize the negative and positive characteristics of both *moriscos* and Christians. The *morisco* leader Abenhumeya is equally as arrogant and proud as the Castilian noble Don Juan de Mendoza, and El Tuzaní is as undaunted and bold as the old Christian soldier Don Lope de Figueroa. Once we see the protagonists advance blindly toward their destiny, the play ceases to merely reflect the historical circumstances of the *moriscos'* plight and evolves instead into a commentary on the absurdity of an honor code that leads not to peace or cultural understanding, but to a war without end.¹²

Notes

¹For examples of maurophilia, see Carrasco-Urgoiti.

²This is the date given in Hilborn (34). All my citations are from the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles edition, and refer to Act, scene, and page number.

³See Menéndez Pelayo; Valbuena Briones; Wilson; Romanos.

⁴Orso cites Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco's description: "Philippo III / Hispan. Regi Cathol. Regum Pientissimo, / Belgico, Germ afric. Pazis, & Iustitiae / Cultori; publicae Quietis assertori; ob / eliminatos foeliciter Mauros, Philippi / IV robore ac virtute ma- / gnus, in magnis maximus, ani- / mo ad maiora

nato, propter / antiq. tanti Parentis, & / Pietatis, observantiae- / que, ergo Trophaeum / Hoc erigit / anno 1627" (Orso 52).

⁵Parker relies on John Elliott's citation of the confessor (303); he goes on to affirm "it is not far-fetched to associate the play with the opinion expressed by Fray Antonio de Sotomayor" (318).

⁶Harvey (303) cites from the Arab source: "In conversations conducted behind the backs of the common folk . . . all requests were favorably received [by Ferdinand]. . . . After the people had been evacuated, and the town occupied, the inhabitants moved out into the suburbs, in safety and with their possessions (Nubdha 1940:2627)."

⁷Harvey relates the story from his Arab source: "The day of the victory at Loja [1482], those there heard that Abu'l-Hasan's sons, Muhammad [Boabdil] and Yusuf, had fled to the Alcazaba [of Granada] out of fear of their father. The reason for this was that diabolical individuals (?) [Harvey believes these to be the Abencerrajes] had taken to whispering to their mother [i.e., Fatima] to incite her to be fearful on their account, because of their father's wrathful temper, and the ill feelings between her and Abu'l-Hasan's Christian slave . . . called Zoraya" (Nubdha 1940:10)" (274; my emphasis).

⁸Ricoldo de Montecrucio, *Reprobacion del Alcoran*, Biblioteca Nacional, R-4,037, n.p. Chapter One (cited in Perry 50 n.13).

⁹A royal cédula to the corregidor of Córdoba Diego López Dávalos dated September 23, 1501, firmly states "y sy al fin [los moros de Granada] no se quisiesen convertir de su voluntad podeysles desir que han de yr fuera de nuestros Reynos porque no avremos de dar lugar que en ellos aya ynfieles" (cited in Boronat 1: 113).

¹⁰Juan de Mendoza is also the name of a historical figure, the marqués de san Germán, who was in charge of the expulsions of the *moriscos* from Andalusia, Murcia and Villa de Hornachos. He published the 1610 expulsion edict, a copy of which is filed in the Biblioteca Nacional, Z45, 608. The fictional character thus helps tie the play to the 1609-1614 expulsion.

¹¹Wilson has commented on the nautical imagery inspired by the town's names, which Calderón draws upon to depict the devastation of the area as one of rocks turning into water (423). Here, I would call attention to the *moriscos'* control of the land as a significant cultural attribute.

¹²This essay is a variant of a chapter published in *Europe and the Islamic World, XIVth-XVth Centuries*. Eds. Michele Bernardini, Clara Borrelli, Anna Cerbo and Encarnación Sánchez García. Napoli: IUO, Collana Matteo Ripa, 2000. I thank the editors for permission to expand on the chapter in this essay.

Works Cited

- Arellano, Ignacio. "Calderón: La múltiple perfección de un dramaturgo universal." *Ínsula* 644- 645 (agosto-septiembre 2000): 4-6.
- Boronat y Barrachina, Pascual. *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión. Estudio histórico-crítico*, 2 vols. Valencia, 1901.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Trans. Sian Reynolds. Vol. 2. New York: Harper Colophon, 1973.

- Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. *El moro de Granada en la literatura. (Del siglo XV al XX)*. Madrid: RO, 1956.
- Case, Thomas E. "Honor, Justice, and Historical Circumstance in *Amar después de la muerte*." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 36 (1984): 55-69.
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro. *Amar después de la muerte*. Vol. 12. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1945. 681-718.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio and Bernard Vincent. *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid: Alianza, 1978.
- Elliott, John H. *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1986.
- Elliott, John H. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1990.
- Fernández de Navarrete, Pedro. *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos*. Ed. Michael D. Gordon. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Ministerio de Hacienda, 1982.
- Goytisolo, Juan. *Crónicas sarracinas*. Barcelona: Ruedo Ibérico, 1982.
- Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Islamic Spain: 1250 to 1500*, Chicago, 1990.
- Hilborn, Harry W. *A Chronology of the Plays of D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1938.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *The moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, London, 1901.
- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. *Calderón y su teatro*. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, 1910.
- Orso, Steven N. *Velázquez, Los Borrachos, and Painting at the Court of Philip IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Parker, Alexander A. *The Mind and Art of Calderón: Essays on the comedias*. Ed. Deborah Kong. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.
- Parker, Geoffrey, *Philip II*. 3rd ed. Chicago; La Salle, IL: Copen Court, 1995.
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth. "The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Making of the Spanish State." *Culture and the State of Spain, 1550-1850*, Eds. Tom Lewis and Francisco J. Sánchez. Hispanic Issues Series. New York: Garland, 1999. 34-54.
- Romanos, Melchora. "Ficción y realidad histórica en *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra o Amar después de la muerte* de Pedro Calderón de la Barca." *Calderón: Protagonista eminente del barroco europeo*. Teatro del Siglo de Oro, Estudios de Literatura 60. Kessel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000. 355-72.
- Valbuena Briones, Ángel. "La guerra civil de Granada a través del arte de Calderón." *Homenaje a William L. Fichter*. Madrid: Castalia, 1971. 735-44.
- Sieber, Diane E. "El monstruo en su laberinto: Cristianos en las Alpujarras de *Amar después de la muerte*." *Actas de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. Ed. Florencio Sevilla. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1999. 740-46.