

Woman as Mirror in Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas*

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. . . This otherness, this
"Not being us" is all there is to look at
In the mirror, though no one can say
How it came to be this way. . . .
—John Ashbery, "Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror"

The paradox of the mirror is that it manages to represent at the same time both a faithful reflection and the reverse image of the subject, as suggested in Lacan's treatment of the "mirror stage" of the (male) child's self-conceptualization, when the child first breaks from his identification with the mother and views himself in a mirror, only to realize that the image is separate from the self; is, in fact, "Other." Although a Lacanian analysis of Cadalso's work is beyond the scope of this article, the mirror's function of showing both self ("me") and Other ("not me") serves as a unifying image in considering the role of woman in the *Cartas marruecas*.¹

The inclusion of three correspondents in the *Cartas marruecas* allows different perspectives on Bourbon Spain. First, Gazel's letters provide the "unaccustomed eyes" of the young and ingenuous, foreign visitor. The letters from Gazel's venerable tutor, Ben-Beley, who remains in Morocco, establish Ben-Beley's voice as that of the wise old man. The use of a third correspondent, the Spaniard Nuño Núñez, presents, according to Sebold, "a highly original technical innovation in the genre of pseudo-oriental letters" (129), since Nuño provides the balance of an enlightened native's voice.²

As all three characters converge to reflect the implied author's opinions of society, woman's infrequent appearance is limited to a mirroring role. The most obvious mirroring is the reflection of positive aspects of one's self, the "me" image, usually seen as the wife.

Cadalso was not unsympathetic to the plight of the young woman who is forced to marry against her will, as depicted in letter 75, which consists almost entirely of a letter from a twenty-four year old woman who has al-

ready been widowed six times. Like Moratín and Goya,³ Cadalso uses humor to ridicule marriages of convenience, as the young woman describes her six husbands and their untimely deaths. The letter acquires a more serious note when the woman writes: "Todo esto se hubiera remediado si yo me hubiera casado una vez a mi gusto, en lugar de sujetarlo seis veces al de un padre que cree la voluntad de la hija una cosa que no debe entrar en cuenta para el casamiento" (216). She describes the person she would have chosen as "un mozo que me parece muy igual a mí en todas calidades" (216), and says that although he wanted to marry her, "en obsequio de sus padres, tuvo que casarse también contra su gusto" (216). In the Enlightened view of this letter, both young people are portrayed as equally oppressed by their parents.⁴ However, both single and married women were expected to fulfill certain expectations. Fernández-Quintanilla points out that even Jovellanos, an advocate of what we would call today "feminist" causes (59), said in his argument in favor of allowing women to enter the Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País:

Pero no nos dexemos alucinar de una vana ilusión. Las damas nunca frecuentarán. El recato las alexará perpetuamente de ellas. ¿Cómo permitirá esta delicada virtud que vengan a presentarse en una concurrencia de hombres de tan diversas clases y estados? ¿A mezclarse en nuestras discusiones y lecturas? ¿A confundir su débil voz en el bullicio de nuestras disputas? (qtd. in Fernández-Quintanilla 61)

More complementary images of woman can be seen in Cadalso's depiction of the perfect wife. The novelistic letter 69, to which I will refer throughout this article, includes one such image of the ideal wife and mother. In the story, Gazel's carriage breaks down in the countryside outside Madrid, and he happens to see "un hombre de buen porte en acción de meterse un libro en el bolsillo" (202), who invites him to spend the night at his house. This neatly dressed, literate forty-year-old gentleman, complete with serviceable walking staff, country hat and faithful dog, shows Gazel by his manner both that he is at ease with "las gentes principales" and that he is "sin aquella afectación que inspira la arrogancia y vanidad" (202). Furthermore, as they walk together to the man's house, he shows Gazel that he is cognizant of how special he is when he says to Gazel: "Habrà extrañado el señor forastero el encuentro de un hombre como yo a estas horas y en este paraje; más extraño le parecerá lo que oiga y vea de aquí en adelante, mientras se sirva permanecer en mi compañía y casa. . ." (203).⁵ They have to pass quite a number of barriers before they find his safely ensconced wife, in the center of the property. When they ar-

rive, two "mozos del campo" hurry to open the gates and, after they walk through the fruit tree-lined garden beside a pond with ducks, then a yard full of all types of birds, and then a small patio, they arrive at the house, where they are greeted by two handsome children, who kneel and kiss his hand and then scamper off, taking his walking staff and hat with them, to tell their mother that papá is home. The mother who (finally) comes to the threshold (not quite leaving the private space of the home) is described as "una matrona, llena de aquella hermosura majestuosa que inspira más respeto que pasión" (203). As soon as she realizes that her husband is not alone, she modestly checks her tender impulse to throw her arms around him, and limits her greeting to one of concern for his delayed return home. He responds to her with appropriate restraint, "con estilo amoroso, pero decente" (203). They then walk together through several small but comfortable rooms, "alhajadas con gracia y sin lujo" (203), before arriving at the nucleus of the home, where Gazel is surrounded by their hospitality. After dinner, Gazel notes approvingly the "modo cariñoso y bien ordenado con que se apartaron los hijos, mujer y criados a recogerse" (203). Thus flanked by her children and servants, this woman is an angel of the home who knows her place, who exists as a mirror of and for her husband.

An old servant who shows Gazel to his room confirms Gazel's judgment when he gives more details of his master's life (and, coincidentally, of his mistress's reflecting role). The man, who is healthy, educated, compassionate, and well-off — an *hombre de bien*,⁶ has left the court for the less hectic life of the country. The male servant further underscores the motif of woman as mirror, as he describes his mistress to Gazel as a faithful reproduction of her husband:

Mi ama, la digna esposa de mi señor, el honor de su sexo, es una mujer dotada de singulares prendas. Vamos claros, señor forastero: la mujer por sí sola es una criatura dócil y flexible. Por más que el desenfreno de los jóvenes se empeñe en pintarla como un dechado de flaquezas, yo veo lo contrario: veo que es *un fiel traslado del hombre con quien vive*. (205-06; emphasis mine)

Woman is not to be blamed if she is bad; she is only reflecting the qualities of her man. The inference is that woman by herself, without her man, is a *tabula rasa*, nothing, a zero, similar to a mirror without a reflection.⁷

The servant continues his description of his mistress, after noting what she could have been like, if she were reflecting a different man:

Si una mujer joven, poderosa y con mérito halla en su marido

una pasión de razón de estado, un trato desabrido, y un mal concepto de su sexo en lo restante de los hombres, ¿qué mucho que proceda mal? Mi ama tiene pocos años, más que mediana hermosura, suma viveza y lo que llaman mucho mundo. Cuando se desposó con mi amo, halló en su esposo un hombre amable, juicioso, lleno de virtudes; halló un compañero, un amante, un maestro; todo en un solo hombre, igual a ella hasta en los accidentales circunstancias de lo que llaman nacimiento; por fuerza había de ser y continuar siendo buena. No es tan mala la naturaleza que pueda resistirse a tanto ejemplo de bondad. (206)

Her goodness is simply a reflection of her husband's; had he been bad she would probably have been a different person. As the circumstances exist, she had to be good. She had no choice.⁸

Other references to the good wife-type exist in the *Cartas marruecas*. In letter 88, for example, Ben-Beley, the venerable Moroccan who serves as Gazel's tutor and whose opinions are revered by both Gazel and Nuño writes Gazel his advice to a young man, that he embrace the useful life and settle down with a wife: "Cásate con una mujer honrada, robusta y trabajadora" (245). The ideal wife, he continues, should be told to get rid of her luxuries and her *cortejo* (the male companion who enjoyed access to the inner regions of her house). She should also be prepared to breastfeed her children, make her husband's shirts, take care of him when he is sick, manage the house, and follow her husband to war if necessary (245). Such an ideal woman is the exception, however, in eighteenth-century Spain, where, with relaxed customs, women were beginning to leave the private space of the home and to change that space to a more public one through the customs of the *tertulia* and the *cortejo*.⁹

To illustrate this change and to lament the laxity of morals, Gazel writes Ben-Beley in letter 10 about his conversation with a "noble cristiana" at a gathering, and their reaction to the harangue of a young man who speaks a strange idiom, full of Gallicisms. As the *afrancesado* is talking of women, Gazel writes of his "idioma particular," his "Frenchified" Spanish: "Tratábase de las mujeres, y se reducía el objeto de su arenga a ostentar un sumo desprecio hacia aquel sexo" (84). After the man leaves, Gazel asks what kind of man he is, and the Christian woman responds that he is a new type of Spaniard, a barbarian who has invaded the country. Here the woman serves to mirror the implied author's criticism of this new type of man who wields less control over the woman. Before the arrival of this new breed, women were respected and guarded carefully, she says. The

refrán "Mujer en casa, con pierna quebrada" comes to mind as she speaks of the "good, old days:"

Hasta entonces las mujeres, un poco más sujetas en el trato, estaban colocadas más altas en la estimación; viejos, mozos y niños nos miraban con respeto; ahora nos tratan con despego. Éramos entonces como los dioses Penates que los gentiles guardaban encerrados dentro de sus casas, pero con suma veneración; ahora somos como el dios Término, que no se guardaba con puertas ni cerrojos, pero quedaba en el campo, expuesto a la irreverencia de los hombres, y aun de los brutos. (85).

Here she reflects the Spanish male's dismay on seeing woman's sphere widen as she began to leave the private, guarded, controlled space and venture outside into a more public, exposed, unrestricted space. Gazel sees hope in women like her. He says: "Aún abundan matronas dignas de respeto (86)" — other mirrors who serve as an example to inspire their weaker sisters, of whom Gazel says: "Las débiles aún conservan el conocimiento de su misma flaqueza, y profesan respeto a la fortaleza de las otras" (86).

Gazel's conclusion is that "los musulmanes no tratamos peor a la hermosa mitad del género humano" (85), and even that polygamy, which, according to Gazel, is part of their religion, is a more honest way to treat women than the European custom, where "la religion la prohíbe y la tolera la pública costumbre" (84). When women are "guardadas bajo muchas llaves" (87), which the Moor Gazel sees as "reliquias de nuestro señorío, aún más que en los edificios que subsisten en Córdoba, Granada, Toledo y otras partes" (87), they are limited to their mirroring function, like the perfect wife of letter 69 who lives in the country in a house behind a patio, a yard, a garden, and a locked gate. Perhaps this insistence on the perfect mother is a case of wistful wish-fulfillment, since Cadalso the man must have felt a void; his mother died when he was two years old. In any case, this perfect woman represents the "me" function of the mirror, since she depends on the man for her admirable qualities, and for her protection.¹⁰

As stated earlier, the use of three correspondents in the *Cartas marruecas* lends itself to the presentation of differing perspectives. For example, Nuño expresses a less admiring opinion of the "hombre de bien" described glowingly by Gazel in letter 69. Nuño criticizes the man for not choosing a life more useful to his country. He does not, however, censure the wife in any way. The thread of criticism of "la relajación en las costumbres" (86) runs throughout the *Cartas marruecas*. As women reflect the fashionable

customs imported from freer societies of other European countries (mainly France), the inevitable consequence is a worsening of morality. The *Cartas marruecas* blame this slip in virtuous conduct on vices such as "el lujo" and "la infidelidad." It will be remembered that the rooms in the country squire's house of letter 69 are furnished "sin lujo" (203). It is up to men to withstand the temptations of luxury and infidelity, so that women will follow their lead. In letter 4, Gazel writes: "si reinan el lujo, la infidelidad y otros vicios semejantes, frutos de la relajación de las costumbres, éstos sin duda abrirán las puertas de las ciudades al enemigo." (59-60).

Thus, when Gazel comments to Nuño on the *tertulias* he has experienced and notes approvingly that Spanish husbands, like the Morrocans, seem to live in separate quarters from their wives, since he never sees any men in the houses other than servants and guests like himself, Nuño cautions Gazel not to believe that this custom is good:

Todas las cosas son buenas por un lado y malas por el otro, como las medallas que tienen derecho y revés. Esta libertad en el trato, que tanto te hechiza, es como la rosa que tiene las espinas muy cerca del capullo. Sin aprobar la demasiada rigidez del siglo XVI, no puedo tampoco conceder tantas ventajas a la libertad moderna. (89)

And Nuño reminds Gazel of his conversation with the virtuous Christian woman who lamented the lack of respect in the Spaniards' current treatment of women. He contrasts the new custom of women's freedom of movement with his grandfather's tales of his orchestrated courtship of his grandmother. Of the whole "empresa," he says: ". . . no hubo parte de ella que no fuese un verdadero crisol de la virtud de la dama, del valor del galán y del honor de ambos" (91). A curious fact is that Nuño's grandparents' wedding narrowly averted being cancelled, when his grandfather saw signs of serenading musicians on the street where his fiancée lived. He learned that the scandalous party was not for his fiancée but rather for a "famosa dama cortesana" who lived nearby; thus, his beloved's reputation was unblemished (91).¹¹ The message is: as long as there are men who will roam, there will be fun-loving "cortesanias;" wives, however, are supposed to be virtuous and inspire more respect than passion. As Sor Juana noted in her famous *redondillas* "Hombres necios," women who yield their virtue are denigrated for reflecting the same attributes of which men boast.

In addition to the "cortesana" who is mentioned in passing, other women in the *Cartas marruecas* reflect images of attributes that in a man can be viewed with indulgence but in a woman are seen as weakness. Tradi-

tionally, one of the worst criticisms of Spanish men is to call them effeminate. Here I see the Spanish male's alarm at the mirror's being subverted, since there is a reversal of roles. Subject and object shift when the fatuous fop known as a *petimetre*¹² is reduced to a reflection of the woman's image.¹³ In several letters the implied author criticizes the "afeminación y flojedad" that lead inevitably to the eroding of a country's power. His view of history—of Rome as of Spain—is that loss of moderation causes a nation's downfall. In the chain of events, effeminacy is an important link that leads from excess to weakness and then to destruction. Gazel writes to Ben-Beley in the short letter 68:

Examina la historia de todos los pueblos, y sacarás que toda nación se ha establecido por la austeridad de costumbres. En este estado de fuerza se ha aumentado, de este aumento ha venido la abundancia, de esta abundancia se ha producido el lujo, de este lujo se ha seguido la afeminación, de esta afeminación ha nacido la flaqueza, de la flaqueza ha dimanado su ruina. (201)

In letter 82, Gazel quotes Nuño's mocking catechism of two *petimetres*, who are compared to madmen in their attachment to superficial, "Frenchified" customs. He believes they will find only fleeting admiration in "el mundo femenino," and says that serious men (real men) and women will have nothing to do with them. "Los hombres serios, formales e importantes no los admiten, porque nunca los han tratado, las mujeres los desconocen ya, porque los ven despojados de todas las prendas que los hacen despreciables en el estrado. . ." (235).¹⁴ These effeminate men, who mirror women's worst traits, are also criticized in Cadalso's *Los eruditos a la violeta*. As caricatures, they are objectified in much the same way that the absent (dead) lover serves as an object to reflect Tediato's grief in *Noches lúgubres*.¹⁵

Like the *petimetre*, woman is reduced to an object in letter 98, when Ben-Beley writes Gazel about the similarity between Moroccan and Spanish men's reactions to a woman who ceases to amuse them. The parallel construction seems to equate woman to other "objects of diversion:" "Nos fastidia con el tiempo el trato de una mujer que nos encantó a primera vista; nos cansa un juego que aprendimos con ansia; nos molesta una música que al principio nos arrebató; nos empalaga un plato que nos deleitó la primera vez. . ." (98).

As further examples of negative images, two whole letters parody superficial women and the men who surround them. In letter 35, Gazel writes Ben-Beley and quotes Nuño, who in turn quotes a letter from his sister, a

letter which he claims not to understand because of its use of Gallicisms in both vocabulary and syntax.¹⁶ One can see the subversion of the mirror when the sister refers to different men, such as a Mr. Lavanda, who is present for her "toileta," the absent "abate," and her "primo," of whom she says: ". . . ha dejado a la joven persona que él entretenía" (133-34). Nicole Harrison notes the sister's absolute acceptance of her cousin's having a lover, and points out that those negative examples serve as counterpoint to the ideal courtship of Nuño's grandmother, mentioned earlier (297). In this way, the moral decadence of the eighteenth century is the mirror image in reverse of previous generations, when women were respected, guarded, and contained in the house.

Another example of the implied author's burlesque presentation of frivolous new customs of women, mirrored by men, can be found in letter 56 when Gazel writes Ben-Beley of a *tertulia* where he describes "unas tres señoras y otros tantos jóvenes que estaban embebidos en una conversación al parecer la más seria" (169). Women and men are equally upset as they describe in hyperbolic terms their distress, one saying "Vergüenza tengo de ser española," and another, "la decadencia es rápida la ruina inmediata" and "¿Qué dirán de nosotros más allá de los Pirineos?" (169-70). Gazel tries to ascertain the reason for their agitation, guessing that Spain has been invaded or that Spanish sheep have been killed by a plague. Finally, one woman overcomes her "lágrimas, sollozos, suspiros, quejas, lamentos, llantos, y hasta invectivas contra los astros y estrellas" (170) long enough to tell him that the reason for the histrionics is that they can't find a certain color ribbon in all of Madrid. The ribbon is a metaphor for excess or *lujo* which threatens the existence of the traditional Spaniard, much as the *petimetres*, in their reflection of negative images jeopardize the existing hegemonic structure of society.

In conclusion, when woman in the *Cartas marruecas* is not the perfect wife, a reflection of the perfect husband (the "me" function of the mirror) she is portrayed negatively — as frivolous, of loose morals, the object of man's enchantment, or the cause for his boredom (the "not me" or "Other," reverse image of the mirror). Although Gazel, Ben-Beley, and Nuño Núñez do not always share the same perspective on society, they all esteem the traditional Spanish matron such as the perfect-wife-and-mother who is safely guarded in her country retreat, or Nuño's grandmother who followed the customary courtship rituals — a woman who shows by her virtuous actions that she is worthy of respect. And "la virtud" is only possible when woman is contained within the mirror's image, for another characteristic of the mirror is that its reflection is ultimately limited. Until the eighteenth century in Spain, the father or the husband was able to control and define woman. The new customs of the *cortejo* and the *tertulia* the

century Spanish woman's life, a transcending of the boundaries imposed by the mirror's frame.

● NOTES

1. The concept of the mirror has fascinated me ever since my presentation at the 1989 Mountain Interstate Foreign Language Conference, entitled "Male-Female Relationships in Cadalso's prose: Distancing Techniques." Because of time limitations then, I concentrated on Cadalso's autobiographical writings, his letters, *Noches lúgubres* and *Los eruditos a la violetas* with only a brief reference at the end to his *Cartas marruecas*. I theorized that woman is portrayed as object of the man's gaze, noticeably absent in the *Noches lúgubres* through the extreme distancing of death. The implied author defines woman through her relationship with man and judges her as "good" when she overcomes her base nature and faithfully reflects the goodness and intelligence of man. My concluding sentence, "I leave to another the psychological study of this absence and this need for the mirror" (1991:277), provides the beginning for this study, although the psychological aspects will still await another specialist's attention.

2. Elsewhere I have studied at length the element of these narrators' reliability, their masks of impartiality, and the necessity for the reader to decipher point of view.

3. As Dowling says: "Moratín's themes were very much in the air of his times. His friend, the artist Francisco Goya, saw them too in his peculiar way and put them on canvas or used them in his etchings. Whereas Moratín viewed the problem sentimentally in *El viejo y la niña*, Goya in his 1787 tapestry cartoon *La boda* (*The Wedding*), paints a grotesque scene of an unwilling young girl and an ugly man in a wedding procession with the priest, the best man, and the musicians. He employed the same grotesque treatment in etching 14 of his collection *Caprichos* (*Caprices*). Commenting on the etching entitled "¡Qué sacrificio!" ("What a sacrifice!"), Goya wrote: "The bridegroom is hard to look at, but he is rich. At the cost of the happiness of one poor child the security of a hungry family is bought. Such is the way of the world" (108-09).

4. Letters 22 and 24 also criticize the custom of arranged marriages, for both daughters and sons (106-07, 109).

5. Demerson has shown that the gentleman is not so unique as he indicates (104-05).

6. An "hombre de bien" was, according to Sebold, modeled on "the seventeenth century French concept of the *honnête homme*: a moral system based on 'probity' rather than Christian charity, a rationalistic tendency in matters of religion and religious superstition, an insistence on moderation and the golden mean,

the subordination of the self to society, and the goal of happiness for all men through mutual understanding and tolerance" (119).

7. Cadalso does praise another woman based on her being a model of utility, in letter 9's defense of Hernán Cortés where Nuño is quoted by Gazel: "Una india noble, a quien se había aficionado apasionadamente, le sirve [a Cortes] de segundo intérprete, y es de suma utilidad en la expedición: primera mujer que no ha perjudicado en un ejército, y notable ejemplo de lo útil que puede ser el bello sexo, siempre que dirija su sutileza natural a fines loables y grandes" (79).

8. The woman in letter 69 (unlike the women in letters 22, 24, and 75) is lucky to have found a man who is her equal, "hasta en los accidentales circunstancias de lo que llaman nacimiento" (206).

9. See Martín Gaité (*passim*) and Fernández-Quintanilla (19-28).

10. In spite of Cadalso's statement in his autobiography that his mother died in childbirth, Glendinning and Harrison state in a footnote that Doña Josefa died two years later ('Memoria de los acontecimientos más particulares de mi vida [1773]. . .' in *Escritos autobiográficos y epistolario* 5).

11. Glendinning and Harrison mention what might be a possible reason for this insistence on the purity of the grandmother, in an endnote to a letter from Cadalso, written in 1766, in which Cadalso refers to a possible problem in his petition to become a knight of the Military Order of Santiago: "Quizá el problema con los documentos de la abuela se relacione con el hijo que ella y el abuelo de Cadalso tuvieron fuera del matrimonio" (*Epistolario* 140).

12. Earlier versions of the *petimetre* can be seen in the seventeenth century play by Agustín Moreto, *El lindo don Diego*, as well as Guillén de Castro's *El Narciso en su opinión*.

13. Martín Gaité noted this reflection of a negative attribute of woman and the degeneration of conversation that resulted from the *cortejo's* association with the Spanish woman: "El cortejo, en lugar de servir a las mujeres para ampliar sus horizontes mediante aquella modalidad de conversación, en vez de facilitarles acceso al mundo de la cultura, contribuía, per el contrario, a entontecer a los hombres" (69).

14. The reference to these men as "despreciables en el estrado" brings to mind what Martín Gaité, in her "Conclusiones lingüísticas" to her *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España*, noted as a sign of "un paso más en la cosificación a que se había reducido el hombre víctima de la manipulación femenina" in the reference to men as "muebles" (287).

15. This lover becomes more objectified as she loses her gender in letter 67 of the *Cartas marruecas* when Nuño writes Gazel of the "*Noches lúgubres* que he compuesto a la muerte de un amigo mío . . ." (195).

16. For a treatment of various voices which serve as filters for other correspondents, see Iarocci's article, "El silencio en las *Cartas marruecas*" (167-69).

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Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca as Prophet and Mediator in the *Naufraños* (1542, 1555)

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Alvar Núñez's appeal for humane treatment of the Native American populations in the final third of his epic narrative, the *Naufraños*, reflect an acute awareness of the harsh plight of the indigenous groups of north west Mexico (Nueva Galicia) in the wake of the slave raids of Nuño de Guzmán and Diego de Alcaraz. Núñez has often been compared with his contemporary, Bartolomé de Las Casas with respect to his poignant defense of the native populations of Sonora and Sinaloa in Chapters XXXII and XXXVII of the *Naufraños*.¹ His advocacy foreshadows the debates between Sepúlveda and Las Casas and the subsequent controversies over the plight of Native Americans throughout the sixteenth and subsequent centuries. Rolena Adorno points out that Núñez's plea for human rights makes him "a Lascasian by experience rather than reading" (186). His appeal to Vuestra Majestad in the latter chapters of his narrative emphasizes that peaceful conversion is the only means of gaining the loyalty of these new subjects and anticipates Las Casas's denunciatory speech found in the *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*.²

Véase aquí en qué estiman los españoles a los indios, y si cumplen el precepto divino del amor del prójimo, donde pende la Ley y los Profetas. (Saint-Lú 44)

During the latter third of his journey, Núñez is constantly accompanied by 600 to 3,000 Amerindians. He becomes the focal point of reconciliation between the Hispanic and indigenous peoples in Sonora and Sinaloa and the resettlement of the latter into their homelands.³ In Chapter XXXII of the *Naufraños*, the text begins to take on the tone of a prophetic treatise much as the Lascasian texts of 1539 and 1552, against injustices committed against the Native Americans as Núñez states to His Majesty, Charles V:

Mas como Dios nuestro Señor fue servido de traernos hasta ellos, comenzáronnos a temer y acatar como los pasados y aun