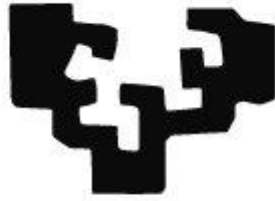


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*Gorputzak iragatean: generoa eta diferentzia sexuala
euskal gizartean Antzinako Erregimenaren krisialdi
garaian*

*Bodies in transit: gender and sexual difference in the
Basque society during the crisis of the Old Regime*

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Leioa, 2018

Aurkibidea

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Agradecimientos

Son muchas las personas a las que debo incluir bajo este epígrafe. Debo comenzar agradeciendo su ayuda a la Universidad del País Vasco por la concesión de una beca predoctoral gracias a la cual este proyecto ha podido ser llevado a cabo. Quiero mostrar igualmente mi reconocimiento a la diligente ayuda prestada por los/las miembros del Departamento de Historia Contemporánea que me acogieron como alumna de doctorado confiando en que a pesar de proceder de la disciplina de la filosofía me esforzaría por corresponder al quehacer de historiadora. Incluyo igualmente a todo el personal de bibliotecas y archivos en los que he invertido infinidad de horas por su profesionalidad y sobre todo su paciencia. Han hecho que mi labor sea mucho más llevadera. Querría, asimismo, extender este agradecimiento a aquellas personas con las que me he topado por el camino, en ocasiones de forma incluso accidental, y me han ayudado de distintas formas muy amablemente e inspirado en mis reflexiones: Jerardo Elortza, Javier Esteban, Pablo Sánchez León... entre muchas otras.

Mención especial merece la profunda y afectuosa gratitud que albergo hacia Nerea Aresti Esteban. Muchas de las ideas contenidas en este texto han sido inspiradas por su trabajo como historiadora y por su dedicación como directora. Su huella intelectual, y también personal, será indeleble. Espero poder saldar en el futuro la deuda contraída durante estos años. Creo que no exagero al afirmar que es un ejemplo a seguir para todas nosotras. Seguidamente, quiero referirme a todas/dos los/las miembros del grupo de investigación “Experiencia Moderna” de la UPV/EHU: Abel Díaz, Aintzane Rincón, Ariane Martínez, Aritza Saenz del Castillo, Carlos Álvarez, Carmen González, Eduardo Hurtado, Eider de Dios, Elia Blanco, José Javier Díaz Freire, Laura Cruz, Lola Valverde, Luis Ocio, Maialen Altuna, Maialen Aranguren, Mercedes Arbaiza, Miren Llona, Pilar Pérez-Fuentes, Raúl Mínguez y Raúl Navarro-Méndez. El nivel intelectual y personal de cada una de las personas que compone este grupo supera cualquier expectativa. Dialogar con todas vosotras es siempre un auténtico placer y un privilegio.

Quisiera mencionar, igualmente, la calurosa acogida recibida por Barbara Taylor durante mi estancia predoctoral en Queen Mary, University of London. Tener la

oportunidad de compartir pareceres con una autoridad sobre la historia de género fue sin duda tremendamente enriquecedor. Como lo fue conocer, también en Londres, a mi queridísima colega y amiga Nuria Soriano de la Universidad de Valencia. Su valiosísima compañía y conversación me han mostrado que tras los muros de la academia se encuentran personas brillantes y bondadosas a partes iguales y que se pueden gestar genuinas amistades en ambientes extraños. Muchísimas gracias.

Les doy las gracias también a Joana Zabala y Zuriñe Bustinza, mis mejores amigas. ¿Qué puedo decir? Que vuestro amor, comprensión, ánimos y compañía siempre han sido parte de mi vida y son también ingrediente fundamental de este trabajo. Sois mis *txurris* y siempre sois motivo de alegría e ilusión incluso en momentos grises e inciertos.

A David Beorlegui, colega inspirador, amigo y compañero de viaje. Por su afecto y cariño, incluso en los momentos más frustrantes de este proceso, y por insistir en la necesidad de implementar esa particular filosofía de vida que le caracteriza, el *hedonismo sostenible*, cuando el imperativo del trabajo parece ineludible. Este trabajo es también tuyo.

A mi familia, amaxu, aitatxu y Iontxu. Es casi una frase hecha decir que este trabajo no hubiera existido sin su ayuda. Pero es cierto. Me ayudáis de múltiples formas, pero sentir la certeza de que suceda lo que suceda podré contar con vosotros es la mejor de las sensaciones que nadie pueda desear tener. Sois mi vida y sois también parte de esto que he hecho. A riesgo de parecer excéntrica, quiero incluir aquí la nota no antropocéntrica y agradecer su amor y compañía a mis adorables gato y gata, Trip y Mimo. Llegaron a mí en medio de esta vorágine y son una fuente de amor y cariño inagotable. Extiendo estos agradecimientos al resto de mi familia izeko Miren, osaba Javi, osaba Igor, Garbiñe y demás familia que aceptan y valoran desde la más absoluta honestidad mis ganas de aprender.

Y finalmente, a mi amama Juana Zarate, a quien dedico este trabajo, quien a sus 94 años sigue siendo una mujer extraordinaria, un ejemplo de dignidad incluso cuando la fuerza física le ha abandonado. Por enseñarnos a través de todas tus acciones el valor que tienen el sacrificio y la lealtad a lo que una cree te estoy infinitamente agradecida. Qué

hubiéramos hecho nosotras sin ti... Ciertamente las palabras no sirven para expresar el amor que has inspirado e inspiras en mí y en nuestra familia. *Zutzako, amama.*

Introduction

1. Object of study and hypotheses.

This study lies within the framework of history, but also starts from a philosophical, or theoretical, basis concerning the meaning of sexual difference. This research is a study of the configuration of sexual difference during the crisis of the transitional period between the 18th and the 19th century, during the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Country. The main premise of the research is that the redefinition of sexual difference and gender was central in the convulsive transition to a liberal society in the Basque Provinces. In this sense, I argue that specific notions of the body, gender and sexual difference, as well as of their complex relations, were constituent elements of modern understandings of society, politics, subjects and the world itself. This was not a process of systematic substitution of old visions by new ones. Far from that, what we will see is a troubled coexistence of changing views and an unexpected capacity of concepts to re-create themselves in new contexts.

This analysis will be twofold. At one level, I will study the way in which diverse mentalities, political standpoints or social agents configured sexual difference in different –even contradictory– ways. And at the same time, I will analyse the way in which discourses about sexual difference functioned as elements that structured and gave meaning to the debates and polemics that took place when the foundations of the traditional world went into crisis. By this, I want to show that different views on femininity and masculinity were not only a matter of debate between the forces that advocated for modernity and the stances that defended traditional views. They were also the means through which the crisis was articulated and was given meaning. Therefore, this research is aimed to understand how politics affected gender and how gender was a constituent feature of politics and society in a very specific context, updating for this task Joan Scott's long-lasting enquiry about gender, which still represents a useful and sophisticated frame for historical analysis¹.

¹ SCOTT (1986): 1070.

This approach might seem ambitious not only because of the wide chronological scope it proposes, but also because it tries to make sense of a period that was of crucial importance in the development of contemporary societies and sexual difference. It is a period in which the world, the subject and the relation between them acquired new meanings through different definitions of the social, the political and nature itself. Theoreticians of gender and sexuality found a privileged field of analysis in the 18th and 19th centuries insofar as it was a period of major qualitative changes regarding perceptions of sexual difference and gender². The Enlightenment and its views on the relationship between the sexes as well as liberalism have been topics of immense relevance for feminist scholars as their conceptions of subjectivity, freedom or equality have been considered to be, by some, the foundational elements of women's emancipation and feminist movements³. Other scholars, nevertheless, have tried to show the paradoxes of modern emancipation processes, underlining that the foundational principles of contemporary societies were inherently discriminatory towards women⁴. In this sense, I aim to contribute to those lines of investigation trying to clarify which was the role of gender and sexual difference in the transition to what have been called modern societies⁵ by focusing on a specific context. Despite this specificity, I would like to contribute to the general intellectual reflection on the topic.

The analysis presented here is geographically limited to the three provinces of southern Basque Country and to some aspects regarding the province of Navarre⁶. However, I have also included certain elements of the Basque Provinces belonging to France when they have been considered relevant. This research has been conducted assuming that the analysis of the Basque society is necessarily tied to the development of the Spanish, and also French, political and social evolution. I believe that the study of the specific case of the Basque Country does not only serve to enlighten the history of gender in the Basque provinces, but it also shows interesting aspects related to the general context of Spain and Europe.

² FOUCAULT (1980); GALLAGHER and LAQUEUR (1986); LAQUEUR (1990); HARVEY (2002), (2004).

³ HESSE (2003); O'BRIEN (2009).

⁴ SCOTT (1996).

⁵ GIDDENS (1991).

⁶ During the 18th and the 19th centuries, the provinces of the Basque Country were officially called *Señorío de Vizcaya* and the provinces of Álava and Guipúzcoa with their particular laws, *Fueros*, until 1876. Navarra was granted the status of kingdom, which was suppressed, together with its *Fueros* in 1841, AGIRREAZKUENAGA (1999): 125. For the concept *Fueros* see RUBIO (2002): 357-372.

The crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Provinces has been attributed with different dates. For some historians, the crisis began in 1789, given its strong impact in the provinces from that year on; for others, it began in 1793, when the War of the Pyrenees started and Louis XVI was executed; and for some others, the crisis in the Basque Country should be dated between 1766 and 1833 because of its relationship with two major events: the *matxinada* (revolts) of 1766 and the beginning of First Carlist War⁷. In any case, the crisis between the centuries was not a sudden break, an imminent change from one kind of social structures to another. This investigation pays special attention to that interval of time but also tries to make sense of a longer period, the period from the beginning of the 18th century until the end of the First Carlist War, 1700-1839. The processes that finally brought the decadence and transformation of the traditional social structures were already taking shape during the 18th century. Between those two historical moments, we find a large process of economic, social and political crisis in which many phenomena took place: the flowering of enlightened ideas (even though circumscribed to a limited social group); the rise of liberalism; the publication of the Constitution of 1812; the problem of the *Fueros* and *foral* order⁸, and the radicalisation of counterrevolutionary and traditionalist stances⁹. The aim of this long-term perspective is to offer a comprehensive analysis of the evolution of ideas about the body and gender throughout the 18th century, in order to better understand not only the new ideas that came with the transitions towards the 19th century but also the ongoing changes themselves. Ultimately, through the analysis of this extensive chronology, I intend to show that changes in gender identities and sexual difference were never linear, but responded to processes for which it is difficult to establish clear causalities or definitive outcomes.

As stated, in order to study the complex ways in which the conception of gender changed, especially from the second half of the 18th century onwards, I will focus on the relationship between notions of the body, gender and sexual difference, and analyse a wide range of discourses concerning gender that have been chronologically arranged in

⁷ FERNÁNDEZ (1975); LLANOS (1998): 21. For an analysis of the popular revolts of 1766 see FERNÁNDEZ (1975): 171 ff.; MONTERO (2008): 241-245; DE LA GRANJA, DE PABLO and RUBIO (2011): 26.

⁸ For clarification of the concept *foral order*, see PORTILLO and ORTIZ de ORRUÑO (1990) and PORTILLO (1991). Throughout this thesis, I will repeatedly return to this issue.

⁹ MONTERO (2008): 253 ff.

order to facilitate their study in relation to their context, although some of them are present during the whole period. The aim has been to understand the way in which different visions of the body affected the construction of gender and sexual difference. I start from the beginning of the 18th century with the appearance of the Bourbon dynasty and its effects in the Basque Provinces. During the whole of the 18th century, and also during the 19th century, the Catholic post-Tridentine discourse played an important role working in order not only to build body notions at a theoretical level, but also in shaping the experience of the body. The austere and rigorous experience of the body that the Catholic priests advocated affected the ways in which feminine and masculine models of perfection were conceived. The appearance of enlightenment trends, however, came to challenge –although not directly questioning ecclesiastical hierarchy or religiosity– the most rigorous understandings of the body and human beings, by offering a different discursive and emotional framework: the one that was inspired by natural sciences, materialism and the theories about progress and civilization. Therefore, the reception of encyclopaedic and enlightenment tendencies by the Basque aristocratic elite deserves a special attention, especially from the decade of the 1760s to the 1790s. Finally, my intention is to pay special attention to the period that covers the War of the Pyrenees, the liberal revolutionary process and the First Carlist War. During this period, the political and social context of convulsion contributed to change in the way femininity and masculinity were understood. In fact, gender played a very important role as an element that configured and gave meaning to the views that were confronted: Liberalism and Carlism, a confrontation that was especially crude when the religious content of gender was at stake.

It would be simplistic and far from accurate to suggest that the question of gender in the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Provinces was a battle between Catholic and non-Catholic –enlightened, and later liberal– ideals. In fact, throughout the study it will be clearly confirmed that most of the enlightened and liberal thinkers were actually firmly Catholic. Nevertheless, the analysis of their gender views and their conception of sexual difference shows that their understanding of Catholic doctrine, and more importantly, the role and the place that they attributed to Catholic doctrine and the authority of priests in the definition of their political, social, moral, and sexual life was radically different. Beyond the religious content, however, there were many other aspects that equally affected the way in which gender was conceived. The identification

with the provincial community, for instance, together with different views about rank or class, are other very important variables that have to be considered in order to understand the divergences in the conceptions of gender¹⁰. In this sense, what has been made clear throughout this work is that in order to grasp the specificities of different formations of sexual difference we have to consider the way in which other aspects converge with gender in the process of giving meaning to womanhood, manhood and the relation between sexes.

It is necessary to maintain a critical point of view regarding what I consider to be a too mechanistic understanding of the changes in gender conceptions, one that is based on a supposedly progressive evolution in time as a sequence of overcoming between stages, between certain views that were overtaken by more advanced or modern ones. This implies a critical understanding of the concept of modernity¹¹. Even though we usually pay much less attention to its theoretical implications, the concept of tradition seems also in need of more complex analyses. In fact, ‘traditional’ is a concept that is almost as equally, or even more, invoked than modernity, but much more acritically, at least from a theoretical point of view, as if there was an agreement on the more stable, and less important, significance of the concept for the analysis of historical change¹². It is necessary to consider that historical subjects might have been looking forwards and backwards at the same time in very complex ways. As Marian Hobson suggests regarding historical change, “There is no tidy seriality, but a complex pattern of forward and recursive loops”¹³.

In this work, I contend that the irruption of Enlightenment tendencies in the middle of the 18th century, as well as liberal thought at the beginning of the 19th century, did not displace the relevance that other social stances had in the formulation of gender models. The conservative or reactionary moves did not necessarily play a residual or peripheral

¹⁰ In this regard, in a recent monograph edited by Gregorio Alonso and Richard Cleminson in the *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* it is suggested that the analysis of the Modern Hispanic world needs a perspective and a methodology that consider the interactions between “most effective identity makers in modern times beyond social class, i.e. nation, sex, and religion”, ALONSO and CLEMINSON (2016): 5.

¹¹ HUNT (2014); DÍAZ (2015), (2016).

¹² The idea that traditions are built, imagined or invented it is not new. This questioning has been particularly effective and has influenced the way in which national constructions were analysed. Eric Hobsbawm is a good example of an advocate of this tendency, HOBBSAWM (1983).

¹³ HOBSON (1990): 109.

role. They worked, together with other views, as productive elements of the definitions that gender and sexual difference acquired in the transition toward liberal societies of the nineteenth century in many ways. They did not only represent the negative “otherness” in contrast to which modern gender views were affirmed, but they were in fact experienced and embraced by many people in certain areas of the Basque Country, although not without tensions. This is why it is necessary to establish not only a diachronic but also a synchronic dialogue between the different views of gender and sexual difference that coexisted during the crisis between the centuries. My aim is to show that the equivalences between modernity-new-forward and tradition-old-backward have not always been clear. On many occasions, the invocation of tradition expanded forward with very innovative formulations, contributing to historical change even though they advocated immovability. Furthermore, at the same time, the defenders of modernity turned to old arguments giving them new meanings so that they bore newness. Those specific temporalities may appear as paradoxes to the contemporary reader. Nevertheless, once historicised they show a very complex relation between what was thought as modern and what was thought as traditional.

This research has been guided by four main hypotheses. Firstly, bodily differences did not always function as the fundamental or the most important elements according to which the definitions of femininity and masculinity –gender differences– were articulated. The case of the Basque country confirms the idea that before enlightened ideas offered a formulation of the body as a natural feature consubstantial with human nature, the body was understood and even experienced from a non-materialistic or non-ontologised perspective. This phenomenon was conditioned by the strongly negative and rigorous Catholic understanding of the flesh that despised the body. This was the reason why the behaviours and ideals according to which men and women were expected to respond were not that much determined by any corporal differentially sexualised features but by aspects that belonged to the spiritual realm like virtue and devotion, piety, Christian obedience, the restraint of passion or the fulfilment of the requirements of the identity of the community, which could be achieved in their higher levels regardless of sex. This fact, nevertheless, was not contradictory with their strong misogyny; those were aspects that could coexist in their discourse.

Secondly, that gender did not always operate as the most important element that determined the identity of a person or his/her place in society. When gender was not necessarily defined or determined by a biological understanding of the body or, in other words, when the physicality of the body was not the central element that articulated human experience and its role in society, other identity categories could be more important than gender itself in the configuration of the identity of men and women. In the case of the Basque Country, there are three salient elements that, combined in different ways depending on the context, show very specific ideals of femininity and masculinity: Catholicism, social rank and community identity. It has been my aim to show that sex, understood as a biological datum, has not always –not even during the 19th century– exhausted the meanings that femaleness or maleness could acquire or the opportunities for action and agency that women could occupy. The analysis has shown that even though from the middle of the 18th century onwards there was a clear evolution towards more biology-based understandings of gender and more essentialist views of sexual difference, circumstances –like war periods, for example– made it necessary to renegotiate the meanings and limits of femininity and masculinity.

Thirdly, that even if Enlightenment ideals were able to lay the foundation for the liberal comprehension of sexual difference, which was clearly indebted to the ideas about complementarity and the essential nature of sex, the rigorous Catholic view about femininities and masculinities survived during the years offering operative arguments during the 19th century. Sources show that the ‘traditional ideals’ of devout femininities and masculinities suffered important changes and tensions, and that their arguments underwent important changes of meaning and were given new contents. Those adaptation and mutation processes are clearly identifiable in the case of Carlist proposals regarding sexual differences, a political culture that combined the traditional patristic misogyny with arguments of a more naturalistic character in order to question the capacity of a woman to reign during the First Carlist War. Liberal views themselves turned to references of feminine virility to argue in favour of the feminine monarchy while maintaining an understanding of sexual difference founded on the idea of the complementary sexual difference. Views about sexual difference were not unified or stable, not even in the same discourse.

All three previous hypotheses are part of a fourth much more general idea which is in fact the driving force of this study: the meanings of “woman” and “man” were unstable categories that until the first half of the 19th century were involved in processes of constant negotiation between and within different discourses.

2. Literature review: the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* and the history of gender in the Basque Country and Spain.

Given the large chronological scope under analysis in this investigation, it is not possible to present here an exhaustive review of all the works that have been dedicated to the topics studied¹⁴. Moreover, the perspective of the history of gender remains still unexamined in the Basque context for this period. Therefore, I will focus on presenting the major historiographical debates that have served as a context to my own specific object of analysis. My line of argument has been closely linked to the principal historical preoccupations of Basque and Spanish historiography of the period which I have tried to discuss during this thesis. It should be noted that even though this research has been focused on the formations of sexual difference and gender, other historiographical concerns beyond the specific topic itself have also been included insofar as gender implies the analysis of many other historical issues.

It might be appropriate here to point out that any analysis of the Basque political and social development during the 18th and 19th centuries needs to pay attention to the wider Spanish and European context. The development of Basque society was intimately linked to the development of Spanish politics and was equally affected by the European convulsive context. The production about the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Provinces is very extensive. From the 1970s, the great crisis that took place between the centuries revealed itself to be of immense interest among historians, especially those coming from the social history and the history of political ideas, because it was a period in which the Basque Provinces, their political and social administration as well as economic and cultural development, faced important challenges¹⁵. It should be pointed

¹⁴ Although I will mention works referring to the Spanish general context, in this literature review I will pay special attention to the works that have focused on the Basque Provinces and Navarra in order to provide a precise geographical context to the reader. However, throughout this thesis the reader will find extensive references to the wider Spanish and the European areas.

¹⁵ Three of the already classical works that have received special attention are FERNÁNDEZ (1975); PORTILLO (1991) and FERNÁNDEZ (1991). From the 1990s, the production of books and articles

out that even if the coming of the Bourbon dynasty did not eliminate the *foral* order – the traditional system of laws, the *Fueros*– the status of the *exempt provinces*¹⁶ was, during the whole of the 18th and 19th century, a first-class issue between the administrative standpoints of the provinces and the Spanish crown. Therefore, the configuration, the survival, and the adaptation of the *foral* order in the context of the transition toward a liberal constitutional Monarchy have been central topics of historiographical debate¹⁷. This includes, of course, the historiography related to the liberal revolutionary process and the First Carlist War¹⁸.

Those debates concern this investigation not only in their purely political dimension but because they address another aspect that is directly related: the controversies about Basque and Spanish identities and their development during the 18th and the 19th centuries, as well as the topic of Spanish nationalization process and patriotism in relation to the appearance of Basque regionalism¹⁹. With regard to this project, this would not be a central issue, but this debate concerns us because in certain formulations of sexual difference, as we will see, the definition of communitarian or provincial identity directly affected the way in which women and men were defined and perceived. It is not possible to go into depth here about this topic because it would distract us from our object of study, but it is necessary to point out that, at least for the period of time we will be analysing, identities were certainly not monolithic. It is probably Coro Rubio's formulation and definition of "triple patriotism" –following Josep M^a Fraderas' term "double patriotism"– which best captures the complexity of the political identities of the period²⁰. It implied different spheres of identification that were not necessarily mutually exclusive but complementary: the province, which was legally and morally defined by the particular *Fueros* and a strong religious sense; the Basque community, whose most evident unifying element was Basque language, *euskara*; and the Spanish Monarchy,

about the period increased exponentially. See the literature review offered by RUBIO (2005): 302-303. There are other more recent approaches like AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2012).

¹⁶ MUÑOZ de BUSTILLO (1995): 137, 150, 152.

¹⁷ CLAVERO (1985), (1990), (2002); FERNÁNDEZ (1990); MINA (1990); AGIRREAZKUENAGA (1995), (1999); RUBIO (1996), (1997a), (1997b), (2009); PORTILLO (2000).

¹⁸ RUBIO (2004); RUBIO and DE PABLO (2002); AGIRREAZKUENAGA and URQUIJO (1990); LAZARO (1992), (1993); ORTIZ de ORRUÑO (2004), (2009).

¹⁹ RUBIO (2003), (2006), (2016).

²⁰ RUBIO (2016): 400. Rubio's interpretation is especially concerned with the development of 19th century. However, her formulation is in many ways valid for the 18th century too, as we will see presently. For the debate regarding the meaning of Basque regionalism in the context of what has been called Spanish nationalization process, see FERNÁNDEZ (2004) and MOLINA (2005).

the Crown, towards which provincial administrations showed their most ardent loyalty as long as their *Fueros* were respected. Those spheres went through several moments of tensions, collisions and negotiations, especially during the very convulsive period between 1808 and 1839, but also in previous and subsequent years. In any case, it is important to underline that in almost every text that has been studied, the contents that gave meaning to the construction of *Basqueness* (as an individual or communitarian feature defined against incorrect ways of being Basque) were the identification with the province and its law, the Basque language, and almost above everything, Catholic religion.

The preoccupation with the social and cultural transformations during the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in Basque society has also been the object of other approaches more concerned with cultural aspects rather than with strictly political ones. Those works have included analyses of the evolution and socialisation of *euskara*, the Catholic religion –aspects that were importantly linked, precisely because the texts that were published in *euskara* during this period were mostly of strong religious content and most of them written by clerics:²¹ the evolution of manners and customs, and other cultural aspects²². The study of Catholicism and Catholic authors of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Basque Provinces and Navarra has been a productive field of analysis²³. In addition, there are other reasons apart from the historical interest for the popularity of the analysis of this kind of literature. Firstly, because beyond the mere historiographical attention that those works might arouse, there is another important concern: the philological one. The study of the different dialects and the development of the Basque language itself has been a major field of analysis of these sources. Secondly, from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, historiographers of Basque language found it necessary to recover a literary tradition in the Basque language whose early representatives were in fact many of the 18th century-priests and their writings²⁴.

Nevertheless, these works have also been studied from the perspective of their moral and political implication in the society of the period. Regarding the influence,

²¹ ESTEBAN (2017): 62.

²² From the anthropological perspective, Julio Caro Baroja's works have to be noted in this sense: (1971), (1974), (1976), (1985). VALVERDE and GARCÍA-SANZ (1989); MARTÍNEZ (1993): 207-392; AZURMENDI (2000); RUBIO (2003); MADARIAGA (2014).

²³ BAROJA (1971); TELLECHEA (1988); ENRÍQUEZ (1998), (1999); PORRES (2014), (2015).

²⁴ Examples of this are MICHELENA (1960) or VILLASANTE (1979).

development and nature of the Catholic discourse in the Basque Provinces and Navarra, one of the most comprehensive contributions to date has been Belen Altuna's extensive investigation of missionary activity and the meanings of Catholic doctrine in the construction of Basque identity during the 18th and 19th centuries²⁵. Following the previous studies of Carlos Martínez Gorriarán, Mikel Azurmendi or Javier Fernández Sebastián, Altuna's work offered a complete philosophical and historical analysis of the meanings of Catholic doctrine and post-Tridentine message that the Basque clergy configured during the long 18th and 19th centuries. Apart from the painstaking work of systematisation and classification of printed and manuscript works, some of which had remained untouched until then, she made two significant contributions. Firstly, she highlighted the centrality of Catholicism in the construction of Basque identity, an aspect that would last and affect even the subsequent nationalist identity formation of the end of the 19th century. It has been argued, however, that there was important resistance, even from popular sectors –which have sometimes been assumed to be the most loyal followers of the secular clergy– to the evangelisation process and to the authority of the clergy itself²⁶. Nevertheless, I think that this fact, which is difficult to quantify, does not necessarily refute the preeminent role of Catholic doctrine in the configuration of the Basque identities of the 18th and 19th century, which was not only a matter of discursive formations, but also of direct control over the social practices of people through missionary activity, preaching or mass and through their important influence over civil institutions²⁷. Secondly, that the rigorous religious tendencies were identified as the most important counterrevolutionary agents during the long crisis of the *Ancien Régime*.

One of the difficulties of working with literature about Basque clergy and Catholicism is that their doctrinal message has been studied as a non-changing discourse about women. Catholic discourse maintained most of its topics virtually intact during the years; the form and the language of their works, their catechism and essays were partly a conscious reproduction not only of a moral tradition but also of a world view in itself. Catholic discourse and its agents, nevertheless, were permeable to the circumstances and social changes that not only modified their attitudes but also the way in which they

²⁵ ALTUNA (2003). Its translation to Spanish was published in 2012. See also ALTUNA (2000), (2001) and (2006).

²⁶ ENRÍQUEZ (1996).

²⁷ RUBIO (2000); MADARIAGA, AZPIAZU and ELORTZA (2009); 8.

experienced the situation of Catholicism and its referents²⁸. This research has therefore addressed the evolutions of the understanding of sexual difference in Catholic discourses. Firstly, the analysis of their gender views shows that priests and preachers themselves had different views on the relationship between the sexes. Secondly, as the crisis of the old regime progressed toward harsher environments for traditional theocratic understandings of the social order faced with liberal and reformist attitudes, whose most evident confrontation took place during the First Carlist War, Catholic misogyny became even more radical, introducing important changes in the way the categories of “women” and “men” were conceived.

Together with these investigations, one of the most fruitful fields of analysis of the 18th century in the Basque country has been the study of the enlightened aristocracy of the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*, their effects as modernising social agents, their contribution to the civilising process and their evolutions towards the 19th century²⁹. The contribution of this approach, firmly based on the analytical premises of social history and the history of concepts, has focused on finding the singularities of the enlightened proposals of the Basque encyclopaedic elite, while trying to overcome the debate between two opposite interpretations of the phenomenon: the tendencies that traditionally defended the failure and conservatism of the enlightened movement in the Basque provinces, and the currents that presented them as the avant-garde of the enlightenment movement³⁰.

The latest work of José María Imízcoz on the topic has located the role and contribution of the enlightened Basque nobility –not all Basque nobility participated in the enlightened spirit– in the reformist scenery of the Bourbon monarchy. Imízcoz highlights many of the points that have been examined in my research in order to understand the conception of sexual difference operating in this group. They introduced important cultural and educational innovations that contrasted with the traditional and

²⁸ For the evolution of Basque Church through the 19th century see RUBIO (2003): 387 ff.

²⁹ The most recent approach from this perspective is IMÍZCOZ and ARTOLA (eds.) (2017). See also RECARTE (1990); RUBIO de URQUIA and GARATE (1999); ASTIGARRAGA (2003); ASTIGARRAGA (2009); ANDUAGA (2009); PALACIOS (2009); IMÍZCOZ y CHAPARRO (2009); CHAPARRO (2011); PORRES (2013). For the most recent approach to Spanish Enlightenment in general, see ASTIGARRAGA (2015). For one of the earliest analyses of the 18th century in the Basque Country from the perspective of the civilizing discourse and practices, see VALVERDE and GARCIA-SANZ (1989).

³⁰ BERMEJO and CHAPARRO (2017): 123-124.

popular cultural expressions of the period. In a context in which the civilisation process increasingly gained importance as a sign of moral and national advancement, they introduced new ways of socialisation and behaviour that were not always welcomed by certain sectors, such as the ecclesiastical one³¹.

In order to contribute to the analysis of those changes, the focus has been put on the transformations that they introduced to a new understanding of the subject, the modern subject, which was gendered. At the core of the novelties in the way they conceived and experienced modern society, we can find a new notion of the human body and the relation between the subject, society, and nature. Gender and sexual difference were also part of this immense change that was much more profound than the introduction of mere modifications of certain customs or habits that followed changes in the rules of decorum or trends. They were certainly contributing to new ways of experiencing humanity and their role as social subjects that were different from the dominant rigorous Catholic pessimism that the clergy, a strong social agent, was preaching. Among the conflictive aspects of this encounter between views, such as the way to exteriorise social rank through attire, the consumption of luxury or the experience of religion, sexual difference was in fact a fundamental element of dispute. It is difficult to quantify the capacity of Basque Enlightenment movement to permeate society. There are certain aspects that suggest a limited impact: the fact that they wrote mostly in Spanish might indicate that their public was a cultured elite; the power of the popular clergy was certainly very important, and the *Real Sociedad Bascongada* itself underwent an important crisis since the last decade of the 18th century³². Nevertheless, the analysis of Basque liberal press and cultural expressions of the beginning of the 19th century shows that their conception of sexual difference was directly indebted to Enlightenment formulations. This proves that their ideas had in fact channels for socialising their messages that were able to last beyond their decay as an institution. They were able to take roots beyond their limited aristocratic elite and become the gender ideals of the liberal social agents of the Basque country during the 19th century, who were mostly urban and commercial bourgeoisie.

³¹ IMÍZCOZ (2017): 99.

³² BERMEJO and CHAPARRO (2017): 126.

Many of the debates that took place in Basque enlightened circles were also present in the contribution of the liberals of the beginning of the 19th century. The aforementioned confrontations with rigorous Catholic attitudes were also at the core of the development of liberalism and the transition towards liberal societies. Studies about liberalism in the Basque Country are scarcer than for the Spanish context, and most of them have focused on its political and social dimension³³. Apart from its administrative implications, the capacity of liberalism to become ingrained in the society of the Basque Provinces has been a topic of debate³⁴. It is not my aim in this investigation to contribute to elucidating this kind of questions. From the history of gender, the contribution to this topic consists of the study of liberal expressions of the revolutionary period in the Basque Country through the analysis of their debates on femininity and masculinity, which certainly shows differences compared with traditionalist attitudes. The enlightened legacy is quite evident in their understanding of gender and sexual difference, especially in press publications of the Trienio like *El Liberal Guipuzcoano*, but also in other liberal publications of previous years. Despite having intellectual roots in enlightened thought, during the revolutionary period liberals' understanding of the relation between the sexes, femininity and masculinity had its own development, which was closely linked to the context and its confrontation to other political and social stances: Catholic rigorousness, royalist and Carlist social agents. In both cases, there seems to be a great lack of works regarding the development of gender identities during the liberal revolutionary processes and the First Carlist War in the Basque context.

The general Spanish, and also European, context of the 18th and 19th centuries has proven to be very fruitful for the history of gender. As previously stated, I will not offer an exhaustive literature review of all the works I have consulted along this research here, because it would be too extensive. Moreover, in 2015, Victoria López-Cordón offered a detailed literature review of the last three decades of production concerning the Modern history of women and gender in Spain and also the wider international context³⁵. López-Cordon's review emphasises the relevance of works about topics as diverse as marriage, motherhood, feminine spirituality, sexuality, family structures or the sexual division of employment. Nevertheless, I will offer a very brief outlook of the

³³ There are several important works RUBIO and DE PABLO (2002); SÁNCHEZ (2007); GALLASTEGUI (2003); PORTILLO (2007). See also note 16 and 17.

³⁴ RUBIO (1996): 63; LLANOS (1998); GALLASTEGUI (2003).

³⁵ The work includes works concerned with the 18th century too: LÓPEZ-CORDÓN (2015).

lines of thought that have guided this approach. In general terms, there are three main fields of analysis which have been especially relevant concerning the period studied here. Firstly, the contribution to the study of the relationship between religion, most specifically the Catholic one, and gender has gained important relevance during the last year³⁶. Secondly, the interest of the history of gender identities and sexual difference in relation to the Enlightenment thought has resulted in a massive production of articles and essays, some of which are already classical references, such as Isabel Morant's and Mónica Bolufer's works³⁷. For the general international context, the comprehensive collection of chapters edited by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor in 2005, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, is still a mandatory reference. Thirdly, in the last two decades there has been a proliferation of investigations devoted to analysis of the gendered dimension of Spanish liberalism and the construction of the liberal Monarchy throughout the 19th century in which the works of Ana Aguado, Mónica Burguera, Isabel Burdiel, Marieta Cantos, Irene Castells, Gloria Espigado or Elena Fernández should be emphasised³⁸.

The history of gender for the same period in the Basque Country, however, has been less explored. Most of the works have been characterised with a concern to make women's activities visible. In this regard, there have been three distinguishable fields of analysis. The first one has tried to underline women's contribution to different spheres of Basque society, which was for many years systematically ignored: in the field of employment in rural, urban or coastal areas; the role of noble women in organising, constructing and maintaining lineages through strategies of inheritance and matrimony; their role in the domestic realm as providers of sustenance, care and assistance, or their ecclesiastical roles³⁹. Being as it was an important period for the development of theories and practices of education, the second line of research has focused on the changes that took place regarding women's education and instruction by analysing the enlightened tendencies and the important role that ecclesiastical institutions continued

³⁶ LAVRIN (2012); BURRIEZA (2015); MINGUEZ (2016).

³⁷ The most comprehensive works are MORANT and BOLUFER (1998); BOLUFER (1998), (2008); MORANT (2002); (2004a).

³⁸ AGUADO (2003), (2005); BURGUERA (2016); BURDIEL (2010); CANTOS (2010), (2013); CASTELLS and FERNÁNDEZ (2014); ESPIGADO (2003), (2006), (2010), (2012); FERNÁNDEZ (2009a), (2009b); CASTELLS, ESPIGADO and ROMEO (2009).

³⁹ VALVERDE (1988), (2011); AZPIAZU (1995); ARBAIZA (1996); FERNÁNDEZ y PRADO (2000); MANZANOS (2000), (2003); OLIVERI (2001); SESMERO (2004); MANZANOS y VIVES (2005); ECHEBERRIA (2014).

to have⁴⁰. Finally, the third line has tried to recuperate the contribution of Basque women writers, which was in fact very scarce, and the important legacy of popular women versifiers, which was an activity whose popularity seems much more ingrained than formal or cultured literary practices⁴¹.

Together with those works that have been developed from the perspective of the history of women, some approaches have explored other aspects concerning sexuality, sexual politics, gender norms or images of femininity and masculinity, which seem closer to the analytical premises of the history of gender. One of the earliest contributions to this perspective was José Carlos Enríquez's work, which tried to make sense of the gendered, sexual and emotional behaviours of the popular sectors of Bizkaia⁴². In a similar vein, Juan Gracia Cárcamo analysed the sexual practices of housemaids in Bizkaia during 1700-1877 through judicial processes of statutory rape⁴³. Furthermore, Lola Valverde contributed to this line of research in her work about single motherhood, morality and infantile abandonment⁴⁴. In her work about Basque missionaries and the church, Belen Altuna dedicated a chapter to analysing the role attributed to women and their view on femininity⁴⁵. More recently, there have been several publications about marriage strategies, personal relationships and divorce in the 18th century, pointing towards the importance of emotions in the historical analysis of those processes⁴⁶.

Those works have created a strong foundation for the following analysis of gender and sexual difference in the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Country. However, there are some aspects that would need to be further investigated from a different perspective. Firstly, there have not been explicit discussions about the meanings themselves of the categories of "woman" and "man". Acknowledging that the situation of women has changed through the years does not necessarily mean that the meaning of "women", even less of gender, has been directly questioned. It is as if the content of womanhood, of being a woman, was assumed to be something given, although never

⁴⁰ SÁNCHEZ (1986); RECARTE (1990); AYERBE (2008); URRRA (2016).

⁴¹ On Vicenta Moguel ALTZIBAR (1982), (1992), (2008); OLAZIREGI (2003). On Rita de Barrenechea GARCÍA (2004); URZAINQUI (2006); ALTONAGA (2018). On popular women versifiers and their practices see LARRAÑAGA (1997); LASARTE et al. (2015): 35-58.

⁴² ENRÍQUEZ (1995). Following a similar line of research, see also ÁLVAREZ (2012).

⁴³ GRACIA (1997). By statutory-rapè, I mean *estupro*.

⁴⁴ VALVERDE (1994).

⁴⁵ ALTUNA (2003): 267-289.

⁴⁶ ECHEBERRIA (2015), (2017); ANGULO and ECHEBERRIA (2016).

defined, as if the use of the concepts “working women”, “farmer women”, “enlightened women” or “Basque women” would be enough to designate a reality that was assumed as sufficiently clear but that was nonetheless left completely undefined.

Secondly, there has been a tendency to identify the usefulness of gender –although gender has been very few times addressed as an analytical tool– to analyse the history of women and the construction of feminine ideals without including the analysis of their relation to the construction of masculinity and men. This has somehow contributed, although not necessarily consciously, to a monolithic account of women’s subordination to patriarchy, as if patriarchy would be an essential ahistorical entity or as if masculinity would have been an unchanging neutral way of exerting power. Nevertheless, there have been different forms and manifestations of misogyny that have not always corresponded to the same configurations of sexual difference. What I mean is that in order to reveal the historically specific logics of hierarchical gender formations and relations of power, the history of women in relation to the history of men must be considered, whatever women and men mean in each historical context⁴⁷. In other words, the logics of the construction of sexual difference need further exploration, and this is related to a third preoccupation: the historicity of the body. Many works have not paid attention to the historical dimension of what we assume as neutral biology. This is another aspect to which this work aims to contribute: the introduction of the analysis of the understanding of the body in relation to gender in order to reveal how it has affected the construction of sexual difference.

3. Theoretical and methodological framework.

3.1. History, language, meaning: subjective formations between discourse and emotion.

This investigation deals with the meanings of gender formations during the different political and social developments that took place in the period between the 18th and 19th centuries. Given the impact that the “linguistic turn” had in the task of denaturalising sex and gender, especially in authors such as Denise Riley, Joan Scott or Judith Butler,

⁴⁷ This is in fact a field of research which is becoming more and more fertile. Just to mention few of the recent contributions: HARVEY (2005); ELLIS and MEYER (2009); ARESTI (2010b); TOSH (2011); VIGARELLO, CORBIN and COURTINE (2016)

my approach is highly influenced by their contribution to historical analysis⁴⁸. Nevertheless, analysis has not been limited to applying acritically the tools that this standpoint has offered, and I am aware of the limitations and criticisms expressed in relation to it. As has been suggested during the last few years, materiality, affects, and emotions are relevant aspects of historical development, and they are constituent elements of the creation of meaning of human experience, of the body, and also the experience of sexual difference⁴⁹. Gender formations become meaningful from a complex mixture in which discourse, emotion, and, of course, the context and political, economic and social circumstances, are intertwined in various ways without a fixed role of each aspect.

The idea that language and, in more general terms, discourse do mediate our experience of the real creating the conditions for the processes of significations and subject positions, has had massive theoretical consequences in so far as it has showed that meaning was not a neutral or stable quality of things themselves or that it was not exclusively derived from objective economical or material circumstances⁵⁰. In the field of history, Hayden White was perhaps the author that most radically formulated the idea that history was never a way of reconstructing what “actually happened”. He described history as an exercise, of a *poetic* nature, of creating certain conceptual strategies, historically through which the historian establishes the criteria that would grant the narrative through which he/she builds the status of “historical”, combing certain data and concepts⁵¹. During the nineties, some theorists of history, such as Keith Jenkins, have proposed a very radical reading of White’s proposals as well as Derrida’s reflections on language, suggesting that “‘The absence of a transcendental signifier extends the play of signification to infinity’. The past [...] thus becomes opened to

⁴⁸ In the Spanish context, Miguel Angel Cabrera is perhaps the most representative author that has theoretically developed this theory paying special attention to Joan Scott’s contribution, CABRERA (2001) and (2011). For a review of the history and genealogy of the “linguistic turn” in the discipline of history, see SURKIS (2012).

⁴⁹ See DÍAZ (2007) and (2015); FREVERT (2011); RODRIGUEZ-LÓPEZ (2014). For the specific case of the role of affects and emotions in the studies of feminist and gender theorists, see AHMED and STACEY (2001); LILJESTRÖM and PAASONEN (2010); KOIVUNEN (2010).

⁵⁰ The interesting debate between Lawrence Stone, Patrick Joyce and Gabrielle Spiegel in an interchange of articles called “History and Post-modernism” in the journal *Past and Present* during 1991 and 1992 is a good example of the seism that the discipline was already feeling as a result of the success of poststructuralist proposals.

⁵¹ WHITE (1973).

interminable readings and rereading”⁵². It was precisely this consubstantial relativism to the purely linguistic and literary nature of the narration of the past, which is history, that renders the discipline irrelevant in his opinion. The past-ness of the past loses its relevance in favour of the analysis of the way in which it is remembered, in other words, our memory of it and the political and ideological logics through which we construe it. More recently, in a similar vein, Elizabeth Deeds Ermath formulated the linguistic twin of Lyotard’s *La Condition Postmoderne* when she theorised the *Discursive Condition* as the following: “If discursive systems refer to anything, it refers to itself in the sense that its meanings are born of and within its systemic potentials and are not reflections of an objective universe”⁵³. The consequences for history in Deed’s *Discursive Condition* are considerable because the process, historical change, is not considered anymore historical but semiological⁵⁴. Historical writing ceases to be historical to become fictional.

Without denying the coherence and validity of these approaches, I believe that if read from another perspective, Derrida’s famously misunderstood “il n’y a pas de hors-texte” of the “...*That Dangerous Supplement*...” seems more productive for the field of a specific historical inquiry such as the present one, for the task of historicising⁵⁵. I think that the contribution of Derrida is more effective if understood in terms of its epistemological potentialities rather than its (possible or not) ontological consequences. Derrida was fundamentally talking about writing, reading and the implications of those acts when interpreting texts. The Derridean understanding of the reference as a perpetual deferral of supplementary mediations seems a very interesting starting point, not because it advocates irremediable relativity of historical meaning, but because it points towards the various mutations that the meaning of a cultural artefact as a text, and all the utterances it contains, suffers along the way until it reaches the hands of a historian, a reader, after all. This might seem a very straightforward understanding of it, but it was precisely straight forwardness that Derrida was claiming when he had to clarify this point. When the French philosopher theorised about the indeterminacy and undecidability of meaning, he was doing so in order to reveal that essentialised concepts and ideas were in fact the consequence of processes that create the illusion of stability,

⁵² JENKINS (2009): 4.

⁵³ DEEDS (2011): 90.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 95.

⁵⁵ DERRIDA (1976):158.

as Nietzsche had already done long beforehand, not to ascertain that texts are opened to equally valid infinite interpretations. In Derrida's words, the potential aspect of his contribution was not that much the asseveration of meaning's undecidable nature in itself, "but the strictest possible determination of the figures of play, of oscillation, of undecidability, which is to say, of the différential conditions of determinable history, etc."⁵⁶. Therefore, what the deconstructive reading provides to historical analysis is not a space in which one can be driven by the "free play of signifiers". As Geoff Eley suggested, the rejection of the "correspondence theory of truth does not mean that doing history becomes completely arbitrary, that the historian can somehow invent documents at will, or that rules of evidence become irrelevant"; it means that "the criteria of truth have to be thought [of] very differently"⁵⁷. Derrida's focus on matters of textuality does not involve any necessary carelessness with the social field. In fact, it serves to challenge the politics of meanings that are in play in specific social situations of oppression, as it is the case of hierarchical gender and sexual difference formations. It offers a perspective, an epistemological alertness through which to reveal the rules according to which meaning is built; the conditions of possibility of what was possible to say, to experience and to think; the differential logics that make an event, a life or in our case, gender, bodies or sexual difference meaningful while others were left in the field of the unthinkable, unintelligible and unliveable. Those are the margins and limits, as the limits that ideas about sexual difference impose –illusory, as noted – that have to be traced and investigated, so that they can be erased, if considered on a political level.

Joan W. Scott soon realized the potential of Derrida's work for the history of gender⁵⁸. The theorisation about the instability of meaning and the deconstructive work that had to be undertaken with texts in order to underscore the ways in which differences – apparently neutral but that implied hierarchisation and subordination– were built were certainly very attractive aspects for feminist theorisations⁵⁹. Scott understands that the poststructuralist view of language, in which there was no self-evident meaning of any text, obliged the reader to situate what was read in relation to its context and the myriad of differences in relation to which the text was built. The meanings of sexual difference

⁵⁶ DERRIDA (1988): 145.

⁵⁷ ELEY (2005): 46.

⁵⁸ SCOTT (1998).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* In the philosophical field, it was perhaps Elizabeth Grosz the one that has most clearly theorised the Derridean deconstruction for feminist studies GROSZ (1995).

had to be confronted with the discursive, social and political context in which they were built and the way they changed had to be analysed⁶⁰. That is why, in this thesis, I explore the meaning of sexual difference in relation to the meaning of the elements that surrounded it and gave it different contents, and vice versa: not only the meanings of the body but also the notions of the human, the community, religion and politics. My analysis is founded on the assumption that it is impossible to isolate the meaning of woman or man in a specific context from the rest of meaningful conceptual formations of its period. In the case of the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in the Basque Country, this perspective is not only beneficial, but also necessary. In this context, all the elements that were invoked as the “traditional” way of being Basque, like religion, the *Fueros*, the provincial order, the sense of community –Basque and Catholic–, and also gender order were felt to be threatened. None of these aspects had an isolated development; on the contrary, they were intertwined through complex communicating vessels affected by the context.

I believe that this point of view offers important and very interesting insights from the perspective of history. Many historians, nevertheless, soon manifested their reservations with the most discursive approaches of the linguistic turn. It could be said that the revisions of the linguistic turn have focused on two main general concerns. One main preoccupation has suggested that this analytical standpoint shows an important carelessness with the social aspect⁶¹. The sifting of the sphere of the “real” to the sphere of meaning has been read as a move that had rendered the reference irrelevant⁶². Another very important tendency has focused on the recovery of the importance of the material and corporeal aspects of historical change, which has brought the investigation of emotional processes, individual and collective, to the centre of their analysis. Without breaking with the framework offered by the linguistic turn, I have introduced other elements of those lines of thought, critical with its limitations, in the cases where it has been considered necessary and useful for my investigation.

Regarding the first concern, Gabrielle Spiegel manifested her surprise with the minimum reception that authors like Mikhail Bakhtin had received among the re-

⁶⁰ SCOTT (1988): 35.

⁶¹ JOYCE (2006): 74.

⁶² DÍAZ (2007): 20.

elaborations of the linguistic turn given the pre-eminence that the Russian author gave to language as a social phenomenon⁶³. Certainly, Bakhtin did in fact offer a sophisticated view on language, which allows social processes to be understood. According to Bakhtin, speaking and writing are also collective and individual social acts in which language and discourses are never one directional or determining elements of the subject. Some have considered Bakhtin's understanding of language as a challenge for poststructuralist proposals because "the presence and self-constitution of the speaking subject [...] lies at the heart of any process of human understanding" for the Russian author⁶⁴. In other words, from a poststructuralist point of view, the Bakhtinian subject, consciously self-constituted in speaking acts, would be the subject of presence, the subject of metaphysics. Nevertheless, I think that Bakhtin's concepts of *dialogism* and *heteroglossia* as defined in *Discourse in the novel* are perfectly compatible with a deconstructive approach to historical analysis. The contribution of Bakhtin's formulation is of immense relevance firstly because language was understood as a world view –saturated by socio-ideological content– and secondly, because it was conceived as inseparable from its social use, as a means through which social relations were constituted. Languages are part of social contexts in which centripetal forces work in order to create unitary languages that build specific conditions for understanding, and coexist with centrifugal forces that are transformative and prone to dissemination⁶⁵. For historical analysis, this means that language is tied to its context and the rest of changing linguistic, social and political phenomena where it is embedded. From this emerges another even more important aspect for any historical analysis: the idea that meaning is relational. "The living utterance, having taken shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads [...] it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue"⁶⁶.

The concept of *dialogized heteroglossia* of Bakhtin refers to a complex and multi-layered view of language. Language is not monological but dialogical insofar as it emerges as a response or in relation to other expressions of the language; it is individual but social at the same time. Language is manifested in individual speech acts, writings or events but

⁶³ SPIEGEL (2006): 48.

⁶⁴ RENFREW (2015): 15.

⁶⁵ BAKHTIN (1981): 273.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 276.

they are integrated into a greater linguistic context. This understanding of language, and in general of discourses, has driven me to consider that meanings and specific conceptions of sexual difference are built and changed in continuous dialogue with other understandings of it. Therefore, in this study, I present a broad image of the social world and gender views as constituted in dialogues and tensions between standpoints that mutually affected each other, sometimes competing and working according to logics that created otherness and legitimated selfness, while at some other times were able to build alliances. This is one of the key aspects that have guided the approach to the sources of the period: the attention to coexisting different views and sensibilities regarding sexual difference existing in a same context that interacted in different ways in contexts open to change.

In relation to the second issue, throughout this thesis I have tried to incorporate elements of analysis concerned with the affective or emotional dimension of the developments and changes of gender and sexual difference. When I began my research, I soon realized that feelings were a very important ingredient in the configuration of the views on gender and sexual difference, especially insofar as they are closely tied to the experience of the body and corporeality. It must be made clear, however, that it has not been my aim to locate this research at the centre of the methodological frame offered by the history of emotions. Nevertheless, I have been receptive to the aspects and concepts that I have found compatible with the discursive approach that is carried out in this study. I believe that it is possible to acknowledge the relevance of the emotional content in the construction of identities and subjectivities without renouncing an understanding of the subject and the body that stresses their constructed character.

The analysis of the emotional content of the construction of sexual difference is based on the assumption that emotions, affects or feelings have to be understood not so much as enclosed psychological manifestations of the self, but as socially and politically formed expressions, sometimes of a subject and sometimes of certain social groups⁶⁷. Emotions are carriers of social and political meanings that contribute to the configuration of identities. In many occasions, emotions appear as the intensification of certain contextual atmospheres, of certain social beliefs or discourses, rather than

⁶⁷ GOUK and HILLS (2005).

clearly distinguishable individual psycho-physiological expressions, reactions or attitudes⁶⁸. As I will endeavour to demonstrate, optimistic faith in progress, anxiety caused by the feeling of the crisis of the Christian moral order, or even national patriotism are complex entanglements of discourses, emotions and the context itself, nets in which it is certainly very difficult to establish distinguishable causalities.

The worldviews, mentalities or political positions that are the objects of this study were affected and formed by profound emotions that were clearly connected to the context, such as anguish, anxiety, pessimism, optimism or enthusiasm that contributed to configure gender identities and to experience sexual difference in certain ways. In many occasions those feelings were not even named in the sources but they were an implicit element of the discourse and the context under evaluation. This is evident, for example, in the case of some Catholic religious literature. Although Basque Catholic post-Tridentine priests claimed for a rigorous emotional austerity (according to their very negative understanding of human passions), their writings were at the same time permeated by a profound pessimistic anthropology, a tremendously negative view of human beings that affected the way in which misogyny was understood⁶⁹. On other occasions, on the contrary, the affective and sentimental intensity contained in the texts was very explicit, suggesting that the emotional dimension was especially significant for the analysis of the meaning of sexual difference. This is the case, for example, of enlightened thought, and even more evidently the case of the revolutionary and enthusiastic liberalism of the beginning of the 19th century that reconfigured the definition and the role of emotions, sentiments and passions in human existence. This is an aspect of great relevance that I have tried to show throughout this thesis: the place assigned to the sensuous and emotional dimension of the “being in the world” of human beings affected the experience of social reality, and most important for this investigation, the meaning of sexual difference.

In this regard, the notion of “structure of feeling” coined by Raymond Williams seems very operative. Even though the term structure resonates with the Marxist view that Williams himself was revising, the term did not aim to refer to any fixed or

⁶⁸ AHMED (2014): 10, 222.

⁶⁹ Religion has been in fact of immense relevance in the control and managing of emotions throughout history. On religious politics of emotion, see CORRIGAN (2007); KARANT-NUNN (2010).

predetermined social or institutional formation. On the contrary, the intention of Williams was to refer to cultural phenomena that were not fixed or fully structured as rigid forms, but in a more flexible and even intuitive way: “It is a kind of feeling and thinking which is indeed social and material, but each in an embryonic phase before it can become fully articulate and defined exchange”⁷⁰. Structure of feeling designates a change or a move (cultural, social or political) that is a variation in the way reality, the present or one’s own time, is felt and thought. This concept is especially functional because it captures the subtlety of certain experiences of the social reality, which emerge without necessary planning or systematisation, that are from the sphere of abstraction and materiality at the same time: “affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity”⁷¹.

The notion of structure of feeling has been very useful in this study because it serves to designate the subtlety of certain changes in the way reality has been conceptualised and experienced. The clearest example of this sort of process, although not the only one, is the case of Basque encyclopaedic aristocracy that, without casting off the solidified administrative and political structures of the *Ancien Régime* in which it was embedded, proposed a new way of understanding the human being, nature and reality that was theoretical and emotional at the same time. Without explicitly or programmatically advocating it, they offered and practiced new forms of experiencing reality based on affective modes and more abstract beliefs that were radically different from the dominant ones in their context; in a way, they introduced a new existential mood. Of course, this had important effects in the configuration of sexual difference and, in the long term, those new patterns of affective and existential life permeated society becoming normative and affecting the way in which subjectivities were built.

Furthermore, Sara Ahmed’s contribution to the understanding of the politics of emotions has been an element that I have considered in this regard too⁷². Ahmed’s approach follows a Butlerian conceptualisation of the construction of the materiality of bodies through the repetition of social norms that create the effect of fixity and

⁷⁰ WILLIAMS (1977): 131.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 132.

⁷² AHMED (2014).

immovability. Her worry about emotion partly focused on the way in which emotions, emotional life or emotional self were construed, from different ideological, cultural or political stances, so that they become a constituent element of the self and the way in which the subject experiences reality⁷³. In fact, this is a central element of the long process of the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* and the changes that the construction of sexual difference suffered throughout it: the change in the role that emotions and affections were granted in the definition of the human being in the changing processes towards the creation of contemporary liberal societies. In the case of this study, the way in which certain emotional dispositions were formulated and incorporated in order to naturalise certain bodily manners and gendered behaviours has been crucial in understanding how sexual difference was built. In fact, the examination of the implications that different managements and organisations of emotional life had in the experiences of femininity and masculinity is an important objective of this study. I will analyse how the radical differences between the affective world of Catholic rigorousness and that of the enlightened or liberal sensibility affected the way in which the emotional life of women and men was construed. In some cases, the genderisation of emotions –the attribution of certain emotions to the experience of femininity in contrast to other emotions attributed to masculinity– contributed to the construction of sexual difference, as it was the case of enlightened thought. However, in other cases, like that of Catholic rigorousness, the emotional world played a different role in the construction of the differences between the sexes.

3.2. *Gender, body and sexual difference.*

Gender, sexual difference and the body itself have been analytical categories that have guided this investigation in order to show that sexual difference has not always been arranged necessarily according to a biological understanding of the body. It has been greatly inspired by works, mostly related to post-structuralism, that since the 1980s have tried to denaturalise gender. Since the 1980s, and particularly since Joan Scott wrote her seminal article, “Gender: a useful category of historical analysis” in 1986, gender has been employed massively as an analytical tool. The concept gender has not only been useful in conducting specific analysis of determined contexts, but it has

⁷³ *Ibid*, 12.

provoked constant and productive epistemological debate on its implications⁷⁴. I think that Scott's definition of gender in the 1980s offered two great advantages that I have tried to apply in this analysis. Firstly, that gender and sex differences were defined as important elements of social organisation, as important as class, which functioned by organising social and power relations. In other words, gender was introduced in the historiographical discourse about power and hierarchical social relationships because it was defined as a primary way of signifying power relationships⁷⁵. In this way, any attempt to analyse gender formations in specific circumstances was obliged to understand it in relation to the greater context and other identity markers. As Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed simply but accurately suggested about Scott's definition, "Gender as a category never works alone"⁷⁶. Secondly, she contributed to the idea that women-men opposition was not natural or essential but a construction according to the operations of language and discourses that work reifying and essentialising what is in truth unstable and volatile⁷⁷. Her definition has helped to develop lines of study that have worked to depart from the fixed oppositional structures of understanding sex differences.

As Joan Scott recently stated in an article that critically revisited her famous "Gender: A useful category of historical analysis", the category of gender is still useful insofar as it provides a clue to understanding how sexual difference is constructed. The concept of sexual difference strongly resonates in the formulations of Julia Kristeva but specially of Luce Irigaray and her psychoanalytical perspective⁷⁸. In this approach, nevertheless, I follow –although not in an orthodox way– the constructivist proposals of Joan Scott and Judith Butler because their formulations still offer a valid conceptual framework. Sexual difference should not serve as a way to reify that difference whose effects and logics we attempt to understand. As Butler suggests, we should conceive it "as a very specific set of mechanisms for the historical production of socially differentiated relations"⁷⁹. According to Scott, the objects of our analysis should not only be the roles and values attributed to women, or men, at different moments of history, as if a biological substratum would have remained intact and invariable through time and space. It should

⁷⁴ BORDERIAS (2006); BLASCO (2014).

⁷⁵ SCOTT (1986):1067.

⁷⁶ BUTLER and WEED (2011): 4.

⁷⁷ SCOTT (1986): 1067.

⁷⁸ See GROSZ (1989): 100 ff.

⁷⁹ BUTLER (2011): 20.

be the question of how sexed bodies were produced in relation to each other and the ways in which they change⁸⁰. Following the Scottian suggestion, our analysis will be guided by two analytical axes. The first one refers to the study of the conception of the body and its relation to gender during the mentioned period. In other words, we will try to historicise the relation between the body and gender. The second one refers to the analysis of the way in which different identity dimensions/categories (gender, religious, regional and class identities) affected each other and generated specific ideals of femininity and masculinity. Hence, our task will have multiple levels of analysis that do not only involve the study of discursive formations or conceptual frames that functioned configuring identities, but also the analysis of the relation between those conceptualizations and the ways in which they configured the social order and subjective experiences.

Nevertheless, during the last decade, several researchers have critically reviewed Scott's definition of the category of gender to point out that it manifests important limitations for certain cultural contexts, periods or historical circumstances. Jeanne Boydston's widely known "Gender as Question of Historical Analysis", published in 2008, critically read Scott's contribution to the definition of gender offering an important summary of the most relevant revision until then. Boydston suggests that even though the objective of Scott's formulation was to show that the oppositional binary structure of gender differences was in fact a contingent historical construction that had to be deconstructed, the uses of the category itself had in many ways reproduced what it intended to undo. In other words, it had not been able to overcome the binary structure that it was supposed to dismantle⁸¹. Furthermore, Boydston's critical approach noted a great challenge for the category of gender itself: many researchers of non-western historical contexts had found that gender was not an operative power relation or structuring element of the societies they were studying, as was the case of Oyèrónkè Oyewùmí's research about 19th-century Yoruba society in Nigeria that I will address later⁸². Therefore, gender, defined as an instrument that could be applied universally, seemed to have failed in being potentially interpretative for the experiences of being a woman or a man around the world.

⁸⁰ SCOTT (2010): 10.

⁸¹ BOYDSTON (2008): 563.

⁸² *Ibid*, 564.

More recently, in her analysis of female combatants of the Soviet Union during the Second World War, Anna Krylova has manifested a similar concern regarding the limits of gender: the category tends to reproduce and reify oppositional binary structures. For Krylova, it is not enough to disclose the signifying logics according to which sexual differences are configured without offering frames of analysis that are able to escape such oppositional logics⁸³. Krylova argues in favour of a non-hierarchical/non-oppositional but still binary system of arranging sexual differences in which women and men do not necessarily fulfil conventional gender expectations (like being a female soldier or a male nurse)⁸⁴. Hence, in her methodological approach, being a woman could be experienced in many different ways, not necessarily opposed to being a man. In other words, she advocates for the dissolution of the women/feminine versus men/masculine structure insofar as its application in historical analysis raises more paradoxes than valid explanations to the variety of ways of experiencing gender.

It seems, therefore, that there is some sense of dissatisfaction with the category of gender as a tool for historical analysis. However, I am not sure whether the dissatisfaction should be that much attributed to the failures of the category itself or to some of its uses. In fact, it seems the proposals of authors like Boydston or Krylova are genuine attempts to carry out what Scott had once proposed. In 2010, Scott herself offered a very critical overview about the development that the uses of the category of gender had undergone. One of the most pressing issues that Scott detected was that gender was being used as if the meanings of the categories of “woman” and “man” were always already self-evident entities, exactly as Denise Riley had denounced years ago⁸⁵. As she wrote, gender “might always refer to the ways in which relationships between men and women were conceived” to immediately clarify that “neither the relationships nor the ‘men’ and ‘women’ were taken to be the same in all instances. The point was to interrogate all the terms and so to historicize them”⁸⁶. This thesis argues that not only the category of gender, but also that of sexual difference, are both perfectly applicable the deconstruction of such binary associations. It is precisely Scott’s explanation of gender that allows us to explain and interpret specific ways of being a sexed being, not

⁸³ KRYLOVA (2010): 12-31; (2016): 317.

⁸⁴ KRYLOVA (2016): 316-319.

⁸⁵ RILEY (1988).

⁸⁶ SCOTT (2010): 9.

necessarily in an oppositional frame. Just to mention an example of this kind of specificities in my own work, female combatants during the First Carlist War defended that their ability to use a rifle to protect their town was totally compatible with their domestic life as loving wives and mothers. This way of being a woman is radically contingent and drastically erodes any simplistic binary analytical structure of understanding sexual difference.

It is precisely this necessity to historicise gender what Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed underlined. The usefulness of gender does not depend that much on the definition of the concept, but on our ability to establish and detect the conditions in which it worked to signify power: “gender cannot be known in advance (it “is” nothing in advance), but can only be illuminated as a result of a set of specifically *historical questions that seek to know how it is at once formed in history and formative of history*”⁸⁷. That is why Scott herself claimed that gender was useful as long as it was considered as a call to critically reflect “about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced in relation to one another, how these meanings are deployed and changed. The focus ought to be not on the roles assigned to women and men, but on the construction of sexual difference itself”⁸⁸. Hence, the ultimate question that has guided this thesis is: how did the different configurations of sexual difference organise the life of women and men –and also the subjects that did not fall under those categories– in a period of political and social ground-breaking changes?

In order to understand the logics of gender and sexual difference and their role in the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* and in the construction of the liberal society, I have found that the analysis of the notions of body in the construction of gendered meanings is of fundamental importance. The idea that the body is the most fundamental and stable element of the experience of the human being was directly questioned by Michel Foucault in his *Nietzsche, genealogy and history*⁸⁹. Years later, Denise Riley, in her *Am I that name?*, also questioned the stability of biology constituent of womanhood⁹⁰. Later, Judith Butler argued that the materiality of the body, and that of the natural –materialized– sex, is a historical process of sedimentation, a process of repetition of the

⁸⁷ BUTLER and WEED (2011): 4.

⁸⁸ SCOTT (2010): 9.

⁸⁹ FOUCAULT (1977):153.

⁹⁰ RILEY (1988):

heterosexual imperative which materialises sex and sexual difference creating the effect of fixity, of surface, of limit⁹¹. According to Butler, materiality –which is the quality of being matter and not matter itself– of the body, and its sex (the sexed body) would not be the real foundation of gender. On the contrary, gender assumptions ritualised through performative practices would cause the effect of materiality. This means that “sex, [and sexual difference] by definition, will be shown to have been gender all along”⁹². This approach should not be understood as a renunciation of matter in favour of discourse. Butler was not suggesting a naïve constructivist or idealist conception in which words “create” matter. What Butler tried to underscore was the condition of intelligibility –and the conditions for a meaningful experience– of matter, the discursive conditions and its logics, which would render matter, the body as sexually materialised, experienceable.

Judith Butler described, from a philosophical perspective, a question that has a fundamental historical dimension. In fact, Butler was making sense of an architecture of sex/gender that has a traceable, but not linear, historical trajectory; a trajectory that is contingent nonetheless. The transition from the 18th century to the 19th century seems an especially relevant point in this trajectory in the European context, because it was the witness of major changes in both the conception of the body and sexual difference. The Basque Country is an example of that process, and it is precisely the aim of this thesis to contribute to the idea that the definition of the body and its sensuous dimension as the central elements of being human was a historical process. The understanding of the body as the constituent element of the self that one had to feel as natural and to take care of is a contingent cultural phenomenon. This process affected the way in which gender and sexual difference were conceived. From this point of view, thesis has tried to answer the following questions: how did the naturalisation of the body influence the understanding of femininity and masculinity? How did the modelling and producing of emotional and corporal dispositions that were performed and incorporated as naturally feminine or masculine affect that change of gender structures? How did those ideas inform political expressions in determined contexts? And, how did the context itself contribute to the construction of different meanings of sexual difference?

⁹¹ BUTLER (1993): 2.

⁹² BUTLER (2007): 11.

There are several investigations that have focused on the role that the conception of the body played in the understanding of gender. Some of them have defended, precisely, that this role, understood as the biological basis of gender, has not always –and everywhere– been central in the structuring of the social sphere and of sex difference. Works by Nancy Shoemaker and Gunlög Fur on Native American cultures during the colonising period have underlined the non-western ways of understanding the role of the body in relation to diverse experiences of spirituality in which gender formulations went far beyond simple binary structures⁹³. The aforementioned Oyèrónkè Oyèwùmí, in her analysis of the Yorùbá society of southwestern Nigeria, suggests that “particularly in pre-nineteenth century Òyó culture, society was conceived to be inhabited by people in relation to one another. That is, the “physicality” of maleness or femaleness did not have social antecedents and therefore did not constitute social categories”⁹⁴. And Carol J. Clover, for her part, proposed an extremely suggestive way of understanding sexual difference in Scandinavian societies before the medieval period⁹⁵. Clover’s research discovered that the “distinction between sex (biological: the reproductive apparatus) and gender (acquired traits: masculinity and femininity)” seemed “oddly inapposite” to the Scandinavian pre-modern context⁹⁶. Clover suggested the idea that “femaleness” or “maleness” were aspects of the human social existence no any more decisive than other aspects such as wealth, rank, marital status or even personality. Moreover, if the social situation required it, some females would acquire the role of a male –would become male– in order, for example, to guarantee kinship requirements⁹⁷. This suggests an understanding of the sexed body as being much more social than ontological, as Thomas Laqueur famously stated⁹⁸.

In fact, those approaches seem to draw heavily on Laqueur’s contribution to the analysis of the changes in the construction of the body and identity during the 18th century. This research also takes many of its analytical points of view from the studies and theories about sex and gender of “pre-enlightened” periods, especially in the first and the second

⁹³ SHOEMAKER (2004): 105 ff; FUR (2002).

⁹⁴ OYÈWÙMÍ (1997): 13; (2005).

⁹⁵ CLOVER (1993).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁸ LAQUEUR (1990): 8.

chapters⁹⁹. This approach was first adopted in the 1970s by Michel Foucault, especially in his *Histoire de la Sexualité*. But Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex. Body and gender from the Greeks to Freud* was the work that established the most influential, and controversial, ideas about pre-modern understanding of the body and gender with his proposal of the one-sex model. Based primarily on medical sources and discourses, Laqueur suggested that before sexual difference was conceptualised as two essentially different substances or essences, "to be a man or a woman was to hold a social rank, a place in society, to assume a cultural role, not to *be* organically one or the other of two incommensurable sexes"¹⁰⁰. With this, Laqueur meant that before bodies were scientifically conceptualised and defined –especially by the end of the eighteenth century's enlightened medicine– and genital sex was considered to be the fundamental base that defined and fixed gender, other factors, such as rank, class, nationality, religious piety or cultural relevance could define the identity of a person. The *Ancien Régime*'s understanding of sexual difference was ruled by a "metaphysics of hierarchy" according to which differences between sexes were of grade and not specific¹⁰¹. They were graded according to one hierarchic sexual model that responded to one line of human perfection: the virile. Women were, in this path to perfection, further from perfection than men. Even though there had always existed views that underlined the natural differences between men and women, they were not understood as two incommensurable but complementary bodies, as it was formulated by the medical discourses by the end of the 18th century. Generally speaking, in medical terms women were considered as inverted or imperfect men because, according to Galenic and Hipocratic formulations, it was understood that female genitalia was exactly like the

⁹⁹Authors like Thomas Laqueur have used the concept "pre-enlightened" to refer to the sources and the conceptualization of sex and gender before the development of the enlightened theories of complementarity. This distinction, nevertheless, has been challenged for various reasons. Firstly, because in some contexts, as could be the case of Spain and the Basque Country, for example, it is not easy to exactly determine the beginning and development of Enlightenment and it is even more difficult to characterise it as a homogeneous cultural and political phenomenon with a defined entity. And secondly, because during the whole of the 18th century and even during the 19th century, characteristics and conceptions of what have been considered pre-enlightened or pre-modern conceptions of the body, sex and gender have persisted in functioning and affecting the social configuration of modern and contemporary society together with new perspectives. Therefore, the use of the word pre-enlightened or pre-modern in this investigation does not imply the assumption that a clear break in the conceptions about gender did exist. In fact, we are inclined to believe, because the sources tell us so, that the so called pre-modern and modern ideas have coexisted generating tensions, exchanges and interesting dialogues that have provoked complex historical changes in the experience of sex, gender and sexuality. For a very interesting approach to this position of non-linear transformation and coexistence of sexual difference models, see HARVEY (2002) and (2004).

¹⁰⁰ LAQUEUR (1990): 8.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

masculine one but formed inside-out because of the lack of health¹⁰². It could be suggested too that Christian theology, in its explanation of the creation of Eve as having been born from Adam's rib, offered its own version of women's inferiority but being formed out of the same God's substance, in his image and likeness.

This understanding of sexual difference was embedded in the social logic characteristic of the *Ancien Régime* that was marked by virulent misogyny and a very strong sense of social hierarchy¹⁰³. In this social and discursive framework, it was certainly very difficult for women to achieve perfection, at least at the same level that was recognised for men. However, there was room for exceptions and some women were able to achieve equal virtue and transcend their "supposed" inferiority through great deeds¹⁰⁴. It was a process of virilisation, spiritual, social and many times physical, that manifested in the acquirement of achievements limited to men¹⁰⁵. In line with this phenomenon, but with a slightly different object of analysis, it is worth recalling that, in the *Ancien Régime* societies, the change of sex and hermaphroditism were not strange phenomena. As Francisco Vázquez and Richard Cleminson have argued by following Foucaultian proposals, those societies were ruled by a regime of "sexo estamental", in which having one or another gender was not marked by genital sex but more similar to be part of one or another social rank where the transit between them was possible¹⁰⁶. As Aresti has formulated from a comparative perspective, those societies were characterised by the "relative weakness" of gender in relation to other categories of social identification. This would be the case of Basque traditional society –and even Basque traditionalist political cultures– where, from this understanding of gender, social hierarchy and national identity could be more important variables of social definition than gender, provoking in some cases the exceptionality of some women¹⁰⁷. This view could coexist with the aforementioned very strong misogyny without much conflict.

Laqueur's thesis, however, has been strongly questioned. Joan Cadden, in her *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science and Culture* argues that, even though there is an important amount of evidence that proves the theory of the "one-sex"

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁰³ BOLUFER (1998): 31.

¹⁰⁴ See BOLUFER (2000).

¹⁰⁵ See ARESTI (2007).

¹⁰⁶ CLEMINSON and VAZQUEZ (2012): 31-40.

¹⁰⁷ ARESTI (2007): 402; ARESTI (2010b): 28; ARESTI (2014a): 284.

model, it is not possible to defend the existence of a unique hegemonic model of sexual differentiation previous to the 18th century. In fact, for the long period of the Middle Ages, she suggests the existence of other multiple views in the understanding of the relation between body, sex and gender that go beyond Laqueur's proposal¹⁰⁸. Moreover, Cadden's approach defends the need to study anatomical and medical discourses in relation with the ideas about gender of their social broader context with which they interacted¹⁰⁹. Helen King, for her part, has more strongly criticised Laqueur's work because, among other reasons such as the limited selection of the sources and his "lack of close reading"¹¹⁰ of them, "the one-sex/two-sex model reduces complexity to simplicity"¹¹¹.

It is not my aim to contribute to confirm or refute the one-sex pre-enlightened body theory for the case of Basque sources. In fact, the sources analysed in this study are not medical and therefore my argument addresses other areas. Nevertheless, leaving aside the complex discussion of the alleged inaccuracies in the analyses of medical and anatomical sources, I believe that Laqueur's work puts forward important analytical and historical aspects that are useful to understand how sexual difference was built during the *Ancien Régime*. Firstly, his work showed the need to historicize the body and the need to pay attention to the always changing relation between the conception of body and gender. Secondly, that the sex of a body did not always function as the determining element of the gender of an individual. And thirdly, that neither sex nor gender were always the element that determined the social position of a subject, a fact that, in extremely misogynistic societies, facilitated spaces of exception –although narrow and very exigent– where certain women could exert their power and influence and be considered as virtuous –or even more– as men.

In recent years, nevertheless, several authors have argued that it seems necessary to rethink the relation between nature and culture in order to develop alternative explanatory frameworks to constructivism to understand the body. This attempt has received different names: the affective turn; the materialist turn; the paradigm of

¹⁰⁸ CADDEN (1995): 3. See as well PARK (2010).

¹⁰⁹ CADDEN (1995): 2.

¹¹⁰ KING (2013): xii.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, xi.

incorporation, new materialism, and so on¹¹². Many of the works from the history of gender and feminist studies have proposed a rematerialisation of the body, following readings of Baruch Spinoza, Maurice Merleau-Ponty or Gilles Deleuze, just to mention the most important influences¹¹³. The urge of rematerialisation has sometimes been claimed as a response to the need to combat the discursive determinism and abstract understandings of embodiment¹¹⁴.

This thesis agrees with the premises that have underlined the need to incorporate the emotional and affective dimension of the human being in its relation to the world as producers of meaning, identifications or complex subjective processes, and as equally valid triggers for historical change as ideas or abstract formulations. The role attributed to emotions in the *being* of the human beings was a huge change at the core of the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* and gender identities. The reflections of the body itself as sentient and emotional, the reflections about the emotionality of the body, were a major feature of the enlightened theories of this period. More specifically, the understanding of the body as a natural sentient matter that had to be taken care of and modelled to be socially functional, rather than as corrupted flesh that had to be punished, was an immense novelty in the context of the Basque Country of the eighteenth century. It certainly must have introduced ground-breaking changes in the way people felt their own bodies. Therefore, the centrality offered to the material dimension of the body introduces many explanatory elements.

Nevertheless, if matter is invoked, it has to be considering the very historicity of it, especially if we want to be cautious regarding the denaturalisation of the sexed bodies; materiality is not more absolute than language, and the question of the ontology of the body has to be answered from a historical perspective. Karen Barad's reflections on Butler's performative proposal of the materialization of the bodies might give us some clues about how to approach those issues. Firstly, because the author suggested many questions that seem especially interesting from the point of view of the history of gender and particularly for this investigation: "To what degree does the matter of bodies have its own historicity? Are social forces the only ones susceptible to change? Are not

¹¹² Among others see GROSZ (2004); BARAD (2003); DÍAZ (2007); VÁZQUEZ (2009); LARA y ENCISO (2013).

¹¹³ LILJESTRÖM and PAASONEN (2010).

¹¹⁴ LIVHOLTS and TAMBOUKOU (2015): 140.

biological forces in some sense always already historical ones?”¹¹⁵. Secondly, her proposal shows an interest to delve into the productive relation between physicality and discourse without the need to establish determined causalities in the emergence of meaning. It is a preoccupation with the historical becoming of matter, a preoccupation with the processes of how matter becomes not only meaningful but also *feelable* in its natural, social and cultural dimensions.

Therefore, the experience, the feeling, and the materiality of the sexed body are historical and diverse. Most importantly, this is not only because the sexed body acquires different meanings in different discursive contexts, but also because in the very experiences of being human and sexed beings, the weight and role of the body has been relative. The experience of the body has not been only a matter of scientific discourse. It has also been a matter of political, social, religious and other different discursive-material practices that have contributed to create certain conditions to feel and understand bodies and their social being. Throughout this thesis, I have encountered very diverse experiences of the body that directly affected how sexual difference and the relation between the sexes were understood. The emotional dispositions and body policies of mortification and occultation that the rigorous Catholic priests and preachers advocated, for example, created norms of conduct between men and women, including sexual behaviour, that were radically different from the way in which Enlightenment, influenced by natural sciences, medical, and hygiene theories, constructed them. Ultimately, my reading of the sources follows this question that might seem simple, but which is not: how does the body become gendered in relation to its context? I therefore believe that Butler’s philosophical and Scott’s historical preoccupation with the need to deconstruct the processes through which the body is gendered is still an interesting query for historical analysis.

4. Sources and chapters.

This investigation has relied primarily on the interpretative analysis of printed and manuscript sources. When I started this work, my aim was to conduct a research that would fundamentally analyse literary texts. The preliminary stages of this study during my Master’s degree had developed using almost exclusively literary sources or essays

¹¹⁵ BARAD (2003): 809.

of a similar kind. However, given the scarcity of written sources during the period in the Basque Provinces and the transversal nature of my interest in gender, once the doctoral research period began, I soon realized that I had to consider the value of any work that would let me glimpse how gender and sexual difference were arranged. The choice of the consulted sources has been made thanks to the guidance of the secondary literature of the period. This work, therefore, includes very different types of sources that have been organised chronologically.

The first chapter, which is devoted to the analysis of the post-Tridentine Catholic understanding of sexual difference, is fundamentally based on religious literature in different formats: sermons, prayer books, Catechisms, spiritual biographies, history works, and autobiographical essays which are difficult to classify. Some of the religious works are already classics of the history of Basque literature and therefore many of them have several existing print volumes or even digitalized copies of them available online. For the second chapter, which focuses on the contribution of Basque enlightened aristocracy, I have relied on printed and manuscript sources around the group *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*. Their *Extractos de Juntas*, which are records of their annual gatherings where they announced and debated their projects and initiatives, have been an importance resource. On many occasions, this source has redirected me to specific essays on the varied topics that were debated in the *Juntas*, from essays about education, experimental science, or arts, to essays on the morality of women. Their production also included various kinds of reposts, treatises, or ordinances, regarding interesting social topics. Furthermore, I have included the analysis of some of the erotic poems written by Felix María de Samaniego, which were not printed until the 20th century, but whose manuscripts circulated across different groups and reunions by the end of the 18th century. The third chapter, which tries to understand the counter-enlightened reaction –focusing on the religious response– to the changes that were taking place by the end of the century, is composed of different works of religious character and content: literary works and spiritual (auto)biographies¹¹⁶ have been granted special relevance. The fourth and final chapter, which is dedicated to the analysis of the revolutionary process of the beginning of the century until the end of the First Carlist War, has been mostly based on the press, a

¹¹⁶ This concept will be clarified later when mentioned.

source that progressively gained relevance as a means to express political and social ideas. Regarding this source, it has to be mentioned that, given the undeveloped state of the journalistic genre during the period, on many occasions the articles that have been cited did not include any title, the signature of the author, or even page numbers¹¹⁷. Together with examples from the press, I have included the analysis of popular literary expression that gained relevance too during that period, written verses, mostly written in Basque and aimed at reaching popular social sectors. Finally, personal letters and diaries have been sometimes extremely valuable documents in trying to understand the way in which normative discourses were built and received by individuals, and to analyse the complex –and sometimes tense– dialogue between different discourses that affected subjective formations.

Printed sources have been consulted mostly at the library of the University of the Basque Country and other institutions such as Fundación Sancho el Sabio and the library of the Sociedad Bilbaina. The manuscripts of the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* have been consulted at the Archivo del Territorio Histórico de Álava, especially in the Fondo Prestamero and Fondo de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País. I have also worked with different printed and manuscript sources in the Archivo General de Gipuzkoa, Koldo Mitxelena Kulturunea, the Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia, Archivo Eclesiástico de Bizkaia and the Museo Zumalakarregi. During my time at Queen Mary University of London as a Postgraduate Research Associate, I had the opportunity to work with different documents at the British Library and the Senate House Library. Press has been mostly consulted in the Microfilming Laboratory of the University of the Basque Country, the newspapers libraries (hemeroteca) of the University of the Basque Country and the library of the Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, the Fundación Sancho el Sabio and the library of the Basque Parliament. I have used the online servers of Hemeroteca Digital of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Biblioteca Digital of the Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, the Memoria Digital Vasca and the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica. Some of the classics of Basque literature are also available at the online servers Armiarma. Klasikoen Gordailua and at Liburuklik. Biblioteca Digital Vasca.

¹¹⁷ The references to the mentioned articles have been arranged as follows: article name (when possible), publication name, volume number, date and page numbers so that the articles are perfectly identifiable.

Finally, some remarks should be made about the language of the sources and the quotes throughout the text. The sources that have been analysed were all written in Basque language or Spanish. When the body of the text was written in English, the quotations have been translated in order to maintain homogeneity and readability. On these occasions, the original orthography and typography have been adapted to modern usage. However, in the cases in which the language of the sources coincided with that of the body of the text, the general rule has been to maintain the orthography and typography as similar to the original as possible.

Regarding the structure of the thesis, it has been chronologically arranged in four chapters, and begins with a first chapter dedicated to the analysis of the understanding of sexual difference of the post-Tridentine Catholic rigorous Basque preachers, priests and missionaries, who were mostly Jesuits, during the first half of the 18th century. During the whole of the 18th century, missions became a popular way through which the Counter Reformist agenda of the Catholic Church was spread across the Basque Provinces with the aim of reaching even the most isolated rural towns. Priests played an important role in transmitting not only the moral message but a whole way of living. This included the regulation of intimate life, manners and other corporal habits including the relation between the sexes. During the chapter, I try to analyse the way in which their understanding of the body, from a very rigorous version of the Catholic doctrine, affected the way they construed sexual difference in a non-binary oppositional structure. The chapter includes the analysis of Manuel de Larramendi's contribution to the creation of the Basque *foralist* tradition, one of the most important during the 18th century. His work is of immense relevance because his understanding of sexual difference intertwined his religious believes with his will to defend the provincial community.

The second chapter is devoted to the study of the changes that the enlightened aristocracy, gathered around the *Real Sociedad Bascongada*, introduced in relation to gender and sexual difference. Their works show that even if they were not revolutionary, they introduced a new sensibility, a new structure of feeling, in which subjects, the world and sexual difference were defined in radically different terms compared to strict Catholicism. Natural sciences, materialism, medicine, theories of hygiene, the process of civilization and luxury affected their understating of the human

and the body. The body emerged as a space where the truths about human nature, and the differences between the sexes, had to be found. Binary forms of understanding the differences between the sexes had always been at work through history. However, their works on women, men and the relationship between them are a clear example of the way in which the theories of the complementarity of the sexes and the essentialising views of gender became more and more important. The process of materialization and naturalization of the body and the human being through the arguments offered by natural sciences and moral philosophy of the period played a decisive role in this view. They offered a new model of sexual difference that was firmly based on the assumption that male and female bodies were naturally different and predetermined to fulfil different social roles. In contrast to the Catholic misogynist discourse, they offered a dignified view of femininity as the counterpart of a cultured masculinity. It was another way of structuring women's inferiority but with different consequences for the life of women and men. It could therefore be argued that the Basque context reaffirms, in general terms, the introduction of novelties regarding gender that is attributed to the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, they show several aspects, which bear important singularities and specificities, whose study will add complexity to the general context.

The new conceptions that the enlightened elite introduced did not replace, nevertheless, the influence exercised by strict Catholic conceptions. On the contrary, by the end of the 18th century, the context of the social crisis caused by the aftermath of the French revolution had caused in the Basque Country, together with the changes that were taking place in the social sphere, major anxiety amongst the religious community, which was manifested in a reinvigoration of Catholic rigorous and misogynistic views. The third chapter is precisely dedicated to analysing the reaction against the social transformations of the end of the century. The preoccupation with maintaining the values of the traditional community caused the reinvention of a Catholic Basque masculinity which was best exemplified in the Basque traditional farmer/patriarch as it was represented in Juan Antonio Moguel's literary dialogue, *Peru Abarca*. At the same time, the reinforcement of the patristic misogyny provoked important changes in the way in which sexual difference was structured in religious discourse. Some authors turned towards images of femininity that proposed absolute domestic isolation, while other authors revitalized the genre of spiritual biography and hagiography as a means to defend devote and pious models of femininity. Both tendencies maintained the same

strict understanding of the body, but, as we will see, their conceptions of sexual difference were different because the weight that they have granted to gender in the definition of being a woman –and a man– had changed.

Finally, the fourth chapter tries to establish a dialogue between the direct heirs of the different traditions mentioned above in the context of the revolutionary processes of the beginning of the century, which took an especially violent undertone in the Basque Provinces during 1833 and 1839. The social and political conflicts that arose during the convulsive period when the constitutional Monarchy was finally established had an unequivocal gendered dimension. It was not only that Liberalism and Carlism proposed radically different definitions of masculinity and femininity. Political discourses themselves were impregnated with gender views and meanings that served to undermine the position of the “enemy” and to legitimize their own project. The context of convulsion reflected in the instability of the definitions of sexual difference and gender order itself. In general terms, liberalism gave continuity to the complementarity of the sexes that enlightened thought had established. The atmosphere of instability, nevertheless, introduced important specific elements to the way in which revolutionary liberals defined femininity. The exaltation of feminine patriotism, which was characterized by its strong emotional content, functioned legitimating liberal sensibility. Women’s patriotic sentiments, which were also defended in their most warlike and heroic dimension, provoked important tensions in the debates about gender order. Even though the first constitutional exercise negated equal juridical and political status to women, the patriotic facet included important new elements in the way femininity and the social role and participation of women were thought. At the same time, the anti-liberal sectors that positioned against the social and political changes that were taking place worked hard trying to reconfigure the traditional models of the rural Basque devote masculinity and femininity. Those attempts, nevertheless, manifested their own tensions in a context where the hegemony of the strict Catholic discourse was being challenged by other arguments. Finally, I try to go into depth on the gendered dimension of the First Carlist War. The fact that the contraposition between Liberals and Carlists was personified by a dynastic confrontation between a man and a woman inevitably affected the arguments that they employed in their dispute. It has been my intention to discover the way in which this affected their proposals of sexual difference.

Chapter I: Body, sex and gender during the *Ancien Régime*: sexual difference between Catholic rigour and the importance of the province.

In this chapter, I propose to bring light to the way in which sexual difference was construed in the Basque Country during the first half of the 18th century. This investigation starts studying the period that precedes the important political, social and cultural changes that would strongly disrupt Basque, Spanish and European society by the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. I will focus on the first decades of the 18th century until 1760. My aim is to study a conceptualisation of the body and gender identity that was developed almost chronologically parallel to the political, cultural and scientific theories of Enlightenment in Europe and Spain. In contrast with the characteristic complementarity of the sexes that Enlightenment thought developed throughout the whole century, I will attempt to show an understanding of sexual difference that radically differs from it. Embedded in the social and cultural logics of the *Ancien Régime*, we will see that the relation between body and gender was understood according to different definitions. I am going to explore the idea that the meaning of what a woman and a man were and had to be, their gender identity, was not determined or fixed by their biological sex, but constructed through the relation between multiple identity categories such as religion, rank or community.

Even though they were still embedded in the social, economic and political structures of the *Ancien Régime*, the changes that enlightened thinkers and practices introduced during the long eighteenth century in the gender order were of decisive importance. That is why the studies about the gender roles and sexual difference that Enlightenment proposed have proliferated during the last decades, both in the Spanish and the European context, offering a great range of analytical approaches¹¹⁸. However, the lines of investigations that have focused on the traditional or the tendencies that were not rupturist with the gender order of the *Ancien Régime* during the same period are

¹¹⁸ For Spanish cases see BOLUFER (1998), (2003), (2007); PEREZ and MÓ (2000); MORANT (2004a), (2004b), (2004c); AMOROS (2005), (2007); SMITH (2006); CANTOS (2008); BLANCO (2010). For the international outlook, see the comprehensive KNOTT and TAYLOR (2005); O'BRIEN (2009); CARR (2014).

scarcer¹¹⁹. Despite the fact that those works have created important milestones, there are still aspects that deserve a deeper analysis, especially in what refers to the study of the historical meanings attributed to the gender differences, politically, culturally, socially and medically built. The importance of the analysis that I present lies in the assumption that in the period to be studied new visions coexisted, debated and competed with already established gender views. The appearance and development of enlightened ideals did not erase or created a sudden rupture with traditional views. In the case of the Basque Country, visions of long roots, like the post-Tridentine catholic understanding of gender, would try to reinforce their dominion and social presence during the eighteenth century, undergoing in this process important variations and resignifications forced by the changes in the social and discursive context.

Taking into account that during the 18th and also 19th centuries, the Church and its clergy were important socialising agents in Basque society that were able to permeate social practices¹²⁰, collective and individual, through preaching, mass and specially, through missions and confession, in what follows we will firstly focus on the account of their Catholic conceptualization of the body. Through catechism, essays, and sermons Jesuit missionaries, popular among rural population, proposed an understanding and an experience of one's own body and flesh that privileged the soul as the medium to experience reality and the self. I will argue that the relation of the Catholic conception of the body with gender facilitated an understanding of sexual difference that was radically different to the characteristic complementarity of the sexes that Enlightenment introduced. The Catholic body about which missionaries preached was not defined so much by its sexed nature, but by its finitude and by the fact that it constituted the prison of the soul, being this last one the true holder of human essence. The Catholic misogynistic discourse about women was deeply rooted and coexisted with the defence of a similar model of feminine and masculine perfection that was based on the control of passions and the mortification of the body. We will see that in catechisms, doctrines and sermons, where family life was configured, women and men, wives and husbands, even though they were supposed to hold different roles and power positions, were required to have very similar patterns and models of Christian virtue and devotion. Even

¹¹⁹ LÓPEZ-CORDON (1986), (1994), (1998); MORANT (1989); SÁNCHEZ (1992); PÉREZ et al (1994). For the case of the Basque Country, see: VALVERDE (1988); OLIVERI (2001); ALTUNA (2003): 267-288; (2012): 290-314.

¹²⁰ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 24-25; VALVERDE (1994): 46-52, 124; MADARIGA (2004).

though women were marked by the negative values attributed to them as the original sinners, they were, in cases of exceptional religiosity and piety, allowed to gain equal perfection –or even more– compared to men. This experience was exemplified by the hagiographic literature and biographies of religious women, a genre that was still operating as a resource for indoctrination that the Church used during the 18th century¹²¹.

Moreover, I will analyse the way in which Basque Catholic rigorousness built gender ideals in relation to social status and rank. I will try to show that even though missionaries forcefully condemned the luxury and the excesses of nobility, they were in fact trying to invest aristocrats' social position with a religious content –based on honourable and exemplary austerity and piety– that, the eyes of Jesuit missionaries, Spanish and Basque aristocracy were prone to ignore. Basque Jesuits' words about some noble women and some queens will show the way in which the relative weakness of gender operated. In the definition of their honourableness and excellence, the weight of their social significance as aristocrats, understood as being representatives of the highest and purest religious values, was important enough to eclipse the negative values attributed to femininity. In this way, from a religious standpoint, they re-created a discourse of feminine excellence that they combined with their inherent misogyny.

My aim is to show that not only social status but also other aspects like community identity could sometimes be a more important social variable than sex in the definition of femininity and masculinity. This is the case of the construction of sexual difference proposed by the Jesuit and regionalist author from Andoain (Gipuzkoa), Manuel de Larramendi (1690-1766). Being as he was a member of The Society of Jesus and having worked as a confessor, Larramendi shared an important religious content with the authors mentioned above, although with some relevant differences. His contribution is of special interest because his defence of the traditional laws of the province of Gipuzkoa in a context of the Bourbon Dynasty's State recentralization¹²² will show an understanding of the relation and differences between the sexes that was intimately embedded in the construction of provincial identity. In order to describe the inhabitants of the province as the bearers of the community's exceptionality, he proposed a model

¹²¹ DURÁN (2003): 29.

¹²² DE LA GRANJA, DE PABLO and RUBIO (2011): 13.

of virile perfection that represented the moral and physical superiority of the province to which all the people from Gipuzkoa, men and women indistinctively, had to correspond. As a result, he offered images of femininity and masculinity that differed from the binarism of biological basis: virile women peasants, strong amazons-warriors and austere and pious farmers were the feminine referents that he proposed to respond the excellence of the province.

Ultimately, what I want to show in this chapter is that, even if the 18th century is usually characterised as the century in which sexual binarism gained relevance, there existed other understandings and experiences of femininity and masculinity that not only preceded Enlightenment, but that coexisted with it and continued to exist for a long time. Through the analysis of Catholic literature as well as the regionalist defence of Manuel de Larramendi, we will see that during the *Ancien Régime*, sex did not function as an ontological category and that therefore the limits of what a woman or a man should be were more ambiguous and flexible than they would later become once they started to be understood from a biology-based point of view.

1.1. The Catholic body of Jesuit missionaries and priests in the Basque Country.

In this section, I will focus on the conception of the body and the ways in which it was socialised through popular Catholic missions. Misogyny marked women's body with the sign of the original sin, with the burden of human disgrace. However, this misogyny coexisted with a conception of the human body that allowed certain virtuous women to share similar grades of Christian perfection with men. Catholicism understood human body (women's and also men's) as something corrupted and perishable. Described in religious terms, the body was an undefined mass of flesh that women and men had to mortify and transcend. The true essence of human beings was located in their soul, after all. They therefore defended an experience of reality and the self in which spirituality was the principal channel of virtuous life. What I would like to suggest is that, even though the sexed body was important, insofar as it made it much harder on women to achieve virtue, in the experience of Christian virtue, the sex of body did not imply any difference between women's and men's perfection; both could achieve similar grades and forms of sanctity. The achievement of sanctity, the complete transcendence of the body and its passions responded to the same path for women and men: the overcoming of the limits that their bodies imposed upon their soul. This seems even more important

if we consider that during the first half of the eighteenth-century debates about the difference or equality of capacities between women and men took place –following the wake of the classical “querelle des femmes”– from emerging Enlightenment thinkers such as Benito Jerónimo de Feijóo.

During the whole eighteenth century, the Catholic Church promoted the missionary activity in order to reinforce the Tridentine message among the population. The aim of missionaries and confessors was to regulate every corporal aspect of the inhabitants of the villages and towns they visited. As Charles C. Noel suggested, “The missionary was not only a superpriest but also an itinerant teacher of Christian social virtue”¹²³. The reforms introduced by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) were not established in the Basque Country until the 18th century as the works carried out by Belen Altuna or Lola Valverde have stated¹²⁴. During this century, the practices of Christianisation carried out by priests and missionaries were of decisive importance in the reconfiguration of popular customs and habits, not only in the Basque Country but also in other provinces in the context of a late Counter Reformist spirit of the *Ancien Régime* in Spain¹²⁵. During the first half of the 18th century, one of the most active and important congregation in the evangelization of the rural population in the Basque Country was the Society of Jesus, founded in 1534 by Ignacio de Loyola, born in Gipuzkoa. Pedro de Calatayud (1698-1773) was one of its most famous missionaries of the organization, and he promoted and carried out several missions throughout the north of Spain. He was from Tafalla, in Navarre, but his pastoral activities in the Basque Provinces made him well known for his orthodoxy and conservatism. In fact, soon before the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish Kingdom in 1767, the Council of Castilla processed Calatayud’s famous work *Doctrinas Prácticas* [*Practical Doctrines*] after the Consulate of Bilbao, the institution that gathered the businessmen from the city, had sued him for

¹²³ NOEL (1985): 871. Noel examines the social impact of missionary preaching in Spain during the 18th century through the analysis of four missionaries: Pedro de Calatayud, Antonio Garcés, Diego José de Cádiz and Miguel de Santander. For an extensive historical, philosophical and theological analysis of missions and their meanings in the Basque Country see ALTUNA (2003), (2012).

¹²⁴ ALTUNA (2003): 16; VALVERDE (1994): 124. In fact, if we read Basque religious texts from previous periods we will easily certify that references to the Council of Trent are practically none, whereas in the religious production of the eighteenth century, they are omnipresent.

¹²⁵ For a comparative view that analyses the case of Catalonia in the Spanish Counter Reformist context of the *Ancien Régime*, see GELABERTÓ (2003). In this doctoral thesis the author studies the ways in which the official Church tried to institutionalise popular religious habits and customs according to official standards of the Christian practices and the resistances that arose against this process of evangelization. For an approach to the analytic treatment of religious sources in Spain during the *Ancien Régime* see GELABERTÓ (2004).

having written and preached against their commercial activities¹²⁶. Among the Jesuit missionaries that preached in the Basque language, Agustín de Cardaberaz (1703-1770) and Sebastian Mendiburu (1708-1782) were the most relevant. Like Calatayud, they followed and practiced in their real life the strictest precepts of Catholic orthodoxy. Due to this severity and strictness (not only regarding culture or education, but also economic activities), some landowners and noblemen, already interested in the new cultural and economic views proposed by enlightened trends, saw them with suspicion¹²⁷. As we will later see, they even had confrontations with other Jesuit members, such as Manuel de Larramendi, especially regarding the topic of popular dances. However, as Otazu and Díaz de Durana have argued, those missionaries enjoyed a favourable reputation among rural secular clergy and population, precisely because they developed their missionary activity in the vernacular language and because they were somehow seen as being part of the popular sectors¹²⁸. This might be one of the reasons that would explain the success of moral rigorousness even after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus¹²⁹.

The clerical presence and influence in Basque society had become quite relevant¹³⁰; in fact, according to the available data the number of priests doubled that of the other Spanish provinces¹³¹. Their evangelistic practices among the remotest villages of the Basque Provinces were very intense, both in content and in form. As part of a strategy for inculcating Tridentine principles in the practices of the rural population, their aims included an effort to standardise and dignify the pastoral work of the regular clergy; the configuration of family life; the relation between parents and their children; the relation between masters and servants; the development of educated manners; and, of course, the regulation of the relation between women and men and sexuality. It is very important to stress the idea that with their words the priests did not only want to Christianise their congregations, but specifically to inculcate a Christian and, in their understanding, civilized way of living to the humblest population. It was not enough

¹²⁶ TELLECHEA (1994); OTAZU and DÍAZ DE DURANA (2008): 563-567.

¹²⁷ OTAZU and DÍAZ DE DURANA (2008): 405-419 and 567.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 630.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 417.

¹³⁰ TELLECHEA (1988): 349.

¹³¹ ALTUNA (2003): 19. This might be explained by the fact that in the Basque Country, the great estates of the families could not be divided among all the heirs; only one could inherit the property. It was usual that the rest of the sons and daughters would choose the religious life.

being a good Christians and fearful of God: the acts of praying, confessing and meditating outside of church had to follow strict and daily rituals. Their regulation of moral behaviour was not only concerned with transforming mentalities, but especially with the creation of corporal habits, including the relation between male and female bodies on their path to achieving Christian virtue.

The figure of the confessor in this process of Christianisation is decisive¹³². In catechisms and doctrines, they appeared and were described with reference to the analogy of the physician that inspects and cures the soul. As the Jesuit missionary Sebastian Mendiburu put it, “The confessor is the doctor” adding that “the doctor cannot cure the patient that hides his illness from him”¹³³. This second part is characteristic of what Foucault called “confessional animal”¹³⁴. It refers to a subjectivisation technique that, as the French author put it, since the 18th century became one of the principal strategies of sexual and moral control of human beings. The sources reinforce the Foucaultian thesis of the process of construction of the truth about sex, the development of a *scientia sexualis* typical of western societies. In Calatayud’s words, in the same way that anatomical science was necessary for physicians and surgeons, “The Preachers, Missionaries, and Workers of God’s Church have to make, whenever is possible, anatomy of consciences, unravelling the vices, and passions, their origin and their causes” and in that way, with the help of the “knife” of God’s divine word, they could “cut, hurt, and separate; because it is alive, and it is efficient, and penetrates more than the double-edged sword [...] until thoughts themselves and the intentions of the heart are divided”¹³⁵. The analogy is certainly very important, because the confessor was invested with the authority to define what was healthy and unhealthy in the most intimate aspects of life, especially when the danger involved carnal temptation. In fact, it could be safely claimed that during the *Ancien Régime*, confessors were presented as the authority on, and the specialists about, sexual matters. It seems evident, that in the development of the *scientia sexualis*, the conceptualization and the experience of the body was a very relevant aspect in order to guide and channel men’s

¹³²About sexuality and confession see: FOUCAULT (1980); MORGADO (2004). About confession see also DELUMEAU (1992).

¹³³MENDIBURU (1982a): 486.

¹³⁴FOUCAULT (1980): 36.

¹³⁵CALATAYUD (1737): without number.

and women's behaviours and habits. This was regulated through practices of techniques of occultation and mortification of the body.

As mentioned, misogyny marked the Catholic understanding about the feminine body. From the beginning, Early Modernity texts such as Fray Luis de León's *La Perfecta Casada* [*The Perfect Married Woman*] (1584) established an important foundation for the ideals of the Catholic models of femininity that would put down roots in the world views of successive centuries. The misogynistic nature of the Catholic discourse in Spain, mostly based on Biblical and Patristic sources, is very well known¹³⁶. In the Basque Country, Basque-French Christian authors of the 16th and 17th centuries such as Pedro Agerre Azpilikueta (1556-1644), best known as Axular, also contributed to the construction of the Christian misogynistic view in his famous *Gero* [*After*] (1643). Usually exemplified by the image of Eve and other Biblical women¹³⁷, danger, temptation and disorder of passions were the most common "diseases" that women caused on men: "Firstly a great love, in the end enraged lovesickness. During the first day, embraces, the next one, beatings. From friendship to enmity, love becomes dislike"¹³⁸. During the first half of the 18th century, one of the main sources for Basque priests and missionaries was Gaspar de Astete's Catechism, together with the patristic literature, the Council of Trent and Augustinian references. All of them were impregnated with the traditional negative values attributed to women in the mentality of the theocratic *Ancien Régime* society in Spain¹³⁹. "There was a fascinating woman that used to release such poisonous qualities" advised Calatayud to incontinent men, "who by fixing her eyes on a man, could kill him or leave him sick [...]. Those are the eyes of women: if they do not hurt, or perturb the body with the fire of lust, they cut the heart with desire"¹⁴⁰.

The Catholic view of the human body, nevertheless, deserves a closer reading in order to understand the ways in which misogyny was related to and affected the construction of sexual difference. As Roy Porter has explained, from its very beginning the Church understood body and soul as metaphors of a continuous battle between impure and pure

¹³⁶ MÍNGUEZ (2014): 182-195; IBERO (1994): 98-100; MATTHEWS (1992): 86

¹³⁷ MÍNGUEZ (2016): 134.

¹³⁸ AGERRE (1643): 202.

¹³⁹ LÓPEZ-CORDÓN (1994); ORTEGA (1999); PRADO (2015).

¹⁴⁰ CALATAYUD (1739): 175.

forces¹⁴¹. The body was, thus, the field of combat of this permanent war that every penitent had to go through if they wanted to reach heaven. Christian theology, even though there were differences between epochs and trends –Neo-Platonists; neo-Aristotelians; followers of Augustinian formulation or adherents to Thomas Aquinas’s words; Reformists or Counter-Reformists– considered the human being as a divided entity between body and soul. Body was the earthly material, corruptible, perishable and in a process of decomposition. Soul was also corruptible, of course, but it was closest to virtue, perfection and God¹⁴². It was the place where will and virtue resided. The soul had to work denouncing every carnal temptation, and as Michel Foucault stated decades ago in his famous *Surveiller et Punir* (1975), it functioned as the prison of the body¹⁴³.

This very problematic relation between body and soul marked the doctrine and practices of Basque Catholic priests, missionaries and confessors during the first half of the 18th century. The Jesuit Pedro de Calatayud dedicated the first chapter of his *Doctrinas Prácticas* (1737), titled *Sobre las pasiones del hombre* [*Concerning Men’s Passions*], to present an eclectic anthropology of the human being. Men and women were composed of three dimensions: animal, rational and spiritual¹⁴⁴. The first one which was guided by passions and the sensual world, corresponded to the body and flesh and

¹⁴¹ PORTER (2004): 38.

¹⁴² It is interesting to point out, however, that medievalist authors such as Caroline Bynum have questioned this clear opposition between body and soul. Bynum has defended that during Middle Ages, the understanding of the relationship between body and soul was much more complex and heterogeneous, and similarly its gender forms and categories were far from being monolithic: “The Middle Ages was a cacophony of discourses”, BYNUM (1995): 7. In fact, she has criticized that the assumption that Christianity always conceptualized body and soul as mutually exclusive entities is an ahistorical belief, a stereotype more likely to be applicable to Cartesian thought, rather to medieval theology or Christian practices in general. Bynum has suggested that the characterization of Christian thought as guided by a dualism that understands the body as corrupted, perishable and putrefied –a negative view– against a spiritual soul is not applicable to the medieval period. Even more, she has defended that in the Middle Ages the materiality of the body, “the extravagant attention to flesh and decay characteristic of the period is not “flight from” so much as ‘submersion in’”, BYNUM (1995): 14-15. Without denying the validity of such accounts, which in fact seem analytically very attractive and productive for the medieval period, it seems that Catholic theology during modernity presents a different account of the body and soul and their relation. The sources I have been working with, as we will see, show that the dualistic view “corrupted body” vs “immortal soul” was certainly highly operational in Catholic theology and practices during the eighteenth century, at least in the Basque Country and the rest of Spain. It would therefore be really interesting to investigate the processes by which the conceptions of the body and soul mutated along the 16th and 17th centuries both in religious or purely scientific discourses. What was the role and impact of the Council of Trent, and its applications, in the conception of the body in Catholic theology and in general? What was the effect of European modern rationalism in those mutations? How and to what extent was religious thought, including Catholicism, affected by the dualistic conception of philosophical/scientific rationalism?

¹⁴³ FOUCAULT (2002): 30.

¹⁴⁴ CALATAYUD (1737): 3.

therefore was nothing more than a slave; the second one followed reason and acted according to honourable values and corresponded to the intellect, will and rationality; while the last one only acted upon God's will and orders, as saints or apostles did. This very negative understanding of the human being, the body and sensual passions that creep up on it was complemented with a defence of mortification and punishment of flesh in order to make it docile. As Calatayud said, "the body, and its appetites, which are of the race of slaves, cannot be governed by reason, or love, or softness, but by fear, and punishment"¹⁴⁵. The recommendation of the confessor was, of course, mortification: "Father, and how are we supposed to defeat temptation? The first way could be positively and effectively resisting the enjoyment of appetite through some kind of penal affliction, especially with fasting, or using the cilice",¹⁴⁶ or as formulated in Basque, "Penitencia, edo sentiduen mortificacioa deritzan virtute au beti da chit bearra. Alere onetan utseguin nai ezpadezu, ez cere buruaz gobernatu, baicic Confesore jaquinsu celo oneco batez" [Penitence, or the virtue which consists of the mortification of the senses, is extremely useful. Nevertheless, if you do not want to make mistakes, do not trust your conscience, but the wise and devoted Confessor]¹⁴⁷.

The way to live in a sanctified way on earth necessarily involved the mediation of the body, but the aim was to transcend flesh and all its passions. In this regard, I believe that in Catholic discourse, the body had an ambivalent meaning and it was in transition. It was ambivalent because even though flesh was from its origin marked with everything that was wrong, perverted and sinful, it was the physical medium necessary to live the earthly life. It was therefore permeated with values such as dirtiness, incontinence and lasciviousness, while at the same time it was advised that through ascetic practices it was possible to follow perfection like that of the recurrent images of saints like St. Isidro, St. Joaquin or St. Anne. Moreover, it was in transition because it was located in a space and time between life and death; it was temporary and perishable.

More than three decades ago, the Italian historian Piero Camporesi, focusing on the cultural dimension of the Christian culinary and eating habits in the Italian Post-

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁴⁶ CALATAYUD (1739): 175.

¹⁴⁷ CARDABERAZ (1973d): 357.

Tridentine context, described the Catholic understanding of the relation between the need to eat and follow a holy life as suffering from “neurotic bulimia”¹⁴⁸. The term was used to describe the contradiction between the need to feed oneself and, as a consequence of the pleasure gained, the need of constant penance. This “disorder” could be extended to define the Catholic conceptualization of the human being which fluctuated between the well-known decay of the flesh and the achievement of spiritual perfection. The problem of the flesh was resolved by transcending it through mortification, as the examples of the saints proposed. The proposal for a good life was to live spiritually in a sensual world, or in other words, to live as if the material body did not exist –repressing every sensual need or impulse– but through a very material body.

In the European and Spanish context of an intense scientific, philosophical and theological discussion between materialist conceptions of the world and human beings and their detractors¹⁴⁹, Basque Catholic priests did not offer any elaborate definition of the human body, apart from the vague dualistic view presented above, derived from Christian interpretations of classical sources. Heir to the humoral theory of Galenic ascendancy, the body in their understanding was nothing more than a series of passions, appetites, forces, ardours, fluctuating humours and moods. “the passions of animals are *corporal* and, as the Philosopher says, they are movements of the sensuous appetite, guided by good, or by evil, through which the heart is affected or altered through the senses”¹⁵⁰. And it was described through a language that conceptualised the body, not as a natural organism, but more like a mere mass of flesh and humours that were affected, moved and driven by passions, by the force of the heavenly bodies and stars. It was, of course, in need of the constant mediation of God’s love. As Calatayud explained of his own physical experience: “Sometimes I feel that the melancholic vessels spill out and that my Heart is covered with various affections, and sad thoughts, pusillanimous [...], and it is necessary to turn to God”¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁸ CAMPORESI (1988): 72.

¹⁴⁹ About the French and European debate see: MOSCOSO (2000). About the debate in Spain see: SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (1997): 22-23, (1999).

¹⁵⁰ CALATAYUD (1737): 2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 2-3.

What we see is that in Catholic discourse, bodily and material experiences, even the experience of one's own flesh and daily life's reality, were always mediated and defined through a conception of the soul that equated one's own spirit with the spirit of God. Body had to be experienced not as something material but as something purely spiritual. This is clearly expressed by Pedro Antonio Añibarro in his translation of the *Ramillete Espiritual* [*Spiritual bouquet*] (1765) of the missionary Francisco Antonio Palacios: "once the soul has abandoned the body, even if it was beautiful, it becomes ugly and horrible [...] consider how soon even the strongest and firmest body putrefies when it is left without the soul"¹⁵². The life and health of the body depended completely on the soul, the spirit of God. Stained by sin the soul was death and the body was nothing more than a zombie: "...the rude, the blasphemous, the swearing, and the sinful man lives inside a beautiful big body [...] many men that are dead in their souls are dead inside their body, which is like a sepulchre that moves them"¹⁵³.

In contrast with the notions of constant evolution, progress, optimism and infinite human possibilities that characterized enlightened thought¹⁵⁴, the idea that human body and earthy life were filthy and finite was something that Basque priests liked to remind their parishioners constantly. The pessimism of Catholicism's understanding of the world seems evident, insofar as they urged their penitents to experience death as the most important moment of humans' life on earth¹⁵⁵. The exercise of imagining oneself on the verge of death and the last judgement was a usual practice that confessors and missionaries used to recommend to their penitents: "Consider the predicament of your last agony, and try to imagine how you would feel in the last battle of your death"¹⁵⁶ wrote Agustín Cardaberaz, a Jesuit priest and missionary from Gipuzkoa. This method, or subjectivisation technique¹⁵⁷, to use Foucauldian terminology, was not only useful for imposing fear on sinful penitents to dissuade them from the vices, so that they could avoid a terrible agony at the moment of death: it was used to inculcate a certain experience of one self's body, flesh and all the pleasures attached to it. It was used in

¹⁵² AÑIBARRO (1803): 102-103. Añibarro translated in 1803 his *Lora-sorta espiritual* from Francisco Antonio Palacios' *Ramillete Espiritual*, written in 1765 after an intense practice of missions.

¹⁵³ CALATAYUD (1737): 55.

¹⁵⁴ For an account of the Enlightenment that underlines its potential for human emancipation, see: ISRAEL (2013) and (2006).

¹⁵⁵ ALTUNA (2003): 329.

¹⁵⁶ CARDABERAZ (1974c): 311.

¹⁵⁷ FOUCAULT (1990): 26.

order to incorporate the experience that they were completely useless because the only thing that would matter to God in afterlife was one's own soul. Therefore, only the spiritually strong and the materially austere would die and live eternally in peace. Human perfection on earth consisted mainly of the capacity to restrain passions and pleasures through austerity and mortification, and, with the help of the proper confessor, to gain spiritual serenity based on the love/fear of God.

In this regard, Cardaberaz, in the same way that he advised his male penitents, advised his young female parishioners also to follow the example of Josepha de Larramendi (1642-1725), a saintly girl from Azkoitia, the daughter of two poor peasants, whose biography he translated from Spanish to Basque¹⁵⁸. The story of Josepha, that was in fact a long spiritual biography, narrated all aspects of Josepha de Larramendi's life: her birth, her miraculous virtue, all the temptations that the devil put in her way, all the help that she offered to lost souls that look for her advice and the way in which she became the abbess of the convent Santa Cruz of Recoletas of Santa Brigida in Azkoitia. In other words, Cardaberaz narrated the way in which she became an authoritative religious figure.

She was a saintly young girl, a "jewel of heaven" as he said, that with tremendous spiritual strength and mortification, and the help of her confessor, defeated evil temptations gaining the supreme love of God.

"From that teaching, good Christian, or virtuous little girl, I want you to learn a piece of good advice. Imagine the moment of your death, and ask yourself: What would I want in that moment? To have lived like the rich and the proud that are ambitious, vain, sick with arrogance, and slaves to their appetites? Or would you like to die like the humble and quiet Josefa, who lived having been born poor, having lived like honest people, working hard to help her parents in earning their living, eating little, praying and doing hard penance; without great knowledge [...] but full of the love and light of heaven, always alive, and in peace? Which of them would you prefer? Well, it is in my hand: with the grace

¹⁵⁸ The original was written in Spanish by the confessor of Josepha de Larramendi, Agustín Ignacio de Aguirre, friend of Cardaberaz. One of the versions written in Spanish is kept in the Biblioteca Central de los Padres Capuchinos, Pamplona.

of the Lord it is in my hand: and soon it will not be. Then, devote yourself to it: get down to it willingly. From now on we can start to live a saintly life: and like for her, death will become the door of heaven for us too”¹⁵⁹.

Death was the condition to access heaven, true life, as long as the soul had been kept protected from sin. This example about the way in which girls were advised to follow the example of saintly women, shows that the path to perfection, the need to transcend flesh and cultivate spiritual virtue, was quite similar for men and women. Even more, Cardaberaz narrated extreme moments of fervour where Josepha de Larramendi was depicted as being much stronger than men: “she had to endure and defeat the harshness of steep roads covered in snow in a very short period of time. They started to climb the frozen-fountain; but Josepha was driven by wings of love. Her father was a very strong man, but he could not follow the beautiful pace of his daughter”¹⁶⁰. This could be interpreted as the overcoming of her supposedly female physical weakness acquiring characteristics restricted to males: speed, endurance and resistance. However, Cardaberaz could be implying that her religiosity and piety were able to move her far beyond the most evident expressions of human force: male strength. I think that in Cardaberaz tale she was not embodying characteristics attributed to men, but values attributed to the non-human/super-human; she was the embodiment of the overcoming of humanity. This could be equally applied to male cases of sanctity. They did not represent mere masculine perfection, but the overcoming of all negative values attributed to men, to human kind. This may be very interesting, insofar as it invites us to think about the notions of virility –applicable to men, but also to women– in *Ancien Régime* Catholic mentality. The figures of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Teresa de Jesus, insistently used by Basque Jesuits in their Catechisms and doctrines, were the quintessential expression of quasi-divine humanity. Thus, the paradox that I mentioned above seems evident now: men’s and women’s perfection and virtue resided in the incorporation of non-corporal spiritual attributes. Josepha herself was acknowledged a Christian and biblical erudition that she had developed “miraculously”, without the intermediation of any education: “We do not know from where or how, if like Angels or like Virgin Mary’ in her first appearance, but from the immediate understanding of reason, like the learned ones, she offered a perfect account of the divine doctrine and the

¹⁵⁹ CARDABERAZ (1974d): 385.

¹⁶⁰ CARDABERAZ (1974d): 338.

mysteries of faith without teachers or any school”¹⁶¹. Words like these show that it was, after all, a mentality where men, despite being human, and also women, despite being human and women –even a lesser form of humanity–, could achieve similar levels of sanctity.

I believe that the most interesting aspect of this “Catholic body” is that it was defined from a discourse that privileged spirituality and the soul as the spaces for human perfection, while the body was left at a crossroads between a sensual world charged with negative values and the need to transcend it, in a space of material indefiniteness. This directly affected the way in which gender was built. The experience of body on earth appeared saturated by a spirituality that needed the constant mortification of the body, regulated through different authoritative mechanisms like preaching, or more importantly, through confession. In a very pessimistic view of the world and of human life on earth, both women and men were called to transcend their bodies and human passions to truly live in the realm of virtue. What we see is that, since the place where human perfection could be found did not reside in their bodies, the sexed body did not function as an element of differentiation between masculine and feminine models of perfection.

It is interesting to interpret this pastoral practice and their gender view in relation to a debate that was taking place contemporarily in Spain. I refer to the intellectual, medical and theological discussions that reactivated many of the features of the classical ‘querelle des femmes’ in relation to the changes in the conception of gender that Enlightenment was introducing¹⁶². The authors and sources we are analysing in this section did not actively participate in this intellectual debate. Their practice and discourses did not belong to the sphere of the intellectual debate of the academic world, but to that of the pastoral and evangelistic practice. However, it is interesting to locate their words about sex and gender in relation to the discourses that the Spanish *intelligentsia* was highlighting because, apart from widening our understanding of the discursive multiplicity about gender meanings, it may be useful to illustrate the

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 385-386.

¹⁶² See BOLUFER (1998): 29-62. About the “querella” from a more general perspective see: BOLUFER and CABRE I PAIRET (2013); RAMÍREZ et. al. (2011).

differences between intellectual debates, the ideas and practices that some social sectors, like Basque priests, were trying to inculcate.

One of the main contributors to the defence of women's intellectual equality compared to men was Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (1676-1764), the Galician Benedictine monk who has been considered as one of the precursors of early Spanish Enlightenment thought¹⁶³. In fact, the innovation that Feijóo's "Defensa de las mujeres" [*Defence of Women*] introduced was precisely the rejection of the traditional argument of women's 'excellence' –characteristic of hierarchic *Ancien Regime* societies– to propose an understanding of the relation between the sexes based on rational equality¹⁶⁴. Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez have argued that "it would appear that Padre Feijóo anticipated all the aspects of the dimorphous and naturalist model" that was fully developed by the end of the eighteenth century. However, the authors conclude by suggesting the weakness of Feijóo's 'modernity' precisely because the Galician author justified the superiority of men above women with theological arguments: while men and women shared equal mental capacities, men were superior because God had created them with other virtues such as "constancy and fortitude"¹⁶⁵. The authors confront Feijóo's indeterminate dimorphism to one of his contemporary fellow's proposal, the physician and philosopher Martín Martínez of Madrid, whose *Anatomía Completa del Hombre* [*Complete Anatomy of the Man*] (1728) signified the "triumph of sexual dimorphism"¹⁶⁶. Cleminson and Vázquez suggest that despite the analogy that Martinez made between the female clitoris and penis following the isomorphic tradition, the physician's emphasis on its differences and the consideration of the clitoris as the organ for female pleasure indicates a break on the one-sex model pointing out a deviation toward sex complementarity¹⁶⁷. Mónica Bolufer, on the other hand, has argued that the physical differences between men and women were of minimum importance in Feijóo's view because he based his argument on a conception of reasoning as an unsexed faculty and Christian soul as being neither male nor female¹⁶⁸. For the Galician Benedictine, the sexed body was not a condition or a foundational element able to signify feminine or masculine virtue.

¹⁶³ SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (1999): 61-116.

¹⁶⁴ BOLUFER (1998): 39.

¹⁶⁵ CLEMINSON and VÁZQUEZ (2016): 77-78.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 79.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 80.

¹⁶⁸ BOLUFER (1998): 47.

In this discursive context where the definition of the differences between men and women and the limits of their equality were being discussed, Basque Catholicism, through its textual production and pastoral practice, was proposing its own view of sexual difference. They did not defend women's intellectual equality with men; quite the contrary, their misogyny was incompatible with any universal assumption of this kind. However, the Catholic anthropology, in its inclination to privilege the soul as the sphere of human perfection, opened up spaces for the exception and allowed similar levels of perfection for some women, even for those from lower classes, although this was, together with their sex, another handicap that they had to overcome if they showed enough doses of devotion and piety. The fact that women could sometimes achieve high standards of perfection was a possible exception but not a necessary rule in a social frame marked by a very strict moral and social hierarchy. An exception, nevertheless, that Basque priests were trying to portray as attractive and achievable to the girls whose behaviour they wanted to guide. Cases like Josepha's –that was used in order to show that the exception was in fact possible– show that in the path of virtue that they proposed, the role played by her sex lost the negative force that it could have imposed upon her, precisely because through her piety, devotion and the mortification of her flesh, she was transcending her body, with all the traces of her filthy humanity.

In what follows, I will try to explain the ways in which this understanding of the human being shaped the way in which missionaries and priests tried to configure the relation between men and women in their private life and the social spaces they shared. The definition of matrimony appears as a privileged territory of analysis for understanding the definitions of femininity and masculinity and their experiences. The characterization of motherhood is another very important aspect that we will consider in this regard. Finally, it will be suggested that the ideal masculinity and femininity that they proposed were based on similar models of perfection.

1.2. The ideals of femininity and masculinity for the reformation of social life: family, marriage and motherhood.

After having presented the notions of the body that operated in the Catholic mentality of the Basque clerics of the period, in this section, we will see that the problematic

understanding of the relation between the virtuous soul and the corrupted body affected the ways in which marriage, motherhood and family life were depicted. Even if the control of the relation between the sexes of counter-reformist social project of Basque missionaries and priest imposed the heaviest burden upon women, I will argue that it is important to relate it to their views about masculinity. I believe that in order to understand the nature and the meanings of the Catholic misogyny during the first half of the 18th century, we have to relate it to its masculine counterpart since they were also expected to respond to the rigours of the Catholic doctrine. In an attempt to contribute with new contents to the debate about the ‘feminization of religion’ from the perspective of the 18th century, I will suggest that the Basque Catholic church was trying to reach a masculine audience, even if sometimes it was through the mediation of women. Particularly, they were trying to reform rural illiterate men’s habits introducing them to the Catholic way of life, underlining the special importance of attending mass and making confession. The ideal had to materialize through the regularisation of unchristian social behaviours and in this regard the importance of the control of masculine “deviations” was of great relevance. In fact, the message that the Church was trying to convey was that men, being as they were considered the head of their families, had to be exemplarily austere and devoted to the Catholic message. Ultimately, the ideal of masculinity was in fact similar in content to the requirements demanded of women; exemplified by the lives of the saints and in line with the idea of the body studied above, virility was primarily based on the restraint of passions.

Following the thesis of the “feminization of religion”, it has been argued, attending to different factors and perspectives, that during the nineteenth century, religious space was configured as predominantly feminine, even more significantly in the case of Catholicism¹⁶⁹. Apart from the fact that the number of women related to religious institutions increased importantly, religiosity and the sphere of popular sociability of religion has been interpreted as the privileged space where feminine practices and agency had been developed. Complementarily, some theories have argued that women, precisely because of the importance granted to religiosity and Catholicism in the configuration of femininity, were more prone to legitimate Christian practices or morality in contrast with men that were considered as the bearers of secular values and

¹⁶⁹ MÍNGUEZ (2015): 414. In this article, Mínguez presents an updated literature review about the debate on the ‘feminisation of religion’.

modern liberalism¹⁷⁰. Recent analysis, however, have questioned those approaches including in their research; for example, the study of the construction of religious masculinity and the importance of men and the meanings of virility in the religious understanding of the social order¹⁷¹.

Religious literature painstakingly repeated the idea that men, the husband, had to be the head of the family and of their wives, but it has not been clarified which were the contents of masculine superiority. Images of masculinity were not very favourable towards men either. In fact, the negativity attributed to the female body was also directed towards men's bodies. In a world view where the human body was something radically perverted and corruptible, men were not specifically more perfect than women, but only in grade. The content of masculine and feminine perfection was sanctity, the containment of passion and obedience to Catholic norm. The difference between men and women was that their path to virtue was even more difficult for the latter because of their original sinful imperfection. Basque priests acknowledged the fact that women seemed potentially more religious than men because they were more prone to fulfilling the rituals such as mass or communion. However, for some priests the observance that women paid to the social aspects of Catholic religiosity did not correspond to their weaker inner capacity of containing one self's will. As Calatayud suggested in his *Cathecismo Practico* [*Practical Catechism*], "women's character is more inclined to this external exercise of piety [communion], rather than to the actual defeat of their own judgement and will"¹⁷². Only women as exceptional as Saint Teresa, Catherine of Siena, María de Ágreda and similar could be acknowledged the merit of interior virtuosity. A superficial reading of the catechisms, doctrines and sermons may seem to indicate that the principal worry of the clergy was the regulation of their feminine audience's habits, especially because the negative aspects of human behaviours were attributed to them with special virulence. Nevertheless, a closer reading may suggest that even if women were in fact their main interlocutor, men were the principal target of their words and pastoral practices. In fact, priests and confessors showed a profound worry about the

¹⁷⁰ For a critical revision of the thesis of the 'feminisation of religion', see BLASCO (2005). Blasco argues in favour of analysing the feminisation of religion phenomenon not as a quantifiable social fact but as a complex discursive process, in relation to the secularising debate, whereby sexual difference was being configured

¹⁷¹ PASTURE, ART and BUERMAN (2012); OSSELAER (2013) and WERNER (2011).

¹⁷² CALATAYUD, (1752): 138. About Calatayud's *Cathecismo Practico*, see BURRIEZA (1999).

state of men offering an image of masculinity almost as pessimistic as that of femininity. Again, the words of Calatayud were indicative of this belief:

“There is no way to make the parishioners, or farmers, listen to the doctrine of their priests’; in small places, they run away from them; some prefer to stay in the town square, or the cemetery; other prefer to stay at home, or in the tavern, or just hanging around. Which is their sign? They are sick sheep, and being damaged, they do not graze”¹⁷³.

Their worry with making the Catholic message available to rural illiterate men was evident: the disorders that unchristian men could cause in the social order were perfectly illustrated in their descriptions of family life and matrimony. It was probably Agustín de Cardaberaz the missionary that most persistently underlined the need of following Christian rituals and habits for farmers and peasants. Among the many tales and examples that Cardaberaz used to include in his texts, there is a story that shows the importance that they attributed to masculine devotion. The tale narrated the story of two farmers. Both men used to spend exactly the same hours working on the fields, but one of them used to harvest much more than the other, being the second one almost unable to feed his family. One morning, the unfortunate farmer asked his neighbour about his secret. To his surprise, the luckiest farmer took him to mass and told him that he did nothing more than working hard on the fields, going daily to mass and praying a lot¹⁷⁴. Through this kind of parables, Jesuit missionaries were constantly urging men to attend mass and practice other daily rituals such as praying or confessing precisely because they believed that the moral order depended on masculine religious authority.

Marriage was one of the most discussed elements in the regulation of the relation between men and women in the achievement of the good and honourable Christian life¹⁷⁵. In contrast with an approach that has studied family as a harmonious unity, historians like Mónica Bolufer, Isabel Morant and M^a José de la Pascua have underlined

¹⁷³ CALATAYUD, (1752): 62.

¹⁷⁴ CARDABERAZ (1973a): 71.

¹⁷⁵ For an analysis of the Catholic concept of marriage and the role of women in family during the Modern Age, see RUIZ (2014): 167 ff. and CANDAU (2014). For a comparison between the Catholic and the Protestant view on marriage during the same period, see CANDAU (2014): 76 ff.

the importance of the study of family as a social space where conflicts arise¹⁷⁶. This approach seems especially interesting for this study since the Catholic concept of matrimony was far from the sweet domesticity of the apologists of the culture of sensibility that was developing almost contemporarily¹⁷⁷. Embedded in the pessimistic Catholic world view explained above, marriage and family life constituted a space subjected to permanent negotiation between men and women. Following Tridentine principles, Basque missionaries and priest considered matrimony to be a lesser form of perfection compared to celibacy or choosing to dedicate the life to God. “Between the three states of the century, which are virginity, being a widow/er, and Matrimony, there is the same difference that exists between gold, silver and bronze”¹⁷⁸ argued Calatayud, adding that “Matrimony is the state of secular martyrdom; it is like the Indian thistle which is full of splendid rays that warn the one who tries to get closer: behind the solemnity, and happiness [...] there are the troubles that mortify the heart”¹⁷⁹.

The descriptions of unhappy –unchristian– marriages served to stage the conflicts between the holy and the earthly life. It was thought as a medium to regulate sexual desire, or concupiscence, as they used to call it. However, it seemed a contradiction on its own because, in the words of Calatayud “with the license that matrimony grants, it is difficult to correspond to chastity”¹⁸⁰. Sexual relations were never decriminalized, not even between spouses that were supposed to perform according to the strict guidance and vigilance of their confessor, so that sex was only practiced as a matter of procreation: “You know, my Lord, Thobias used to say” wrote Calatayud “I do not enter the nuptial bed in order to satisfy my lust, but to leave succession”¹⁸¹. Confessors were, in this case too, the experts on the matter and the providers of the preventive methods that guaranteed the hiding of their bodies between husband and wife during sexual encounters. As we will see in the following chapters, this sexual control, not only of women, but also of men, would be strongly criticised and parodied by enlightened authors during the second half of the century.

¹⁷⁶ BOLUFER (2012); MORANT and BOLUFER (2009); DE LA PASCUA M. J. (2002).

¹⁷⁷ MORANT and BOLUFER (1998).

¹⁷⁸ CALATAYUD (1739): 77.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 79.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 72.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 76.

The images of masculinity and femininity offered in these pictures of matrimony, a state which was usually compared to a chain or a cross – “In matrimony, men and women (as is well known) all have their cross: it is their happiness to follow Jesus Christ with it”¹⁸² – are illustrative of the negativity that Catholic anthropology imprinted on both wives and husbands. If women were accused of being gossipy, indiscreet or scatter-brained men were criticised for the same vices as well as for alcoholism, gambling, lust and, very often, laziness: “Look at those men that spend the week hard working in the fields, suffering from extreme fatigue; you will find out that during Sunday and holidays many of them are in harmful taverns or immersed in damaging gambling”¹⁸³. In fact, those, among others, were the causes that made family life a hell:

“When a woman is involved with a lazy, gambler or drunken man, is there any crueller torment? [...] It is hard to see her trying to take her baby to sleep at night, trying to pray, looking at her wasted husband and her disastrous house with patience. Oh unfortunate! How many times, how many have feared to find their husbands, like many of them, drowned because of their drunkenness? And if they arrive alive at home, the hell”¹⁸⁴.

Unmoral, unchristian, behaviour in men, especially of peasants that spent the week working in the fields and Sundays drinking, dancing and spending all their money gambling, were also the causes of family and social disorder. Men and masculinity in the rural areas were perceived as completely uncivilized and animal-like, and men were considered pure brutes in urgent need to be Christianised to restore the functioning of the family and society. In this sense, it is interesting to look at the strategies that confessors and priests used to advise their penitents. Women were told that they had to be patient and suffer what they were supposed to suffer in matrimony: “Patience, my good woman, patience” said Cardaberaz to women whose husbands arrived home drunk and irascible, “and when your husband arrives like that, arm yourself with God...”¹⁸⁵. In the words of Calatayud “Oh women, if your husbands treat you badly, you have to treat them with more delicacy, and good demeanour”¹⁸⁶. Patience and Christian resignation

¹⁸² CARDABERAZ (1973d): 356.

¹⁸³ MENDIBURU (1982a): 61.

¹⁸⁴ CARDABERAZ (1973d): 356.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 355.

¹⁸⁶ CALATAYUD (1737): 30.

were also the recommendation for men in order to control irritability and practice tolerance with their wives: “we live in a *Hell*”, told a man to his confessor whose answer was “If she is a snake, and you are a Lion, you will live in war. The remedy is that you live in docility and silence, like a *Lamb*, and to resolve every day [...] to avoid worrying or to burst out in anger against your wife”¹⁸⁷. Cardaberaz, in a similar way, reminding them that they had to act as the moral head of their families, asked his male penitents for patience: “Like the head, you need good judgement, and patience: on those occasions do not pay attention, and avoid conflict: you have enough reason to be quite: it is what the peace of the house demands”¹⁸⁸.

In this relation, women usually played the role of the transmission of Catholic values, not by domination, but through submission. However, even if it was through the mediation of women, priests were trying to reach men in order to make them follow the rules of Christian morality. As Bolufer has suggested, the post-Tridentine pastoral activity softened their most virulent accusations of lasciviousness against women to build a more pious and devout image of femininity that would function as an ally with priest and confessors in order to appease their husbands and, indirectly, Christianise social life¹⁸⁹. The example of Saint Mónica was usually used as the example of the obedient wife that through patience and resignation managed to Christianise her Gentile and cruel husband “...do as Saint Mónica did with her cruel and harsh husband who, thanks to her good and obedient behaviour, was converted from Gentile to Christian”¹⁹⁰. Women, being obedient to their husbands, as the head of the family, apart from avoiding conflict, were supposed to create, not so much an emulating effect, but a soothing influence among men. In fact, the principal objective of clergy was the making of the men more catholic because they were supposed to lead their project of Christianising society and maintaining social order.

Keeping passions restrained was the objective and the highest grade of perfection achievable in marriage, confined to enduring their misery with the fear of God. The proposed role models were the saintly couples like that of Saint Isidro and his wife, Saint María de la Cabeza, both poor peasants who, through their chaste and peaceful

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 28.

¹⁸⁸ CARDABERAZ (1973d): 354-355.

¹⁸⁹ BOLUFER (2004a): 364.

¹⁹⁰ CALATAYUD (1739): 30.

matrimony, gained eternal glory. Their well-known story tells that Isidro was a poor young fellow that through his work and admirable piety and chastity gained God's favour. Maria, his wife, was the virtuous daughter of two poor peasants. Being a young girl she decided to be a nun. But when it was suggested that Isidro was the one that God had chosen for her, she agreed to marry him. She was "The beautiful Mirror of every poor woman"¹⁹¹. Both of them were the mirror to which all poor peasants had to look at and imitate. Having decided to live as brother and sister there was not even one quarrel between them: "there was not even one argument, even less anger or quarrels [...] what one of them wanted, the other one accepted. They lived in a clean and saintly love, always happy in their poverty"¹⁹².

Feminine virtue resided primarily in chastity and virginity. Together with nuns, holy women and Saints, widows configured another category of perfection, almost as perfect as that of the virgins: not to remarry once their husbands had died. Cases of famously virtuous women were employed to prove the blessings of being a widow: "A very well-known Spanish lady known as Condesa de Feria became a widow when she was twenty-four. She kicked back at the world that had given her a kicking before and she became a nun in the convent of Santa Clara where she followed a saintly life"¹⁹³. Perfection was also possible to achieve through marriage, as cases like Our Lady showed. However, married women were considered less perfect in Catholic imagery compared to exceptional women such as Saint Teresa de Jesús or María Jesús de Ágreda. In fact, the stories of girls that managed to escape undesirable marriages to become nuns were quite a common resource among priests¹⁹⁴. In the moral and pedagogical literature previous to the development of the Enlightenment, motherhood was relegated to a secondary plane, tainted in many cases, with quite a negative tone. It appears as "an auxiliary figure of the father in the procreation process and the education of children, subject to the dangers of the moment of labour and responsible for their physical well-being, which was considered a minor activity charged with inconveniences"¹⁹⁵. In general terms, it would be necessary to wait until the second half

¹⁹¹ CARDABERAZ (1974b): 248.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 237

¹⁹³ MENDIBURU (1982a): 401.

¹⁹⁴ MENDIBURU (1982b): 22.

¹⁹⁵ BOLUFER (2004a): 365.

of the eighteenth century to find representations of sweet maternal love and of devoted upbringing of the children.

Motherhood was a complex and problematic topic to handle in many ways: regarding its family dimension as well as its sexual implications. Firstly, the relationship between parents and children was generally depicted in conflictive ways. Careless mothers and lazy fathers led their sons, and especially their daughters, to misbehave, to alcoholism, and usually to unhappy marriages or even perdition. Secondly, all role models offered to mothers were saintly women that miraculously were blessed with a present from God and became pregnant. Pregnancy was, at least rhetorically, conceived as a present from God and His will, not as woman's natural, corporeal, necessary faculty or capacity. Calatayud expressed it clearly in his doctrines questioning "F. What wrong do some sterile married women do?" and immediately answering "complain to God and not resign themselves to his will because he does not give them children"¹⁹⁶. Even though in socially extended families, children were an important work force in order to help their parents in the maintenance of the domestic economy¹⁹⁷, motherhood was not considered something necessary to achieve feminine perfection and fulfil the requirements of their gender identity. Motherhood was not conceptualised as women's destiny, only as a highly common possibility. It was a topic where all the conflictive aspects of the problematic relationship established between flesh and spiritual perfection appeared on stage.

In this regard, Sebastian Mendiburu offered quite an interesting meditation on motherhood, through which it is possible to glimpse important aspects of the Catholic understanding of motherhood that reflect, as well, important aspects of their understanding of femininity. In his reflection, he tried to define the cases where motherhood was to be considered truly virtuous or exceptional, or in other words, the cases where all the negativity attributed to being a mother could be transcended. Among married women there were two classes: those without children and those with children (the majority of them). Among women with children, only those whose "fruit" was good could be considered virtuous. In fact, according to his view, it was a common error to attribute virtue to all mothers, just because they had children. He used the

¹⁹⁶ CALATAYUD, (1752): 174.

¹⁹⁷ ARBAIZA (1996): 203.

metaphor of a tree to illustrate that a mother that had a bad child was like a tree that gives bad fruits: “the tree which bears bad pears is not a good tree; nor is it a good mother who bears a bad child”¹⁹⁸. The virtue of a mother and a married woman, therefore, did not lie in the mere fact of being mothers. Where did the virtue of being a mother therefore reside? Not in their capacity to raise them well, because it was mainly the father’s responsibility to educate their offspring in strong Catholic beliefs. Not in their maternal love and sweetness, because those were values absent in their understanding of femininity. The virtue of a mother resided primarily in the virtue of her children. He questioned: “How many married pregnant trees are as good as the mother Saint Anne who gave birth to the blessed fruit and virtuous daughter, the mother of Jesus?”¹⁹⁹. The answer was clear: not many. Saint Anne, as well as Saint Mary, were the very few exceptions that could not be compared to the rest: “that is why she is more virtuous than any other married pregnant woman and she is the pregnant woman that has been granted the gifts of heaven”²⁰⁰. Every woman could be a mother, but not every woman could be a blessed mother for Catholic orthodoxy. Through this kind of considerations, Mendiburu was in fact contributing to a concept of motherhood that was inherently linked to sin, an idea that would put down roots in Basque society and that would last centuries, even until the 20th century.

The virtue of mothers was compared to the virtue of non-mothers. In those women, according to Mendiburu, even when they were truly virtuous, it was more difficult to publicly acknowledge it, until they could somehow show their value through a prominent act or deed: “Married women with no children, even if they are virtuous, are not that well known until their virtue is shown in one way or another”²⁰¹. In order to exemplify this idea, he used the case of the Biblical Judith. Not having children and being a silent widow, quite an honourable position, Judith had lived unknown, humbly and discretely, until she had the chance to show her power. In the middle of the war against the Assyrians, she left her room –in the town of Betulia– after having finished her prayers and fasting, crossed over to Holoferne’s army, managed to enter into his room, took his sword and chopped off his head with it. She went back to her room with Holoferne’s head, ensuring with her deed the victory to the Jewish army over Babylon:

¹⁹⁸ MENDIBURU (1982b): 146.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 151.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 149.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, 145.

“she showed her great virtue with her deed and she was known for that from then on. All Israeli people knew and blessed her”²⁰². Piety and emotional restraint, together with austere patriotic bravery, were the values that granted excellence and virtue to Judith.

Masculine virtue, in a similar vein, was also based on men’s capacity and strength to restrain passions, and on their chastity and piety:

“But then, like the Saint goes to Mass, you go to the tavern. [...] The Saint is not fond of taverns, of quarrels, of gossip, or gambling [...] but you behave against all of the Lord’s laws in taverns, gossiping, gambling, drinking the whole night: the day after your head is heavy and your body in pain without the will to work. Saint Isidro was not like that. Follow his example [...] Leave the wrong path and behave rightly: go home early, wake up early, and like him [Saint Isidro] try to find the Lord first”²⁰³.

Masculine role models, apart from the famous example of Ignatius of Loyola, include other saints like the Italian Jesuit Saint Luis Gonzaga (1568-1591). The values that those men embodied were humility, spiritual strength, devotion to God and chastity. The battle against the flesh, even though it was more difficult and demanding for women, was equally necessary in men. Agustín Cardaberaz wrote in Basque a short biography of Gonzaga and the young Polish Jesuit Estanislao Kotska (1550-1568) praising their temperance and sobriety. Sebastian Mendiburu too wrote about the strong virtue of Gonzaga. On his ability for mortification and for hiding away from any sensual temptation and women he wrote:

“...while he lived at home he did not allow any women of the house to enter into his room, and if any woman appeared while he was there he used to get close to the door to listen to what they wanted to tell him but he used to finish the conversation immediately without even looking at them. Saint Luis even tried to avoid looking at his own mother”²⁰⁴.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ CARDABERAZ (1974b): 237.

²⁰⁴ MENDIBURU (1982b): 100.

In their understanding, masculinity, passion and emotions were the path to perdition. In fact, passions or outbursts of emotions were signs of effeminacy. Effeminacy was not understood as a physical similarity of men with women, as a biological degeneration: it was a spiritual degradation that signified the incapacity to control one's own will. "The sixth effect of passion is to effeminate and to weaken the spirit for virtue" said Calatayud²⁰⁵. Effeminacy was an effect of immorality and unchristianity: "You will see a farmer the whole day stooped using the plough, and the sickle, and being strong enough to carry out those activities, he does not kneel at Church during Mass"²⁰⁶. Thus, virility was, after all, equated with Christian perfection, restraint and obedience. This was the message transmitted to humble peasants: if you want to be saved from sin and have a good life, imitate those saintly role models. Humility, docility and devotion were the manliest values in contrast to the uncontrollable drunks and satyrs who, apart from breaking Christian law, were accused of causing much of the social disorder that missionaries were supposed to restore: "What you need for your greater salvation is to deny yourself every day, like the saints did, embrace every day the cross of your condition, and follow Jesus with all your heart"²⁰⁷.

In conclusion, Basque missionaries and priests, in their effort to Christianise social life in the Basque Provinces, proposed a gender order in which their characteristic misogyny coexisted with a model of masculine and feminine perfection that was based on the same elements: emotional austerity, the restraint of passions and devotion. Men, if they wanted to fulfil their mission as the head of the family, had to be appeased. Men had to be subordinate to the church, in the same way that women had to be subordinate to their husbands. The superiority of men over women relied on their alleged higher capacity to continence and spirituality. This idea did not mean that women could not achieve similar levels and forms of virtue, if they were able to show an extraordinary capacity to perform to the levels of sanctity and devotion required from an imperfect human being. As Sebastian Mendiburu underlines: "Not only among men of this world, but also among women there are some that are as equally virtuous as virtuous men of religion"²⁰⁸. Examples like the praise of Judith's bravery seem to reinforce the thesis according to which the Catholic understanding of femininity was not based on any

²⁰⁵ CALATAYUD (1737): 16.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ CARDABERAZ (1974a): 12.

²⁰⁸ MENDIBURU, (1982a): 351.

biological essentialism. Even motherhood, that would later be formulated as the most important aspect of feminine identity, did not necessarily mark the destiny of women. On the one and only path towards perfection that men and women shared, women like Judith were the exception, the expression of perfection over most women –but also most men– that missionaries were proposing as women’s role models.

1.3. The crossroads between piety and social rank.

In this section, I am going to address the relation between two very important variables: the intertwining between the Catholic morality and the importance of social rank in the configuration of sexual difference. The aim is to show that the feminine honourableness that Jesuit missionaries were trying to arrange was built in relation to a specific rank ideal that had to correspond to a rigorous religious model of perfection. In fact, Catholicism provided its own content to the class ideal: piety, devotion, austerity and sober intelligence were the values that Basque Jesuits attributed to the ladies of the highest social spheres.

It is necessary to start pointing out that missionaries were especially directing their efforts to Christianise the way of life of farmers, peasants or people from the humblest origins: “Among our people [farmers and peasants], in distant and small places, there are many souls with no education, who are lovers of God, very kind, full of saintly intentions and will” and especially “To our good Farmers, to offer them the light of the Doctrine that they need, and to offer them our hands to bring their intentions and clear spirit to heaven”²⁰⁹. In line with their very hierarchic and classist understanding of the social order, Jesuits were trying to offer a consolation or incentive to peasants to follow a proper Christian life, because even if they were born to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, they were promised a peaceful life in heaven. Jesuit missionaries tried to construct a higher sense of honour and dignity that was accessible to everyone and did not uniquely depend on earthly wealth, but on the value of one’s own spirit’s Christianity and sanctity. In this sense, everyone could be noble and saintly, whether they were a peasant, craftsman, spinner, blacksmith or even a street cleaner. Priests directly urged farmers to follow a saintly life, the way in which humble people were impelled to achieve respectability and honourableness: “Well then, virtuous Farmers: do

²⁰⁹ CARDABERAZ, (1974c): 267.

it soon: heaven is yours [...] Come on: you have to be saints. It is God's will. See how the most precious saints have lived a life as humble and poor as yours"²¹⁰. Cardaberaz's words express a dignification and sanctification of poverty as a value that poor people was offered to obtain moral perfection and fulfilment, while at the same time functioned as the perfect justification for social differentiation. It is true that Catholic scatology, and especially missionaries' sermons, offered a more 'democratic' image of heaven, where everyone, even the most miserable, was able to be happy ever after. This dignification of poverty was combined with a public condemnation of the 'excesses' of nobility and rich people. As Calatayud argued, "there is a certain familiarity, and trade, between men and women that consider themselves noble, which is unworthy of honesty [...] and that ignores the decorum and the dignity of the Spanish nation"²¹¹. Or even more explicitly, "I see no difference between the cadavers of the rich and the poor, only that the former bear a stench which is more unbearable than the latter [...] because of their lust and sins" wrote Calatayud in his doctrines²¹². As mentioned before, this public criticism of the life-style of the aristocracy, traders and great landowners –usually the rulers of the administration– created some enemies, not only among noblemen of the area, but also among members of the Society of Jesus. In fact, Manuel de Larramendi, whose essays about the Basque language inspired much of Cardaberaz's and Mendiburu's philological writings and practices, criticised their strictness regarding certain aspect such as public popular dances. As Otazu and Díaz de Durana have explained, by the mid-18th century, the situation of Jesuits in Spain was already quite delicate under the bourbon reign. In this uncertain situation, Larramendi –even though he himself criticised Basque nobility's distancing from traditional ways of living as I will later address– was worried about the suspicion that rigorous messages from missionaries could cause among the Basque gentry²¹³.

This condemnation of the conduct of the aristocracy, nevertheless, was not directed to attacking their social rank. Quite the contrary, it denounced that they were not morally corresponding to the importance of their social position as the guiders and the rulers of the rest of the population in moral terms. In this regard, women were the most attacked, and also the most praised. In fact, the virtue of the noble ones was considered even

²¹⁰ CARDABERAZ (1974b): 226.

²¹¹ CALATAYUD (1739): 182.

²¹² *Ibid*, 394.

²¹³ OTAZU AND DÍAZ DE DURANA (2008): 110-111.

more valuable than the virtue of the rest. Precisely because they were surrounded by everything that was beautiful and tempting –whereas poor people were mostly dedicated to their own work– their restraint was even more admirable. If noble and rich women were generally characterized as luxurious, irritable, proud and not inclined to go to confession, or in other words, behaving in unchristian ways, some of them were glorified because of their austerity in dressing, their chastity and their sanctity. The religious understanding of class and hierarchy was embedded in a very strict conception of their moral obligations and Catholicism functioned as the moral foundation of their social authority. Sebastian Mendiburu illustrated this idea with the tale of a noble lady that wanted to confess to the priest of her town. In front of the very well-dressed lady, the confessor, overwhelmed by her smart appearance, decided that he, a humble priest, was not able to hear the confession of such a woman. Persuaded that she had acted wrongly, the lady came back to the confessor dressing a much more humble and austere dress appropriate for the act of confession of a woman of her social status²¹⁴. The passage tried to illustrate that the superior virtue of the noble woman did not lie on her physical differentiation from poor woman, but on her capacity to represent Christian decency and act as moral example for the rest.

Manuel de Larramendi was also from Gipuzkoa and is an example of this praise of certain relevant women because of their combination of social significance and religious piety. The first example can be found in some of his earliest writings, in an exhortation written in 1716 to honour the memory of the deceased queen Margarita of Austria (1584-1611), during his theological studies in the Royal College of Jesuits in Salamanca. Those exhortations, called “margaritas”, were short praises recited by different pupils of the college dedicated to the benefactor of the College of Salamanca, the biggest one in Spain²¹⁵. The text is especially interesting because he praised the intellectual, political and, above all, devotional abilities of the queen, in the style of the defence of the participants in the “querella” that defended the superiority of certain women for their exceptional value over the rest of women and men²¹⁶. It was the defence of a very specific mode of femininity that was defended because it incorporated and took to their highest perfection the values of an aristocratic elite. The spiritual and

²¹⁴ MENDIBURU (1982a): 486.

²¹⁵ For an analysis of the strong connections between the Society of Jesus and the court of Queen Margarita of Austria, see JIMÉNEZ (2008).

²¹⁶ BOLUFER (2000).

intellectual superiority of this woman over the limits marked by her gender were, actually, the sign of her hierarchical and moral superiority²¹⁷.

In a similar way, from his relationship with Queen Mariana de Neoburgo, the widow of Carlos II, the last King of the House of Habsburg, it is possible to see that in his vision of women, the discourse of feminine excellence had a very important presence²¹⁸. From 1730 until 1733, Larramendi worked as the confessor of the widow queen who had moved to Bayonne. As it is possible to read in his autobiography during his stay in the French Court, Larramendi was involved in an unfortunate incident. The Queen was accused of living in an indecent way and the Spanish Court thought that it was necessary to move her from Bayonne to a convent in Spain. In this situation, Larramendi felt impelled to defend the honour of his penitent and his own, being as he was her moral tutor. He travelled to the Seville Court to express his favourable opinion about the widow queen in front of Philip V. He wrote five memorials to defend his penitent's honour, where we can find excerpts such as the following one:

“The Queen, our lady, not only does not live a scandalous life, but she lives a virtuous and saintly life; She is so devoted to exercises of piety and devotion that she barely has any time for the rest of the things. She receives the Sacraments frequently; she spends the whole day dedicated to pray multiple devotions with her maids, with great punctuality; moments of meditation, reading of pious books, frequent examinations of conscience, strongly devoted to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. She is an example of the internal practice of the Christian virtues of charity and mercy [...] everyone who knows Her Majesty admires the gratitude, patience and resignation of her great works and pains, her abstraction, retreat, humility and her many other qualities. Therefore, the Queen is today an example for all Princesses”²¹⁹.

In this way, the Jesuit underlined the idea that the virtue of his penitent was able to transcend the negative values that other discourses attributed to women. She was able to cultivate all the qualities that the misogynist discourses denied them, like abstraction,

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, 192.

²¹⁸ For an approach to the life and political relevance of Mariana de Neoburgo after the death of her husband, see SANZ (2008).

²¹⁹ LARRAMENDI (1973): 96.

intellectual abilities, etc. Larramendi's understanding of women was, therefore, characterized by the incorporation of the "relative weakness" of gender that we mentioned in the introduction. In his words about Queen Margarita of Austria and Mariana of Neoburgo, gender was eclipsed by the importance given to social hierarchy and religious virtue²²⁰.

Catholic misogyny, therefore, coexisted with a discourse of feminine excellence of certain women in which the importance of a superior rank, understood as the bearer of the highest expressions of piety, was instrumental. Wealth was never condemned in itself but only insofar as it was given significance and practiced through what was identified with waste, indecency or mundane enjoyment. Even if it seems contradictory, wealth had to be given significance through austerity in order to adjust to the requirements of Catholic rules of devotion. This was a precept that was demanded from both men and women, but that in the case of women meant one of the few possibilities of being granted a dignified power position overcoming the generalized misogynistic view.

1.4. The importance of the province: sexual difference in Manuel de Larramendi's account about Gipuzkoa.

Apart from the social rank, the very specific administrative, political and cultural situation of the Basque Provinces was also another aspect that influenced the construction of sexual difference²²¹. In this regard, the essays of Manuel de Larramendi are of great relevance. His work shows the ways in which his understanding of the provincial identity profoundly affected his view of the relation between men and women of Gipuzkoa. The ideals of femininity and masculinity he depicted were influenced by the intersections between his political and social stances with Catholic morality. The importance that he attributed to the singularity of the provincial identity shows that in his understanding of sexual difference the category of gender had less weight than the category of community. The analysis of his discursive representations of virile women has the potential to exemplify and clarify the idea that during the

²²⁰ For an analysis of the political and religious power that the queens of the house of Habsburg were expected to incarnate through their bodily appearance, see DAVIES (2008).

²²¹ A first approach to the construction of sexual difference by Manuel de Larramendi, in ALTONAGA (2016).

Ancien Régime the sex of the body was not the element that determined the meaning of gender. In fact, following the Butlerian suggestion that sex has “been gender all along”²²², we will see how the intertwining of different variables of social definition with the category of gender configured a very specific communitarian corporality –and also sexuality and desire– that men and women from Gipuzkoa had to perform. Larramendi’s exaltation of the strong body of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa, nevertheless, should not be understood as if he was proposing a different –more positive– view of the body. He was not defending the excellence of the body of Gipuzkoa in terms of its physicality; on the contrary, he was creating a body of values, a morally disciplined body. As we will see, the flesh for Larramendi was equally problematic as it was for the missionaries we have studied above. The difference was that he believed that the body of the people from Gipuzkoa was strengthened by a body of values that made it resistant and imperturbable to the dangers that continuously threatened them. Precisely, his defence of the traditional ways of living was aimed to maintain and keep that body safe from the social changes that he was perceiving as dangerous.

In 1754 Manuel de Larramendi wrote, in his *Corografía de Guipuzcoa* [*Description of Guipúzcoa*], that the women of Gipuzkoa were “of greater value than their sex, not that easily frightened like in other provinces” and that in the war events and battles that took place in the province they had done “very heroic and virile things”²²³. Larramendi’s words are of great interest because, in a context where gender identity was not conceptualised in biological terms, he offered an understanding of sexual difference where the political defence of the province, the discursive construction of the identity of the community, eclipsed the importance of every other aspect, such as sex, class or even religion.

The establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain in 1700 brought a political recentralization during the eighteenth century that in some cases provoked important conflicts between the central state and the Basque Provinces. In this political context, Manuel de Larramendi devoted most of his essays to defending and promoting the singularity and the excellence of Gipuzkoa, its traditions, language and laws, following

²²² BUTLER (2007): 11.

²²³ LARRAMENDI (1969): 190.

a political and cultural tendency that has been denominated *foralismo*²²⁴. The Jesuit philologist tried to reinforce the identity of the province through the reconstruction and reinvention of its history and habits. The inhabitants of the province were depicted as the guardians of the traditional values, Catholic religion and the noble origin of the province that constituted the inalterable essence of the region since its very beginning. In order to present them as the bearers of such an exceptional origin, he proposed a model of virile perfection that marked their moral and physical superiority, to which every man and woman, had to correspond. This resulted in images of very virile women that contrasted with the sensibility and delicacy that enlightened authors in Spain and Europe, contemporary to him, attributed to femininity.

Larramendi's discourse on femininity was a mixture of arguments that praised the value of some women while negatively criticised others. His use of the rhetoric of excellence was not meant to be a general defence of women following Feijoo's style. Quite on the contrary, he praised the virtues of the women of Gipuzkoa above the rest of women, and also men, from other regions as part of a strategy of singularisation of the identity of Gipuzkoa. In his accounts about the virile and virtuous "Amazons" of Gipuzkoa, the importance of the identity of the province was more relevant than the rest of dimensions. In this regard, the concept of universal nobility²²⁵, as the principal characteristic of the essence and the history of Gipuzkoa, was of high importance. The work of Oihane Oliveri Korta, from a socio-cultural perspective, has analysed gender relations and the role played by women in the formation of the *mayorazgos*²²⁶ in Gipuzkoa during early modernity²²⁷. Her work has shown that certain women were able to exert their authority in the configuration of family structures precisely because of their social rank and provincial origin.

Larramendi's proposal will be analysed by focusing on three discourses that were fundamental in his understanding of social order: the work, the clothing and traditional dances. Those three dimensions show the way in which his vision of sexual difference was intimately linked to his discourse about provincial difference. His discourse about

²²⁴ I follow the distinction between "foralismo" and "fuerismo" offered by FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 2. I will use the word regionalism to refer to Larramendi's "foralismo".

²²⁵ For an analysis of the genesis and meaning of the *hidalguía universal*, see MUÑOZ DE BUSTILLO (1997): X-LI and SORIA (2006). See also PORTILLO (1998).

²²⁶ Entailed state.

²²⁷ OLIVERI (2009). See also (2001).

the province identity was articulated through a relation of gender identity with other variables in which belonging to Gipuzkoa, an exceptional community, had more weight than gender, social hierarchy or even religion. Even though his discourse was created to reinforce the *foralist tradition*²²⁸ –of long roots–, his chronicle of Gipuzkoa was in fact a creative process where living aspects of tradition were mixed with mythologizing elements. The aim of these tales was the creation of an idea of an inalterable original past, always better than the present, to which present and future had to correspond²²⁹.

1.4.1. *The exceptional Gipuzkoa and its Fueros.*

Larramendi's conception of femininity should be understood in the framework of a defence of a world view that was strongly hierarchic, traditionalist, and religious. He wanted to strengthen the singularity of Gipuzkoa as a province through the defence of his *regional law*²³⁰. The higher control and centralization that the Bourbon dynasty wanted to establish over the regional competences –the political autonomy that Basque Provinces maintained– provoked the strong defence of the *Fueros* and their economic and administrative independence, contributing to the “political discourse of provincial *foralism*”²³¹. This political expression, however, should not be confused with a predecessor of modern Basque nationalism or some sort of proto-nationalism²³². It seems more historically accurate to understand it as the strengthening of the power of the province against bourbon administrative despotism embedded in the political, social and administrative frame of the *Ancien Régime*.

Larramendi's vision of Gipuzkoa was pictured in his *Corografía de Guipúzcoa*, written in 1754, but not published until 1882. In this work Larramendi, following the classic theories about the nobility of Gipuzkoa²³³, presented Gipuzkoa as a *mayorazgo* of divine origin, the first of the Iberian Peninsula. One of its main characteristics was the

²²⁸ In general terms, the *foralist tradition* could be defined as the defence and apology –through political and juridical essays and treatises– of the particular and traditional laws –called *Fueros*– of the Basque Provinces that gained relevance during the 16th century and was strengthened during the 18th. Nevertheless, it gained political relevance during the 19th century, a period when the political tendency *fuerosismo* was put in practice.

²²⁹ For an analysis of the invention of the Basque tradition and its foundational myths, see JUARISTI (1987a).

²³⁰ I mean here *foralidad*. In order to understand Manuel de Larramendi's political thought see: FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 34-40 and FERNÁNDEZ (1992). For a clear and concise study of the concepts of “cultura foral” and “poder provincial” in the *Ancien Régime*, see PORTILLO and VIEJO (1994): 25-43.

²³¹ FERNÁNDEZ (1992): 85.

²³² ELORZA (1992): 156.

²³³ ACHÓN (2001a) and (2001b).

pure blood of its inhabitants precisely because the province, given its geographical location, had never been militarily conquered and therefore they had never been mixed with any other race and more importantly, any other religion than the Catholic one. The *fueros* were in this political interpretation of the province of Gipuzkoa the primitive or original laws and the *way of being* of the community, its legal and moral essence²³⁴. They signified the excellence of one of the most ancient communities of Spain, whose residents spoke a language, Basque –also of divine origin– that was the oldest and most perfect language of the peninsula. This discursive construction, between legend and history, included the defence of the myth of primitive Christianity, according to which Gipuzkoa and all its inhabitants were from its very beginning Christian. This served to grant the province an outstanding moral quality and a virtue²³⁵. This mythical history of the province was completed with the idea of universal nobility according to which every inhabitant of the province was noble, because of its pure origin.

We can easily see that this tale was not descriptive, but prescriptive. It emerged from the will to produce a common past that could facilitate a collective identification in the present. The most abstract topics were combined with aspects of the social, political and cultural life of the province: its economic and commercial activities; the traditional division of labour; religious rituals; clothing and even the ludic customs and folklore. The necessity to construct feminine and masculine models that would meet the physical and moral requirements of the essence of the province impregnated and framed his discourse. As I said before we will analyse three of them: work, clothing and popular public dancing.

1.4.2. The noble body of the virile farmers.

The social project of Larramendi was characterized by proposing a sort of egalitarianism, based on the universalization of nobility to all the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa. However, this should not be understood as a precedent of a democratic model²³⁶. Larramendi distinguished three kinds of nobility: the nobility of blood that

²³⁴ FERNÁNDEZ (1985).

²³⁵ On the traditions of “vascoiberismo”, “vascocantabrisimo”, “tubalismo or “primitive monotheism”, see JUARISTI (1987a): 48-58; MARTÍNEZ (1993): 50-83. On the construction of Basque identity in relation to Catholicism, see ALTUNA (2003) and (2012).

²³⁶ As many researches show, the fact that the *Fueros* of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa claimed that the inhabitants of both provinces were of the noble rank, this rhetorical egalitarianism never supposed the

every person from Gipuzkoa enjoyed; the acquired nobility, which was obtained through great deeds or the accumulation of wealth; and the nobility of virtue that was dependent of every person of Christian morality. Even if through the nobility of blood, Larramendi wanted to generate some kind of equality among people, it was clear that in that acquired nobility it was impossible that everyone would be the same. Therefore, the traditional division of rank remained untouched. Nevertheless, the value of the nobility of blood that ennobled all its inhabitants was higher than that of the contingent acquired nobility.

Following this vision, Larramendi needed to resolve the contradictions that came from the defence of the universal nobility even in the cases of the humblest peasants, fishermen and blacksmiths in a social context where social hierarchy marked evident inequalities. The solution to this tension came not only from dignifying poverty, as the rest of his Jesuit colleagues did, but also from the revaluation of mechanical or manual jobs. For him, “professions are not in themselves either vile or dishonourable [...]. In Gipuzkoa, professions have never been dirty, because they have never been carried out by people of *plebeian blood*”²³⁷.

His dignifying vision of manual work contradicted the traditional values that it was attributed during the *Ancien Régime*. It was full of negative connotations, such as the pain, suffering and penance that had to be endured in order to pay for humans’ sinful nature. As William Sewell has explained for the French case, apart from being a physical activity that degraded human soul, manual work was primarily an element that served to structure social hierarchy²³⁸. Those of the highest classes, like the nobility or high clergy, who did not have to work, could devote their time to intellectual activities – highly valued in this social framework– while poor people had to work in order to eat. In Larramendi’s view, nevertheless, the relation between manual work and nobility was not contradictory. The concept of nobility was compatible with mechanical and manual works, even if it was extremely hard. In Larramendi’s conceptualisation of Gipuzkoan identity, they were two aspects that were intimately linked:

practical and effective equality of all its members. See FERNÁNDEZ (1975): 366; MARTÍNEZ (1993): 25 and PÉREZ (1996): 10.

²³⁷ LARRAMENDI (1969): 140, my italics. The original word is *sangre villana*, which in the context of Larramendi’s discourse refers not so much to social status but to provincial belonging. In this context, *villano* means what was not from Gipuzkoa, what did not have noble blood.

²³⁸ SEWELL (1992): 45-50.

“In the humblest professions of the republics, Guipúzcoa [...] employs inhabitants of Guipúzcoa, all of them from noble blood: shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, hatters, peasants, farmers, dealers, merchants [...] and other more or less humble professions, which are all noble, because they are all from Guipúzcoa”²³⁹

He did not mean to defend universal social equality, however, in his elaboration of the singular and exceptional identity of the province, he needed to redefine manual work in order to overcome the negative connotations attributed to it in the *Ancien Régime*. In this way, he aimed to resolve the contradiction between nobility and degrading work generating a new and ennobled meaning of mechanical work for his neighbours in Gipuzkoa.

The most interesting aspect of this redefinition is that it was built together with an interesting redefinition of sexual difference that included many arguments from the classical “querella”, but in a very specific discursive context. Larramendi’s account of Gipuzkoa was built upon a specific construction of the body, an ideal that represented the physical and moral values of the province²⁴⁰. Sexual difference and the body of Gipuzkoa were built in relation to discourses about rural life, and they manifest in his descriptions about public dances or clothing customs. Through those discourses, the author created powerful corporal images:

“of regular height, well gestured, white, even those that during the year suffer the burning heat of the sun and the inclemency of weather, like farmers [...], and they have their heads and their beards well filled. Their heads are so healthy, hard and strong that there is never any mortal blow in their heads [...] Their bodies are highly resistant to cold, ice, snow, freezing temperatures, the cold north wind [...] In the cultured towns, people are more delicate”²⁴¹.

²³⁹LARRAMENDI (1969): 136.

²⁴⁰For a comparative analysis, see DÍAZ (2001) and (2003). In those texts, the author gives an interesting account of the importance of the corporal and emotional dimension in the construction of national identities.

²⁴¹LARRAMENDI (1969): 187.

In contrast with this normative ideal, he created its own abject bodies. The “effeminate”, in the sense of being weak and feeble, not robust, represented the opposite to the strength of the people from Gipuzkoa:

“In Guipúzcoa, there are no men of ugly bodies, monstrous, hunchbacked or with brutish demeanours, like in other kingdoms. They are agile, quick and fast, strong and robust, and all of them have manly faces –they do not degenerate into womanly faces, because of their poor diet, or because they have been born feeble, or because they have received an effeminate education”²⁴².

He created a corporal model in which the most important physical values were strength, toughness and ferocity. He considered those necessary values in a province like Gipuzkoa where its inhabitants had to deal with the harshness of the rural and the fishing environment, as well as with battles or wars against their enemies. It was then a virile corporality, marked by robustness and manliness attributed to masculinity in the societies of Middle Ages and the *Ancien Regime*²⁴³. What is more interesting is that women too had to correspond to that canon:

“The women of Guipúzcoa are the most beautiful of Spain; of lovely colour, good-looking, chubby, strong, agile and healthy; of very little squeamishness or fuss, of great determination, that go up and down from their farms and mountains with vigour and energy, as if there were no slope. They are more robust than men in carrying and bringing very heavy loads on their heads from places as distant as three or four leagues away”²⁴⁴.

This image radically differs from the model of femininity that Enlightenment started to prescribe during that time that promoted a femininity linked to the values of delicacy, sensibility and domesticity. This was of course aligned with a very important social function that would be of great importance for the enlightened project: motherhood.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ MOSSE (1996): 17.

²⁴⁴ LARRAMENDI (1969): 188.

However, those aspects were relegated to second place in his essays. Women were primarily related to the rural life and the work in the field, in a context in which the domains of the domestic life and the public sphere were still blurred and undetermined. The next excerpt exemplifies perfectly the way in which Larramendi's image of femininity was completely different from the Enlightened sweetened domesticity. While men worked in the field women used to do other things vigorously:

“And, what do women do? In the farms, they help their husbands in a virile way, hoeing, ploughing²⁴⁵, sowing and all the rest of tasks, even driving full carts, like traditional ox-drawn carts²⁴⁶. In the towns, they sow flax by themselves and carry out as many tasks as necessary until they are reduced to small flakes [...] Many others are peasants during the harvest season [...] most women help by unloading the carts and they carry the apples in baskets to the winepresses”²⁴⁷.

The very hard physical work done by women was not criticised: it was highly honourable and recommendable according to Larramedí. As has been widely analysed, the productive work carried out by women both in the rural and fishing areas of Gipuzkoa, and the rest of the Basque provinces, was a very important activity, as a complementary work to what men used to do, or as the principal economic income, while men were away during war periods²⁴⁸. Rural Gipuzkoa was, therefore, a community marked by the vigour and strength of the masculine, in its physical dimension as well as in its moral austere virtue, and women had to correspond to this way of being.

Virility was not only manifested in what refers to work, but also in what refers to the warlike and aggressive spirit attributed to the people of Gipuzkoa. Women were also acknowledged in their military expertise in exceptional situations. They shared that “warlike ethos” characteristic of their nobility²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁵ *Layando*: a way of plowing the field with a traditional Basque tool.

²⁴⁶ *Boyerizas*: traditional carts pulled by oxen.

²⁴⁷ LARRAMENDI (1969): 206.

²⁴⁸ AZPIAZU (1995): 83-146; LAWRENCE (1999): 275-276; VALVERDE (1988) and (2011): 173-221. For the coastal areas see FERNÁNDEZ and PRADO (2000).

²⁴⁹ MARTÍNEZ (1993): 251.

“...even if they deny their existence in the Thermidoonte, where antiquity located their place, it is very well known to all of us that there were Amazons of great Martial bravery in Guipúzcoa. They knew how to use weapons and how to defend the breach, they died and killed ravaging the enemy and causing terrible damage”²⁵⁰.

Drawing on the image of courageous Amazons was not original. It had been used by many other authors during the XVIII century in order to praise or despise women²⁵¹. Even though it was not employed for its historical veracity but because of its literary force, it helps us to observe the dissolution of the equation women-femininity vs men-masculinity. Larramendi’s vision incorporated aspects that escape the sex-gender architecture sketched above. His discourse corresponded to a social codification of the relation between gender and the body completely different from essentialist dimorphism that attributed masculinity to men and femininity to women. His vision was inscribed in the understanding of gender more as a social category, something that is performed and achieved socially, rather than being prefigured as a biological truth.

He built a virile corporal ideal that everyone, men and women, were supposed to achieve. The extolling of virility was a resource that many other authors from the period shared, even during the second half of the century, as the catalogues of strong and famous women of “letters, arms and government” show in Spain and Europe²⁵². Those literary and iconographic representations that extol the values of an aristocratic elite were opposed to the bourgeois ideal that some years later would become hegemonic. In the case of Larramendi, the virilisation of women had distinctive aspects because it was meant to ennoble a community: all its men and women.

1.4.3. Clothing as the expression of moral superiority.

Larramendi’s words about clothing were also a discursive space where the relation between gender, religious, class and community identity were intertwined. His concern with the damaging effects that luxury and new trends could cause in the ideal of femininity of Gipuzkoa was in line with a more general debate about luxury and its

²⁵⁰ LARRAMENDI (1988): 73.

²⁵¹ BLANCO (2010): 77.

²⁵² BOLUFER (2000): 191.

economic, social and moral implications. As Mónica Bolufer has analysed, this polemic is especially interesting because it informs us about the different understandings of gender and the competing visions in conflict²⁵³. The enlightened criticism towards aristocratic luxury coexisted with their apology of the bourgeois comfort. Those were at the same time criticised by Catholic moralist followers of tradition and austerity. This last was the stance from which Larramendi defended the traditional clothing of Gipuzkoa. Moreover, his defence of the good and decent way of dressing of his neighbours functioned as a mechanism that generated the difference with “the other”, the dirty one, incarnated by the Castilian:

“All inhabitant of Guipúzcoa, men and women, are inclined to dress very well and whenever they go out, to the town square or to the church to be among people, they are always very clean and decent. In Guipúzcoa, there are not so many sloppy, messy, shabby, and dirty peasants as there are in other towns of Castilla and other kingdoms”²⁵⁴.

The difference with the rest of the provinces and countries was signified through clothing. Larramendi’s texts show a special interest in the woman’s dressed body. The attire of women from Gipuzkoa was and had to be characterized by sobriety and whiteness. His meticulous descriptions represent the traditional attire essentially defined by its cleanness: “All women from Guipúzcoa are inclined to use white clothes, and they are used to having a lot of garments of very good quality, they look after them carefully. They go down from their farms with the trousseau on their heads, and their face and hands clean and looking like silver”²⁵⁵.

He was configuring the excellence of the appearance of the body of Gipuzkoa and its *guipuzcoanas*, the women from the province. His concern with the decency in the external appearance of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa should be considered in a broader cultural context. As Chartier explained, the transit between the XVII and XVIII centuries in Europe was marked by the changes introduced in the norms about civility and socializing habits that took the control and modelling of the body as its fundamental

²⁵³ BOLUFER (1993).

²⁵⁴ LARRAMENDI (1969): 216.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 219.

aim²⁵⁶. In Spain, the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty conditioned the modification of customs. They introduced many changes in the court, influenced by the trends in France and Italy that, to some extent, were able to permeate Spanish society's practices²⁵⁷. In this context of reforms, Larramendi aimed to underline the quality of the traditional attire of Gipuzkoa so that it could be the safeguard of the nobility of blood and the Christian virtue of its inhabitants. The dignification of poverty was, again, instrumental in this discursive formation: "It is not a sign of wealth the fact that the people from Guipúzcoa, even the most humble and vulgar, appear so well dressed during holidays and festivities [...]. It shows that they are clean people, that they like to look decent, and they are able to do so even if they are poor"²⁵⁸.

The importance that Larramendi granted not only to "being" noble, but to "look" noble deserves special attention. The dress of the body functioned as an indispensable signifying element in the organization of the community. As Jaques Revel put it, the dress, together with corporal expressions and gestures are communicative signs that are part of a vocabulary of recognition among people²⁵⁹. In this case, the traditional attire was supposed to signify the moral quality of its wearers, especially women. In the middle of the 18th century, Gipuzkoa was the place where the external appearance of the body became the principal element of communication, and signification was the church and the social rituals attached to it. In his *Corografía*, Larramendi focused on the appearance of farmer women, the *caseras*. Those women, usually with few resources, were able to dress with impeccable decency when they had to go to mass from their distant farms:

"they cover the heads with a headdress as white as snow, and they do it meticulously, in one way or another, and always with very good result. There is no farm woman that goes bareheaded, only those still unmarried [...]. They cover their neck with a faultless and neat necktie made of muslin and lace, prepare it with noticeable taste and proportion, with pins here and there, and they finally get ready and covered with extreme modesty [...]. When they are heading out towards the church [...] they take their rosary in their hand, and it is

²⁵⁶ CHARTIER (1989): 165.

²⁵⁷ BOLUFER (2004b): 589.

²⁵⁸ LARRAMENDI (1969): 221.

²⁵⁹ REVEL (1989): 170.

quite common that they are set in silver, and they go out and to church dressed like this”²⁶⁰.

This immaculate outward appearance of the women from Gipuzkoa was in opposition to the opulence that was usual in the courtly spaces²⁶¹. His criticism toward the nobility was also very harsh about the “indecent” of their clothing, because they could pervert the good dressing habits of the province. That is precisely what was already happening among the *jaunchos* and *andiquesas*, among rural great land owners, those who were supposed to build and guide the good functioning of the province through the maintenance of their lineages²⁶². The critique of Larramendi was articulated around two distinctive antagonisms that endangered the continuity of the ancestral lineage of Gipuzkoa. Firstly, there was the opposition between what was new and old, the conflict between a primitive and better past and a crazy future. Secondly, there was the opposition between the rural and the urban spaces. This last sphere was gradually becoming more important due to the development of commercial activity. According to Larramendi, the abandonment of austere rural customs in favour of the more urban life in villages or cities had led the great land owners to imitate foreign customs and trends, imported from France or Castilla, putting the traditional way of living on the verge of disappearance:

“I remember when farm women used to dress adequately and decently, yes, but without so many affected ways and superfluous garments as they use today. These trends are new, and are being used by gentlemen and ladies [...] From head to toe they want to dress according to French trends [...] this is what our landowners [*jaunchos*] have learned, like other Spanish people, who learn all the useless things of France, and they ignore all the good things that they could learn”²⁶³.

The most severe judgment was passed against the great ladies [*andiquesas*] of the province: “if in Castilla precious jewellery, bracelets of imitation gold, rings of diamonds and others, then they are copied in Guipúzcoa. If in Castilla corsets and

²⁶⁰ LARRAMENDI (1969): 214.

²⁶¹ See MARTÍN (1987).

²⁶² FERNÁNDEZ (1977): 153.

²⁶³ LARRAMENDI (1969): 221.

plunging necklines, whalebones, and rags, then you see them in Guipúzcoa (...).”²⁶⁴. He pictured them as coquettish and extravagant, as the ruin of their houses and lineages: “They are excessive and scandalous [...] the ruin of their houses”²⁶⁵. Furthermore, he questioned: “what is the objective of this dedication and occupation? Is it with the aim to please God and the angels and the saints? Is it with the aim to look like good Christians? They should answer themselves (...)”²⁶⁶. In this sense, Larramendi, as a Jesuit priest, shared the most misogynist values of the moralist tradition that considered women’s attraction to embellish themselves as an inherent fault that distanced them from Christian morality²⁶⁷.

This negative view, nevertheless, was not limited to arguments of moral character. In fact, traditional and conservative understandings of luxury also propose economic and social arguments against sumptuous habits because they could cause an imitative effect among the rest of the women²⁶⁸. Larramendi, like many other authors of his period, thought that the poorest women would end up imitating women from higher ranks. Therefore, he criticised humble women who, in being mere maids, wanted to look like and be like their ladies, whilst he condemned ladies’ attitudes that gave a bad example to women of humble origins:

“This bad example of noble women and ladies is the one that maids and humble young girls follow. During holidays and festivities, the maids of today dress like the dames and noble ladies of the Guipúzcoa of fifty years ago [...] Those and other pieces are used by the girls that the next day will go out to the street barefoot. And there is hardly a girl amongst those, who even if she has served for many years, does not spend all her salaries on dressing and adorning herself”²⁶⁹.

Even though his understanding of the social order was strongly hierarchical, with these words Larramendi was not trying to underline the social difference between the *andiquesas* and the *nescames* (maids). He was trying to make them equal under the one

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 223.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 222.

²⁶⁷ See RUIZ (2014); MORANT (2005) and HERNÁNDEZ (1987-1988).

²⁶⁸ BOLUFER (1993): 178.

²⁶⁹ LARRAMENDI (1969): 221.

and only moral code of decency that had to be signified through a common and communal appearance, from the poorest to the richest, precisely because they were all from Gipuzkoa. He wanted all of them to be more like the austere and pious farmer woman of the white headdress and the silver rosary that represented the physical and moral archetype of the good old Gipuzkoa. This noble virtue of Gipuzkoa equalized – within the limits of his inter-classist and hierarchical social thought– all women of the province making them all exceptional. Ultimately, their appearance was one of the elements that distinguish them from the rest of women, and men, from other provinces. Larramendi, though, did not aim to judge all women under a universal category “woman”. Sharing as he did many of the aspects of the misogynistic and hierarchical mentality of the *Ancien Regime*, he could not consider all women as equal in their social rank and even less in their virtue. Only in the case of the austere, exceptional and virile women of Gipuzkoa could the miracle work, making even the humblest peasant exceptional and overcoming all the negative aspects attributed to her sex and social rank. The importance of Larramendi’s work lies in the fact that also in his discourse about the morality of clothing, the communitarian ingredient proved to be more important than any other aspect. The value of community eclipsed all the negative aspects attributed to gender or class, making the women from Gipuzkoa exceptional.

1.4.4. The acceptable desire: between religious rigour and dancing in the public square.

Popular public dances of Gipuzkoa were another discursive space and practice through which community, gender and sexuality were related. His defence of the popular dances must be situated in a broader context of a debate that he maintained with another Jesuit, the missionary Sebastian Mendiburu, mentioned above. The question about the morality or immorality of the dances was a long-lasting polemic among member of the Society of Jesus as well as in other religious orders that lasted well until the 19th century²⁷⁰. The main argument of the priests and missionaries who opposed to the popular public dances, as it was the case of Mendiburu, was that the contact between men and women was dangerous and that the public performance of dances broke the rules of Christian decency. Those were the arguments that Larramendi tried to refute. Even if for the contemporary reader it may seem insignificant the topic, was very important for various

²⁷⁰ BIDADOR (2005).

reasons. Firstly, it was one of the few festive activities where men and women shared a common space in the public space and within view of everyone. Secondly, in the case of Larramendi's defence, the virtue of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa was at stake.

His justification started with a meticulous revision of the biblical sources regarding dances and their propriety. His conclusion was clear: there were more reasons to defend them rather than to condemn them. Nevertheless, Larramendi was defending the traditional dances from Gipuzkoa, and not every kind of dance. Thus, the dignifying or moralizing element of the dances was their provincial and traditional singularity, which was regarded as being essentially virtuous. He did not observe any dangerous element in traditional dances, not even in those where men and women danced together:

“I wonder: what makes dances so bad, that men should dance in the square? No. That women dance? Neither. That men and women dance together? They would say yes, and that this causes wickedness and scandal. But they would argue wrongly. Is it not possible that men and women may dance together with modesty and decency? Is it not possible that men may dance with women without having wicked, malevolent or dishonest intentions?”²⁷¹.

Like the rest of his religious colleagues, he maintained the idea that dancing was a practice where the desire between men and women could easily arise. However, in Larramendi's account, this danger was avoided through the embodiment and the internalization of divine vigilance: “it is wet gunpowder and God is sending a rain of representations and inspirations that do not allow the fire of lasciviousness to catch fire; it is extinguished and washed over”²⁷². As in many other aspects, the condemnation of the opponents to traditional dancing was especially harsh on women. Larramendi, nevertheless, put the virtue of the women from Gipuzkoa ahead of his misogynistic prejudices, proving that they were compatible with his moral defence of his male and female neighbours.

“they have argued that they go out to dance dressed better than ever; they should realize and say too that they are modestly dressed, with their breasts completely

²⁷¹ LARRAMENDI (1969): 243.

²⁷² *Ibid*, 269.

sunken, with their shoulders completely covered, with their necks completely hidden. Those are signs of their modesty, of their honesty and that they are far from going out to dance with the intention to provoke; and it would be a reckless judgment to attribute bad intentions to them”²⁷³.

The key point that made the mixed dancing innocent was precisely that it was performed by people from Gipuzkoa:

“It is people from Guipúzcoa who dance, Christian and Catholic by the grace of God [...] They have been told by their parents, preachers and confessors that the bad desires of the flesh and every thought against chastity are sinful. They are used to confessing their thoughts”²⁷⁴.

Larramendi’s words show, again, the paradigmatic example of the Foucauldian “confession animal” mentioned above, a human being trapped in a soul that permanently accuses him/her. It is one of the most important and recurrent methods of control and construction of sexual identity. All the social agents participated in that regime of compulsory confession that “it was and still is the general matrix which rules the production of the true discourse about sex”²⁷⁵. However, the most sophisticated method of exercising power and coercion is the one that every subject embodies and exercises upon himself/herself once the norm has been interiorised and naturalised. According to Larramendi, it was this internalised discipline that turned the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa into docile bodies. Catholic education and confession secured the virtue of his neighbours granting the decency of the popular dances.

If performed according to the traditional rules and under the inspection of the public eye, dancing could even be considered as a space for socialisation between the sexes:

“[they say] that young girls go out to dance with their best dresses. Why should it be considered provocative? They go like that to weddings too, to the rural

²⁷³ *Ibid*, 262.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 267.

²⁷⁵ FOUCAULT (1980): 39.

pilgrimages²⁷⁶, to see bullfighting and other celebrations; and, who has said, without having any good reason, that going dressed like that is bad or provocative? It is because they are going to be seen; and that men, watching them, are going to be pleased. Of course, they are going to be seen, and well dressed, because they are not going to dance with blind moles; when they go to the public square to dance they do not want to be seen dirty, or dressed in rags [...]. Is it not possible for a man to be agreeable to a woman in a decent and modest way? Giving lessons to his Apostles Jesus Christ said that it was a sin to look at a woman with bad desires or lascivious intentions, but he did not say that it was a sin to see and look at women, nor for women to look at men, without that sinful desire²⁷⁷.

From this defence of public dances, we discover a fundamental aspect: the way in which desire and sexual identity of Gipuzkoa were built in relation to the control and the public sanction of the desires and passion between the sexes. This was a process of construction of the acceptable and unacceptable desire for the virtuous inhabitants of Gipuzkoa. More than the prohibition of every expression of desire, it was necessary to create, define and delimit a public knowledge, a space of knowledge-power, according to which men and women would know, by embodying these rules, how to behave virtuously with each other. In this regard, Larramendi was especially harsh with missionaries and priests that used to condemn popular dances, precisely because in that way they were leading young men and women to secret and sinful practices. As he put it, if the confessors and preachers knew that there was nothing wrong with the dances of Gipuzkoa,

“they would not condemn those dances, being as they are controlled, because they are to a large extent the only way to avoid much of the wickedness and dishonour that take place between young boys and girls in distant, remote places and without witnesses²⁷⁸.”

²⁷⁶ Romerías.

²⁷⁷ LARRAMENDI (1969): 262.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 277.

In this sense, Larramendi advanced an argument that some anti-clerical enlightened thinkers would use half a century later: they strongly criticised Basque priests and missionaries, arguing that they had perverted the innocent customs of young boys and girls who used to dance in front of their parents, priests and all their neighbours, leading them to secretly have relations with each other out of the public control²⁷⁹.

The most important aspect of Larramendi's defence of the popular dances is that it shows that even though he was part of a very powerful Catholic tradition, his will to defend and create a strong sense of provincial identity leads him to soften and diminish the crudest Catholic beliefs about the body, and especially about the feminine body and desire. The proximity between the sexes was not always conceived as dangerous; moreover, Larramendi represented the public dancing area as the place where sexual desire was publicly configured, controlled and socialised. The Jesuit philologist distanced himself from the most virulent misogyny in order to defend the virtue of the feminine participants from Gipuzkoa. The condition that made the popular dance acceptable was that they were performed by women and men from Gipuzkoa according to the traditional rules bearers of a primitive and pure Christianity. The need to protect an aspect of popular culture that he thought of great importance for the communitarian identity made him alter the significance of many of the most conservative religious aspects, of which he himself was part.

In this chapter, I have tried to show the way in which Basque post-Tridentine Catholicism configured sexual difference. I have focused primarily on the message that missionaries and other important Jesuits promoted through their missions and pastoral activities, including the important act of confession during the first half of the 18th century. I believe that they were able to permeate, although not to fully determine or condition, the behaviour and mentality of important social sectors, especially the popular ones. Their conception of the human body played a fundamental role in the way in which they understood the differences between women and men. Their understanding of the relationship between the sex of the body and gender was not conditioned by any natural determinism, and therefore gender was defined as a social positioning rather than as a natural condition that separated men and women in different species. In their

²⁷⁹ See GARATE (1936): 22.

discourse, their ferocious misogyny was combined with examples of exemplary virtuous women, as virtuous as men in some cases. In fact, the examples of feminine and masculine perfection were both based on the domination of passions and achievement of sanctity extensively exemplified by the resource of hagiographic literature. Even though women were allegedly less able to achieve such grades of perfection, Jesuit missionaries and priests continuously invoke examples of saint women as the role models to follow. Furthermore, I have emphasised the idea that in a society like the Basque Country, ruled by a very hierarchical understanding of the social as well as the moral world, the configuration of the identity of women and men was not always already determined by gender, precisely because it was not conceived in biological terms. Aspects such as religiosity, social rank or a certain sense of communitarian belonging were more important in the configuration of the social position of individuals. Manuel de Larramendi's description of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa is the clearest example of this "relative weakness" of gender. His view of sexual difference was more conditioned by his necessity or anxiety to reinforce the communitarian difference, rather than by his prejudices about women. The women of Gipuzkoa were exceptional and manly, better than women, and more importantly, than men of other provinces because they were the example of the virile perfection of Gipuzkoa. Thus, in a Spanish and European context where enlightened ideas were slowly being shaped, and also in the Basque Country, there were conceptions of sex and gender which were still conceived as unstable, movable and non-deterministic dimensions of human identity.

It is interesting to note that two years before the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767²⁸⁰, in 1765, a group of well-known noblemen –partly influenced by French encyclopaedic theories– created the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*. They had been informally meeting and discussing a great variety of topics during the previous years and they thought that it was necessary to constitute themselves as an economic, cultural and scientific society that would channel the "modernising" or "reformist" proposals in line with the enlightened trends around Europe. They carried out important educational, technical and economic developments during the second half of the 18th century. Their social project, of course, presented important changes in the

²⁸⁰ Jesuits such as Pedro de Calatayud, Agustín Cardaberaz or Sebastian Mendiburu were exiled to Bolonia while Manuel de Larramendi died a year earlier in 1766.

understanding of sexual difference. In the next chapter, I will try to analyse the new gender ideals that those enlightened views were trying to introduce. Their proposals and activities, nevertheless, did not entail any sudden change or revolutionary effect in social behaviours or customs. In fact, as we will later see, the religious control over people, especially through missionary activity (during the second half of the century mainly carried out by Franciscans) was very powerful. Even more, in a general context of cultural and political changes, revolutions and wars, the religious discourse developed into a more ferocious message against any social change.

II Atala: Euskalerrriaren Adiskideen Elkartea. Generoaren kontzepzio berriak.

Atal honetan noblezia ilustratuaren tendentziek, Euskalerrriaren Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan bildurik eta ofizialki 1765 sorturik²⁸¹, diferentzia sexualaren eta generoaren kontzepzioan ekarritako aldaketetan zentratuko gara. Euskalerrriaren Adiskideen Elkarteak, zientzia eta teknikaren aurrerapenaren eta munduaren ikuspegi berri baten sinisten zuela esan daiteke. Elite aristokratiko definitu batetan gorpuzturik, bere burua euskal gizartea hobetzeko borondatea zuen entitatetzat zeukan ezagutza zientifikoaren, ekonomiaren eta arteen alorrean berrikuntzak ekarriz. Elkarteak, bere praktikak eta beraien sorkuntza idatziak eta literarioak berebiziko interesa duen fenomeno dira sexuen arteko harremanaren ulerkeran aldaketa garrantzitsuak sartu zituztelako egokitu zitzaizen testuinguru konkretu hartan. Ikusiko dugunez beraien ikuspegiak euskal elizaren parte ziren hainbat misiolariaren eta apaizen zorrozkeria katolikoaren ikuspuntutik nabarmenki aldendu ziren. Sektore hauek eragin nabariagoa izan zuten populaziaren artean, batez ere inguru landatarrean.

Dorinda Outram eta Mónica Bolufer bezalako egileek adierazi bezala, Ilustrazioaren inguruko ikerketak “una búsqueda de los orígenes de la modernidad” izan dira²⁸². Historiografiak korrante ilustratuek Espainian izan zuten eragina erlatibizatu izan du, batez ere kontuan hartuz gizon eta emakume ilustratuek proposatu zituzten ideiak erro sakonak zituzten beste ikuspegiekin elkarbizi izan zirela²⁸³. Euskal probintzietan ideia ilustratuek izan zuten ezarpena kritika sakonagoak jaso izan ditu²⁸⁴. Espainiko erreinuan existitu izan zen egitasmu ilustratuen instituzionalizazio goiztiarra izateak, eta egoera politiko eta instituzional berezian kokaturik egoteak, zeinetatik foruen erregimena defendatu zuten –ikuspuntu liberaletatik edo tradizionalistetatik²⁸⁵–, fenomenoaren irakurketa oso desberdinak eragin izan ditu. Batzuen aburuz, egitasmoa kontserbadorea, despotikoa eta elitista zen; Antzinako Erregimenaren egiturak bere onurarako defendatu

²⁸¹ Hurrengo orrialdeetan Adiskideen Elkartea erabiliko dut erakunde hau aipatzeko.

²⁸² BOLUFER (2009): 167; OUTRAM (2013): 5.

²⁸³ SUBIRATS (1981); FERNÁNDEZ (1993): 57 eta hurrengoak; BOLUFER (2007): 191; SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (2007): 4-8.

²⁸⁴ ASTIGARRAGA (2003): 16-17.

²⁸⁵ Honen inguruan ikusi ONAINDIA (2002).

zituen, eta oro har, porrot handi bat izan zen²⁸⁶. Zentzu honetan, kritika guztien artean gogorrenak argudiatu izan du elkarte hiru arrazoiengatik porrot bat izan zela: inakziora bideratzen zuen katolizismo baten pean bizi izan zelako eta ez zuelako benetako sekularizazio prozesu bat bultzatu; ez zuelako hezkuntza publikoa bultzatu eta, azkenik, tradizio foralak indarrean jarritako teoria mitiko-historiko Tubalistetatik ez zelako aldendu²⁸⁷.

Beste ikuspegi batzuetatik, ordea, elkartearen ekintzak “movimiento de instituciones, ideas y reformas económicas que representó una alternativa a los programas socioeconómicos que desplegaron tanto las instituciones como el Gobierno Central” izan zirela argudiatu da eta euskal probintzietan “el germen de una voluntad modernizadora” sortu izan zutela²⁸⁸. Zentzu honetan, Cécile Mary Trojanik adierazi du elkarte osatzen zuen aristokrazia “perfectamente integrada en el funcionamiento socio-económico del Antiguo Régimen, pero que, al socaire de las Luces y de las modas, rompe horizontes y se abre sin excesivas reservas a la modernidad” zegoela²⁸⁹. Egileak, historia sozialak eskaintzen dituen proposamenetatik, elkartearen praktika ekonomikoak beraien mundu ulerkeratan eman ziren aldaketekin batera sortu zirela eta beraien jarreratan “los gérmenes activos de una mentalidad burguesa” antzematea posible dela defendatu du²⁹⁰. Zentzu berberean, zenbait egileek defendatu izan dute zientziari eman zioten indarrak eta Estatu Modernoari zegokion abertzaletasun ereduak praktikatu izanak –Antzinako Erregimenaren gobernuetako fideltasun eruedetatik desberdinak– elkarte guztiz ilustratutzat jotzea ahalbidetuko luke²⁹¹. Ikerketa hauek elkarteak zientzia esperimentalean, hezkuntzan, musikan eta antzerkian izan zuen interesa bere izaera ilustratuaren adierazle nagusitzat jo dituzte.

Egia esan, elkartearen errealitate sozial eta ideologikoa plurala, konplexua eta aldakorra izan zen, eta urteetan zehar bere bizitza instituzionalak hainbat aldaketa jasan zituen. Andoni Artolak ondo adierazi duen moduan, elkarte urteetan zehar beraien ikuspuntu kulturalak eta politikoak aldatu zituzten kideez osatuta egon zen. Honekin batera, kinka sozialek eta kulturelek, bai euskal zein espainiar gizarteetakoek, elkartearen ildo

²⁸⁶ FÉRNANDEZ (1991): 19-21; PORTILLO (1991): 158; MARTÍNEZ (1993): 215-225.

²⁸⁷ AZURMENDI (2000): 331-368.

²⁸⁸ ASTIGARRAGA (2003): 18.

²⁸⁹ TROJANI (2004a): 619.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ ANDUAGA (2009): 672.

ideologikoan eragina izan zuten. Egileak azaltzen duen moduan elkartearen lehen urteetan zehar euskal probintzietako ilustrazioaren kontrako tendentziak elkartetik kanpo sortu ziren. Izan ere, behin baino gehiagotan hainbat egileren eta sektoreren erasoak pairatu izan zituen. XVIII. mendearen azkeneko eta XIX. mendeko lehen hamarkadetan, ordea, Pablo Pedro Astarloa edo Juan Antonio Moguel bezalako egileek elkartearen baitara tendentzia antimodernoak eraman izan zituzten²⁹². Mota honetako autoreak, elkartearen baitako egile eta kide garrantzitsuekin harreman estu eta garrantzitsuak mantendu bazituzten ere, Peñafloidako Kontearekin bezala, Félix María de Samaniego, Manuel de Aguirre edo Valentin de Foronda bezalako egileen pentsamendu eta proposamen ilustratu eta liberalagoetatik guztiz aldendurik zeuden.

Nabaria da, beraz, Ilustrazioaren ezaugarritzea eta zenbait fenomeno ilustratutzat definitzea ez dela lan erraza. Izan ere, Ilustrazioaren/Ilustrazioen kronologia, geografia eta beraien definizioak, baita kasu paradigmaticoenak ere –Frantziaren edo Alemaniaren kasuan–, eztabaidagai izaten jarraitzen dute egun ²⁹³. Eta are garrantzitsuagoa oraindik, Mendebaldeko Argien adierazpen argizat jo izan diren horien eduki edo izaera emantzipatzailea ere ez da libre egon zalantzetaz eta eztabaidetaz²⁹⁴.

Hemen aurkezten den azterketaren helburua ez da Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek aurrera eraman zituzten proposamenen modernizazioaren, demokratizazioaren, sekularizazioaren edo hezkuntzaren mailaren juzgua, neurketa edo kuantifikazioa egitea. Gure asmoa erabili izan zituzten kategoriei egotzi zieten esanahien eta zentzuen ikerketa egitea da beraien begietan euskal probintziek behar zituzten erreformak eta aldaketak proposatzeko eta aurrera eramanteko Europako berrikuntza sozialaren, kulturalaren eta politikoaren testuinguruan. Gai hauen ikerketa generoaren ikuspegitik egingo da, gainerako korrante ilustratuekin antzekoak diren elementuak identifikatuz

²⁹² ARTOLA (2009): 135-137.

²⁹³ OUTRAM (2013): 3-5.

²⁹⁴ HORKHAIMER eta ADORNO (1994) filosofiaren eremutik eskainitako kritikatik aparte eta FOUCAULT (1984) teorilariak emandako kritiketat gain azken hamarkadetan gai honen inguruan eragin nabarmenena izaten ari diren korronteak ikasketa postkolonialetatik sortu dira. Horien artean MIGNOLO (2005) y (2011) egile argentinarraren lana azpimarratu beharra dago. Generoaren ikuspegitik SEBASTIANI (2013) egindako lana aipatu beharra dago daukan garrantziarengatik. Mota honetako lanek, prozesu kolonialek izan zituzten eraginak erakustez gainera, mendebaldeko “modernitatearen” diskurtsoa deseraiki dute proiektu ilustratua oinarritzen zuten aurrejuzgu arrazialak eta generoak erakutsiz.

eta espizifikoak direnak azpimarratuz. Beraien burua hurrengo eran definitu zuten: “El objetivo de esta Sociedad es el cultivar la inclinación, y el gusto de la Nación Bascongada ácia las Ciencias, bellas letras, y Artes: corregir, y pulir sus costumbres, desterrar el ocio, la ignorancia, y sus funestas consecuencias”²⁹⁵. Ikus dezakegu beraien helburua ez zela errealitatea errotik aldatzea, iraultza bat sortzea edo hierarkia sozialak hankaz gora jartzea. Aitzitik, munduarekiko sentsibilitate berri bat sortzen saiatu ziren zoriontasuna, osasun publikoa, ezagutzari maitasuna, zibiltatea, aurrerapena, edertasuna, erosotasuna, familia harmonia eta gozamen personal zein pribatua bezalako kontzeptuetan oinarriturik.

Beraien proposamen berriak subjektibitatea eta sentsibilitate ilustratu berri baten sorkuntzaren eskutik etorri ziren. Ikuspuntu berri honen bitartez munduarekin eta errealitate sozialarekin harremantzeko eredu berriak formulatu zituzten. Subjektibitate hau Trento ondorengo katolizismoaren zorrozkeriari eta dogmatismoari egotzitako kritiketatik, esplizituki edo inplizituki, eta eskolastika tomista eta aristotelikoari egindako arbuiotik sortu zen. Jarrera katoliko eta erlijioso sakon batetik, ezagutza arrazionala sortzeko zeukaten eskubidea aldarrikatzeaz gainera, beraien bizitza pribatu eta intimoa gidatzeko zeukaten autonomia morala ere aldarrikatu zuten elizaren ikuspuntu eta bere elizgizon zorrotzenen kontrol eta onespenetik at. Hurrengo orrialdeetan ikusiko dugunez, proposamen eta jarrera hauek diferentzia sexualaren ulermen berrien sorkuntzan eragin nabarmena izan zuten eta, aldi berean, ikupegi berri horiengatik eraginak jaso zituen.

Hala ere, testuinguru politiko eta kultural aldakor baten eta krisialdi garaian, berrikuntza hauek ez zuten momentuko gainerako ikuspuntuen erauztea ekarri, baizik eta beraiekin elkar bizi izan ziren atmosfera dialogiko baten. Testuinguruan honetan generoari eta sexuari egotzitako esanahiak eztabaida prozesuan egon ziren beti. Adiskideen Elkartearen errealitatea zentzu zeharo desberdinean ulertu zuten beste sektore eta eragile sozialekin bizi izan zen eta inongo kasutan esan daiteke tendentzia ilustratuek horiek desagerrarazteko gaitasuna izan zutenik. Azpimarragarria da, beraz, beraien generoari buruzko planteamenduak erlijioaren zorrozkeriaren kontra sortutako kritiketatik sortu zela hein handi baten. Honek ez du esan nahi katolizismoa arbuiatu zutenik, ezta Eliza

²⁹⁵ RSBAP (1765): 1.

bera ere, edo generoa bera definitzerako orduan erlijioak beraien diskurtsoan pisua galdu zuenik. Bai, ordea, moralitate katolikoaren irakurketa propio eta berri batetik, feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen irudi berriak eskaini zituztela.

Beraz, atal honetan gure helburua subjektu berri baten eta honek errealitatearekin zeukan harreman berriaren eraikuntza prozesu honetan diferentzia sexualari egotzitako esanahia ikertzea izango da. Horrela, gorputzaren esperientziaren, diferentzia sexualaren eta genero identitateen berdefinizioak euskal noblezia erreformistaren mentalitatean, diskurtsoetan eta praktiketan eman zen aldaketa egituratu zuela erakusten saiatuko naiz. Talde honek ekarri zituen aldaketak ulertzeko generoa bereziki garrantzitsua den analisi kategoriatzat agertzen zaigu klasifikazio historikoen mugikortasun eta anbiguotasunaren –eta, zentzu baten, arbitrariotasunaren– erakusle delako. Egia bada ere elkartean inguruko noblezia entziklopedistak hainbat elementu tradizioari jarraituz definitu eta mantendu izan zituela, euskal probintzien estatus politiko-administratiboa bezala edo beraien historiografia mitiko-legendarioa –hortik euskal probintzietako ilustrazioa porrotzat ezaugarritu izana–, generoari eta diferentzia sexualari buruzko beraien planteamenduak Europan zehar ilustratuztat definitu izan diren hainbat planteamendurekin eta hausnarketarekin konparagarriak dira. Katolizismoa edota moral katolikoa ez ziren inoiz zuzenean eta esplizituki kritikatuak izan, baina birplanteamendu garrantzitsuak jasan izan zituzten. Zalantzarik gabe, beraien gizartearen eta errealitatearen ikuspegiak, zeinak zientzia eta arrazoia zeuzkan gidari, katolizismoaren esperientzia eta kontzepzio zeharo desberdina erakusten dute elizaren sektore zorrotzenekin alderatzen bada. Izan ere, beranduago ikusiko dugun moduan, beharrezkoa da azpimarratzea feminitateari eta maskulinitateari buruz proposatu zituzten berrikuntzak katolizismoaren birplanteamendu honen muinean egon zirela.

Lehenik eta behin, sentsibiltate edo gogo ilustratu berria ezaugarritzen saiatuko naiz, edo sarreran aipatu izan den Raymond Williamsen kontzeptua erabilita, “sentimenaren egitura” berri baten sorkuntzari buruz arituko naiz. Egitura berri hau zientzia esperimentalean zeukaten fede indartsu batek eta mundu materiala eta mundutarra hautemateko zeukaten ikuspuntu positibo eta konfidantza berri batek eraginda sortu zen. Begirada berri honek giza natura edo izaera zorrozkeria katolikoak inposatutako haragiaren errutik aldendurik ulertzen zuen. Sentimen honetatik, subjektibitate femenino eta maskulino berriak proposatu zituzten gorputzaren, sexuaren eta

generoaren ulermen berri batetik. Ikuspuntu berri honen baitan, sexuen arteko diferentzia eredu hierarkiko ez binario baten arabera antolatzen zen ikusmoldearen aurrean sexuen arteko konplementaritatearen edo osagarritasunaren ideia txertatzen zen. Kapituluaren zehar, antzerkiaren, luxuaren, zibilizazio prozesuaren, hezkuntzaren edota literatura erotikoren diskurtsoen analisiaren bidez, Adiskideen Elkarteak eta bere inguruak diferentzia sexuala ulertzeko ekarri zituen berrikuntzetan sakonduko dugu.

Atal honetan Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek idatziko iturrietan zentratuko naiz batez ere, baina ez bakarrik. Elkarteko kideak beste instituzio eta kideekin harreman sakonak izan zituzten, bai beraien saiakera produkzioek eta baita beraien gutun bidezko harremanek adierazten duten moduan. Elkartetik haratago estatu mailan ere hainbat egunkarietako publikazioetan parte hartu zuten eta hainbat sektore eta eragileekin eztabaidatu ziren. Elkar eragin hauek lan honetan gehitu behar dira harreman dialogiko horien bidez sortu izan ziren genero esanahi konplexuak ulertu ahal izateko. Beharrezkoa da elkartearen inguruan sortu zen produkzio hori eta beraien artean eman ziren eztabaida zabal horiek ikerketa honetan gehitzea euskal probintzietan XVIII. mendearen bigarren erdialdean ikusmolde ilustratutik edo erreformistatik eman zen diferentzia sexualaren definizioa testuinguratzeko²⁹⁶.

2.1. Sentsibiltate ilustratua: munduaren esperientzia berri bat.

José María Imízcoz-en arabera, Adiskideen Elkartea bezalako instituzioen erakundetzea Europa mailako mugimendu modernizatzailearen markoan koka daiteke, soziabilitate eredu kultu berrien sorkuntzarekin batera, hasiera baten eremu pribatuaren baitan sortu izan zirenak, tertulien eta batzarren bidez, eta ondoren zientzia eta arteen akademien bidez forma hartuko zutenak²⁹⁷. Euskal probintzien kasuan, goi mailako noblezia lurjabe eta komertziala hainbat batzar informalen bidez batzen hasia zen Azkoitia bezalako herrietan. Erreinu mailan lehena izan zen Adiskideen Elkartea sortu zuten, beraien

²⁹⁶ Atal honetan Adiskideen Elkarteko kideak landuko dira batez ere beraien garai aktiboenean, hain zuzen ere, beraien esperientzia eta izaera ilustratuta hobekien adierazten duena. Garai hau 1765tik 1785ra bitartea betetzen du, elkarteko lehen zuzendaria, Peñafloída Kontea, hil zen arte. Honek ez du esan nahi beste garaietako testuak ez direnik kontuan hartuko, aurreko edo ondorengo garaioak. Jesús Astigarragak adierazi duenez Adiskideen Elkarteak bere jarrera eta proposamen ekonomiko eta kulturaletan biraketa kontsebakoa 1788. urtean eman zuen, ASTIGARRAGA (2003): 207 eta hurrengoak, bereziki 209. Anti-modernotzat hartu izan diren jarrerak, zenbait autore erlijiosok proposatutakoak, Juan Antonio Moguelen kasua bezalaxe, tesiaren hirugarren atalean ikertuak izango dira. Moguel bezalako egileak Adiskideen Elkarteko kide izan ziren baina bere planteamendu ideologikoak tendentzia edo muin ilustratuenetatik aldedu ziren aurrerago ikuiko dugun moduan.

²⁹⁷ IMÍZCOZ (2014): 132.

erreferente nagusiak Frantziako, Ingalaterrako, Italiako edo Espainiako arte eta zientzien akademietan zituztelarik²⁹⁸. Egile honek azaldu duen moduan, elkarte horren sortzaile izan zen euskal nobleen elitea, beranduago *Bergarako Errege Mintegia* (1776) sortuko zuena –gazte nobleentzat sortu zen hezkuntza erakundea, elkartearen egitasmo garrantzitsuenetarikoa–, monarkiaren gorbenuarekin, bere finantzekin eta komertzio kolonialarekin lotura estuak zeuzkan aurrera zeramatzan jarduera komertzialengatik, negozioengatik eta baita lotura familiarrengatik ere²⁹⁹. Zenbait ikerketek argudiatu duten moduan, hortaz, ez da harritzekoa Mintegiko hainbat ikasle Koroaren egitura administratiboen baitan integraturik zeuden hainbat familiaren semeak izatea, eta beraz, beraien heziketa egitura horien parte izateko eta beraien baitan kargu administratibo, ekonomiko edo militar garrantzitsuak betetzeko zuzenduta egotea, naiz eta ondorengoaren patua ez zegoen halabeharraz hortara determinaturik³⁰⁰. Beste era batera esanda, Mintegiaren helburuetako bat nobleziaren –ez bakarrik euskaldunarena baizik eta beste probintzietakoa ere– erreprodukzioa izan zen, baita okerrago pozisionaturik zeuden familia nobleen maila soziala igotzeko bide bat ere. Espainiar Ilustraziotzat hartu izan den hori, eta horren baitan euskalduna, borbondarren monarkia hispaniarraren botore zirkuluekin harreman estuak mantendu zituen, batez ere Karlos III.aren monarkia erreformistaren garaian³⁰¹. Adiskideen Elkartea egitate honen adierazle argia da, bere kide garrantzitsuenetarikoak koroaren estamentu militar zein administratiboen parte izan zirelako, Manuel de Aguirre edo José de Mazarredoren kasuak adierazten duten moduan.

Peñafloridako konteak berak Adiskideen Elkarteko lehen zuzendaria 1785. urtera arte, 1765. urtean elkarteko irekiera diskurtso baten adierazi zuen moduan, elkartearen inguruan batu zen euskal nobleziak irakinaldi kultural eta politiko garrantzitsu baten parte zela sentitu zuen erreformen aldekoa zen monarkia baten testuinguruan³⁰²: “¿Que siglo ha visto hasta ahora un Reynado en que las ideas favorables al Público encontrasen la acogida que hoy encuentran?”³⁰³. Beraien lana eta izaera “Nobleza instruida, y laboriosa” baten partetzat ulertzen zuten, ez ordea noblezia nagitzat³⁰⁴.

²⁹⁸ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1999):13-14.

²⁹⁹ IMÍZCOZ (2014): 133.

³⁰⁰ CHAPARRO (2011): 29 eta 196 eta hurrengoak.

³⁰¹ IMÍZCOZ (2014): 133.

³⁰² LÓPEZ-CORDÓN (2015).

³⁰³ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1999): 17.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 16.

Beraien burua ezagutza teknikoa eta zientifikoa laborari, nekazari eta gainerako basailuen lan praktikoaren mesedetan erabiliko eta jarriko zuen klase buruzagitzat zuten euskal probintzien gaitasun produktiboa eta harmonia soziala birsortzeko. 1790. urteko elkarteko laburpenetan irakurri daitekeen moduan bere kideetako batek adierazi zuen “Quando toda la nacion en proporción á las facultades ó motivos de instruirse, adquiere los principios del saber por medio de una educación verdadera [...] entonces se establece aquella armonía de partes, aquel fomento caloroso” zeinetatik eratortzen zen “la vida de un pueblo que lo convida a la acción”³⁰⁵.

José María Portillo Valdés-ek Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek beraien buruari buruz eragile sozial eta politiko gisa zeukaten definizioaren inguruan eskaintzen duen hausnarketa oso argigarria suerta daiteke. Bere interpretazioak elkarteko kideen iruditerian antzematen dugun antolaketa sozialaren zentzu politikoa eta morala ulertzeko gakoak eskaintzen ditu. Autorearen aburuz, bazkideentzat politikariaren irudiak errepublikoaren zentzu tradizionala hartzen zuen³⁰⁶. Irudi honek bi balioaren arteko orekatik eratortzen zuen bere esanahia. Alde batetik, adiskidetasuna zegoen, elkarteko kideen arteko harremanaren sustratu sentimentaltzat edo emozionaltzat funtzionatzen zena. Eta bestetik, nobleen abertzaletasun zintzoa, euskal probintzien funtzionamendu egokiarekiko nolabaiteko betebeharraren sentimendua sortzen zuena monarkia borbondarraren parte ziren heinean. Ideal ilustratu hau, edo patrizio ilustratu hau, Portillok adierazten duen moduan, bi akzio eremu konbinatu zituen. Bi espazio hauen definizioa eta mugapena pentsamendu ilustratuaren muinean egon zen binomioaren ezaugarria izan zen: pribatuaren eta publikoaren arteko muga eta oreka definitzea eta ezartzea. Errepubliko lez, errepublikaren (publikoa zenaren horren) zorionarekiko interesa eta ardura, aitatzat eta jabetzat, hau da, *pater familias*-tzat, bere bizitza pribatuaren gobernaritzat, zeukan autoritatearekin konbinatuko zuen³⁰⁷. Klase gobernaritzat jardun zen noblezia ikasiaren eta zientziazalearen ikuspegi paternalista honentzat, beraz, aurrerapen soziala *pater familias* desberdinen arteko elkarlan harmoniatsuen eskutik sortuko zen³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁵ RSBAP (1985d): 64.

³⁰⁶ PORTILLO (1996): 154.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 155 eta hurrengoak.

³⁰⁸ Historia sozialaren eta ekonomikoaren alorretik egindako ikerketek erakutsi duten moduan, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek proposatutako laborantza produkzioaren eta ekonomiaren berrikuntza teoriak hasieratik tentsio nabarmenak mantendu zituzten euskal probintzietako errealitate sozial eta ekonomikoarekin (ez bakarrik nekazal munduarekin, baita itsas produkzioarekin ere), batez ere Gipuzkoan, baina baita

Puntu honetan, bere konplexutasunean ulertu beharreko auzi historiografiko baten aurrean kokatzen gara. Zenbait autoreren aburuz Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek beraien garaiko ikusmoldeen testuingururako ez zituzten aipagarriak ziren berrikuntzarik ekarri eta elkarteko kideen izaera eta jarrera katolikoa, batzutan debotoa, azpimarratzera mugatu dira³⁰⁹. Interpretazio hauek, aitzitik, ez dute kontuan hartu elkarteko kideek erlijiosotasunari eman zioten esanahia zein izan zen ezta zein izan zen beraien katolizismoaren esperientziaren espezifikotasuna ere. Hau da, ez dute Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen esperientzia katoliko diferentziala historizatu. Zentzu honetan azpimarratu behar da elkarteko kide asko erlijio katolikoaren defendatzaile sutsu eta deboziozko praktikanteak izan baziren ere, kide horiek beraien teologia katolikoak ezagutza zientifikoari edo zenbait praktika sozialari –antzerkiari, luxuari edota euskal aristokraziako emakume eta gizonen janzkeran sortzen ziren modei zioten gustuari– ezartzen zizkioen gaitzespenak ere kritikatu zituzten.

Egiazki, Adiskideen Elkartea ez zen Volterren ildo kontra-klerikalean garatu. Hala ere, pastoraltza eta Elizaren papera beste ikuspegi desberdin batetik ulertu zuten –beraien ildo erreformistari jarraituz– Trento ondorengo Kontraerreformaren izpiritu zorrotza jarraitu zuten elizgizon ortodoxoekin alderatuta. Andre J. Smidtek adierazi duen moduan, Espainian argiek katolizismoaren harazketa suposatu zuten eta ez bere abolizioa³¹⁰. Egileak baieztatzen du Espainiako ilustrazioaren erro katolikoak Frantziako kasuarekin konparatzera mugatu izan diren ikerketek espainiar Ilustrazioaren analisi konplexuagoak sortzea ekidin izan dituztela. Zentzu honetan, Smidtekin bat

Bizkaian ere. Egilea batzuen aburuz, Antzinako Erregimenaren egiturak guztiz utzi gabe, euskal ilustratuak kapitalistatzen edo merkatuaren liberalizazioaren aldetzat jo diren produkzio ereduaren alde agertu ziren eta baita esku-lanaren proletarizazioaren alde. Honekin batera, koloniek mantentzen zuten merkataritza jardueren, Real Compañía de Caracas 1728-1785) erakundearen bidez bideratzen zirenak, abantailak mantentzean interes berezia izan zuten jarduera honen etekina barneko produkzioaren errentabilitateari gainjarritik. 1766. urtean eman zen matxinada, gariaren eta artoaren prezioarekin egiten zen espekulazioaren kontra laborarien, errementarien eta arrantzaleen artean eman ziren errebolta popularrak, Azpeitian sortu zirenak baina laster Gipuzkoako hainbat herrialdetara hedatu zena, tentsio horien adibide egokia da. Zentzu honetan, Getariako gune arrantzaleen inguruan Alberdik eta Rivolak azpimarratu dute “la Machinada tenía como uno de sus objetivos más claros ajustar cuentas con la burguesía que está medrando” eta “se sentía claramente atacada por los manejos económicos de unos hombres de negocios insertados en las redes comerciales financieras de alcance mundial”. In ALBERDI eta RIVOLA (2010): 525. 1766. urteko *matxinadaren* inguruan eta Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen inplikazioari buruz ikusi FERNÁNDEZ (1975): 171-182; OTAZU (1982) eta ALBERDI eta RIVOLA (2010).

³⁰⁹ ALTUNA (2012): 73-74.

³¹⁰ SMIDT (2010): 403.

egiten dut Ilustrazio espainiarraren kasuan katolizismoaren espezifikotasunak ikertzearen beharra azpimarratzean eta euskal noblezia ilustratuaren kasuan sentimen ilustratu katoliko bati buruz hitz egitea posible dela deritzot. Hau ez da bakarrik hizkuntzaren operazio huts bat, auziaren konplexutasuna adierazteko bi terminoen justapozisioa bere baitan nahikoa izango balitz bezala. Beharrezko da eragile ilustratuek ekarritako berrikuntzek beraien katolizismoaren esperientzian eta ulerkeran izan zuten eragina ikertzea, aldi berean, katolizismoak pentsamendu ilustratuari emandako espezifikotasunak eta esanahiak ulertzen saiatzen garen bitartean. Generoaren eta diferentzia sexualaren alorrean eman ziren aldaketak diskurtsoen artean eman ziren hartu eman eta eragin hauek aztertzeke eremu pribilegiatutzat agertzen zaizkigula deritzot.

Euskal nobleziak erlijiosotasunari buruz egin zuen irakurketa berria oso sakona zen auzi baten eraginez eman zen: erradikalki desberdina zen munduaren eta gizaki mundutarraren esperientzia bat ekarri zuten, ez bakarrik kontzeptualki, baina baita, emozionalki ere. Hurrengo orrialdetan, euskal noblezia sentsibilitate berri bat gorpuzten saiatu zela defendatuko dut, zeinak katolizismo erreakzionarioaren era desberdinean, mundua ilustrazioari berezkoa zitzaion optimismo batetik ulertzen zuen. Hau zientzia esperimentaletan zeukaten eta honek gizartearentzat izan zezakeen onuren fede sakonean oinarritzen zen eta baita giza naturaren eta berau inguratzen zuen mundu sozial eta naturalaren esanahiaren birplanteamenduan ere. Beraien testuen irakurketatik antzeman daitekenez, beraz, beraien mundu ikuskera fede katolikoan oinarritzen zen, baina errealitatearen kontzepzio berri batetik, gizakiaren kontzepzio baikorretik, baita bere gorpuztaren, existentzia mundutarraren eta berau transformatzeko gaitasunaren inguruko ikusmolde positibo batetik ere. Ez zen bakarrik mundua kontzebitzeko forma berri baten hasiera izan, baizik eta berarekin harremanean jartzeko ereduena eta norbanakoaren subjektibitatea esperimentatzeko ere.

2.1.1. Ezagutzaren autoritatea.

Ezagutza zientifikoa sortzeko eta zientzia esperimentalean aurrera egiteko borondatea Adiskideen Elkartearen ezaugarri adierazgarrienetarikoa izan zen, zeinetan arrakasta handia izan zuten³¹¹. Bere kideek ez zuten zientzian zeukaten fedea eta ezagutza

³¹¹ LLOMBART et. al. (2008); PELLÓN, CABALLER eta LLONBART (2009).

arrazionala beraien fede katolikoarekin kontrajarkortzat hartu bi alderdi horiek beraien eguneroko bizitzan gorpuztu zituztelako: zientzia esperimentalaren praktika ez zen beraien eguneroko erritual katoliko guztien praktikari kontrajartzen, ezta moralitate katolikoa oinarritzeko hauen beharrezkotasunari buruz egiten zuten balorazioa ere. Eremu diskurtsibo hauen elkarbizitza ez halabeharrez kontrajarkorra. Hala ere, ezagutzaren legitimitate eta subiranotasunaren alorrean zenbait aldaketa suposatu zituen. Alegia, “egiari” buruzko autoritatezko diskurtsoaren sorkuntza eta legitimizazio tentsioak eta aldaketak eman ziren. Moralitate katolikoaren printzipioak eta bertute erlijiosoak Adiskideen Elkartearen izpirituaren eta beraien hezkuntz erakundeetan eskaini zuten hezkuntzaren parte baziren ere³¹², elkarreko kideek ezagutza zientifikoari eskaini zioten balioak, gizakia bere eremu sozial eta naturalean ulertzeko moduan, aldaketa sakonak ekarri zituen. Sentipen berri honen adierazgarri da beraien batzarretako baten adierazitako hurrengoak: “no hay mas que un camino para adquirir verdades, y es el de la experiencia y observación [...] que toda la ciencia que de tejas abajo, se reduce á un acopio de respuestas bien contestadas que se han sacado de la misma naturaleza”³¹³. Ezagutza enpirikoaren alde egindako baieztapen zuzen hau, konnotazio erlijiosoetatik guztiz at, euskal probintzietako testuinguruan, zientziari mundua ulertzeko ematen zitzaion garrantziaren adierazgarri da.

Adiskideen Elkartearen testu askotan antzeman daitekenez, ezagutzaren legitimazio iturria diskurtso teologiko tradizionaletik diskurtso zientifikora igaro zen, zeina esperimentazio zientifikoan oinarritzen zen. Ahalguztiduna zen Jainko goren kreatoraren ideia bere kontzeptio tradizionaletan ez zen zalantzan jarri. Baina esperimentazioaren eta ezagutzaren gainean kontrola inposatzen zuten eliz erakundeak eta teologiaren tutoretzaren aurrean beraien buruak ezagutzaren eta naturaren egien sujetutzat altxatu ziren: zientziaren bidez deskubrituko zituzten eta ez errebelazio bidez. Aurrerago ikusiko dugun moduan, aldaketa hauek kontuan hartzea garrantzitsua da diferentzia sexuala ulertzeko moduetan eragina izan zutelako. Korrante ilustratuen baitan diskurtso erlijiosoak garaira arte gorputzari, feminitateari eta maskulinitateari egotzitako esanahiak eraikitzeak izan zuen garrantzia beste diskurtsoengatik, ezagutzarenagatik, esaterako, gailendua izan zen. Naturalari denari buruzko diskurtsoa eta natura bera gizon eta emakumeen identitatearen “egia” aurkitzeko leku pribilegiatu

³¹² ALTUNA (2012): 71-72; AZURMENDI (2000): 337 eta hurrengoak.

³¹³ RSBAP (1985c): 44.

bilakatu zen diskutso teologiko hutsa alboratuz. Bere izaera zientifikoa aldarrikatzen zuen diskurtsoa hau, hala ere, ez da ulertu behar XIX. mendeko positibismo zientifizistaren zentzuan, baizik era momentuan Europan indarrean zeuden korrante enpiristen ildotik³¹⁴.

Zentzu honetan, datu interesgarri bat azpimarratu daiteke. 1773. urteko elkarteko Biltzar Orokorretan, *Bergarako Errege Mintegiaren* sorkutza baino arinago ere, Historia Natural baten idazketaren proposamena egin zen probintziako eskoletan erabilgarria izan zedin, zeina Georges Louis Leclerc, Buffoneko Kontearen *El hombre, y las variedades de su especie* lanean oinarriturik egongo zen³¹⁵. Datua interesgarria da ez bakarrik elkartea Europan zehar eraginkorrenak ziren natur zientzien korranteekin harreman estua zeukala erakusten duelako –edota Carl Nilsson Linnaeusen teoriekin– baina baita nolabait gizakia nola ulertzen zuten antzematen uzten duelako. Eta honekin batera diferentzia sexualari buruz izan zezaketen ideien inguruko informazioa ere ematen digulako. Honekin batera, baztangaren kontrako inokulazioarekin zerikusia zuten egitasmo esperimentalek, euskal probintzietako zenbait iturriren uraren onura termalen inguruko ikerketek eta emagina tradizionalak kirurgiaren oinarrietan hezitzeko proposamenek³¹⁶ erakusten dute beraien jakinmin eta erabilgarritasun praktiko hutsaz haratago ere gorputzaren eta bere osasunaren inguruko kezka erakusten dute, baita bere funtzionamenduaren eta hobekuntzaren inguruan. Ezin dugu hemen proposamen hauek garaiko gizartean izan zuten errotze edo arrakasta maila neurtu. Baina aurrera eraman zituzten hainbat ikerketa medikoek adierazten dute gorputza, baita emakumeen eta gizonen arteko diferentziak ere, ikuspuntu enpiristago batetik ulertu zituztela natur zientzien eta historia naturalaren eraginpean, euskal kleroarekin konparatuta, bederen³¹⁷.

Elkarteko kideen eta ortodoxia teologiko katolikoaren arteko desadostasunak Peñafloidako Konteari egotzitako saiakera kritiko baten bildurik daude, 1758. urtean

³¹⁴ Ilustrazioaren teoria zientifikoen inguruan ikusi BARONA (2003): 78.

³¹⁵ RSBAP (1985a): 99.

³¹⁶ GRANJEL (1983): 134 eta hurrengoak.

³¹⁷ Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan sortu zen literatur medikoak azterketa sakonago bat beharko luke lan honen mugak gainditzen dituen. Gai honen inguruko bigarren eskuko iturriak oraindik ere eskasak dira, baina garrantzitsuak diren lanak burutu dira. Esaterako GRANJEL (1983) eta (1985) edo RIERA (1999); GORROTXATEGI (1999). XVIII. mendean euskal probintzietan sortu zen produkzio medikoaren ikerketak, hala ere, diferentzia sexualari buruz eta bere garapenaren inguruko informazio interegarria erakus lezake, eta horrekin batera, baita gizakiaren, gorputzaren eta politika sanitarioen inguruan eman ziren eztabaiden inguruko informazioa ere.

publikatu zena. Testuak izenburutzat *Los Aldeanos Críticos* zeraman eta Don Roque Antonio de Cogollor izengoitiaren pean sinatuta kaleratu zen. Testuak gutun-trukaketa baten itxura dauka zeinetan José Francisco Isla Jesusen Lagunaldiko kideak *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas* lanean egin zuen eskolastika aristotelikoren defentsa kritikaten zen estilo satiriko eta sarkor baten bidez³¹⁸. 1758. urtean Adiskideen Elkarte oraindik ere sortu gabe zegoen, baina etorkizunean bere oinarritzko kideak izango zirenen artean eztabaida zientifikoenganako interesa nabaria zen, ez bakarrik Espainia mailan ematen zirenen ingurukoa baita Europa mailan ematen zirenen inguruakoa ere. Ezin gara hemen aipatu testuaren azterketan sartu, baina testuaren eduki zientifikoa baino azpimarratu behar da leondar jesuitak egiten zuen aristotelismoa ezagutza eta ulermen zaharkitu eta ozpindu batekin konparatzen zuen sentsibilitatea agertzen zuela, ezagutza eskolastikoa atzerakoitzat eta modernitatearen kontrakotzat jotzen zuena, ez bakarrik zientziaren alorrean baizik eta alor sozialean ere. Testuan adierazten zen moduan: “la suerte de nuestra Nación, que con tener las llaves de las Ciencias, deportadas en manos de estos obstinados Partidarios de la Antigüedad, que cierran las puertas à todo lo que huela á novedad, se vén privadas del conocimiento de la verdadera Phisica”³¹⁹. Mendearen erdialdean Peñafloidak egiten zuen kritika hau desakordio teoriko hutsetan geratzen zen eztabaidatik haratago zihoan eta sakonagoa zen auzi bat erakusten zuen: espainiar teologiaren berrikuntzaren beharra, eta are garrantzitsuagoa zen auzi bat, teologiak berak ezagutza zientifikoa legitimatzeko eta aurtzeko zeukan boterea bera zalantzan jartzea.

Peñafloidak egindako kritikak ez zuen katolizismoa giza ekintzaren gidari moralizatze zeukan papera zalantzan jartzen, baizik ortodoxia teologikoak esperimentazioari ezartzen zizkion mugena, elkarteko kideentzat modernizazio prozesuaren ezaugarri garrantzitsuenetariko bat zena. Adiskideen Elkartetzat eraiki baino arinago ere tertulia horien kideek probintzien eta oro har erreinuaren “atzerapenaren” egoeraren inguruko kezkek adierazten zituzten Europako beste herrialdeekin konparaturik: “como dixo nuestro insigne Martinez hablando de la Anatomia, una de dos, ò toda Europa es necia, y tantos celebérrimos Franceses, Italianos, Alemanes son tontos, ò nosotros somos descuidados, y tercios”³²⁰. Ikusten dugu, beraz, Adiskideen Elkarte, europear

³¹⁸ Ikus SILANES (2005).

³¹⁹ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1784): 139.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, 140.

korrontek jarraitzeko eta beraiekin parekatzeko asmoarekin, gune diskurtsibo baten eraikuntzan, ezagutza-boterearen espazio berri baten sorkuntzan, parte hartu zela zeinak dikurtso teologikoarekin ezagutzaren inguruko legitimitatea eta autoritatea eztabaidatu zuen. Marko berri hoentan, ikusiko dugunez, feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen esanahiak ere eztabaidagai izan ziren.

2.1.2. Munduko ongizatea: subjektibitate ilustratu berria.

Sánchez-Blancok argudiatzen duen moduan, hala ere, eskolastika aristotelikoa eta tomista XVIII. menderarte arrakastatsua izaten jarraitu zuen katolizismoaren jarraitzaile zirenen artean, baina zientzia zentzu modernoan ulertzen zuren ilustratuen okerrerako³²¹. Trento ondorengo katolizismoaren ikuspuntu zorrotzenak ez ziren bakarrik elkartearen zuzendariaren eskutik kritikatuak izan, elkarteko beste kide oso adierazgarrien aldetik ere eman ziren, Manuel de Aguirre militar mungiarren kasua bezalaxe, elkartera hezkuntzaren edo luxuaren inguruan hainbat saiakera bidali zuenaren, eta espainiar prentsan parte-hartzaile gogotsua zenaren kasua³²². Horrela, 1788. urtean *Correo de Madrid (o de los ciegos)* argitalpenean Aguirren saio bat gehitzen zen zeinak Salvatore Roselliren, Napoliko aita dominiko italiarraren, *Summa Philosophica* lana sutuki kritikatzeko eta zalantzan jartzen zuen³²³. Aguirrek Roselliri egindako kritikan dominikarraren eskolastika tomistaren aurrean fisika newtoniarrak suposatzen zituen abantailen inguruko defentsa teoriko hutsa baino gehiago, bihotzetiko kexu bat adierazten da zientzia espainiarraren egoeraren inguruan Ingalaterrako, Frantziako edo Alemaniako egoerekin konparatuta. Aguirrek, bere burua patriota eta hiritar ilustratutzat pozisionaturik, atzerapen hau Espainiako zoriontasun ezaren eta ignorantziaren arrazoi garrantzitsutzat jotzen zuen.

Juzgu honen alderdirik interesgarriena da Ebanjelio Santuarekiko eta “sabio autor de la naturaleza”tzat hartzen zen Jainkoarekiko maitasun sakon baten aldarrikapenetik egiten zela³²⁴, baina ez egileak “máximas ultramontana”tzat hartzen zituen horietatik munduko existentzia ilun, gaixo eta beldurtia aldarrikatzeko, baizik eta kreatzaileak eskaintzen

³²¹ SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (2007): 163.

³²² ELORZA (1974). Sobre el pensamiento político de Aguirre véase también ONAINDIA (2002).

³²³ Sánchez-Blanco indica la existencia de una edición madrileña de la obra en 1788, SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (2007): 163. La *Gazeta de Madrid*, en un anexo a su número 95, publicado el martes 27 de noviembre de 1787, publicita la posibilidad de tener acceso a la misma vía suscripción acompañada de una revisión positiva de la obra.

³²⁴ AGUIRRE (1974): 242.

zituen atseginetaz eta gozamenetaz gozatzeko. Munduko bizitza hobea eta osasuntsuago baten defentsa egin zuen sufrimenduan oinarritzen zen teologo eta sermoilari zorrotzek proposatzen zuten irudi goibelarekin konparatuta zeharo desberdina zena: “Conciudadanos míos, patria mía, enfermos y despoblada España”, zioen egileak, “tú que [...] miras tendido sobre tu fértil y hermoso suelo el oscuro y andrajoso manto de despoblación, di, ¿observas este divino mandato?”³²⁵. Ignorantzia eta nagikeria edo utzikeria egoera horren errua, teologo, moralista eta sermoilari hezjakinena zen zeintzuei esaten zien: “¡Ah, insanos! ¿Qué claridad podéis añadir a la que es la luz más brillante [...] al maestro por excelencia y en todo rigor y al que es origen de toda la sabiduría?, ¿no escucháis lo que os dice?”³²⁶. Aguirrek erakusten duen Jainkoaren ideia aita jakintsu eta karitadeduna da, ez bakarrik unibertsoaren kreatzaile izan zena, baizik eta gizakiaren eta munduaren hazlea zena³²⁷. Mundu armoniko eta ordenatu baten kreatzailea zen Jainkoaren irudia eskaini zuen eta gizakiaren bizitza hobetu ahal izateko bere misterioak ezagutu eta ezagutza honen sustapena beharrezkoa zen horrela “la regeneración, aumento, arreglo, reunión y felicidad de la raza humana” lortu ahal izateko³²⁸.

Agirrek gizarte espainola osatzeko behar zen ezagutzaren alde egindako arrazoibideak Jainkoak kreatutako mundu bat aurkezten zuen baina naturalizatua, zeinaren ezagutza zientifikoak zorientasun morala, baina batez ere herriaren osasun fisikoa bermatuko zuen. Azken finean, Aguirreren katolizismo ilustratuta subjektuaren ideia berri batetan oinarritzen zen. Aguirrek ez zion gizakiari bere haragiaren ahulezia leporatzen, baizik eta jainkozko kreazioa zen izaki naturaltzat eta sentikortzat hartzen eta onartzen zuen. Hauxe zen, hain zuzen ere, sufrimenduaren fatalismoa eta munduko etsipena aldarrikatzen zuten predikariek ez zeukaten sentsibilitatea: “...balbucientes criaturas”, esaten zien, “que ni aun comprendéis cómo se hace la digestión de los alimentos que os mantienen y dan fuerza para sostener como verdades los más extravagantes delirios y los más contradictorios planes de felicidad”³²⁹. Gizarte osasuntsu eta zorientsu bat agintzeko eta antolatzeko gorputzaren eta bere funtzionamenduaren ezagutza ezinbestekoak ziren. Horrela, gorputza, ordena naturalaren elementutzat hartuta, zaindu

³²⁵ *Ibid*, 242-243.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, 245.

³²⁷ *Ibid*, 242.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, 178-179.

³²⁹ *Ibid*, 245.

beharreko gune bilakatzen zen, zeinaren ongizateak gizartearen osasunaren bermea zekarren. Gorputzaren inguruko ikuspuntu hau zentzumenen zigor etengabea eskatzen zuen zorrozkeria kontrajartzen zuen zuzenean.

Azken finean modu honetan pertsonen arteko eta orokorrean gizartearekiko eta mundu fisikoarekiko lotura emozional berri bat proposatzen zen ikuspegi naturalistago batetik ulertzen zena, baina ikuspegi erlijiosoarekin halabeharrez kontrajarkorra ez zena. Lotura hau izaera anitzekoa zen: erlijiosoa –moral katolikoaren barnean Jainkoa maitatzeko eredu desberdin berriak proposatzen zituelako–, politikoa –gizakien ongizate eta zoriontasun publikoarengatik eta fisikoarengatik arduratzen zelako– eta zientifikoa –zentzu positiboan rol jainkotiarraren eta aurraper zientifikoaren arteko harremanaren ikuspegi berri bat planteatzen zuelako–.

Adiskideen Elkarteko kide garrantzitsuen artean loratu zen sentzibilitate berri hau beraien 1785. urteko Biltzarretako Laburpenetan ere antzemangarria da, bere zuzendaria zen Peñafloidako Kontearen heriotza urtean, hain zuzen ere hildakoari hileta gorazarrare moduan eskainitako diskurtso baten. Peñafloida, elkarteko gizon haditzan hartu izan dena, diskurtso honetan kultua zen, baina kultura popularraren zalea zen gizon nobletzat irudikatua zen eta aldi berean zientziaren zale amorratua, baina sakonki erlijiosoa zen pertsona gisa. Aipatu den sentzibilitate berri horren adierazle perfektua irudikatzen zuen Peñafloidak bera Elizan ikustea oso erreza zelako “delante del facistol rodeado de todo cabildo, llevando el compas, [sic] y cantando las misas y arietas que ha compuesto él mismo”, eta aldi berean plazan danbolin-jotzaileak zuzentzeagatik harrotzen zen gizona zelako³³⁰. Patrizio hauen sentzibilitatearen eta munduaren ikusmoldearen eta euskal kleroaren zenbait sektore zorrotzen iruditeriaren arteko erabateko diferentzia hurrengo estraktuan agertzen da argi baino argiago. Testu zati honetan agertzen den mundu materialaren, gorputzaren eta gizakiaren esperientzia eta ulermena sentipen katoliko zorrotzarekin konparatuta guztiz desberdina zen: “Un pueblo triste y macilento mas es una congregación de cadáveres, que de vivientes. La debilidad, el miedo, y la ignorancia engendran tristeza y melancolía: el que no se muestra alegre no está sano”³³¹. Manuel de Aguirre bera ere urte gutxi batzuen buruan ildo beretik adierazi zen. Legegintzari buruz idatzitako testu baten, Real Sociedad

³³⁰ RSBAP (1985c): 28.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

Económica Matritensearentzat egindakoa eta 1787. urtean *El Correo de Madrid (o de los ciegos)* egunkarian argitaratua, hurrengo adierazi zuen: “LA SALUD DEL PUEBLO debe ser la suprema ley en la política”³³². Adiskideen Elkarteko hainbat kideek adierazi zuten munduaren esperientzian poztasunaren edota zoriontasunaren sentimenduak gizarte harmoniatsu eta osasuntsu baten oinarritzat aurkezten zituzten. Euskal probintzietako testuinguruan, zeinean sermoilarien eta apaizen diskurtsoek bizitza mundutarraren alternatiba bakartzat Jainkoaren beldur santua eta ekidinezinezko sufrimendua azpimarratzen zuten, planteamendu berri horiek diferentzia handi bat suposatu zuten egiazki. Eta are garrantzitsuagoa, pekatuaren konnotazio ezkorretatik at zegoen munduaren eta gorputzaren esperientzia bat zeukaten jomugatzat.

Beraz, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen berbak hainbat arrazoiengatik oso garrantzitsuak direla deritzot. Alde batetik, ezagutzaren bidez ezagugarria eta kontrolagarria zen mundu naturalizatu baten kontzepzioa adierazten dute. Eta bestetik, argi eta garbi antzeman dezakegu munduaren kontzepzio berri hori moralitate katolikoa mundu fisikoaren ezagutza zientifikoarekin eta askoz ere postiboagoa zen jarrera batekin uztargarria zenaren konbentzimenduan oinarritzen zen. Honekin batera, antzeman dezakegu ezagutzaren borondatea ez zela bakarrik aurrerapen sozialarentzat zientziak izan zezakeen onuren inguruko konbentzimendu teorikoan oinarritzen. Prozesu kritiko subjektibo baten oinarritu zen zeinaren bidez gizakiek munduarekin zeukaten harremanaren esanahiak aldatu egin ziren. Errealitatearen esperientzia berria zen. Arrazoiak gidatutako planteamenduen erabileraren eta aplikazioaren defentsa egiten bazuen ere, halabeharrez subjektuek mundua sentitzeko eredu birplanteamenduekin batera garatu zen. Esperientzia honek esanahi positiboa zeukan, mundua gizakiaren potentzialitateen garapenerako eremu bilakatzen zelako, aldatzeko eta transformatzeko eremu bat, eta batez ere zoriontasunaz, ongizateaz eta harmonia indibidual zein kolektiboaz gozatzeko eremua.

Adiskideen Elkarteko hainbat kideek adierazitako sentipen hau, nolabait, ilustrazioaren eta XVIII. mede hamaierako iraultzen ildo sentimentalekin harremanean egongo litzatekeela esan daiteke. Azken hamarkadetan gai hau sakonki ikertua izan da hainbat

³³² AGUIRRE (1974): 178.

perspektibetatik eta hainbat testuingur nazionaletan zentratuz³³³. G. J. Barker-Benfieldek jada klasikoa den *The Culture of Sensibility* lanean azaldu zuen moduan, sentsibilitatearen kultura Newton edo Locke bezalako autorek sistematizatu zituzten premisa materialista eta empiristetan oinarritzen zen³³⁴. Adiskideen Elkartearen kasuan kontuan izan behar dugu, gainera, sentsibilitate hau mundu materialarekin eta sozialarekin harremantzeko eredu konkretu baten kritikatik sortu zela, hain zuzen ere Trento ondorengo katolizismoaren zorrozkeriaren kritikatik. Bere espezifikotasuna ahaztu gabe, euskal nobleziak agertu zuen sentsibilitate berria Sarah Knottrek AEBtako Independentzia Iraultzaren kasuko sentsibilitateaz egindako definizioarekin sintonian egongo litzateke. Egilearen aburuz sentsibilitatea “a distinctive *mode of self*” izango litzateke arrazoia versus pasioa edo gorputza versus adimena dikotomiak gaindituko litzateke niaren esperientzia holistago bat defendatzeko, zeinari sentitzeko gaitasun natural bat aitortzen zitzaion. Nia sentitzeko era berri honetan subjektuaren dimentsio abstraktuena alderdi korporalagoarekin eta zentzumenezkoarekin nahasten zen eta ingurune sozial batez inguraturik zegoen, zeintzuek elkarri eragiten zioten³³⁵. Mónica Boluferrek ñabartu duen moduan, sentsibilitate hau sentsibilitate erromatikoaren desberdina zen. Alde batetik, naturalizatuak baziren ere sentimenak heziak, modelatuak eta, azken baten, domestikatuak izan behar ziren. Eta bestetik, sentimenak ez zirelako kanpoko mundu erasokor baten aurka agertzen zen ni autonomo baten barne nukleotzat hartzen³³⁶. Sentimenak giza naturari berezkoak zitzaizkion elementu gisa kontzeptualizatzen ziren, gizakia sentikorra zela onartzen zen, baina ezaugarri fisiko hau oinarrian kualitate sozialtzat funtzionatu behar zela uste zuten.

Definizio hauek jarraituz, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek subjektibitate berri bat gorpuztu zutela esan daiteke munduarekin diskurtso zientifiko arrazionalaren eta kontzeptualaren bidez harremantzen zena, baina zeintzuen ezagutza borondatea giza naturari berekotzat jotzen zen sentikorra zen eremu batetik sortzen zen. Ezagutzaren alorrean eman ziren aurrerapenek –zentzu abstraktu, arrazionalista eta esperimentazioaren fruitu izan zirenak– mundua eta giza natura bere inguruaren hobekuntza eta kontrol arrazionalaren bidez gizakia zoriontasunaz eta gozamenaz hornitzeko gai ziren espaziotzat sentitzeko

³³³ BARKER-BENFIELD (1993); DWYER (1998); REDDY (2000); HUNT (2007); KNOTT (2009); BOLUFER (2015a), (2016).

³³⁴ BARKER-BENFIELD (1993): XVII.

³³⁵ KNOTT (2009): 5.

³³⁶ BOLUFER (2015a): 26.

eredu berri hori elikatu zuten. Ongizateak zentzu morala zeukala argi badago ere, zentzu fisikoa eta materiala ere bazuela azpimarratzea beharrezkoa da.

Azken buruan, bere planteamendu enpiristagoetatik eta sensualistagoetatik Adiskideen Elkarteko kide inportanteek, bere ezaugarri zorrotzenetatik garbi zegoen eta bizitza mundutarraren gozamina halabeharrez pekatu ez zela onartzen zuen katolizismo bat praktikatu zuten, baita debozio maila altuekin ere. Eta are garrantzitsuagoa, gorputza eta zentzumenen mundua beraien diskurtsoan eta mundu ikuskeran zentralitatea irabazi zuten ordena naturalaren barne zeuden dimentsio gisa. Hauek beraien munduaren kontzepzio eta esperientzia berria, eta baita gizartearena ere, oinarritu zuten eta ziurtasunak aurkitu beharreko eremu bilakatu ziren. Hurrengo ataletan ikusiko dugunez, diferentzia sexualaren eta generoaren kontzepzioan aldaketa hauen eraginek berebiziko garrantzia izan zuten.

2.1.3. Genero ordenaren konfigurazio berria.

Giza naturak euskal tendentzia ilustratuentzat hartu zuen garrantziak diferentzia sexualaren birdefinizioa ekarri zuen. Gorputza ez zen ulertu erreprimitu eta zigortu beharreko espazio moduan, baizik eta elementu natural gisa modelatua eta findua izan behar zena. Hau da, gorputza eta giza natura aurrerapen sozialean parte hartzeko eta berau areagotzeko zibilizatua izan behar zen. Planteamendu hauetatik, gainera, gorputza gizakiaren egia bilatu beharreko toki gisa, perfekzio maskulinoa eta femeninoa aurkitu beharreko leku zentral bilakatu zen.

Aldaketa prozesu honen baitan subjektibitate berriak proposatu ziren eta diferentzia sexualaren birdefinizio berebiziko garrantzia izan zuten. Adiskideen Elkarteko kideak bizi izan ziren momentu eta testuingururako maskulinitate eredu berritzailea proposatu eta gorpuztu zuten. Auzi honetan ere ez zen pentsamendu erlijiosoarekin hausturirik eman, patrizio ilustratuek ez zutelako moralitate katolikoa zalantzan jarri. Hala ere, moralitate katolikoaren aplikaziorako eta interpretaziorako zeukaten autoritatea aldarrikatu zuten. Modu honetan, beraien bizitza pribatuan eta senar-emazteen arteko harremanean kleroaren zenbait kideek zeukaten boterearen eta esku-hartzeen gehiegikeriak zalatu zituzten. Horrela, noble handi, lurjabe eta merkatari garrantzitsuak izateaz gainera beraien familiaren eta bizitza sexualaren intimitatearen gidari izatea ere

nahi izan zuten³³⁷. Gizon ilustratuek, beraz, kleroaren sektore zorrotzenekin, jokaera sexualen, familiaren eta generoaren aldaketei eta berrikuntzei muzin egiten zietenekin, espazio honen kontrola eta definizioa eztabaidatu zuten. Beraien arteko liskarrek eta desakordioek eztabaidagai zentralizat euskal nobleziaren soziabilitatearen eta gorputzaren eredu berriak izan zituten.

Prozesu hau, era berean, feminitatearen birformulazioarekin batera eman zen. Emakumeei egotzitako rol nagusia, sakonki ikertua izan den moduan, ama bihozberarena eta emazte maitatzailearena izan zen. Sexuen arteko konplementaritatearen logika eta Europako korronteez proposatutako zibilizazio prozesuari buruzko teoriak eta ohituren finketari buruz adierazitakoa jarraituz feminitatea elementu zibilizatzailetzat definitua izan zen. Honek, bere sentsibilitate naturalaren bidez, maskulinitatearen izaera austero eta arrazionala osagarraitu eta leunduko zuen. Misoginia katolikotik aldendurik, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek emakumeei buruzko goraiamenezko diskurtso bat eraiki zuten, emakumeen ama, emazte eta alaba izaera azpimarratzen zuena. Irudi honen arabera emakumeak gizon ilustratu eta zibilizatuarekin partekatzen zuen eremu pribatutik gizartea hobetzera lagundu behar zuen. Batzuek gorazarrezko diskurtso hau emakumeen eta gizonen arteko berdintasunaren aldarrikapenaren diskurtso lez ulertu zuten, beti ere sexu bakoitza definitzen zuen diferentzia naturalaren desberdintasunetik. Beraz, zenbait ilustraturentzat, hezitu eta zaindu behar ziren izaki ahul gisa gizartearen elementu zibilizatzailea izan zitezen, emakumeak gizonaren osagai delikatu gisa irudikatzen zituen errepresentazio honek, zentzu apologetikoa izan zuen. “Sexu ederrari” bere ohorea itzuli ziotela defendatu zuten gehiegizko zelo erlijiosoak inposatzen zion ignorantziatik atara zutelako. Baina zaintza erlijiosoak ez zen bakarrik zentzu moralean ekar lezakeen ondorionatik kritikatu izan, baita emakumeengan eragiten zuen uzkurtsun fisikoarengatik ere, beraien naturaren kontrakotzat jotzen zutelako. Orain arte adierazi dudan moduan, honek ez zuen gizartearen eta gizakien gidaritza moralaren oinarritzat katolizismoaren gaitzespena suposatzen, are gutxiago bertutetsua behar zuen feminitatearen garapenerako. Baina gorputzaren, diferentzia sexualaren eta sexuen arteko harremanaren esanguratzeko prozesuan bere pisua gutxitzea ekarri zuen. Bertute eta pietate kristauak, rol bereziki garrantzitsua mantentzen zuten arren, emakumeen

³³⁷ Maskulinitatearen eraikuntza ulertzeko eta ordena domestikoarekin izan zuen harremanaren garapena aztertzeko Britainia Handiko testuinguruaren kasuan XVIII. mendean ikusi HARVEY (2012).

gorputzaren elementu definitzailetzat baztertuak izan ziren, baita gizonezkoen gorputzen eta sexuen arteko harrimenaren esaguratzaitzat ere.

Adiskideen Elkarteko kideentzat, eremu domestikoa eta honek eremu publikoarekin zeukan harremana, ezatabaidagai garrantzitsua izan ziren. Genero rolen eta diferentzia sexualaren eraikuntza prozesuak auzi hau gurutzatu zuten goitik-behera. Familia bizitzaren, zibilizazioaren eta aurrerapenaren inguruko eztabaiden testuinguran kokaturik goian aipatu den sentsibilitateren hizkuntzaren bidez eraikia eta errepresentatuta izan zen. Gizonari bere osagarri femeninoak eskaintzen zizkon atsedenen eta babesaren gune gisa irudikatzen zen. Mentalitate ilustratu berri honetan diskurtso erlijiosoak feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen perfekzio ereduen definizio prozesuan arimari eta espiritualitateari eman izandako zentralitatea galdu zen. Ikusmolde berri honetatik, giza natura, emakumezkoen zein gizonezkoen gorputzetan enkarnatua, gizakiaren benetako autentizitatearen eremu bilakatu zen. Ikuskera berri honetan gizonen eta emakumeen gorputzen arteko diferentziak generoari esanahia emango zioten elementu zentralizat nagusitu ziren. Diferentzia anatomikoak, pertsonen identitateak eraikitzerako orduan garrantzitsuak ziren beste elementuen aurrean, pisu bereziki garrantzitsua hartzen joan ziren baita euskal pentsamendu ilustratuaren baitan ere.

2.2. Sentimenezko gorputzaren esperientzia eta diferentzia sexuala antzerkiaren, luxuaren eta zibilizazio prozesuaren polemiketan.

Zenbait historiagilek euskal noblezia ilustratuaren soziabilitate ohiturak zibilizazio prozesuaren garapenaren baitan kokatu izan dituzte³³⁸. Tertuliak, musika errezitalak edo antzeppenak, publiko mistoaren asistentziarekin, Adiskideen Elkartek ospatu zituen ekintzen artean aurkitzen dira. Gizarte kultu eta aurreratu baten adierazletzat ulertuak ziren hauek. Atal honetan ohituren fintze prozesuaren testuinguru honetan gorputzaren kontzepzioan eman ziren aldaketatean zentratuko naiz. Lehenik eta behin Adiskideen Elkarteko zenbait kidek elizaren zenbait kideekin mantendu zuten bi eztabaida konkretu aztertuko ditut antzerkiarekin, luxuaren erabilerarekin eta janzkerarekin harremanean zeudenak. Ondoren, eztabaida hauen ildoak jarraituz, Adiskideen Elkarteko zenbait

³³⁸ IMÍZCOZ (2014): 139.

soziok proposatutako zibilizazio prozesuari buruzko diskurtsoan zentratuko naiz. Elkartearen baitan proposatu zen zibilizazio prozesuaren diskurtsoa aztertuko dugu feminitateak eta maskulinitateak diskurtso honen egituratzaile gisa izan zuten rolean eta konfigurazioan arreta berezia jarritz. Horrela domestizitate sentimental berri baten sorkuntza azalduko da sexuen arteko konplementarietatean oinarritzen zena. Azken finean, Trento ondorengo mezuaren baitako familiaren irudi gatazkatsutik hurrundu zen eredu domestiko eta intimo baten markoaren baitan eman zen gorputz maskulinoen eta femeninoen esperientzia berri bat aztertuko dut. Bere espezifikotasuna eta konplexutasuna ulertzeko, aztertuko diren iturriak Europa mailako eremu intelektualean eta historiografikoan zibilizazioaren eta ohituren fintze prozesuaren inguruan esandakoaren markoan kokatuko ditut³³⁹.

2.2.1. Antzerkia: zentzumenen bidezko heziketa.

Antzerkia euskal noblezia ilustratuaren sozializazio ohituren eta ikuspegi katolikoaren arteko tentsioak sortu izan ziren eremuetako bat izan zen. Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen batzarren artean ohikoa zen musika eta antzerki ekitaldiak antolatzea. Hauetan emakumezkoak eta gizonezkoak elkar parte-hartzen zuten. Batzutan ekitaldi hauek emakumezkoek beraiek antolatzen zituzten³⁴⁰. Elkarteko kide askok antzerkiak gizonen eta emakumeen heziketa sentimentalerako eta bere lanketarako izan zuen garrantzia azpimarratu zuten. Horien artean ezagunena Félix María de Samaniegoren kasua izan zen³⁴¹, baina beste kide batzuk ere, Ignacio Luis de Aguirre Ortizen kasua den moduan, antzerkiaren onurak erakusten saiatu ziren.

Adiskideen Elkartearen sorkuntza batzar nagusiak ospatu ziren urtean, 1765. urtean, Ignacio Luis de Aguirre Ortizek arte dramatikoari buruzko gorazarrezko diskurtso bat eskaini zuen. Honetan Luis de Aguirre antzerkiaren eraginak pulpitutik apaizek adierazitako sermoiek izan zitzaizketenak baino onuragarriagoak zirela defendatzera ere iritsi zen. Ohitura onen osasuna mantentzeko eta sustatzeko egileak predikuairen onurak eta beraien beharra azpimaratu zuen: “Para la reformación de las costumbres, cuio

³³⁹ Euskal probintzien kasurako VALVERDE eta GARCÍA-SANZ (1989): 217 eta hurrengoak.; DÍAZ (2001): 86. Espainiar kasurako, ikusi BOLUFER (1993): 176 eta hurrengoak; BOLUFER (1998): 176 eta hurrengoak; IMÍZCOZ (2014); BOLUFER, BLUTRACH eta GOMIS (2014); BOLUFER (2015b).

³⁴⁰ BAGÜES (1990): 109, 193, 208; MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 454.

³⁴¹ SAMANIEGO (2001): 612-614.

objeto se quiere aplicar al teatro, tiene Dios el sagrado ministerio del Pulpito”³⁴². Baina bi eragozpen ikusi zituen. Lehena, “que hai muchos que o no concurren a estas divinas instrucciones, o lo hacen con tan mala disposición, que no sacan de ellas el fruto que devieran”; eta bigarrena, “que concurriendo por lo comun estos tales al teatro y hallandose ansiosos de estimacion, siendo el vicio no solo indigno de ella, sino objeto de la publica irrision, se avergüenzan de el [el vicio] al principio y lo aborrecen al fin”³⁴³. Lehen begiratuan, adiskide Luis de Aguirreren hitzek ez lukete zertan bereziak iruditu behar. Baina egiatan, inplizituki kritika bat adierazten zuten, nahiz eta goraipamenezko tonuan izan: tradizionalki adoktrinaziorako nagusia zen erritualaren bidez, mezaren bidez, ebanjelio santuaren predikuaren eraginkortasuna zalantzan jarri zuten. Eta gutxi balitz, antzerkia, apaiz askok sutsuki kondenatuko zuten praktika, gozamen atsegingarriaren bidez ohiturak erreformatzeko onuragarria zela argudiatu zuten. Horrela, hizlari eklesiastikoaren berbak eraginkorrak ez ziren bizioentzat eta akatsentzat antzerkia erremedio osasuntsu lez aurkezten zen: “Un abrador, un molesto, un impertinente, un afectado, un vano, y otros viciosos caracteres, que se creen ilesos en un sermón, salen comprendidos del todo en una Comedia: miranse pintado con los propios colores y tratan de veras de su correccion”³⁴⁴.

Ignacio Luis de Aguirre kideak antzerkiaren defentsan sortutako diskurtsoak irakurketa zehatza behar du esanguratsuak diren zenbait alderdi ulertu ahal izateko. Egileak eginkizun eklesiastikoa goraipatu zuten, baita beraien mezu erlijiosoaren edukia bera ere. Bere helburua, hain zuzen ere, antzerkiaren onurak doktrina katolikoak eskainitako errekurtsioak baliatuz defendatzea zen bere garbitasuna eta onurak defendatutako teologo handien eta Aita Santuen argudietara joz. Egileak, horrela, zuzenean izendatu gabe apaiz, teologo eta moralista zorrotzak interpelatzen zituen antzerkiari buruz zeuzkaten siniskerietatik desengainatzeko. Bere aburuz hauek “tienen por incompatible a la virtud verdadera: la risa, el placer, y la Alegria” eta are irmoago esanda:

“sequaces sin examen de las opiniones de las primeras, ni aun discurren sino atados a las maximas de aquellas, que sin detenerse en las utilidades del teatro, sino en que el auditorio se alegra, se rie, cren que estas pasiones nacen de la

³⁴² Ikusi diskurtso hau MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 448.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, 448-449.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 449.

licencia y el desenfreno que imaginan en el teatro, y unos y otros gobernados por estos principios las creen sin distincion invenciones del Demonio”³⁴⁵.

Egileak korrante ilustratuen eraginpean moralitate katolikoaren ikuspuntu erreformatu bat zeukala azpimarratu behar da. Antzerkiari buruz egindako defentsa, beraz, oinarrizko diferentzia baten oinarritzen zen: gizakia, gorputza eta bere izaera sentikorra ulertzeko eredu desberdin batetik ari zen, ortodoxia katolikoarekin konparatuz guztiz desberdina zena. Goiko pasartetik hainbat irakurketa eta berezitasun azpimarra genitzake, baina nagusienetan zentratuko naiz mementuz. Alde batetik, berriz ere antzeman daiteke sentipen erlijioso pertsonaletik teologia katolikoa interpretatzeko autonomia aldarrikatzen ari zela, aldi berean “secuaces” deitzen zituen horiek, apaiz, moralista eta sermoilari zorrotzak, beraientzat aldarrikatzen zuten autoritatea ezeztatzen zuela. Autorearen aburuz, hauek antzerkiaren defendatzaileak ateotzat edo heretikotzat hartzen zituzten antzerkiaren arauak eta xarma ezagutu gabe, hain zuzen ere beraien munduari eta kulturari buruzko ezjakintasunarengatik. Beste alde batetik, antzerkiaren bidezko kalterik gabeko zentzumenen eta pasioen gozamenaren defentsa aipagarria da. Hau osasun fisikoaren eta bertute moralaren adierazgarritzat jotzen zen, zeina komedia sentimentalen kasuan bereziki onuragarritzat jotzen zen emakumeentzat.

Komediak emakumeengan konbertsio miresgarriak eragin zitzakeela argudiatu zen pertsonaien jarrera bertutetsuak jarraitzeko piz zezaketen grinaren bidez. Beraien eduki pedagogikoaren bidez komediak bertutearen onurak erakusteko gai ziren emakumezkoengan eragin desberdinak izanik: “lo imperfecto de una Dama, y substituyendo en su lugar la naturalidad porte y aire que la hace amable adquiere merito para que la saquen de la obscuridad de su abandono, a un distinguido establecim.to que la haga útil a su familia y al estado”³⁴⁶. Antzerki ilustratua, beraz, genero ordena erreformatuko zuen elementu garrantzitsuetako bat izan zen. Zentzu honetan, bertutetsuak eta erakargarriak ziren feminitateen eta maskulinitateen, baita ingurune familiar harmoniatsuak ere, irudiak antzerki sentimentalean errepresentatua izan behar zen mundu emozionala eta sentikorra osatzen zuten³⁴⁷.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 443-444.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 446.

³⁴⁷ Komedia sentimentalearen inguruan ikusi GARCÍA (1990).

Ezin daiteke ahaztu, gainera, kristautasuna erakusteko eredu eta modu desberdinak kontrajartzen ari zirela. Goian ikusi dugunez, apaizeria gai honekin bereziki zorrotz jokatu zen. Adiskideen Elkarteko kideak, plazetan eta pulpituetan predikatzen zen haragiaren mortifikazio aktibo eta kontzientearen aurrean, ohituren erreforma proposatzen zuen, ez diziplina huts eta bortitzaren inposaketaren bidez, baizik eta jarrera bertutetsuaren jarraipenak ekar zezakeen onurengatik. Horregatik adierazten zuen “Imaginamos que los hombres ciegos de amor propio ni conocen los males y la relajacion en que viven”, ondoren azpimarratzeko “Este modo de pensar, es de personas que se pican de savias, pero que en la realidad son ignorantes”³⁴⁸. Bigarren kasuan hezkuntzaren eta ohituren fintzearen bidez gizakia hobetzeko posibilitatearekiko fedea antzeman dezakegu eta baita subjektua autonomotzat jotzen zuen kontzepzioa ere. Katolizismo zorrotzaren perfekzioa, alta, emakumeengan eta gizonengan gizatiarra eta mundutarra zen gairidipena exijitzen zuen.

2.2.2. *Jantziaren eta nabarkeriaren inguruko eztabaida: gorputz femeninoaren agertzea eztabaidagune.*

Trento ondorengo katolizismoaren jarrera beligeranteenen eta ikuspegi ilustratuen artean etsaitasun nabarmenenak sortu zituen gaia, hala ere, jantziarena eta luxuarena izan zen. Eztabaida hau da, hain zuzen ere, feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen definizioetan zeuzkaten diferentziak eta desakordioak nabarmenkien agertzen dituen. Zentzu honetan, elkartearen zenbait adiskideen eta klero baxuaren arteko kideen arteko liskar dialektiko bat baino gehiago eman ziren. Horietako bat Adrian de Loyarte idazlearen eta kazetariaren *Preludios* liburuan batu zen, 1923. urtean argitaratua. Liburu honetan, XVIII. mendeko bi eskuizkriburen transkripzioak aurkitzen ditugu. Horietako baten izena *Preguntas de las damas de Vergara a un predicador* zen, eta bestearena, lehenengoari erantzun moduan idatzi izan zen, *Contestación de un predicador del siglo XVIII a las preguntas de unas damas de Vergara* deitzen dena. Ez da testuen idazketa data zehatza ezagutzen, baina Loyartek zein Julio de Urquijok adierazi duten moduan testu biak Adiskideen Elkartearen sorkutza datari gertu idatzi zirela argudia daiteke, 1764. eta 1765. urteen artean. Data hauen bitartean, hain zuzen ere, Bergarako herrian hainbat ekitaldi eta jai ospatu ziren. Antza denez, Bergarako Asentsioko San Martin jaien bitartean, testuko apaizak, zeinaren izena ez den ezagutzen, Bergarako

³⁴⁸ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 447.

herribilduko meza baten damen janzkera eta jarrera kritikatzan zuen sermoi gogorra predikatu zuen pulpitutik³⁴⁹. Sermoi honek, apaizaren hitzen inguruko iritzi trukaketa garrantz bat eragin zuen aipatutako eskuizkribuetan baturik geratu dena. Ezezagunak diren egile batzuek, edo bakarra, *Preguntas de las damas de Vergara* izendatutako eskuizkribuan sermoiaren kontrako beraien juzgua adierazi zuten. Loyartek argudiatzen duenaren arabera, apaizari luzatutako *Preguntas* testuaren egiletasuna ez litzateke inolako emakumeen taldeari egotzi behar, baizik eta Adiskideen Elkarteko sortzaileetakoren bati, hain zuzen ere, Peñafloredako Konteari³⁵⁰. Testuen egiletasuna nori egotzi diezaiokegun zalantzakorra bada ere, testu biek feminitatea ulertzeko bi modu zeharo desberdin erakusten dituzte, argiki “querellaren” oinordeko diren termino eta kontzeptuen erabilera nabarmena den trukateka dialektiko baten bidez.

Damek apaizari hurrengo erreklamazioa egiten zioten: “en la Doctrina del sermón de San Martín nos ha proclamado vuestra merced desde el púlpito por “malas cristianas, pecadoras habituales, escandalosas y sacrílegas”, a razón de la semejanza de nuestras cabezas y vestiduras con las de nuestro Redentor”³⁵¹. Gisa horretako salaketaren aurrean Bergarako damen defentsa estrategia hurrengo izan zen: beraien ikuspuntutik beharrezkoa zen apaizeriak beraien artaldeari exijitutako haragiaren mortifikazioaren eta Elizako instantzia gehienetan beraien itxuraren eta gorputzen zainketari eskainitako zainketaren arteko kontradikzioa azpimarratzea. Zentzu honetan galdetzen zuten, “para ser buenos cristianos ¿es preciso que conformándose con el sagrado modelo de Cristo, vayan todos con melenas caídas, barba larga, y una túnica de lino inconsútil?”³⁵², berehala gehitzeko, “Si esta ley es general e indispensable, ¿cómo se apartan de ella el Pontífice, los Cardenales, los Obispos, y todo el cuerpo Eclesiástico secular, que se atusa, se peina [...] y viste escarlatas [...] son malos cristianos, pecadores habituales y sacrílegos?”³⁵³. Testuan emakumeei ukatzen zitzaizen baina apaizek beraien gorputza zaintzeko zeukaten salbuespenezko aukera horren inguruko azalpenak eskatzen ziren. Argudio honen arabera, gorputzaren eta bere itxuraren zainketa unibertsalki bekatuzkoak baldin baziren, inolako apaizak ez luke kristau honaren izena merezi. Eta apaizen kasuan salbuespenik egiteko aukera egotekotan, galdetzen zuten: “¿por qué no

³⁴⁹ LOYARTE (1923); URQUIJO (1926).

³⁵⁰ LOYARTE (1923): 175. Egiazki, egilearen, edo egileen, estilo ironiko eta hanpatua Peñafloredak bere idatzietan erabilitako erretorika gogorarazten du.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 176-177.

hemos [las mujeres] de tener parte en la excepción?”³⁵⁴ eta, horren ondorioz, “¿qué razón habrá para que suframos una censura pública de la boca de quien, según sus propios principios, la merece más que nosotras?”³⁵⁵. Galderak sermoilariari egindako hurrengo adierazpenarekin amaitzen ziren:

“teniendo en mi librería obras de Fr. Luis de Granada, la de los Padres Segñeri y Burdalogue, la de los señores Flechier [...] que reprendiendo con eficacia y convencimiento los desordenes en punto de trajes, se hallan muy distantes de soltar una proposición tan absoluta y general como que oímos en el sermón de San Martín, pido a vuestra merced tenga la caridad de decirme, para mayor seguridad de mi conciencia, si he de gobernarme de estos ilustres y doctos varones, o sujetarme a la opinión particular de un predicador barbiponiente”³⁵⁶.

Preguntas testuan egileak eraikitako argudiaketak argitu beharreko hainbat elementu gordetzen dira. Alde batetik, nabaria da egileak kritikatzeko zuen sermoilariarekin konpartitzen zituen kode eta balio kristauetatik hitz egiten zuela. Are gehiago, irakurritako azkeneko testu zatian antzeman daiteke egilea arau katolikoen ezagutzaile izateaz harrotzen zela eta hauek aldarrikatzen zituela. Tonu ironiko bazez ere, arau katolikoen interpretazioa egiteko autoritatea zeukala aldarrikatu zuen, aldi berean pulpitutik ari zen apaizaren autoritatea zalantzan jarriz. Bere hausnarketak, hortaz, ez zituen balio erlijiosoak bere baitan kritikatzeko. Argudiaketaren alderdirik interesgarriena da, hain zuzen ere, konpartitutako kode katoliko berberetatik gorputzaren kontzepzio jakin baten kritika egiten zuela bere baitan kontrajarkotzat jotzen zuelako. ¿Gorputzaren mortifikazio hain beharrezkoa baldin bazen, zergatik zuten apaizek beraien hain ongi zaintzeko aukera? Galderetan agerrarazten zen arazoa, nire ustez, ez zen bakarrik instantzia eklesiastikoetan ebanjelioaren kontrakoa zen neurritz kanpoko gorputzen itxuraren inguruko zainketa. Alegia, Eliza era hipokritan jokatzen zela aldarrikatzea. Auzia konplexuagoa eta sakonagoa zen. Benetako problema, katolizismo zorrotzenaren gorputzaren kontzepzioa jarraituz, gainerako pertsonen beraien gorputzetaz gozatzea eta bere estatus sozialaren kodeen arabera jantzita erakustea ekidin nahi izatea zen. Defentsa honetatik azpimarratu beharreko alderdirik garrantzitsuena da, hain zuzen ere,

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 177.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 183.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 183-184.

emakumeak zirela gorputzaren edertze honetan parte hartzeko legitimitaterik handiena zeukatela aldarrikatzen zela, kristau patristika tradizionala kontrajarriz eta emakumezkoen gorputzaren inguruko kontzepzio diferente bat ikusaraziz.

Emakumezkoen kasuan, beraz, janzeraren auzi honek garrantzia nabarmenagoa hartzen zuen, ikuspegi zorrotzak, misoginia sutsua jarraituz, emakumeen gorputza kondenatzen zuelako bereziki. Gauzak horrela, egilea, edo egileak, emakumeen defendatzailetzat aurkezten zuen bere burua ikuspuntu katoliko zorrotzarekin konparatuz feminitate irudi zeharo diferentea eraikiz. Emakumeen izaera natural ahulagoa zen –apainketari eta modei makurtuagoa–, hain zuzen ere, beraien gorputza hobekien zaintzeko aukera ematen zien ezaugarria:

“Si vuestra merced, digo, puede presentarse al público de una manera tan distinta del Divino modelo, sin incurrir en las horribles notas de “mal cristiano, pecador habitual, escandaloso y sacrílego”, ¿con qué justicia puede vuestra merced imputárnosla desde el sagrado puesto del pulpito, siendo así que la debilidad de nuestro sexo es acreedora a indulgencias y tolerancias que no deben concederse a la gravedad y santidad del sacerdocio apostólico?”³⁵⁷.

Argi antzeman daitekenez, katolizismoaren bertsio zorrotzetatik aldentzen zen feminitatearen definizioa zerabiltzala. Ikuspuntu honen arabera izaera natural femeninoaren ahultasuna zigortua baino gehiago babestua izan behar zen. Horregatik zeukaten beraien gorputzak gizonezkoak ez bezala bereziki apaintzeko aukera. Are gehiago, egileak nolabait emakumezkoen gorputzaren edertasuna helburutzat jotzen zuen, hain zuzen ere apaizak sutsuki kritikatu zuena. Zentzu honetan, apaiz apaindu baten irudiak era berean apaindutako emakume baten alboan sortuko lukeen irudi barregarria alboratzen zuen: “quedaría vuestra merced declarado por incomparablemente mas petimetre, respecto a su clase, que cualquiera de nosotras, para con la nuestra”³⁵⁸. Defendatzailearen hitzen oinarrian feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen bi irudi desberdin zeudela antzeman daiteke, hain zuzen ere biak naturalki desberdinak ziren bi ereduaren arabera kontzebitzen zirelako.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 177-178.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 181- 183.

Damek egindako galderen aurrean Bergarako apaizaren erreakzioa patristika tradizioal zorrotzenaren defentsa sutsua izan zen. Bere erantzuna beraien buruak kultutzat eta jakintsutzat jotzen zituzten gizonei zuzenduta egon zen. Tonu sarkastiko eta gogorrean gizon hauei “en un taller famoso de Ciencias” ikasi izana egozten zien³⁵⁹. Bere erantzuna misoginia garratzenaren argudioak indartzera zetorren eta baita maskulinitatearen ikuspegi negatiboenak ere:

“¿Y qué querrán dar a entender cuando dicen que la debilidad del sexo [...] es acreedora a indulgencias? ¿Intentará con estos frívolos e inconsiderados esfuerzos persuadir que, porque el sexo es flaco y débil, tiene licencia y libertad de vestirse con mas profanidad, lujo e indecencia? [...] Extraña, peregrina y monstruosa paradoja; por lo mismo debe discurrir todo hombre que tiene sentido común, que están obligadas a vestirse con mas modestia, a vivir con mas retiro y cuidado sobre sí mismas, y a tomar más precauciones para alejar de si mismo las atenciones de los licenciosos, mundanos y libertinos”³⁶⁰.

“Sexu ahulak”, preseski bere flakeziarengatik eta argaltasunengatik, bere gorputza inork baino gehiago mortifikatu behar zuen. Gainera, sermoilariaren hitzek erakusten dute ez zela bakarrik emakumeen talde konkretu bati erreferitzen ari, baizik eta erasokortzat jotzen zituen gizartearen eremu edo zati zabalago bati buruz. Bergarako apaizaren aburuz gizartearen sektore hauek praktikaturako soziabilitate ereduak guztiz kaltegarriak ziren: “[son] costumbres nada mortificadas, [...] que gustan de las conversaciones de la gente divertida, ¿es prueba de una conciencia bien dispuesta? ¿Indica que esta alma es hija, discípula y miembro de Jesucristo y, por consiguiente, verdadera y buena cristiana?”³⁶¹ Apaizak emakumeen defendatzailetzat jotzen zituen gizonen kontra jartzen zen era gogorrean: “¡No, oh señores apologistas del sexo débil, no!”, hurrengo mehatxua botatzeko: “La corrupción de vuestro corazón, el amor que las tenéis, podrá obligaros a creer así, pero la voz de las Escrituras, los votos de los Santos Padres [...] para contener y corregir el lujo y profanidad de muchos de sus términos,

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 197.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 212.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, 221.

estarán contra vosotros”³⁶². Bere erantzuna lehen atalean aurkeztu den gorputzaren eta misoginiaren kontzepzioak indartzera zetorren. Azken finean, Bergarako apaizak noblezia ilustratuak proposatutako feminitateari aurre egin nahi zion.

Bergarako apaizaren hitzek “sexu ahulari” egotzitako kritikak hainbat elementu erakusten dituzte. Alde batetik, eremu nobleetako eta tertulia kultueko kideek defendatutako feminitate ereduaren kritika ziren. Eta bestetik, hierarkia sozialaren eta gorputzaren arteko harremana ulertzeko kontzepzio jakin batek gurutzatuta zegoela erakusten dute. Gorputzaren itxuraren bidez, luxua eta ostentazioa baliatuz, klase edo estatus soziala esanahitu nahi izatea bere zorrotzasunarekin bateraezinak ziren. “Y cuando el restante del auditorio no ha manifestado queja alguna”, adierazten zuen apaizak, “¿se ha de sufrir que vengan a reconvenirnos unas almas que más se apartan del modelo que debemos imitar? Pues qué, ¿hasta en el ejercicio de su ministerio han de usar de atenciones los Ministros del señor con las señoras Atadamas?”³⁶³. Lehenengo atalean aipatzen nuen moduan, luxuari egotzitako kritikaren bidez ez zen estatus edo hierarkia soziala bera zalantzan jartzen. Bai, ordea, hauek errepresentatzeko eta ikusarazteko erabiltzen ziren moduak, batez ere gorputzaren itxuraren bidezko moduei zegoekionez. Zentzu honetan, emakumeek erakus zezaketen kanpoko austeritateak ez zion bakarrik beraien genero kondizioari ohore egiten, baita emakume nobleen maila sozialari ere, “[hay] damas de casas ilustres y distinguidas, que se podían citar, que se visten con gravedad, modestia y decencia; que aborrecen el Fausto, el lujo y la profanidad del día, sin hacer aprecio alguno de *las modas y novedades*”³⁶⁴. Berriz ere, imitatu beharreko ereduak, emakume erlijiosoak ziren: “Ábranse los libros que nos recuerdan las vidas de las mujeres santas, y véase si seguían el estilo corriente de las que se vestían profanamente y al gusto de aquellos tiempos”³⁶⁵.

Hemen aurkeztu den trukaketa dialektikoak gorputzaren, sexuaren, generoaren eta klasearen inguruko kontzepzioen eta sentsibilitateen arteko talka bat erakusten du. Talka hau ez zein edozein momentutan sortu, baizik eta oso konkretua den testuinguru baten: Adiskideen Elkartearen sorkuntzaren testuinguruan, klase noble kultu batek tertuliak,

³⁶² *Ibid.* Bergarako apaiza gizonezkoa zen, edo ziren, interlokutore bati zuzentzea Loyarte eta Urquijoren egiletasunari buruzko hipotesiak indartuko lituzke: *Preguntas* testua ez zela emakumeen talde batek idatzia izan baizik eta Adiskideen Elkarteko, edo gertuko, kide batek, edo batzuek, idatzi izana.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 193-194.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 224-225.

musika eta antzerki ekitaldiak ospatzeko atmosfera ezin hobeagoan. *Preguntas* testuaren egileak egindako emakumeen defentsak misoginia klatolikoari kontrakoa zaion feminitate eredu bat erakusten digu. Gorputz egiten zen feminitatea zen, ikustarazten zena eta munduarekin katolizismo zorrotzari kontrakoak zitzaizkion kontzepzioen bidez harremanean jartzen zena. Egileak, hala ere, ez zuen anti-klerikala zen ikuspegi bat proposatzen, baizik eta katolizismoaren ulermen ilustratuago bat –egilea, izan ere, harro zegoen bere liburutegian janzkerari buruz hitz egin zuten hainbat teologo garrantzitsuen iritziak biltzen zituzten liburuak izateaz eta beraien argudioak ezagutzeaz–. Balio kristauak konpartitzen zituen, baina sermoilari euskaldun askok zerabiltzaten Trento ondorengo ortodoxia katolikotik aldendurik. Emakumezkoen janzkeraren garbitasun edo garbitasun ezari buruzko eztabaia hau “sexu ederraren” defendatzaileen eta kontrakoen arteko eztabaida bihurtu zen nolabait, “querellaren” nozio eta logikak biltzen zituelarik. Baina aldi berean, diferentzia sexuala ulertzeko bi ereduren arteko kontrajartzea da zeintzuetan gutxiagotasun femeninoaren eraikuntzak esanahi desberdinak jasotzen zituen, hurrengo orrialdetan ikusiko dugun moduan. Liskarra ez zen bakarrik generoari buruzkoa, baizik eta klaseari buruzkoa ere, maila eta hierarkia desberdintasuna gorputzaren bidez adierazteko eta sinbolizatzeko modu desberdinen arteko desakordioari buruzkoa. Bergarako apaiza ez zen gizarte hierarkizatuaren ereduen kontrakoa, bai ordea noblezia ilustratu berriak maila soziala eta beraien asmo kulturalak erakusteko zerabiltzan ereduen kontrakoa. Klasea edo hierarkia eredugarritasunez erakutsi behar zen, haragikeri fisikoaren edozein forma gaitzesten zuen austeritate katolikoaren bidez. Euskal nobleziaren zati garrantzitsu batek, hala ere, luxuaren, aurrerapenaren ekonomikoaren eta soziabilitate mistoaren eragin positiboen inguruko teoriak eraginda, gorputza eta publikoan izan behar zuen itxura oso forma ezberdinean ulertu eta esperimintatu zuen.

2.2.3. Zibilizazio prozesuaren eta sentimenezko gizakiaren inguruko eztabaida: sexuen arteko konplementaritatea eta domestizitatea.

Antzerkia edo luxuari buruzko eztabaida hauek zabalagoa zen gai baten parte ziren: zibilizazio prozesuaren eta gizartearen aurrerapenaren auzia. Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan aurrean aipatua izan den Manuel de Aguire izan zen gaia era zabalenean landu zuena 1776. urtean elkarteko Bazarretara bidaliko luxuari buruzko diskurtso baten –beranduago, 1787. urtean *Correo de los Ciegos de Madrid* egunkarian argitaratuko

zena—. Diskurtso honetan, Aguirrek luxuaren eta nazioen aurrerapenaren eta gizakiaren ongizatearen arteko harreman zuzena zegoela arguaditu zuen. Aguirrek egin zuen luxuaren defentsa ilustratua ez zen oparotasun gortesauaren defentsa, baizik eta erosotasunaren eta ongizatearen kontzepzio findu eta erabilgarri bati buruzko aldarrikapena. “Considerado en sí con abstracción del buen ó mal uso”, argudiatzen zuen Aguirrek, “es un disfrutar mas finamente de la existencia, los placeres y comodidad, que el hombre busca a costa de todas las cosas, que produce la pródiga naturaleza”³⁶⁶. Eremu ilustratu europetarretan eta espainiarretan indarrean zeuden teoriak jarraituz, Aguirrek luxuzko produktuen kontsumoa, beti ere nabarmenkeria hutsetik aldendurik zeuden bitartean, nazioaren ekonomiaren garapenerako potentzialki onuragarriak zirela argudiatu zuen³⁶⁷.

Hala ere, ikerketa honetan gehien interesatzen zaigun elementua mugimendu ilustratuaren baitan sortu zen subjektu sentikorraren nozio berria da. “Gizona” inguratzen zuen munduaren esperientzia gozagarri honetan goian aurreratu dugun subjektuaren eredu berrian oinarritzen zen. Subjektuaren izaera sentikorra eta bere zentzumenak ez ziren jada mortifikatu edo gaitzetsi behar haragiaren pekatuari gertu egongo balira kontzebituta. Gorputza eta bere zentzumenak, arrazoiarekin batera, munduaren esperientziarako eremu edo kanal bilakatzen ziren. Aguirrek baieztatzen zuen moduan “la sensibilidad, como primer móvil de todos sus deseos y temores, lo impele continuamente a huir del dolor, y a buscar el placer o descanso”³⁶⁸. Horrela, gizakiak nazioen aurrerapenerako onuragarriak ziren luxu formak asmatu eta garatu zituen erosotasunaren bila eta bizi forma latz eta primitibo edo basatiak atzean utzi nahian. Luxuaren esanahia erosotasuna eta konforta lirateke, zeinak aldi berean aurrerapen soziala suposatuko lukete ongizate moral eta fisikora heltzeko asmoa zeukan gizakiaren kontzepio baten baitan. Nahiz era Aguirrek ez zuen teoria jakinik aipatzen, pentsa daiteke gizakiari buruzko ikusmolde hau korrante sensualisten antzeko ildoan garatu zela. Teoria hauek ez zituzten pasioak eta zentzumenak gaitzestu beharreko eremu gisa kontzebitzen, baizik eta landu, moldatu, hezitu eta perfilatu beharreko eremutzat ezagutzarentzat eta giza ongizatearentzat erabilgarriak izan zitezen³⁶⁹. Luxua, hortaz, moral katolikoak ezartzen zituen duintasunaren eta honorabilitatearen mugak

³⁶⁶ AGUIRRE (1974): 167-168.

³⁶⁷ BOLUFER (1993): 177.

³⁶⁸ AGUIRRE (1974): 168.

³⁶⁹ CALDERÓN (2004): 20.

barne, zibilizazioaren, aurrerapen ekonomiakoaren, kulturalaren eta estatus soziala erakusteko bidetzat jotzen zen. Alegia, gorputza sentitzeko, gozatzeko eta zaintzeko eremu berri bat izango litzateke luxua.

Apaiz eta sermoilari asko luxuak ekar litzakeen gaitz ekonomikoak eta hondamena aldarrikatzen jardun ziren arren, gorputzaren eta zentzumenen gozamina zen moralistek aipatzen zuten auzi oinarrizkoa euskal nobleziaren janzkera eta ohiturak sutsuki kritikatzeko zituztenean. Adiskideen Elkartearen barnean zentzu honetan eman ziren tentsioak ere egitate honen adierazgarri dira. Antonio Elorzak dokumentatu duen moduan, Adiskideen Elkarteak Gasteizko zenbait apaizen salaketa jaso zuen 1776. urtean Manuel de Aguirrek bidalitako diskurtsoaren argitalpenaren inguruan³⁷⁰. Salaketa honen eraginez, 1777. urteko Batzarren Laburpenetan Aguirre adiskidearen testuaren inguruko ohar bat argitaratu zen. Oharrean argi geratu zen erlijio gizonen artean ezinegona eragindako auzia ez zela hainbeste luxuak eragin zezakeen kalte ekonomikoa, baizik eta beraren bidez pertsonak lor zezaketen gozamen mundutarra. Oharrak horrela zioen: “Si por la voz de *luxo* se entiende absolutamente el uso voluptuoso y ruinoso de los bienes, es evidente que no puede hablarse en su favor sin temeridad ni escándalo”³⁷¹. Oharraren egileak Aguirreraren diskurtsoaren zentzua berrinterpretatu zuen, ez oso era egokian, nire ustetan, argudiatuz Aguirrek “no le concibe [luxua] en este sentido, sino en otro puramente político, qual es el de que las gentes ricas y acomodadas gastando sus caudales [...] fomentan las artes y contribuyen al mantenimiento y honesta ocupación de los que en ellas se emplean”³⁷². Egiazki, Aguirrek ez zuen ondasunen erabilera galgarriaren alde egiten. Baina luxuaren erabilerari ematen zion zentzua ongi materialen esperientzia gozagarrria eta arosoa zekarren. Ondasunen erabilera atsegingarri honen zentzua, hain zuzen ere, zibilizazio prozesuarekin guztiz loturik zegoen, ongizatea eta erosotasunak guztiz beharrezkoak zirelako aurrerapen sozialerako.

Aguirreraren diskurtsoaren auzia ez zen bere horretan geratu. Izan ere, ondorengo urteko, 1778. urteko, batzarren laburpenetan, 1777. urtean adiskideen elkarteak egindako oharrari, Aguirreraren diskurtsoa ñabartzen zuenari, kritika zorrotza egiten zion saio bat argitaratu zutelako. Erantzunaren erantzun hau Salamancan teologoa zen Antonio

³⁷⁰ ELORZA (1974): 21.

³⁷¹ RSBAP (1985b): z/g.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

Roque Gómez del Casalek idatzi zuen. Bere testuan Gómez del Casalek apaizek Aguirrereren diskurtsoari egindako zentzuraren hainbat pasarte transkribatu zituen. Hauetan irakur daitekenez apaizen aburuz ez zen posible luxuari inolako konnotazio positiborik zekarren definziorik eman:

“el comun de los hombres, que entienden en ella un exceso y demasía antievangélica en comida, bebida y vestido, no habiéndose jamás llamado luxo (sino que de poco aca quieran algunos, haciendo de políticos, abusar de esta voz) el exceder de los precisamente necesario para la vida humana, como es vestir paño en lugar de jerga, comer pollo o carnero pudiendo comer vaca...”³⁷³.

Luxuaren kontrako moralisten teorien azpian zegoen arazo nagusia nabaria zen: gorputzari eskainitako gehiegizko gozamina eta beharrezkoa ez zen plazera. Gómez del Casalek, hala ere, bere iritzi ilustratua argi eta garbi egin zuen luxuaren defentsa egitean, Aguirrek egin zuen moduan, luxuari hurrengo definizioa emanaz: “exceso inocente de lo precisamente necesario para la vida humana [...] una superfluidad agradable o brillante [...] la que en unos puede ser ruinosa ó voluptuosa, es en otros no solo indiferente, sino juiciosa, prudente e inocente”³⁷⁴. Gorputzaren eta zentzumenen gozamina, gorputzaren ongizatea, ortodoxia katolikoak egotzitako balio negatiboetatik aldentzen zen.

Emakumezkoen gorputza, berriz ere, luxuaren defendatzaileentzat eztabaida gune bilakatzen zen. Gorputz femeninoaren gozamenaren eta erakustearen kritika sutuaren aurrean, Gómez del Casalek patritika tradizionala goitik behera berrikusi zuen luxu femeninoari zentzu positibo bat egotzeko. Bere aburuz, Elizaren aitetako inork ez zuen bizitzaren plazerak eta erosotasunak kondenatu, ezta emakumezkoen kasuan ere: “Sabían [los padres de la Iglesia] que las mujeres se podían vestir y adornar con agrado y delicadeza [...] No se debe confundir la delicadeza y preciosidad de los vestidos y adornos con la indecencia escandalosa”³⁷⁵. Emakumezkoen apainketaren despenalizazioa, Gómez del Casal bezalako apaiz agustindar baten, eskutik ebanjelioaren interpretazio zeharo diferentea erakusten du. Eta horretaz gainera,

³⁷³ RSBAP (1985b): 176.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 189.

katolizismoaren baitan gorputzari buruzko iritzi eta kontzepzio desberdinak zeudela erakusten zuen, diferentzia sexualaren ulerkeran ere eragina zeukana. Gorputzaren eta gizartearen ulerkera naturalistago baten markoan, gorputz femeninoak esanahi berriak hartzen zituen eta eredu berrien arabera errepresentatua izaten hasi zen. Halaberrez bekatuzkoa izango zen elementutzat hartzetik, gorputz femeninoa beste motatako balioen gordailu izatera igaro zen. Batzuentzat, goian aipatu den Bergarako apaizaren kasua adibide, luxua –batez ere gorputz femeninoari loturik eta atseginzaletasun gortesauari loturik– ohituren usteltzearen sinonimoa zen. Beste batzuentzat, neurtutako luxua –emakumeen leuntasun eta xalotasun naturala lirainduko zuen elementutzat ulertuta, egokitasunaren mugen barne–, ohituren fintasunaren ezaugarrietako bat zen eta zibilizazioaren prozesutzat jo zutenaren seinale. Hurrengo orrialdetan azalduko den moduan, Gómez del Casal bezalako autoreek emakumezkoen gorputzen edertasunari eta zainketari buruz egindako defentsa nazioen progresuaren diskurtsoa egituratu zuen diferentzia sexualaren kontzepzio jakin baten markoan ematen zen.

Eztabaida honekin jarraituz, britainiar kasuarentzat luze ikertu den moduan, batez ere eskoziarra, baina baita espainola eta frantsesa, generoa eta diferentzia sexualak zibilizazioaren aurrerapenaren inguruko kontzepzioak egituratu zituzten³⁷⁶. Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, William Robertson edo John Millar bezalako egileek historia egiteko forma berri bat garatu zuten. Historiari buruz egiten zuten ikerketa ohituren, sentipenen, harreman afektiboen, eta elementu hauen aldaketetan zentratzen zen erregeen familien genealogietan eta heroien guda balentrien kroniketan oinarritzen ziren ereduaren³⁷⁷. Hau da, gizakia, lege naturalen arabera aldatu eta garatu zen kriaturatzat hartzeaz gainera, funtsean lege horien garapen historikoaren fruitua zen, estadioen arabera eman zen garapena, nazio bakoitzari espezifikoa zitzaiona gizartearen eta norbanakoen perfekzio prozesuaren zentzuan. Planteamendu honetan, emakumeei egozten zitzaien rola berebiziko garrantzia zeukan. Korrante historiografiko honentzat, emakumezkoek jasotzen zuten hezkuntza, emakumeei buruzko iritzi publikoa edo estatusa edo gizonen aldetik jasotzen zuten tratua gizarte baten zibilizazioaren eta garapenaren maila adieraziko luketen ezaugarriak ziren.

³⁷⁶ Eskoziako kasuarentzat ikusi CARR (2014): 11; SEBASTIANI (2005) eta (2013). Kasu espainiarrarentzat ikusi: BOLUFER (2014).

³⁷⁷ SEBASTIANI (2013): 45.

Diferentzia sexuala Europa zibilizatuaren bestetasuna eraikitzeko berebiziko elementutzat agertzen zen. Alegia, basatitzat jotzen zen “bestearen” eraikuntza diskurtsiboa aurrerapen europearraren oinarri osagarritzat funtzionatzen zuen. Gizarte europearren kasurako –batzuetan beste batzuetan baino gehiago– emakumeek ongizate eta berdintasun maila altuak lortu izan zituztela uste izatearen arrazoia zen beraien esklabutza eta tratatu txarren egoeratik, zibilizatu eta aurreratu gabetzat jotzen ziren gizarteetan gertatzen zen moduan, aurrerapen bat eman zela³⁷⁸. Aurrerapen sozialaren kontzepzio honek, batez ere eremu kultuen baitan, oinarriztat adiskidetasuna, errepestua edo maitasuna zeukaten soziabilitate mistoetara eman zen garapena nazioen fintze kulturalaren, sozialen eta komertzialaren adierazletzat hartzen zuen³⁷⁹.

Antzeko zentzuan, Adiskideen Elkarteak ideia hori konpartitu zuen, baina ez zuen historiografiaren alorretik planteatu, baizik eta emakumeen hezkuntzaren ikuspegitik. Aurrerapenaren bidean zegoen gizatasun zibilizatuaren kontzepzio eta esperientzia berriaren markoaren baitan “emakumeak” kategoriaren eta sexuen arteko harremanaren definizioak berebiziko garrantzia izan zuen. Horrela antzeman dezakegu beraien eskuizkribu baten, zeina emakume gazteentzako seminario baten sorkutza plantzat idatzi zen, beranduako ikertua izango den moduan:

“Que se descuide la educación moral delas mugeres en aquellos paises orientales, yentre aquellos pueblos barbaros donde esta mitad del genero humano nace condenada áser esclava de la fuerza, o del capricho de la otra, sin poder aspirar jamas atener algún influjo en su sistema politico, y social, no es cosa que debe causar grande admiración”³⁸⁰.

Emakumeen eraginari esker, sentsibilitatearen, samurtasunaren eta gustu onaren maila altuen eramaitzat definituak ziren heinean, gizon zibilizatuak fintasunaren eta gizartearen aurrerapenaren ondasuna aurkitzen zituen, esperientzia honetan europearra zenaren eta europearra ez zenaren arteko diferentzia aurkituz³⁸¹. Diskurtso honek, beraz, emakumeek zibiltateari egiten zioten onurak azpimarratu eta goraiatzen zituen, baina

³⁷⁸ CARR (2014): 11.

³⁷⁹ TROJANI (2004b); BOLUFER (2014): 152.

³⁸⁰ RSBAP (1784): 1.

³⁸¹ SEBASTIANI (2007): 76.

emakumeei zegokien mugatik baino ez, zeinak eremu maskulinoa eragiten eta hobetzen zuen konplementariedadean oinarritzen zen pozisio subsidiariorik³⁸².

Emakumeen sentsibilitateak gizonenengan nolabaiteko eragin emozional edo sentikorra zeukala uste zen, “feminizatzeko” gaitasun bat, maskulinitate kirten eta hezi gabe bati egozten zitzaion laztasuna xamurtuko lukeen gaitasun edo eragin bat. Adiskideen Elkarteak fintasun maskulinoa bere zentzu politikoenean ulertu zuen, ondorio sozial garrantzitsuak zituen prozesua baitzen. Hezia, gizarte pozisio on eta itzaltsua, eta bere portaera eta ohiturak gidatzen zekien gizon batek baino ez, benetako Estatu gizon batek baino ez, ez luke emakume ikasi baten tratua eta maitasuna mereziko:

“¿qué joven distinguido habría que se atreviera a hacer alarde de su habilidad en manejar lacapa delante de un toro, o en gobernar con destreza de cocheros un tiro de mulas en presencia de unas damas cuya instrucción les hubiera hecho conocer la bajeza e impropiedad de tales inclinaciones en un ánimo noble, y que solo son dignos de aprecio aquellos que procurando adquirir conocimiento proporcionados para los empleos que les destina su nacimiento, se disponen quanto es de su parte, a hacer en ellos importantes servicios al estado?”³⁸³.

Ohituren fintasuna eta maskulinitatearen moldaketa Estatu gizonen jardueren oinarritzat hartzen ziren. “Sexu ederraren” aldeko sentsibilitate berri hau bi norabidezko efektuak sortzen zituen, izan ere ikasia, kultura eta xamura zen feminitate batenganako maitasuna eta interesa gizon gazteengan “los buenos estudios para merecer su estimación, promoviendo admirablemente por medio de una emulación tan honesta el beneficio de la ilustración general” lantzeko eta kultibatzeko gogoia piztuko luke, 1785. urteko batzar nagusietan argudiatu zen moduan³⁸⁴.

Diferentzia sexualaren formulazio honen alderdirik garrantzitsua da sexuen arteko erreprozitate sentimendua aurre-suposatzen zuen lotura afektiboa eraikitzen zuela. Euskal ilustrazioak, europar korranteetako ildo jarraituz, gizon eta emakumeen arteko harreman afektiboaren ikuspuntu katolikoaren ulerkeraren garraztasunaren aurrean, eta

³⁸² CARR (2014): 13.

³⁸³ RSBAP (1784): 2.

³⁸⁴ RSBAP (1985c): 31.

gorputz femenino eta maskulinoen artean ezartzen zituen mugen, batez ere fisikoen, aurrean, harreman horri esanahi berri bat eman zion. Kasu eskoziarrarentzat John Dwyerrek azaldu duen moduan, pasio sexuala maitasun bilakaturik, interes sexual indibidualaren eta soziabilitate espazioaren arteko bateratzea ahalbidetzen zuen. Hau da, kohesio sozialarentzat oinarritzat funtzionatzen zen³⁸⁵. *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1779) testu famatuan John Millar egileak horrela adierazten zuen, emakumeen eta gizonen arteko harreman sexu-afektiboaren garapena gizartearen aurrerapen moralarentzat oinarritzko elementua zela defendatzean. Gizonen basakeriaren peko esklabotza eta sumisio egoeratik bizi izatetik gizarte zibilizatueta emakumeen egoera zeharo aldatu egin zen ezkontzako maitasun monogamoa kultibatzerara emandako saltoaren bidez. Adiskideen Elkarteak iritzi hau partekatzen zuen. Emakumeek eremu domestikoan betetzen zuten rola eta gizonek beraiekin sortzen zituzten adiskidetasun eta maitasun harremanak familiaren eta sexuen harmonian oinarritzen zen antolamendu soziala bermatzeko ezinbesteko elementuak ziren:

“en los países civilizados, donde es maior el imperio dela razon que el del poder, y donde las mujeres por consentimiento y aceptación general tienen la posesión de exigir obsequios delos hombres en el trato civil, deser participantes con ellos en los cuidados y delicias de la vida domestica, y de tener un grande influjo en las maiores *revoluciones/resoluciones*³⁸⁶ y acaecimientos políticos”³⁸⁷.

Ikusten den moduan, eremu domestikoari eskainitako garrantzia ez litzateke gutxietzi behar arrazoi bat baino gehiagorengatik. Alde batetik, moralitate eta zoriontasun publikoa oinarritzen zuten ideia bertutetsuak sortzen ziren espazio gisa irudikatzen zelako. Eta bestetik, gizonen eta emakumeen ongizatea eta sentipen gozagarriak eskaintzen zizkien eremu nagusitzat definitzen zelako. Kasu eskoziarrarentzat Rosalind Carrek adierazten duen moduan, Adiskideen Elkartearentzat ere eremu domestikoa gizonentzat ere, eta ez bakarrik emakumeentzat, ohituren fintasuna lantzeko espazioa

³⁸⁵ DWYER (1998): 5.

³⁸⁶ Kurtsiba nirea da. Aipatzen den zatia gordetzen duen testuan, Arabako Lurralde Historikoaren Agiritegian gordeta dagoena, Fondo Prestameroan, azpimarratzen den hitzaren kasuan bere garaian zuzenketa bat egin zela antzeman daiteke. Ezin daiteke zehaztu zein izan zen zuzenketa zentzua: *revolución*etik a *resolución*era edo alderantziz. Edozein kasutan, nahastea interesgarria da, zuzenketa zentzua asmatzea ezinezkoa bada ere, *revolución* nozioaren erradikalitasunaren inguruko kezka bat agertuko lukeelako emakumeek gizartearen izan zezaketaren eraginaren kasuan.

³⁸⁷ RSBAP (1784): 1.

zen, eta baita familia maitagarri batek eskainitako atmosfera sentsible eta sentimental batez gozatzeko eremua ere³⁸⁸.

Era honetara, ez dugu bakarrik elementu zibilitzailea litzatekeen feminitatearen definizio berri bat aurkitzen, baita maskulinitatearen definizio berri bat ere xarma sentimentalez eta sensualez betetako domestizitate batek erakarria. Horrela adieraz zuen Aguirrek, goian aipatu dugun luxuari buruzko testuan. Egileak argudiatzen zuen hain kritikatu zen luxuak gizonari “la propiedad y paz asegurada” eta “el hallazgo de los contentos que dimanan de ser padre y marido, el apoyo, servicios y obsequios de su familia en la vejez” ekarri zizkiola, hain zuzen ere³⁸⁹. Aguirreren diskurtsoaren argitalpena eta hamar urtera antzeko zentzuan adierazten zen teologoa eta matematikaria zen aita José Isidoro Morales bere *Comentario al exc. Señor D. Joseph de Mazarredo sobre la enseñanza de su hija* lanean, 1796. urtean argitaratua eta sakonean beranduago ikertua izango dena. Morales José de Mazarredo marinel famatuari, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideari, zuzentzen zitzaion Juana de Mazarredok, bere alabak, jaso beharreko heziketari buruzko hausnarketa baten bidez, saio baten bildua. Saioan Moralesek sutzuki defendatu zuen emakumeen feminitatea behar bezala garatzeko emakumeak eremu domstikora mugaturik egon behar zirela etxeko gizonaren lasaigarritzat funtziona zezaten. “¿Le parece acaso á V. E.” galdetzen zuen Moralesek era erretorikoan, “que podría sostener por mucho tiempo y con tanto teson el incesante trabajo en que á toda hora se ocupa dentro y fuera de casa, á no ser por el contrapeso del alivio y consuelo que halla en el seno de ella?”³⁹⁰.

Zibilizazio prozesuaren diskurtsoaren markoan zentzu positiboa zuen feminitatea itxuratu zen, patristika tradizionalaren aurrean, ama eta emazte gisa beraien rola goraipatzen zituena eta baita eremu domestikoari egiten zioten ekarpen garrantzitsua. Kontuan hartuta garaiko testuinguruan ezkontzari buruzko diskurtso katoliko tradizionalak oso balio eta ezaugarri negatiboak egozten ziotela eta zelibatoa edo komentuko bizitza hobesten zutela ezkontza baino, Adiskideen Elkarreak emakumeentzat ezkongaien bizitzari buruzko irudi erakargarriago bat sortzen saiatu zen. Eta aldi berean, antzeman genezake maskulinitatearen konfigurazio berri bat eman

³⁸⁸ CARR (2014): 16.

³⁸⁹ AGUIRRE (1974): 169.

³⁹⁰ MORALES (1796): 57.

zela, zeinetan gizon publiko moduan betetzen zuen rolaengan bere eremu domestikoak garrantzia hartzen zuen. Eremu domestiko hau, gozamen harmoniatsuentzako eta sentikorrarentzako eremu bezala definitu zen aldi berean.

2.3. Emakumezkoen gorputz ilustratua eraikitzen: mindulikeriatik apaltasun erotizatura

Adiskideen Elkarteak proiektatzen zuen gizarte zibilizatu eta findua sexuen arteko konplementarioritasun naturalaren onarpenean oinarritzen zen. Mentalitate ilustratuan gorputzaren, sexuaren eta generoaren arteko harremana Calatayud, Cardaberaz, Mendiburu edo Larramendiren mentalitate katolikotik zeharo desberdin ulertzen zen. Azken hauentzat, sexuak ez zuen guztiz emakumeen eta gizonen rol soziala erabat determinatzen. Diferentzia sexualaren ikuspuntu ilustratua, ordea, gorputz naturalizatu baten kontzepzioan oinarritzen zen sexua biologikoa pertsonen identitatearen elementu esanahikortzat jotzen zuena. Gizonak eta emakumeak naturalki desberdinak ziren entitate edo espezie desberdineko kide izango balira definituak izan ziren, perfekzio bide desberinen bidez garatzen zirenak, baina aldi berean osagarriak ziren ekintzak eta balioak gorputzen zituztelarik.

Sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren kontzepzio hau Adiskideen Elkarteko proiektu sozialaren elementu egituratzaileetako bat izan zen. Azpialdian honetan osagarritasunaren logikaren eta domestizitateari zein ezkontzari buruzko diskurtsoaren markoan gorputz femeninoaren esperientziaren eraikuntza diskurtsiboaren azterketan zentratuko naiz. Diferentzia sexualaren konfigurazio honen elementu baten azterketari atentzio berezia eskainiko zaio, interesa handikoa dena baina ez dena orain arte gehiegi garatu: modestiaren eta gorputz femeninoaren erotizazioa. Adiskideen Elkarteak emakumeak modestiaren erretorikaren bidez irudikatu bazituen ere, beraien lotsa eta xalotasuna azpimarratzen bazuten ere, egiatan egozten ziren naturaltasuna erotizatzen zuen diskurtsoa zen, baita beraien gorputzak ere. Sentsualitate femeninoari buruzko diskurtso hau emakumeak amatzat eta emaztetzat konfiguratzeko oinarri beharrezkoa izan zen, baita bizitza familiar eta intimoa erakargarritzat irudikatzeko ere. Diskurtso honek emakumeak gizonaen desira onargarriaren objektutzat irudikatzen zituen eta aldi berean, subjektutzat, nahiz eta subordinatuak, zeintzuengandik beraien patua sozial eta naturala betetzeko gogoia agertzea espero zen. Zorroztasun katolikoak proposatzen zuen

haragiaren mortifikazioaren eta gorputzaren estaltzearen eta izkutatzearen aurrean, amaren eta emaztearen rolak, zentzu ilustratuan, gorputzaren zainketa eta esperientzia berri bat eskatzen zuen. Naturaltasun femeninoa, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek adierazitakoaren zentzuan, kondizio biologikoa izateaz gain, kualitate moral eta soziala ere bazen. Alegia, emakumezkoen gorputza naturalki xaloa zen elementutzat aurkezten zuten, baina aldi berean modelatu behar zela argudiatu zuten modestia femeninoaren xarma eta ezaugarri positiboak ustiatzeko beraien rol soziala bete zitzaten. Era honetan, euskal ilustrazioaren sentsibilitate berriaren markoan emakumezkoen gorputzari egotzitako arriskuaren eta zikintasunaren balio negatiboetatik aldentzen zen sentsualitate femeninoaren defnizio berri bat eraiki zen. Hau familia baizitzaren eta, zeharka bizitza sozialaren, funtzionamendu egoki eta onuragarri batentzat beharrezkotzat jotzen zen.

Ezkonduen arteko lotura, horrela, ez zen irudikatu gizonaen eta emakumezkoek pairatu behar zuten estatu lez, baizik eta gozatu beharreko lotura lez generoaren, egokitasunaren eta ohore ilustratuari zegozkion arauen barne. Ezkontza emakumeentzat erakargarri bihurtu behar zen moral katoliko zorrotzak emakumezkoak amatasunaren eta ezkontzaren betebeharretatik aldedu zituela uste zutelako beraien gehiegizko zelo erlijiosoak zela eta. Haien arabera, gehiegizko kontrol honek emakumeengan nolabaiteko “uzkurdura” edo “milikeria” fisikoak eragiten zituen beraien patuarentzat beharrezkoak ziren kualitateak lortzea ekiditen zutenak. Eta aldi berean, gizonentzat ere erakargarria izan behar zuen, lotura horren bidez egonkortasun soziala bermatzeaz gainera, gizonentzat kontsolagarria, indargarria eta desiragarria zen bizitza baten itxaropena emateko. Emakumeentzat ezkontza patua natural eta sozialtzat irudikatzen bazen ere, ezkontza eta gizonetikiko lotura ez zen halabeharrez diziplina zorrotzaren bidez bete beharreko obligazio moduan irudikatzen, baizik ete desiragarria eta gozagarria zen aukera hoberentzat zeina lortzen saiatu behar ziren.

Ikusiko dugunez, emakumeen moralitateari buruzko idatziak, zein hezkuntza femeninoaren saiakera edota plangintza testuak sexu bientzat erakargarria izan behar zen bizitza familiarra, eta inplizituki sexuala, bermatzeko lotura emozionalaren eta jarrera afektiboen konfigurazioaren adibide ona dira. Horregatik, uste dut, Adiskideen Elkarteko proiektu sozialaren alderdirik interesgarriena gizon eta emakumeen arteko desiraren birkonfigurazioan oinarritzen zela dela.

2.3.1. Sexuen arteko erabateko ulermena: konplementaritatearen ideologia eraikitzen.

Nola ulertu zuten Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek sexuen arteko konplementaritatea? Gizonezkoak eta emakumezkoak natura desberdinkoak zirenen ideia, hein handi baten, zenbait kideek ezkonduen bizitza alda ezinezko patua zela justifikatzeko zeukaten behar praktikotik eraikia izan zen. Horrela, sexuen arteko diferentziak deskribatzeko naturaren argudioak zerabiltzaten, utilitarioak ziren argudioekin nahastuz sexuen arteko osagarritasunak gizartearentzako izango lituzkeen abantailak esplikatzen asmoz. Elkartea bera sortu zenetik elkarteko kideengan ideia hau eta Trento ondorengo misoginia sututik aldentzen zen eta praktikatzeko zituzten soziabilitate kultuen eta mistoen arabera zen feminitate eredu sortzeko interesa antzeman daiteke. 1765. urtean Bergaran eman zen elkarrearen irekiera batzarrean Montehermosoko Markesak, elkarteko kide oso garrantzitsua, *Discurso Philosophico Moral. La muger* titulua zeramatzen testu bat aurkeztu zuen³⁹¹. Diskurtso honek konplementaritatearen logikaren adibide bikaina eskaintzen du, Rousseauren eragina bera izango ote lukeen pentsarazten duena.

Autoreak zioen moduan, “[la] naturaleza [sic] que en la finura de las facciones, organización, y delicada cutis de la muger, puso tanta diferencia de la de los hombres” erakusten zuen “que no las criava para estudios ni para fatigas, que su vella frente, estaría mal empleada en el confuso estudio de un problema matematico [...] su recato natural y su rubor son incompatibles con una gorra de Granadero, y un bonete de Doctor”³⁹². Gizona, bere aburuz, kontrako eran, “de partes mas nerviosas” osatua zegoen eta, hortaz, “destinado por la naturaleza a fin diverso, a la fatiga, la seriedad, y a la reflexión. Lo [sic] movimientos mas violetos no son en el, sino usar con plenitud de sus propias facultades”³⁹³. Diferentzia sexualaren naturalizazioa era argian ikus daiteke emakumeen eta gizonen arteko izaeren desberdintasunari muga zorrotzak ezarri nahi izan horretan. Muga horien urratzea genero ordenaren haustura edo alterazioa bera suposa zezakeen. Horrela, emakumezkoek gozotasun eta xamurtasun jarrerak eta

³⁹¹ Diskurtsoa Montehermosok berak adierazi zuen 1765. urtean. Markesaren diskurtsoa *Historia de la Real Sociedad Bascongada* transkribatua eta argitaratua dago, goian aipatu izan den testuan. Julio Urquijok azken testu honen egiletza Peñaflores Konteari egotzi zion. Cécile Mary Trojanik, aldiz, argudiatu du egiatan Miguel José de Olaso eta Zumalabe izan zela egun hortako diskurtsoak transkribatu zituen. TROJANI (2007): 151.

³⁹² MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 450.

³⁹³ *Ibid*, 451.

adierazpen ereduak *performatu* behar zituzten. Horretaz gainera, “forzuda, disputante, y feroz” bezalako jarrerak ekidin behar zituztela jakin behar zuten eta hauetatik aldendu behar ziren “persuadida a la verdadera esencia de su merito”, bizi ahal izateko, “contenta en los límites que le prescribió la naturaleza”³⁹⁴.

Sexuen arteko diferentzia hau naturak diseinatutako dibergentzia baten oinarritzen zen, baina funtzio sozial jakin bat betetzera zetorrena. Izan ere, bi sexuen arteko diferentziak ez zuen eragozten biak “[que] nacieran para un reciproco alivio: lo que le falta al uno, lo presta el otro”³⁹⁵. Rousseauren *Sofía o la mujer* lanaren beridazketa bat izango balitz— hiru urte arinago argitaratua izan zena—, Montehermosok argudiatu zuen diferentzia horren konbinazioa “el principio de que nace la dulce reciproca atracción y la intima comunicación de un sexo con otro” zela³⁹⁶. Diferentzia sexualak eskaintzen zuen oreka gizartearen funtzionamendu egokirako beharrezkoa zen. Gizartearen alorrean Montehermosok emakumeen rola goraiatzeko amak eta emazteak ziren heinean: “de este contrapeso probiene la grande parte, que han tenido las mugeres en los maiores sucesos del universo”³⁹⁷. Hau da, gizon eta emakumeen arteko diferentzia sexuala naturaren argudio baten bidez justifikatzen zen, baina naturatik harago zioan erabilgarritasun bat oinarritzeko erabilia zen: sexuen arteko beharrezkoa zen elkarrekikotasuna betetzea. Sexuen arteko diferentzia esentzial naturala gizartearen harmonia bermatzera bideratuta legoke, batez ere harmonia familiarrari zegokionez. Antzeman daiteke, beraz, Adiskideen Elkarteko nobleziak, generoari eta diferentzia sexualari zegokionez, pentsamendu ilustratuaren ezaugarri nabarmenak gehitu zituela bere diskurtsoetan, pentsamendu katolikoarekiko apurketan parte hartu ez bazuen ere.

2.3.2. *Emakumezkoen gorputzaren naturalizazioa eta domestikazioa: feminitatea hezitzen.*

Heziketa izan zen, hain zuzen ere, ilustrazioak azpimarratu zuen eremuetako bat. Adiskideen Elkarrekin ilustrazioaren kontzepzioen arabera feminitate eta maskulinitate ereduaren erreformak ere hezkuntzaren bidez aldatu behar zirela uste zuen³⁹⁸. Elkarteko

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 452.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 451.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ RECARTE (1990); MORANT (2004b); MÍNGUEZ (2011); VICENTE-PEDRAZ eta BROZAS-POLO (2014); URRRA (2016): 116 eta hurrengoak.

kideek hezkuntzaren onurak ustiatu behar zirela irmoki uste zuten, zentzu honetan bere proiekturik garrantzitsuenak garatuz, 1776. urtean sortu zuten Bergarako Errege Mintegia euskal probintzietako noblezia eta noblezia espainiarraren, baita kolonietako lurraldetako, semeak hezi ahal izateko. Egitasmo honekin batera, euskal ilustratuek emakumeentzako modelatu zuten rol sozial berria eta gizeekiko beraien harremanak behar bezala betetzeko, emakume gazteek garairarte jasotzen ari zirenekin konparatuta desberdina zen heziketa bat behar zuten. Euskal probintzietan emakumeek jasotzen zuten heziketa, jasotzekotan, komentueta emakume erlijiosoek irakasten zuen irakaskuntzan baino ez zen oinarritzen.

Mentelitate ilustratuak diferentzia sexualean, gorputzean eta generoaren sartu zuen aldaketa handia are nabarmenagoa da bere hezkuntza proposamenak eta plangintzak garaiko erakunde puruki erlijiosoek proposatutako hezkuntzarekin konparatzen baldin baditugu. Oraingoan, sakonean ez bada ere, emakume gazteen hezkuntzaren eta jarreraren gidari izateko sortuak izan ziren hainbat araudi, konstituzio eta saiakera aztertuko eta konparatuko ditut, mendearen bigarren erdialdean idatziak izan zirenak. Hezkuntza femeninoaren azterketari garrantzia berezia eskainiko idatzi horietan inon baino hobeto ikus daitekeelako diferentzia sexuala egituratzeko borondatea, eta inplizituki feminitateaz gainera maskulinitateari buruzko ideiak ere antzeman ditzakegulako, hain zuzen ere, emakumeak gizezkoen osagarri izateko heziak baitziren.

Ikusiko dugun lehen testua Manuel de Larramendi jesuita andoaindarrak idatzitako araudi bat da, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad emakume gazteen Mintegirako idatzitako *Reglas y Constituciones* ziren hauek. Erakunde hau, 1732. urtetik zeramatzen martxan³⁹⁹ eta Bergarako Soledad ermitan kokatzen zen⁴⁰⁰. Mintegia Bergarako aizpa frantziskotar batzuen eskutik sortu zen. Hauek ermitak alboan zeukan etxean mintegia sortzeko baimena eskatu zuten neska gaztetxoak hezi ahal izateko. Larramendi aukeratua izan zen mintegi honetako araudia idazteko. Egilearen izpiritu sakonki erlijioso jarraituz, arauk neska gaztetxoengan irmoa zen hezkuntza erlijioso

³⁹⁹ URRA (2016): 96.

⁴⁰⁰ Araudi hau 2008. urtean argitaratu zuen M^a Rosa Ayerbe Iribarrek *Boletín de la RSBAP*ean bere garaiko testuinguruari eta kronologiari zegozkion hainbat argibide eskaintzen zuen sarrera batekin. Egileak berak adierazten duen moduan eskuizkribu originala Calahorrako Elizbarrutiko Artxibategian gordetzen da.

errotzeko helburua betetzera zuzenduta zeuden. Egileak arauen sarreran adierazten zuen moduan, zentruaz itxaroten zuten “no siendo Comunidad de rrelixiosas, por su buen exemplo y gouierno christiano puedan competir con ellas”⁴⁰¹. Arauetan ez zen adierazten bertan hezitako neska gazteak erlijio bizitzara zuzendurik egon behar zutenik baina, hala ere, antzeman daiteke araudian batzen zen hezkuntza ereduak beraiengan monastegiko bizitzari berezkoak zitzaizkion jokamoldeak eta jarrerak erakusteko egina zegoela:

“No Se contentaran con sauer en xeneral que para ser buenas christianas vasta el guardar los mandamientos de Dios y de la Yglesia. Sepan tamuién lo que son las virtudes teologales y cardinales y en qué consiste el exercicio de ellas. Sepan lo que es humildad, castidad, obediencia, mortificación, penittencia y demás virtudes christianas aprendiendo a hacer acttos propios de ellas para executtarlos en las ocasiones. Y también sabrán lo que son pasiones para venzerlas, y lo que son vicios para aborrecerlos”⁴⁰².

Proposatzen zuten hezkuntza ereduak, aurreko atalean aztertzen genuen gorputzaren kontzepzioa jarraituz, helburutzat emakumeen gorputza blindatzea zuen diziplina zorrotzaren eta mortifikazioaren bidez. Horregatik, zentruko irakasleengandik espero zen behar bezainbeste kristau izan zitezen neskatxengan hurrengo helburua lortzeko: “enxendrar en el corazón de las niñas el santto themor de Dios, dándoles a conocer [...] vnas veces lo orroroso de la culpa y otras lo agradable de la virtud”⁴⁰³. Betebehar hau lortzeko konfesioaren eta komunioaren jarduerak berebiziko garrantzia hartzen zuten. Neskatxen lehenengo betebeharra “buenas christianas, enttmediendo las máximas santas de el Ebanxelio y de la virtud, acostumbándose desde pequeñas a hacer vn grande aprecio de las cosas de el zielo y un alto desprecio de las de el siglo, enttrañando en sus almas el santto temor de Dios” izaten eta edukitzen ikastea zen⁴⁰⁴.

Bai gaztelaniaz eta baita erromantzean irakurtzen eta idazten jakiteaz gainera eta debozioak, erritualak eta beharreko meditazio erlijiosoa zorrotasun handiz egiteaz aparte, araudiak ez zuen neska gazteek ikasi behar zituzten edukien inguruan argibide

⁴⁰¹ AYERBE (2008): 799.

⁴⁰² *Ibid*, 807.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, 800.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 807.

nabarmenik ematen. Hala ere, bi elementu azpimarratu beharko lirateke, batzuen aburuz garrantziarik gabekoak liratekeenak baina berebiziko garrantzia daukatenak egileak zerabilen feminitateari eta baita diferentzia sexualari buruzko kontzepzioa ulertu ahal izateko. Aipatu beharreko lehenengo kontua da musikak ez zuela nesken hezkuntzak inolako leku garrantzitsurik jokatzen. Dantzak, are gutxiago, ez zuen inolako lekurik izan behar “lo diuino”ari loturiko jarduerekin ez baldin bazegoen loturik⁴⁰⁵. Bigarren gaia latinaren ikasketarena da. Egileak, kontuan hartuz, “[que]es natural que esto les sirva a muchas de ellas” latina ikastea beharrezkotza jo zuen⁴⁰⁶. Latinaren irakaskuntzaren balioespen baikor hau proposatzen zuen hezkuntzaren helburutasun erlijiosoarekin zerikusia izan lezake. Are gehiago, pentsa genezake alor erlijiosoari loturiko intelektueltasunaren lanketa ez litzatekeela halabeharrez oker ikusiko, hain zuzen ere debozioekin loturik legokeelako eta ez litzatekeelako emakumeen perfekzio kristauaren ereduarekin kontrajarriko.

Arau hauetan irudikatzen zen feminitatea austeritatean eta gogortasunean oinarritzen zen ez bakarrik eremu moralean baizik eta eremu fisikoan ere. Arau hauetan antzeman daitekeenez nesken etorkitzuna ez zen hainbeste gizarteko bizitzara baizik eta komentuko bizitzara bideratua ikusten. Bere hezkuntza proiektuaren oinarrian nesken gorputzak guztiz blindaturik eta mortifikaturik egon behar zenaren ideiaia zegoen. Jainkoari beldurra, pekatuaren lazgareria edo lurreko munduaren gaitzespena neskek ikasi behar zituzten jarrera emozionalen artean nagusienak ziren. Ikasleek beraien inguruarekin izango zuten harremana ahalik eta murriztena izatea espero zen eta harreman hau sentsualitatea edo gorputzaren gozamina ekidingo luketen bideetatik baino ezingo litzateke eman. Azkenik, nabarmendu behar da araudian antzeman daitekeen ausentzia garrantzitsu bat: amatasuna eta ezkontza ez ziren inongo kasutan araudi honetan aipatu ere egiten. Alta, amatasuna eta ezkontza izan ziren, hain zuzen ere, Adiskideen Elkarteko hezkuntza proiektuak emakumeen heziketarako azpimarratuko zituen dimentsioak eta baita beraien diferentzia sexualaren ikuspegia ezaugarritzen zuten elementuak ere.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 808.

Emilio Palacios⁴⁰⁷ eta M^a Teresa Recartek⁴⁰⁷ dokumentatu duten moduan, Adiskideen Elkarteak Estatu Kontseilu Errealak 1774. urtean egindako eskaerari erantzunez, “Hermita de la Advocacion de nuestra señora de la soledad sita en la referida villa de Vergara” tokian hezkuntza komentu baten sorkuntzari buruz hainbat txosten idatzi zituen⁴⁰⁸. Zedula Errealean irakur daitekeenaz, Adiskideen Elkarteari bere iritzia eskatzen zitzaion. Magdalena de Goizuetak, Tuterako hezkuntza komentuan botoak egin zituen moja batek, utzitako herentziari esker, Bergarako mintegia, zeinaren egoera ekonomikoa oso larria zen, heziketarako komentu bihurtu nahi zen⁴⁰⁹. Larramendik Bergarako mintegiaren arauak idatzi eta hogeita hamar urte beranduago Adiskideen Elkarteari bere iritzia eskatzen zitzaion hurrengo gaien inguruan: antzinako mintegia zegoen horretan heziketa komentua sortzearen erabilgarritasuna, zenbat erlijiosak egin beharko zuten lan, zein izan beharko litzatekeen ikasleen kopurua, ikasleen gurasoek zenbateko dirua inbertitu behar zuten eta zentruaren antolakuntzari zegozkion beste hainbeste galdera. Enkargu honen aurrean Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen artean zenbait eztabaida eman ziren hezkuntzari zegokionez eta hainbat txosten idatzi ziren⁴¹⁰. Gaiaren inguruan hasierako hausnarketetaik zuzendariak, Peñafloidako Konteak, problematikotzat jo zuen gaietako bat zen, hain zuzen ere, bertan irakatsi beharreko hezkuntzaren izaera erlijiosoa:

“Unos considerarian que la educacion Monastica era mas propia para inclinar a las Jovenes ala Religion [...] é infundir las máximas y costumbres monacales que para criar a buenas Madres de Familia y mujeres que por su sólida educacion y virtud contribuyesen a la felicidad del mundo”⁴¹¹.

⁴⁰⁷ PALACIOS (1986); RECARTE (1990)

⁴⁰⁸ CEDULA REAL (1774): z/g.

⁴⁰⁹ Aipatu behar da 1774. urteko Zedula Errealak, zeinetan Adiskideen Elkarteari agintzen zaion gaiaren inguruan bere iritzia adieraz zezala, adierazten dela “piadosa mujer” batek Soledadeko Ermitan neskak hezitzen hasi zela 1732. urtean. Hala ere, goian aipatu dugun M^a Rosa Ayerberen artikuluan egileak adierazten du M^a Clara de Berruetak, frantziskotar hirugarrendarrak, 1741an “solicitó licencia para recogerse a la casa que la villa tenía aneja a la ermita” mintegia sortzeko. Ikus AYERBE (2008): 797. Ez Emilio Palacios, ezta M^a Teresa Recartek ez dute 1741. urtean Larramendik idatzitako araudiari buruz daturik aipatzen edo aipatzen. Bai ordea, Manuela Urrea Olazabalek, zeinak mintegiaren testuinguru eta garapen kronologikoaren inguruko azterketa zehatza eskaintzeaz gainera, Larramendik idatzitako arauak hamar urte beranduago, 1751. urtean, Calatayudek berak idatzitako araudiarekin konparatzen dituen, URRRA (2016): 108 eta hurrengoak. Urraren arabera Calatayudek idatzitakoak Larramendik idatzitakoetan oinarrituta zeuden zentruaren zuzendaritzari zegokion zenbait aldaketa txiki baino ez sarturik, URRRA (2016): 107.

⁴¹⁰ Eskuizbrua hauek Arabako Lurralde Historikoaren Artxibategian gordetik daude, Fondo Prestameroan.

⁴¹¹ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1775): 2. Peñafloidako Kontearen eta Pedro Jacinto de Álavaren gutun trukaketan antzeman daiteke hainbat kide gaiaren inguruko beraien kontrako iritzia agertu zutela. Ikus TELLECHEA (1987): 313 y 320.

Beste txostenetako baten, Informe E deiturikoa eta Peñafloidako Konteak sinatua dagoena, irakur daiteke zentruko Zuzendaria “adornar à sus Discípulas de quantas virtudes, y nociones puedan contribuir a que ya se en la Religion o ya sea en el Mundo” saiatu behar zela aurrean jartzen zitzaizkien edozein egitasmori aurre egiteko⁴¹². Hala ere, nabaria da Adiskideen Elkarteko kide askoren nahia zela zentruan eskaintzen zen hezkuntza neskak komentuko eta moja izateko bizitzara zuzendu baino gehiago gizarteko soziabilitatera bideratzeko zuzendua egon behar zela. Neskak beraiei zegokien eremuko edukietan hezitzea, “[para]ocupar con civilidad, y economía a las Madres é hijas de Familia” oso garrantzitsua zen⁴¹³. Honen adierazgarri da irakurtzea “[que] la directora debiera ser una Señora particular, como v.g. la viuda de un Militar, Ministro o Caballero [...] Con virtud sólida y conocimiento del mundo”⁴¹⁴. Beharrezkoa zen zuzendariak neskengan hurrengo balioak sorraraztea:

“modales escogidos; y poniendolas en estado de que al salir de la Enseñanza se presenten con una noble y circumspecta libertad, tan distante del encogimiento que ordinariamente se saca del Comento, como de la desenvoltura en que frecuentemente incurren las que gobernandose solo por imitacion, ponen (por falta de principios necesarios en este punto) todo su estudio en tomar un aire, y porte exterior diametralmente opuestos à los que àprendieron en el Clauro”⁴¹⁵.

Neskek jasoko zuten hezkuntza morala beraien gorputzaren eta jarreraren modelazio prozesu baten oinarritzen zen. Beraien proposamena ez zen gorputzaren zentzumenen gaitzespenean edota beraien inguruarekin zeukaten harremana guztiz murriztean oinarritzen izpiritualtasun katolikoa azpimarratuz, baizik eta feminitate ilustratu baten araberako heziketa praktikoa baten. Helburua oreka bat aurkitzean eta manteeantzean zetzan. Horrela, nesken jarrera ez zen inoiz aisetasun edo lotsagabekerira heldu behar baina, aldi berean beraien ama eta emazteko patua betetzeko behar zuten erakargarritasun fisiko eta morala kentzen zien uzkurtasuna eta gehiegizko xalotasuna ekidin behar zuten. Zentzu honetan Félix María de Samaniego lagunak egiten zuen balioespena agirgarria suertatzen da, izan ere neskak Bergarako mintegitik ateratzean

⁴¹² RSBAP (1775): z/g.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

erakusten zituzten gabeziak salatu zituen eta “Maestras Seculares” egotea beharrezkotzat aldarrikatu zuen⁴¹⁶.

1783. urtetik Adiskideen Elkarteak lantzen jardun zen hezkuntza proposamena askoz ere landuagoa zen. Proposamen honek helburutzat neka gazteentzako hezkuntza zentru bat sortzea zen Gasteizen, *Plan y Ordenanzas de un seminario para señoritas en la ciudad de Vitoria bajo la dirección de la Real Sociedad Bascongada*, izendatu zena, nahiz eta azkenean ez zen praktikara eraman⁴¹⁷. 1785. urteko batzar nagusietako laburpenetan irakur daiteke emakumeen hezkuntzaren erabilgarritasuna “Señoras llenas de ideas virtuosas, y sólidas” heztean oinarritu behar zela “que desempeñen noblemente las obligaciones de madres de familia, de amas de su casa, y de dignas compañeras de los hombres”⁴¹⁸. Emakumeen jarduera eta eginkizunari egotzitako garrantzia, ez bakarrik zoriontasun pribatuaren gordetzaile eta bermatzaile moduan, baizik eta gizonezkoen hezitzaile printzipal eta natural bezala, Adiskideen Elkarteko diskurtsoan oso garrantzitsua zen:

“En el sistema actual de costumbres de la Europa, aunque las mugeres no fueran cuidadosamente educadas por consideración aque han de ser compañeras del hombre en la vida privada, cuya situación les facilita la influencia en todos los negocios que los hombres manejan, deberían serlo por otro respeto más universal e importante, qual es el de perfeccionar la educación de los hombres”⁴¹⁹.

Elkarteak ulertzen zuen, garaiko testuinguruan, emakumeei eskainitako hezkuntza oso murriztua zela, gabeziaz beterikoa eta hortaz beharrezkoa zela emakume gazteak beste

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ Arabako Lurralde Historikoaren Agiritegian, Fondo Prestameroan, plan honen kopia bat, eskuizkribua, gordetzen da. Eskuizkribatutako kopiak ez dauka datarik inskribaturik. Baina M^a Camino Urdiaínek Fondo Prestameroari buruz egindako katalogoan adierazten den moduan, dokumentua 1784. urtean idatzi zen gutun batekin katalogatuta dago. Gutuna Floradablankako Konteak Peñafloordako Konteari zuzendutakoa da zentru horren sorkuntzari zegozkion datuen inguruko argibide eta hasunarketekin URDIAÍN (1996): 96. Urdiaínek egindako katalogazioa jarraituz, beraz, hemen dokumentu hori 1784 urteari dagokionez datatu da. Plan honek probintzia desberdinetako elkarteko kideen artean eta erakundeen artean izan zuen zirkulazio eta ibilbideen inguruan azkenean onartua izan zen arte, eta baita azkenean aurrera eraman ez izatearen arrazoien inguruan ikusi SÁNCHEZ (1986) eta RECARTE (1990): 125 eta hurrengoak. Lan hauek eskuizkribuaren edukien inguruko azterketa ere eskaintzen dute. Ikerketa honetan Adiskideen Elkarsteak proposatzen zuen hezkuntzatan alderdi korporaletan zentratuko gara.

⁴¹⁸ RSBAP (1985b): 31.

⁴¹⁹ RSBAP (1784): 1-2.

printzipioen arabera hezitzen hastea. Beraien patua “sensibilidad con que nacen todas las de su sexo” oinarritzen zuen “y que bien dirigida es el bello cimiento para todas las virtudes”⁴²⁰. Heziketa hau beharrezkotzat jotzen zen eduki erlijiosoa zeukan, bertute katolikoa beraien feminitate ereduaren dimentsio zentrala zelako. Baina goian aipatu den moduan, Adiskideen Elkartek erlijiosotasunaren gehiegizko zeloak nesken garapen psikologiko eta fisikoan izan zitzakeen eraginen inguruko kezka agertu zuen aldi berean.

Judith Butlerrek proposatutako premisa teorikoetatik azterturik, esan genezake elkartek proposatzen zuen neskentzako hezkuntza feminitate egokiarentzat beharrezkotzat jotzen ziren eginkizun eta gorputza modelatzeko jarrera emozionalen *performancean*, zenbait ekintzen errepikapen jarratituaren zentzuan, oinarritzen zela. Zentrurako proiektatzen zen heziketa ez zen zenbait ezagupenen metaketaren edo lorpenaren logikan oinarritzen. Aitzitik, bizitza domestikora, gorputzaren zainketara eta dispozizio afektibo egokien inkorporaziora bideratuta zeuden errutinen ezarpenean oinarritzen zen. Hauen bidez neskek ikasi behar zuten ama eta emazte izatea etorkizuneko helburu desiragarriak eta lorgarriak zirela. Proposatzen zuten arautze edo erregulazioa nesken kanpo itxuraren zainketari bideratuta zegoen hurrengo pasarteetan irakurtzen dugun moduan: “Se hade precisar alas señoritas aque en todas las horas del dia esten decentemente vestidas, sin que se note descomportura disonante en ninguna parte de su calzado, o vestidura...”⁴²¹. Baina gorputzaren alderdi intimoenen zainketari, gorputzaren erabilerari, garrantzi eta atentzio berezia eskaintzen zioten. Zentzu honetan, araudian hurrengo pasarteak irakur ditzakegu: “Todas las Señoritas se mudarán de ropa interior dos veces ala semana, teniendose en esto el mayor cuidado”⁴²². Mota honetako “ezagutzak” belaunaldien artean transmititu behar ziren, izan ere, edade handiagoko neskengandik espero zen ikasle gazteengan eguneroko praktika hauen betekizuna egiten zela araudan adierazten ziren argibideen arabera. Marrazketa edota musika bezalako dizplinak ere, dantza bezala, ez ziren bere baitan, ezagutza gisa, garrantzitsutzat hartzen. Beraien balioa “para el buen uso de su cuerpo”rako jarrera eta kualitateak garatzeko erabilgarriak ziren heinean azpimarratzen zen⁴²³.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*, 24.

⁴²¹ *Ibid*, 78-79.

⁴²² *Ibid*, 77-78.

⁴²³ *Ibid*, 13.

Gorputzaren zainketa eta mantenuarekin zeirukusia zuten praktika guztiak –higiene intimoa, ordutegiak, otorduak, erabili beharreko arropa, kanpoko eta barrukoa etab.– xeheki deskribatuak geratzen ziren. Gorputzaren arautzearen enfasi eta borondate honen azpian gorputzari eskaini beharreko tratamendua eta berau nola sentitu behar zen bateratzeko eta homogeneizatzeko gogoia antzeman daiteke. Sexu femeninoaren ustezko behar karakteristikoaren zainketaren errutinizaziotik abiatuta gorputz sexuatu bat eraikitzen zen zeina emakume gazteen identitatearen berezko elementu oinarrizkoa bilakatzen zen. Hau da, zainketa jarrera jakin batzuen inkorporazioaren prozesu errepikakorren eta errutinarioaren bidez gorputza sexualizatu egiten zen azkenean naturalaren estatusa hartzen zutelarik. Helburua zen neska gazteek beraien feminitatea, ikasia zena, naturalizat bizitzea. Aurrera eraman ez bazen ere, Adiskideen Elkarteko *Plan y ordenanzas* testuak mekanismo diskurtsiboen bidez, arauaren *performancearen* bidez, gorputzen eta sexuaren materializazio prozesua nola ematen eta arautzen den adibide ezin hobea eskaintzen du⁴²⁴.

Bestalde, gorputz femeninoa entitate natural lez aurkezten bazen ere, berau moldatzea eta lantzea beharrezkotzat jo zutela antzeman dezakegu beraien ustezko naturaltasunak bete behar zuen rol sozialerantz gidatuz eta neskak beraien generoari zegokien egitekoak betetzeko. Montehermoso adiskidearen diskurtsoaren berbak gogoratuz antzematen dugu emakumezkoen heziketa sexuen arteko diferentziaren naturalizazio eta inkorporazioarentzat beharrezkoa zen elementutzat ulertu zutela: “El primer paso de su instrucción debe ser inspirarla el alto fin de su creación, y la distancia inmensa del destino de su sexo respecto al del hombre, con aquellas máximas de dignidad y confenim.to que la desvían de parecer Honbruna”⁴²⁵. Emakumeen berezko kualitatea zen feminitatearen eskola bat zen. Ikertutako araudiak gorputz femeninoaren domestikazio prozesu bat erakusten du domestikizitatearen naturalizazio prozesua erakusten duen aldi berean. Emakumeak beraien autoritate domestikoa ezartzeko ikasi behar zutela uste zuten, beraiei egozten zitzairen jarduera eremuan, baina beti ere gizonaren autoritatearen azpikoa zena. Horregatik beharrezkotzat jotzen zuten “[debe] aprender el vello sexo a mandar y disponer escuchando, y no contradiciendo las voces

⁴²⁴ BUTLER (1993): 2.

⁴²⁵ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 452.

de la naturaleza”⁴²⁶. Naturalitatea, azken finean, naturalaren kalitateak, ohitura sozial eta kulturala bilakatu behar zen.

Hezkuntza femeninoa ulertzeko eredu hau aurrean aipatu izan den Isidoro Moralesen 1796.eko *Comentario al exc. Señor D. Joseph de Mazarredo* lanean ere nabaria da⁴²⁷. Heuelvako egile ilustratuaren tratatuaren oinarritzko helburua Mazarredo adiskidea bere alabari latina erakustearen desegokitarunaz –beste kontu askotaz aparte gomendioak emateaz gainera– konbentzitzea zen. Emakumeek latina ikastea generoaren ordenaren eta diferentzia sexuala ulertzeko eredu jakin baten eraldaketa nabaria zekarren. Horrela, bere hezkuntza proiektua bi dimentsiotan banatzen bazen ere, bata ulermenaren gaitasunei loturik zegoena eta bestea gorputzaren gaitasunei, bigarrena zen edozein neskatzarentzat garrantzia handiena hartzen zuen landu beharreko dimentsioa⁴²⁸. Gazteak jaso beharreko hezkuntzaren oinarriak, Adiskideen Elkarteko *Planak* bezala, ekonomia domestikoaren inguruko nagusiki praktikoa ezagutza irabaztean zetzaten. Erudizioa edota puruki teorikoak, abstraktuak edota intelektualak ziren ezagutzen edo edukien eskurapena ez ziren beharrezkoak beraien feminitatea garatzeko. Are gehiago, ikusiko dugun moduan, kaltegarriak ere izan zitezkeen.

Adiskideen Elkarteko nesken hezkuntzarako *Planaren* era berean, Moralesentzat etxearen eta familiaren zainketa emakumeei naturaltzat jotzen zen jarduera lez hartzen bazen ere, inkorporazioaren bidezko esperientzia bilakatu beharreko ezagutza bat zen. Alegia, gorputz egin behar zen ohituraren eta errepikapenaren bidez identitateari forma emanez. “Ciencia metódica” bat zen Moralesen aburuz, “y no de aquellas que se aprenden con la experiencia de un día, ó la costumbre de un año, sino que necesita de la practica y uso diario, que es el padre de la destreza en toda arte”⁴²⁹. Domestizitate honen *performancea* feminitate ilustratuaren eskola eta tailerra bilakatzen zen. Nabarmendu behar dugu, hala ere, Morales ez zela edozein motatako domestizitateaz hitz egiten ari. Moralesek ez zuen bakarrik inguru familiar gozotu eta xamurtu bat erakusten, baizik eta baita estilizatua eta edertua ere. Etxeko atmosfera familiarra ez zen zentzu erlijiosoko espiritualizazioaren efektua, baizik eta eskolastika aspergarri eta burutsuaz zein arrazoibide silogistikoetatik hurrentzen zen kultur maila handikodun konpainia

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, 451.

⁴²⁷ Saiakera honen inguruan: LARA (2013); BOLUFER (2014): 162.

⁴²⁸ MORALES (1796): 45.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, 47.

femeninoaz gozatzeko lekua. Feminitate kultu, sentikor eta etxekoi honek, gorputza eta adimena betetzen zuen sentsibilitatearen eta zentzumeneren bidez. Horregatik, hain zuzen ere, gaitasun musikala zen edozein emakume agurgarriak eta dotoreak lortu beharreko oinarrizko trebetasuna. Hauen artean, Moralesek Mazarredoren emaztearen eta alabaren kasuak jartzen zituen adibide goren bezala.

Hala ere, saiakeran antzeman daitekenez, Mazarredok, antza denez, bere alabarentzat heziketa arretatsua nahi zuen, emakumeen heziketari mugak jartzen zizkion garaiko heziketa programetatik haratago zihoana. Testuaren egileak, hala ere, Mazarredoren asmoekin bat ez zetorrela adierazi zuen: “Como que me parece advertir en V. E. deseos de que su hija salga con mas instrucción que la ordinaria, que parezca una profesora”, irakur daiteke Moralesen testuan, ironia eta kondeszendentzia nahasten zuten estiloan⁴³⁰. Hain zuzen ere, almirantearen alabak “irakasle” baten itxura har ez zezan beharrezkoa zen Juanitaren heziketa goian deskribatu zen feminitatearen arauetara egokitzea, bestela, “¿en qué se distinguiría el plan de educación para formar un filósofo ó un sabio, del que conviene para instruir a una señorita?”, galdetzen zion aholkulariak⁴³¹.

Moralesen saiakeran lantzen ziren alderdi askoren artean latinaren ikasketaren gaitzespena elementu anekdotikoaren edo txikikeria hutsaren eremuan geratuko litzatekeela eman dezake. Gainera, garaiko jarrera pedagogiko modernoago eta esperitalagoen artean latinaren irakaskuntza ez zen bakarrik emakumezkoentzat erabilgarritasun gabekotzat jotzen, baita gizonezkoentzat ere izan zezakeen erabilgarritasuna zalantzan jartzen hasi zen. Hala ere, egileak emakumeek latina ikasteko aukerari egiten zion gaitzespen zuzenak, esplizituak eta errepikakorrak esanahi sinboliko sakonago bat zeukala uste dut. Moralesen saiakeran antzeman daiteke emakumezko gazteek latina ikastearekin zeukatena kontrajarpena argudiatzeko gaitasun intelektual baxuagoa zeukatela adierazten zela, noski, baina baita beraien helburutasun sozialarentzat inolako erabilgarritasunik ez zeukala ere. Eta argudio hauekin batera errepikatuen beraien natura fisikoa okerragotu eta kontrajarriko zuela ere gehitzen zen. Arrazoibide honetan ez dugu bakarrik aurrejuzgu misogino bat aurkitzen, zeinaren arabera emakumeak latina ikasteko ezgauzatzat hartzen ziren. Aldi berean, diferentzia

⁴³⁰ *Ibid*, 43.

⁴³¹ *Ibid*, 41.

sexualaren ulerkera bat antzeman dezakegum zeinaren arabera zenbait ezagupen, balio eta jarrera gorputz eta izaera femeninoa endekatu eta desnaturalizatzen zuten. Moralesek latina eta beste motatako ezagupen teorikoak ikasten zituzten emakumeen inguruan zioenaren arabera “No hay hallar en ellas una pizca siquiera de aquella naturalidad y festiva suavidad que hace el principal mérito de las mugeres: à las quales se les quitase esto, seria poco menos que desterrar todo gusto y recreo de la sociedad humana”⁴³². Moralesen ikuspegiaren arabera, alde batetik, latina ezagutzea ustez maskulinoa zen ezagutza eremu baten okupazioa zekarren. Baina bestetik, diferentzia sexualaren beraren alterazioa suposatzen zuen emakumeei nolabait maskulinoak ziren ezaugarriak eta jarrerak ematen zizkielako, ilustrazioaren gorputz femenino normatiboaren guztiz kontrakoa zena: “El latin” zioen Moralesek “por mas que hagan las mugeres, no puede menos que darles ciertos visos de hombre”⁴³³.

Alderdi honekin batera, Moralesen diskurtsoak, Adiskideen Elkarteak bezala, argi erakusten du zein zen beraien diferentzia sexualaren kontzepzioak oinarritzat zuen elementu zentrala: pertsonen identitate soziala eraikitzerako orduan generoa elementu determinantetzat inposatzen zen gainerako elementuen aurrean, era saihestezinean gainera. Moralesen genero ikuspegia zeharo naturalizatua eta unbertzalizatua zegoen “emakumeak” kategorian oinarritzen zen. Honen aurrean, klaseak edota estamentuak emakumeen izaera definitzeko orduan zeukaten pisua galtzen zuten. Sexu femeninoa izateak beraien identitatea guztiz determinatzen zuen. “No es mi ánimo decir con esto que las señoritas de distinción hagan en casa los oficios de las criadas”, aiderazten zen lehenengo Morales, ondoren gehitzeko: “pero si diré, que las que han de ser madres de familia, por muy ilustres que sean, deben tener la ciencia, por decirlo así, de todas las haciendas y labores domésticas”⁴³⁴. Moralesek erabilitako hitzen tonuarengatik eta formarengatik, zeintzuetan lehenengo barkamena eskatzen zuen, XVIII. mende amaieran oraindik ere zentzu domestikoan eraikitzen zen feminitateak nolabaiteko erresistentziak edo errefusapenak sor zitzakeela antzeman dezakegu. Arazoa garairako gatazkatsuak ziren bi dimentsio identitarioen arteko gurutzaketatik sortzen zen. Moralesek berak adierazten zuen moduan egiten zuen generoaren proposamena zenbait emakumeren klase identitatearekin kontrajarpenean sar zitekeen. Egileak dioenari jarraituz, emakume

⁴³² *Ibid*, 55.

⁴³³ *Ibid*.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*, 47.

hauek, zeintzuek beraien maila sozialaren eta Antzinako Erregimenaren mentalitatea zela eta garairarte zenbait jarduera egitea ekiditeko pribilegioa izan zuten, generoaren kontzepzioaren aldaketaren aurrean jarduera berri hauek inkorporatzera behartuta egon ziren. Hau da, adierazitako testu zatiak erakusten du “emakumeak” kategoriaren unibertsalizazioak feminitate eredu aristokratikoarekin alderatuta aldaketak ekartzen zituela noblezia ilustratuaren domestizitate berriaren balio eta praktikei loturik. Honek, nolabait maila sozial jakin bateko emakumeak beste maila sozial baxuagoko emakumeekin parekatzea zekarrelaren pertzepzio sor zezakeen.

Jakin badakigu, hala ere, zenbait emakume noblek, Peñafloidako Kontearen kasua esaterako, beraien maila sozialeko emakumeentzat ohikoak ez ziren ohiturak bazituztela, horien artean norberaren seme-alabei bularra ematea. 1772. urteko Gaspar de Muniberen, Peñafloidaren osaba zenaren gutun baten Mari Pepak, azken honen emazteak, “[que] ella misma era la nodriza de su hijo” goraipatzen zen eta bertutetsutzat jotzen zen ⁴³⁵. Zenbait emakume noblek, beraz, pentsamendu ilustratuak domestizitatearekin lotutako feminitateari egotzitako ezaugarriak inkorporatu zituzten, nahiz eta Antzinako Erregimenaren mentalitatearentzat amatasuna eta bular ematea ez ziren feminitatearen ezaugarri goraipagarritzat ulertzen ⁴³⁶. Moralesen proposamenean, maila sozialak emakume guztiei, beraien maila sozialak ezartzen zizkien desberdintasunen gainetik, naturaltzat hartzen zen eta beraien izaerari auresuposatzen zitzaion domestizitateari egokitzea exijitzen zitzairen, baita Mazarredo ezagunaren alaba berari ere. Maila sozial pribilegituko neska izatea, gainerako neskak eta baita mutilak baino altuagoa, ez zuen Juanarentzat salbuespen bat suposatzen zeinak bere sextik haratago zioazen ekintzak egitea ahalbidetzen zion. Moralesen diskurtsoan, Juanaren sexua biologikoa bere identitatea definitzerako orduan elementurik garrantzitsuena bilakatzen zen. Honek inolako salbuespenari atek ixten zizkion, bere identitatea domestikoa eta sentikorra zenari determinaturik: “...á fe mia, sentirá V. E.” gomendatzen zion Moralesek Mazarredori bere saiakeran “mas placer y recreo en oír cantar á su hijita, que la que hallase transformada en una culta latiniparla”⁴³⁷.

⁴³⁵ BAGÜES (1990): 217.

⁴³⁶ VALVERDE (1994): 55.

⁴³⁷ MORALES (1796): 53.

Azken finean, aurkeztu ditugun hezkuntza ereduen arteko alderaketatik baieztatzeko feminitatearen ulerkeran hainbat aldaketa garrantzitsu suertatzen ari zirela. Mende erdialde aldera Larramendik idatzi zituen arauak gorputza komentuko bizitzara eta pietate absolutuz jardutera bideratzen zituen haragiaren mortifikazioaren bidez. Hurrengo urteen joanean, proposamen ilustratuek emakumeen hezkuntzaren ikuspegi berriak ekarri zituzten emakumeei egotzitako rol berriei begira planifikatzen zirenak. Honek gorputzaren, generoaren eta sexuaren kontzepzioan ematen ari ziren aldeketen inguruko informazioa ematen zuen. Hala ere, Moralesen saiakeraren *leitmotiva* berreskuratzen baldin badugu, latina ikasteak neska gazte bati egin ziezaiokeen kaltea, genero ikuspegiaren garapenean garapen linealik eman zela argudiatzea edo zentzu teleologikorik ezartzea ezinezkoa dela ikusiko dugu, hainbat arrazoiengatik. Lehenengoz, hirugarren eta laugarren ataletan ikusiko dugun moduan, Moralesen beraren garaian bertan, eta ondoren, zenbait emakumek latinaren ikasketa positibotzat jotzen jarraitu zutelako eta beraien identitatea Larramendik irudikatzen zuen tradizio erlijiosotik definitzen eta esperimentatzen jarraitu zutelako. Bigarren, mendeko bigarren erdialdeko euskal kleroa patristika tradizionalaren edukiak erradikalizatu zituelako eduki eta esanahi berriak gehituz. Eta azkenekoz, nahiz eta Moralesen diskurtsoak, eta oro har Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek aurkeztu zuten genero ereduak, misoginiaren maila gutxiagotu zuten eta zentzu domestikoko eta sentimentaleko feminitatea goretsi zuten, beraiena feminitatearen gutxiagotasunaren definizio berria zelako. Latina ikasteari ezartzen zizkion eragozpenak, nahiz eta egungo ikuspegitik garrantzirik gabekoa eman lezakeen, dikotomia sexuala sendotzeko zenbait ikuspegi ilustratuk erabilitako argudioen adibide da. Osagarritasunaren logika honetan izaera femeninoak leuna eta sentikorra zena errepresentatzen zuen, abstraktoa eta arrazionala ez zena.

2.3.3. *Apaltasunaren erotizazioa.*

Domestizitateare ideiarengatik inguruan eman zen feminitatearen errekonfigurazioa desiraren eta gizonen eta emakumeen arteko afektuen birplanteamendutik etorri zen. Atmosfera familiar gozotuaren eraikuntza bizitza emozionala zentzu positibotik ulertzen zuen ikuspegiarekin batera. Honetan sexuen arteko afektuak ez ziren haragiaren pekatuarengatik arriskutsutzat edo kaltegarritzat ikusten, baizik eta onuragarritzat. Isabel Morant, Mónica Bolufer edo Manuel José de Lara bezalako egileek adierazi duten moduan, ezkonduen lotura pasioen desordenaren pean zegoen baturatzat

ulertzetik beste motatako kontzepzioetara igarobidea eman zen. Ezkontza desiragarria zen espzio afektibotzat ulertzera aldaketa eman zen⁴³⁸. Lararen aburuz, maitasunaz eta ezkotzaz egiten zen balioespen berria garaian pentsamendu ilustratuaren eremuan eman zen “dignificación epistemológica de los sentidos” prozesuaren markoan kokatzen da, zeina aldi berean Ilustrazioak munduaz eskaini zuen diseinu berriaren markoan kokatzen zen⁴³⁹.

Gorputzaren gozamen neurtuaren dignifikazioaren testuinguru honetan –goian aipatu den moduan Adiskideen Elkarteko kideen baitan ereginia izan zuena– gorputz femeninoaren erresignifikazio prozesu bat eman zen gorputz maskulinoarekin zeukan harremanaren baitan. Elizaren Gurasoen esakuneak jarraitzen zituzten apaiz zorrotzek emakumeak lizunkeriararen iturritzat eta izkutatu beharreko aztikeriaren elementutzat jotzen baldin bazituzten, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek gorputz femeninoaren inguruko ikuspegi askoz ere onberagoa eskaini zuten. Hauentzat, edertasun femeninoa ez zen nahitanahiez zigortua izan behar, beti ere ilustrazioak ezartzen zituen dezentzia eta zuzentasun arauetara mugatuz gero. Gorputz femeninoaren sexualizazio prozesu hau lotsaren, herabetasunaren, inozentziaren, xalotasunaren edota modestiaren esanahi eta esperientziatan eman zen birkonfigurazioaren baitan eman zen. Kontzeptu hauek guztiak antzekoak dira eta zaila da beraien arteko esanahiak bereiztea. Baina oro har elkartrukagarriak zirela esan daiteke; esanahi desbedinak har zitzaketen. Mary Pooveyk adierazi bezala, beharrezkoa da azpimarratzea kategoria hauek guztiak paradoxa bat ikusarazten zutela XVIII. mendean zehar eztabaidagai garrantzitsua izan zena: lotsarekin edota ahalkearekin lotura zuten jarrera afektibo hauen bidez emakumeen sexualitatea kontrolatzea bermatzen bazuten ere, hauek aldi berean, erakargarritasun femeninoa goratzen zuten elementu bilakatzen ziren gizonekin zeukaten harremanean⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁸ MORANT eta BOLUFER (1998): 99; LARA (2002): 285 eta 296; BOLUFER (2012): 355. Patt Moloneyk, ilustrazio eskoziarraren testuingururako defendatu duen moduan, antzeko iritzi bat mantendu du, baina pasio basatiak plazer sensual domestikora eman zen garapena kontrapajartzen zuen historiografia estadiaren testuinguruan. pero en el contexto de la historiografía estadal que contraponía la evolución de las pasiones salvajes al placer sensual burgués doméstico. MOLONEY (2005).

⁴³⁹ LARA (2002): 288.

⁴⁴⁰ POOVEY (1984): 21. Zentzu honetan Mme. De Lambertek lotsari eskainitako esanahi erotizatua ere ikusi beharko litzateke, BOLUFER (2015c): 250 eskainitako azterketan.

Euskal katolizismoaren diskurtso ortodoxoenean, lotsa gorputz femeninoa estaltzeko eta izkutatzeko mekanismoen justifikazioaziorako baliatzen zen jarrera emozionala zen, baita sexuen arteko edozein kontaktu mota edo elkargune debekatzeko eta ekiditeko ere. Honen aldean, gorputz femeninoaren ikuspuntu ilustratuarentzat, apaltasunak, modestiak, zentzu berria hartu zuen. Gaietik ikertuta aldaketarik eman ez zela pentsa liteke. Baina sakonean aztertuta, diferentzia nabarmenak eman zirela ikusiko dugu. Emakumeak naturalki xaloak eta lotsatiak ziren subjektu lez aurkezten baziren ere, sexu femeninoa naturaltzat jotzen zen erotismo batetik eraikitzen zen. Erotizazioaren bidez ez naiz halabeharrez edota bakarrik kontzpetuaren zentzu sexual hutsari erreferitzen, baizik eta emakumeen gorputz sensualaren irakurketa positibo bati. Honen baitan apaltasuna, xalotasuna eta lotsa gorputz femeninoaren eta maskulinoaren arteko topaketa zilegi bihurtzen zuten xarma elementu naturalak bilakatzen ziren. Diskurtso honen baitan, modestiaren kalitateak, berezko kalitatetzat ulertua, emakumeei sexuan arteko osagarritasunarentzat beharrezkotzat jotzen zen erakargarritasuna eskaintzen zien. Modestiak ez zuen bakarrik emakume baten kalitate morala erakusten, baita gorputz femeninoari edertasun handiagoa eskaintzen zion⁴⁴¹. Honekin ez da defendatzen diskurtso honek emakumeen emantzipazio sexuala aldarrikatzen zuenik, are gutxiago emakumeen sexualitateari zegokionez. Kontra, diskurtso honek sexualitate eredu jakinak sortzeko helburutasuna zeukan. Baina baieztatu daiteke desiraren, edota zentzu zabalago baten bizitza efektibo intimoaren balioespena egiterako orduan aldaketa garrantzitsuak eman zirela. Emakumeak edertasun ereduera egokitu nahi izatea gaitzesten ez zuen gorputzaren erakargarritasunaren inguruko diskurtso bat eraiki zen. Honek, bere berezko apaltasunetik, bere erakargarritasun naturalaren eta xaloaren zainketaz eta moldaketaz arduratzea auresuposatzen zitzaion subjektibitate femeninoa proposatzen zuen, helburutasun on bat lortzera begira. Helburu hau bere estimua mereziko lukeen gizon batekiko lotura harmoniatsua lortzea zen eta baita fintasunaren eta edertasunaren rola beteko lukeen bizitza sozial baten parte hartzea.

Naturalki modestua zen gorputzaren formulazio argienetarikoa Montehermoso Markesaren emakumeei buruzko diskurtso filosofiko moralean aurkitzen dugu. Testu honetan, egileak argudiatu zuen “[que] La modestia en la muger, hace su superioridad

⁴⁴¹ Kasu ingelesarentzat ikusi HARVEY (2008): 219.

sobre el otro sexo”⁴⁴². Markesaren arabera, nagusitasun hau zen, hain zuzen ere, emakumeak erakargarriago bilakatzen zituen “por que dificulta su conquista, y esta dificultad la hace mas apreciable”⁴⁴³. Honaino pentsa liteke Montehermosok erakusten zuen modestiaren kontzepzioa katolizismo zorrotzenarekin alderatuta antzekoak zirela, modestiak sexuen arteko trataeran mugak ezartzen zituen heinean. Haatik, bere hurrengo hitzek modestiaren eta bete behar zuen funtzio korporalaren erradikalki diferentea zen ulerkera erakusten dute:

“Pero no es contrario a la modestia mirar con despejo y seguridad, hablar con alago, presentarse con nobleza: es loable que una joven, huyendo de ser ridícula en la afectación de su porte, en la indecencia de su trage, quiera la compostura: el adorno es la propiedad del sexo, y q.do no llega a los extremos de afeccion, o de indecencia, deve buscarse, por que la modestia no prohíbe el uso, sino el abuso, de estos adornos, y de aquella afabilidad que da realce a este sexo y le muestra instruido e inocentemente bullicioso, libre del encogim.to y de la melancolía”⁴⁴⁴.

Modestia, beraz, ez zen bakarrik erakargarritasun moralizat kontzeptualizatu, baita zentzu fisikoan ere. Gorputza deformatzen zuten neurriz gabeko lotsaren eta gehiegizko edertzearen arteko bitarteko kualitatetzat definitu zen: gorputzaren ahalmen edo jarrera naturala izan behar zuen gorputza behartu gabe sortu behar zena. Naturaltasun honen aldarrikapena oinarritzkoa da modestiaren esanahia ulertu ahal izateko. Naturaltasunaren kalitatea zen, hain zuzen ere, modestia erakargarria zen gehiezigizko lotsaren eta lotsagabekeriaren arteko erdibide egoki bihurtzen zuena. “El descoco por lo indecoroso lo miraría con orror” argudiatzen zuen Montehermosok sutsuki kritikatzan zen beste muturrari kontrajarriz “[a la] gazmoñería, como opuesta a la buena gracia”⁴⁴⁵. Modestiak, erdibide naturala zen heinean, emakume baten feminitatearen egiazkotasuna bermatzen zuen. Hogeita hamar urte beranduago, Moralesek bera Mazarredori gomendatzen zion bere alabak erdibideko kalitate hauek landu behar zituela, izan ere

⁴⁴² MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 451.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 451-452.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 453.

Juana de Mazarredok ere “[necesita] juntar en sus modales la honestidad con la elegancia; porque ni gusta del desaliño, ni de la demasía afectación en el adorno”⁴⁴⁶.

Antzeman daitekeenez, modestiaren esanahia aldatu zen gorputzaren kontzepzioa bera ere aldatu zelako. Begirada ilustratu berriaren aburuz emakume gazteak komentuko bizitzara bideratzen zituen moralitate erlijiosoaren gehiegizko zorrotasunak inposatzen zuen uzkurtasunaz eta malenkoniaz askatu zen gorputzasunaren konfigurazioa zen. Montehermosok ikuspuntu zorrotzenaren eredu korporal femeninoari egindako kritikak, beraz, eredu horrek emakumeen gorputzkeran izan zitzakeen ondorio “kaltegarrien” balioespen negatibotik sortu ziren nolabait. Eragin hauek kaltegarriak ziren hain zuzen ere sexuen arteko kontaktua zailtzen zutelako, sexuen arteko harremana konotazio negatiboekin ñabarduz eta emakumeei beraien erakargarritasun natural eta inozentea ukatuz. “Esta corrtedad y esta vituperable confusión, llaman algunos recato, y pudor, modestia”, zioen Montehermosok, “confundiendo groseram.te estas preciosas virtudes, que acen maior merito del sexo, con los defectos que le abaten”⁴⁴⁷, beranduago adierazteko: “y la que sin estos defectos [encogimiento y cortedad], llebara a nra estimación, se queda solo con nra lastima”⁴⁴⁸. Lizunkerirantz bideratzen zuen elementutzat hartua zelako gorputzaren mortifikazio eta izkutatze behar horren aurrean, Adiskideen Elkarteko kideak edertutako gorputza aurkeztu zuen. Honek ez zuen halabearrez haragikotasunerako bide eman behar eta gorputzaren zentzumenetaz eta bere edertasunaz gozatzeko aukera aldarrikatu zuen. Ikuspuntu honen baitan, emakumeen gorputza, beraz, ez zen halabeharrez komenturako hezi eta diseinatu behar eta ez zituen zorrozkeriak ezartzen zituen oinazeak pairatu behar. Montehermosoren berbak goian aipatu dugun Bergarako apaizaren diskurtsoarekin baino ez ditugu alderatu behar, bien berbak garai berdintsukoak izanik, kontzepzioen arteko diferentzia antzemateko: “en esto se fundaban Tertuliano y otros Padres”, argudiatzen zuen sermoilariak, “para decir que las del sexo débil, no solamente no debían añadir adornos superfluos y excesivos a la hermosura y belleza natural, mas también olvidar, ocultar y despreciar a ésta”⁴⁴⁹.

⁴⁴⁶ MORALES (1796): 49.

⁴⁴⁷ MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 451.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ LOYARTE (1923): 212.

Adiskideen Elkarteko kideek gorputza, sentsualitatea eta feminitatea erotizatzen zuen edozein ezaugarri gaitzesten zuen erradikalki gogorra zen ereduaz arazo bat baino gehiago ikusten zituzten. Alde batetik, emakume gazteen edertasun naturala egoki garatzeko eta bideratzeko arriskua, baina baita emakumeengan auresuposatzen zitzaizen helburutasun sozialetik eta naturaletik aldenduko lituzkeen sinesmenak, ideiak eta sentimenduak sustatzea, ezkontza eta amatasuna aukera ez erakargarritzat ikusaraziz. Horregatik beldur ziren emakume erlijiosoek soilik gidatutako heziketa, haragiaren kontra eskatzen zituzten hainbat mortifikazioetan, gorputzaren izkutaketetan eta zentzumenen ukatzean oinarrituta, ezkontza eta amatasuna negatiboki ez ote zuen aurkeztuko. Emakume gazteak ezkontzaren estatua hartzeko behar bezala prestaturik egotea nahi baldin bazen, ez bakarrik jakin beharreko teorikoekin, baina batez ere emozionalki eta fisikoki prest, beharrezkoa zen ezkontzaren lotura afektiboa bera ez gaitzestea. Horrela adierazi zuten goian aipatu dugun nesken mintegirako plan eta araudietan, zeinetan hezitzaileek jokatu beharreko rolean enfasi berezia egiten zen:

“Se supone que así la Directora como las Maestras han de estar desposeídas de aquella afectada modestia que por no inspirar a las doncellas la idea de que podrán algún día casarse, y ser madres de familia impida darles documentos convenientes para cumplir bien con las graves obligaciones del matrimonio, enseñarles con que espíritu se debe entrar en aquel estado, y que formalidades y reflexiones han de preceder pasar a el una Señora”⁴⁵⁰.

Testu zatiak erakusten digu Adiskideen Elkartean gehiegizko modestia eta neurri gabeko lotsak neska gazteak ezkontzara heltzeko eta gizonekin harremantzeko espiritutik aldentzen zituela uste zela. Alegia, beharrezkoak ez ziren eta kaltegarriak ziren muga emozionalak eraikitzen zirela uste zuten zeintzuen bidez ezkontza neskentzat erakargarria ez zen lotura bilakatzen zen eta zeinarentzat ez zeuden afektiboki behar bezala prest. Neskengan erdibideko modestia naturalaren sustapena, kontra, sexuen arteko topaketa bertutetsua zuen helburu eta horretara bideratu nahi zituen. Karen Harveyk Britainia Handiako kasuarentzat eskini zuen modestiaren eta

⁴⁵⁰ RSBAP (1784): 197.

erotismoaren definizioaren arabera: “A modest woman would respond to the attention of her male lover with the correct consistency of chasteness and passion”⁴⁵¹.

Funtsean, Adiskideen Elkartearen eskutik egin ziren proposamenek eskaintako kontzeptualizazio berriek emakumeak desira maskulinoaren objektu eta subjektu naturalizat, eta hortaz, zilegizat, definitu zituzten gorputzen eredu femeninoa eskaini zuen. Bertsio katoliko integristenarekin, emakumeen gorputza generoaren eta sexuaren desordenaren eragiletza hartzen zutenekin, zeukan diferentzia, beraz, nabarmena da. Aldaketa hau hainbat jarrera eta ahalmen afektiboren, modestiaren edo lotsaren sentipenak kasu, esanahien birplanteamendutik etorri zen. Montehermoso bezalako Ilustratuen diskurtsoan, sentipen eta jarrera emozional hauek ez zuten gorputza zentzumenezko plazeraren aurrean izkutatzen edo blindatzen. Kontra, sexuen arteko konplementaritatea era egokian garatzeko inozentetzat eta desiragarritzat jotzen ziren desira eta sentsualitatea legitimatzen zuten: “Sino govirnan exercitos ni armadas, sino estudian a un Euclides, sino imitan aun Ciceron”, zioen Montehermosok, “valiéndose a tiempo de su apacibilidad, de su compasion, de su modestia traen a sus pies, a Philosophos, a Ministros, a Generales”⁴⁵². Emakumeak ez ziren bakarrik objektu erotizatu lez aurkeztuak izan. Aldi berean, subjektibitate femenino berri bat proposatu zen, zeinak ukatu baino gehiago mundu sentikorra besarkatu behar zuen. Modestiaren erotika honen eraikuntza, gainera, sentimentalismoaren erotika oinarritzeko beharrezkoa izan zen, emakumeak beraien sentikortasunaren bidez eta edertasunaren eta fintasunaren adierazgarriak ziren heinean munduan eragin baikorra izango zutelako. Berriz ere Montehermosoren hitzak berreskuratuz, emakumeak “[deben] mostrarse en el mundo como una Deidad, que sin meterse en el dominio de lo que toca al hombre, dominaría sobre los corazones con un Imperio universal”⁴⁵³. Diferentzia sexual erotizatu honen konfigurazioaren bidez, ezkontzaren loturaren oinarri sensual eta sentimentalak ezartzen ziren, gizartearen kualitate ezinbestekotzat jotzen zena.

⁴⁵¹ HARVEY (2008): 220.

⁴⁵² MUNIBE E IDIÁQUEZ (1931): 451.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid*, 453.

2.4. Samaniego lagunaren alegia erotiko-satirikoak: “beata desiratzailearen” eta “gizon otzanaren” artean.

Emakumeen gorputzaren sexualizazioa eta naturalizazioa Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan Félix María Samaniego sozio garrantzitsuak idatzi zuen literatura erotiko-satirikoaren baitan bereziki nabarmena izan zen. Bere bertso erotikoetan⁴⁵⁴ tonu satirikoa baliatuz, *El Jardín de Venus* izenburudun lanean bildu zirenak, alegialari arabarrak hainbat estrategia narratibo erabili zituen. Bere bertsoetatik apaizeria jomuga nagusizat zuten garaiko moral sexualaren inguruko bi kritika berreskuratzea nahiko nuke: alde batetik, kleroaren hipokresiari buruzko eta beraien gorputz ikuskera zorrotzaren –beraiek ere jarratzen ez zutenaren– satira garratza eta bestetik, kleroaren kontrolak gizonen eta emakumeen bizitza intimoan eta sexualean zeukan eraginarena.

XVIII. mendearen bigarren erdialde bitartean literatur erotikoaren eta pornografikoaren ugaritzea eman zen testuinguru europearrean⁴⁵⁵. Robert Darnton, Aram Vartanian, Margaret Jacobs edo Emilio Palacios bezalako egileek defendatu dutenaren arabera genero honen garapena teoria ilustratuen garapenarekin harreman estua izan zuen, espezifikoki naturalismoaren eta materialismoaren ildotik jarraitu ziren korronteekin⁴⁵⁶. Karen Harveyk adierazi duen moduan, literatura erotikoa ez zen izan XVIII. mendean zehar garatu ziren pentsamendu korronteen alderdi marginala. Alderantziz, genero hau garaian suertatu ziren aldaketa kultural eta ekonomiko desberdinen ildotik garatu zen, eta aldi berean bere edukiek nolabait, lengoai literarioaren bidez, aldaketa sozial horiek isaltu zituen⁴⁵⁷. Gisa honetako literatura aurretik ere existitu izan bazen ere, testuinguru teorikoan eta ideologikoan, hain zuzen ere, esanahi eta errelebantzia berria hartzen zuen. XVIII. mendeko produkzio erotikoaren harira Harveyk argudiatzen duenaren arabera, egileek erakutsi nahi zituzten gorputzari, generoari eta sexuari buruzko ideiak estrategikoki aukeratu zituzten. Zentzu honetan testu hauek berebiziko garrantzia izango

⁴⁵⁴ *Jardín de Venus* lanean bildutako bertsoak erotikotzat hartzea erabaki dut hainbat arrazoiengatik. Alde batetik, Emili Palacios, gaiaren inguruko hainbat lanetan Samaniegoren poemak erotikotzat jo izan dituelako aurrekari garrantzitsu bat ezarri. Eta bestetik, literatura erotikoaren eta pornografikoaren arteko desberdintasun semantikoaren inguruko eztabaidak kontuan harturik Samaniegoren bertsoak erotikotzat pornografikotzat baino gehiago izendatzea egokiagoa dela deritzot. Bertso hauetan tonu satirikoa eta komikoa nagusi da eta sexu organoen eta ekintzen deskribapen esplizituaren aurrean intsinuazioak eta metaforak nagusi dira pornografikotzat baino gehiago erotikotzat hartzea egokiago dela adieraziz. Eztabaida honen inguruan ikusi HARVEY (2008): 20-34.

⁴⁵⁵ HUNT (1993): 31.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 33; PALACIOS (2006):191 eta (2010): 34.

⁴⁵⁷ HARVEY (2008): 3.

lukete diferentzia sexualaren kontzpezioak ezagutu ahal izateko⁴⁵⁸. Samaniegoren bertso erotikoak Espainia mailako Moratín, Iriarte o Meléndez Valdés bezalako egileek, beste askoren artean, genero honetaz egin zuten ustiapenaren testuinguruan kokatu beharko lirateke⁴⁵⁹. Gainera, ikusiko dugunez, Samaniegoren bertsoetan aurkitzen diren elementu asko kontinentean zehar idazten zen literatura erotikoaren topiko komunak ziren. Garrantzitsua da azpimarratzea literatura mota hau ez zela bakarrik gizonezkoen kontsumorako. Asunción Aragonek literatur pornografiko ingelesaren kasurako adierazi duen moduan, emakumeak, genero honen irakurle izateaz gainera, bere zabalkundean ere aritu ziren⁴⁶⁰. Beraz, testu hauetan agertzen ziren ideiek ere emakumeen jarrera eta ohitura sexualetan ere nolabaiteko eragina izan zezaketela susma dezakegu. Literatur mota honek, azken finean, alde batetik giza gorputza eta egozten zitzaizkion diferentzia sexualak ulertzeko modu bat isaltu zuen, eta bestetik, Antzinako Erregimenaren egiturekin, batez ere klerikalekin, kritikoa zen planteamendu oso bat.

Emilio Palaciosen arabera, testuinguru espainiarrean mota honetako literatura gune espezializatuetan irakurria zen, baina baita penintsularen hainbat tokitako tertulia serio eta kultuetan ere ohikoak izan ziren⁴⁶¹. Samaniego adiskidearen *Jardín de Venus* bilduma osatzen duten bertsoak, 1780. urte aldera idatziak –baina 1921. urterarte argitaratuak izan ez zirenak– euskal probintzietan zein Madrilgo zenbait tertuliatan irakurketa arrunta ziren⁴⁶². Palaciosek argudiatzen duenaren erabera, Samaniegoren alegien helburu nagusia fanatismo erlijiosoak ezartzen zituen konbentzioetatik aske zegoen sexualitate batez gozatzea zen, sexualitate hau giza ezaugarri natural eta inozentetzat hartzen zelarik⁴⁶³. Bere aldetik, Rebecca Haidtek azaldu du gorputzaren ikuspuntu naturalista honetatik, Samaniegoren helburua nagusiena farrea eta algara sortzea zela beraien instintu naturalen eta mugatzen zizkieten konbentzio sozialen artean harrapatuta geratzen ziren gorputzen aurrean⁴⁶⁴. Hurrengo orrialdetan, ekarpen hauek kontuan hartuta, alderdi desberdin baten zentratuko naiz. Samaniegoren bertsoak, nahiz eta tonu barregarrian idatziak egon, gizonezkoekiko harremanean emakumeen sexualitateari eta gorputzasunari buruzko nolabaiteko estutasuna eta kezka erakusten

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ PALACIOS (2010): 36. Ikusi halaber HAIDT (1998): 65 eta hurrengoak.

⁴⁶⁰ ARAGÓN (2006): 229.

⁴⁶¹ PALACIOS (2010): 36.

⁴⁶² PALACIOS (2009): 865.

⁴⁶³ PALACIOS (2006): 231.

⁴⁶⁴ HAIDT (1998): 72.

dutela uste dut. Ipuin edo istorio erotikoen barrena, emakumeen gorputza, gizonezkoena baino intentsitate handiagoarekin, diskurtso desberdinen arteko eztabaida eremua bilakatzen da. Diskurtso hauek garaiko sexualitateari buruzko ideiak defendatzen edo gaitzesten zituzten eta feminitatearen zein sexuen arteko harremanaren definizioan nagusitasuna izan nahi zuten. Eztabaida edo liskar hau hurrengo ikuspuntuen artean eman zen: alde batetik, ikuspegi ilustratuak munduaren ikuspegi sentsualistago batetik desira eta gorputza gizakiaren dimentsio naturalizatu gisa aurkezten zituztenak, hezi eta modelatu behar zirenak. Eta bestik, ikuspuntu katoliko zorrotzenak. Azken hauek emakumeen eta gizonen bizitza intimoaren eta sexualaren kontrola eta zentzura egiteko gaitasuna izaten jarraitu nahi zuten. Zentzu honetan, ilustratu arabarrak kleroaren hipokresia eta moral bikoitzari kritika jaurtitzen zion eduki sexual altuko parodien bidez. Parodia hauetan elizgizonak lizuntzat, haragikoitzat eta manipulatzaitzat errepresentatzen ziren. Feminitate eredu ultra-katolikoari kritika gogorra egin zion, halaber, humorearen bidez gurari sexual handiko emakumeak, sexuaren plazerak eta desioa deskubritzen zuten beaten eta santujaleen eta sexu eta maitasun kontuetan jakintsuak ziren moja atsuen karikaturak eginez.

Nahiz eta emakumezkoak bere isekaren objektuak izan, Samaniegoren bertsoen helburua ez zen hainbeste emakumezkoen sexualitatea kriminalizatzea baizik eta beraien gorputzaren elementu naturalizat eta inozentetzat agerraraztea. Honekin –goian ere erotizazio kontzeptuari dagokionez ere adierazi dudan moduan– ez dut adierazi nahi inolako emakume emantzipazio edo liberazio sexualik aldarrikatzen zutenik. Samaniegoren bertsoek kontaktu sexualetarako prest zegoen subjektibitate femeninoa erakusten dute, emakume desiratzailak zeintzuen gozamina ez zen zalantzan jartzen. Baina, emakumeak eta beraien gorputzak desiraren subjektutzat erakusten baziren ere horrek ez zuen esan nahi emakumezkoen autonomia edo subiranotasun sexuala gizonezkoen autoritate sexualarekin konparatzen zuenik. Ikusiko dugunez, gainera, kasu gehienetan emakumeen gozamen sexuala ez zen borondatezko ekintza kontziente baten ondorio. Plazera eta jardura sexualen nondik norakoak ez ziren beraien gorputzaren ezagutzaren eta erabilera kontzientearen *ondorioz* sortzen baizik eta, eragin eta kontrol erlijioso zela eta, beraien ezjakintasunaren *arren*. Haatik, garaiko literatura pornografikoa eta erotikoa feminista izatetik hurrin bazegoen ere, Lynn Hunt bezalako

egileen arabera mota honetako testuak emakumeen sexualitateari literatur medikoak, adibide bat jartzearren, emandakoa baino atentzio askoz handiago eskaini zion⁴⁶⁵.

Sexualitate femeninoaren ikuspegi hau sexualitate maskulinoarekin harreman estuan eraiki zen. Samaniegoren satiretan karikaturizatuak izan ziren pertsonai maskulinoak oinarrian apaizak izan ziren, erlijio ordena bateko edo besteko kide ziren garrantzitsua izan gabe. Hala ere, irudikatu zuen maskulinitatearen alderdirik interesgarriena izan zen, bere aurkakoen karikaturizaizoaren bidez, egileak maskulinitate ilustratuaren eredia indartu zuela, zeinak bere autoritate moralaren eta sexualaren aldarrikapena egiten zuen kontrol klerikalaren aurrean honek bere bizitzan zeukan eraginarengatik. Horrela, bere bertsoen artean gizon “otzana” barregarriztat uzten zuten hainbat bertso topatzen ditugu. Gizon otzana, apaizaren kontrolpena egonda, baita bere emakumearen bidezko kontrolaren eraginpean ere, bere kide sexualaren alboan bere autoritate sexuala erakusteko ez zen gai.

Orain Samaniegoren bertso erotikoetan aurkitzen ditugun feminitate eta maskulinitate ereduak ikertzeari ekingo diot eta ez hainbeste identitate sexualen eraikuntza prozesuetan. Hau da, ez dugu hainbeste ikertuko nola indartzen eta konfiguratzen zuen arau heterosexuala eta bere abjektuak edo kontrakoak, batez ere gizonen arteko elkartzeko homosexualen, garaiko sodomiaren, karikaturizazioaren bidez⁴⁶⁶. Ikerketa honetarako interesgarriagoa deritzot Samaniegok garaiko feminitate eta maskulinitate eredu katolikoei egindako kritika aztertzea hauen aurrean proposatu zituen, inplizituki bazen ere, ideal berrien inguruko zantzuak emanez.

2.4.1. Subjektibitate femenino desiratzaileak.

Samaniegoren poema erotikoetan feminitate irudirik ohikoena milikak, eskrupulosoak eta oso jainkozaleak ziren eta aldi berean plazera sexuala bere adierazpen gorenetan sentitzen zutenen emakumeena zen. Mota honetako irudikapen komikoek gorputz femenino ultra-katolikoa kritikatzeko helburua zuten, denaturalizatutzat eta, hortaz, faltsutzat hartzeagatik. Izan ere, ia poema guztietan hasieran oso elizkoitzat eta sexuaren

⁴⁶⁵ ARAGÓN (2006): 237.

⁴⁶⁶ ALLAN (2016), esaterako, sexualitatearen ikuspegi foucauldiar batetik *Jardin de Venuseko* “sodomita”ren, “bujarrón”aren eta “maricón”aren irudien eraikuntzari buruzko azterketa zabala eskaintzen du. Egilea bere esanahi politikoetan jartzen du arreta eta aldi berean identitate nazionalaren eraikuntzan zentratzen da sexualitatearekin eta identitate sexularekin daukan harremana ikertuz.

kontraktotzat agertzen ziren emakumeak, alegia, hasieran erakusten zuten erresistentzia morala eta erroturiko kristautasun debotoa alde batera usten zelako elkartze sexualetik lortzen zuten plazeraren alde egiteko. Era honetara, Samaniegok emakumeak naturalki desiratzen zutenaren eta sexuaz gozaten zutenaren ideiarri indarra ematen zion. Izan ere, zenbait sektore klerikalek emakumeengan gorputzaren izkutatzea eta mortifikazioa aldarrikatzen zuten diskurtsoak sustatzen saiatzen ziren arren, azkenean izaera naturaleko desioa agerrarazten zen.

Feminitatearen ikuspegi hau era argian eta sendoan irudikatzen zen “Los nudos” eta “La paga adelantada” poemen bidez. Poema biek bi emakume gazteren puritanismoa eta lotsa erakusten zuten. Bi neska hauek ezkontzeaz beldur ziren beraien senarrekin izan behar zuten lehenengo elkartze sexualaz beldur zirelako. Moral katoliko sendoan heziak izanik ezkondu eta gero ere senar-emazteen arteko elkartze sexuala pekatua zela uste zuten. “Los nudos” poemaren lehenengo bertsoan irakutzen dugun moduan:

*Casarse una soltera recelaba,
temiendo el grave daño que causaba
el fuerte ataque varonil primero
hasta dejar corriente el agujero⁴⁶⁷.*

“La paga adelantada” bertsoak oso antzekoa den hasiera dauka eta hurrengo pertsonaia femeninoaren istorioa kontatzen digu:

*Una soltera muy escrupulosa
casarse rehusaba,
y decía a su madre que pensaba
que hacer la mala cosa
aun después de casada era pecado⁴⁶⁸.*

“El nudo” bertsoan, Samaniego neska gaztearen amaren pertsonaia gehitzen du. Ama, bere alabak elkartze sexualari zion beldur handia ezagutuz eta jakinez honek bere ezkontza aukerak gutxiagotuko zituela, ahalik eta zakilik txikiena zuen gizon bat aurkitzen saiatu zen bere alabarekin ezkontzeko. Istoriak kontatzen duenari jarraituz gizon gazte batek emakumea engainatzea lortu zuen esanez txikia baino txikiagoa zen

⁴⁶⁷ SAMANIEGO (1976): 137.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 147.

zakila zeukala eta azkenean bere alabarekin ezkontzea lortu zuen. Behin ezkontza eginda zegoela, poemak alaba izutuaren ezustekoa eta erreakzioa kontatzen du bere senar berriaren zakil handia ikustean:

*se acostó con su novio muy gustosa,
sin temor, la doncella melindrosa;
mas, apenas su amor en ella ensaya,
cuando enseñó el cadete un trativaya
tan largo, tan rechoncho y desgorrado,
que mil monjas le hubieran codiciado*⁴⁶⁹.

Alabaren erreakzioaren aurrean, zeinak era nahigabetsuan negar egiten zuen, gizon gazteak proposamen bat egin zion: zakilean zapi batekin korapilo bat egingo zuen topea izan zedin. Horrela, neska gaztearen nahien arabera korapiloa, topea, handiagotu egin ahalko zen –amaren eginbeharra zen hori– zakil handiaren indarra pairatu ez zetzan. Samaniegok neska gaztearen mirariazko konbertsioa kontatuz amaitzen du bertsoa: mizkina izatetik gogotsu –are eta asegaitza– izatera igaro zen azkenean,

*Mas ella, no saciando su apetito,
decía: -Madre, quite otro nudito!
A que la vieja dijo sofocada:
-¡Qué nudo ni qué nada!
Ya no queda más nudo ni pañuelo;
que estás con tu marido pelo a pelo*⁴⁷⁰.

Hari narratibo oso antzekoa erebiliz, “La paga adelantada” bertsoiko protagonista zen neska gazteak ezkontzea onartzen zuen, beti ere berak ezarritako kondizio bat errespetatzen bazen: eztei-gauean bere senarrarekin hirutan oheratuko zen jarduera sexualaren gaineko informazio nahikoa jasotzeko. Baina horren ondoren hilero behin baino ez zen bere senarrarekin oheratuko. Baina, berriz ere Samaniegok neskatxa gaztearengan emandako aldaketa miregarri baten berri ematen du bere bertsoetan: hasieran hitzartutako eztei-gauean hiru-aldiz oheratu ondoren, oraindik ere asegabe zegoela, poema bere senar ahituari hurrengo galdera eginez amaitzen zuen:

*-¿Me quieres dar un mes adelantado?*⁴⁷¹.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 138.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 140.

Mota honetako poemen bidez Samaniegok ultra-katolizismoaren feminitate eredia karikaturizatzen zuen zeinak, bere iritziz, emakumeengan ezkontzarekiko beldurrak eta aurrejuzguak sustatzen zituen. Samaniegoren bertsoetako gorputz debotoearen baina aldi berean desiratzailearen irudi komikoak Adiskideen Elkarteko beste kideek beste motatako testuetan heziketa katoliko zorrotzari zegokionez adierazitako eta kritikaturako kontrajarren berdina seinalatzen zuen. Genero komikoaren bidez, Samaniegok tradizio horrek emakumeen gorputzaren esperientzian, ezkontzan eta desiran baitan zeuzkan ondorio negatiboak kritikatu zituen. Zeharkako eran, gainera, kontrol eta eragin klerikal horrek gizonen sexualitatean izan zitzaizketen ondorio horiei buruz aritu zen zeintzuek, beranduago ikusiko dugun moduan, beraien sexualitatea eta autoritatea beraien emazte edo kide sexualen “superstizioengandik” kondizionaturik ikusten baitzuten. .

Samaniegok salatu nahi zuen kleroak sexualitate femeninoaren esperientzian zeukan eraginaren adibiderik hoberena eta argigarriena “Los gozos de los elegidos” poeman aurkitzen dugu. Bertso sorta honetan Adiskideen Elkarteko alegigileak Errege Guardia baten istorioa kontatzen du. Emakume batek gizon gazte bat seduzitzen du eta azken hau bitan pentsatu gabe emakume ezezagunarekin oheratzera sartu zen bere etxera. Emakumeak guardia gazteari biluzteko eskatzen dio. Honen ostean, gizon gazteak emakumearen alkandora altzatzen saiatzen da. Baina emakumearen erreakzioak gaztea guztiz nahigabeturik utzi zuen: emakumeak gaztea elkartze sexualerako deitu bazuen ere kexu agertzen zen gizona bera biluzten saiatzen baldin bazen eta aldi berean kexu agertzen zen gazteak alde egiteko keinuak egiten bazituen. Alegia, gazteak ez zuen emakumearen jarrera, ustez kontrajarkorra, ulertzen. Samaniegok horrela adierazi zuen:

*más quedó sorprendido
al ver que ella obstinada resistía
la amorosa porfía,
y que, si la dejaba,
también de su abandono se quejaba*⁴⁷².

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*, 148.

⁴⁷² *Ibid*, 74.

Hain kontrajarkorra zirudien jarrera honen arrazoia hurrengo estrofetan argitzen digu Samaniegok, zeintzuetan emakumea, guztiz irainduta gazteari hurrengo aurpegiratzen dion:

*-¿Cómo te has olvidado
de modo con que habemos disfrutado
siempre de los placeres celestiales?
¿Los deleites carnales
pudiera yo gustar inicualemente
cuando mi confesor honestamente
sabes que me ha instruido
de cómo gozar debe el elegido
sin que sea pecado?*⁴⁷³.

Bertsoaren momenturik barregarriena emakumea gizon gaztea elkartze sexuala emateko metodo “santuaz” eta “kastuaz” argibideak ematen dizkionean suertatzen da. Modu egokia hurrengo zen: gizonak zakila emakumearen alkandoran estrategikoki egindako zulo batetik sartu behar zuen, jarduera ematen zen bitartean emakumearen gorputza erabat estaldurik geratzen zela; ez zegoen gorputza estalgabetzeko beharrik. Baina, hori bai, emakumeak plazer sexuala sentitzeko zeukan forma parodiatzen zen. Emakumeak plazer sexuala estasi jainkotiarraren antzera bizi zuen guardia gazteak emakumearen adierazpenen aurrean barregura eta harridura eusteko ia gai ez zelarik:

*[...] -¡Ay, gloria pura!
¡Oh celestial ventura!
¡Deleites de mi amor apetecidos!
¡Ay, goces de los fieles elegidos!*⁴⁷⁴.

Tonu barregarri eta baldarrean, egileak eztabaidan zeuden diskurtsoen arteko harreman dialogiko konplexua zein zen erakusten zuen eta feminitatearen irudi anibalentea eskaintzen zuen. Samaniegok feminitate natural eta intuitiboki desiratzailer bati forma eman zion “expresiva”, “traviesa” edo “amante” bezalako izenondoak erabiliz. Baina emakume hauek, aldi berean, ezjakintzat irudikatzen ziren eta bai beraien konfesoreek eta baita sentsualitatea kondenatzen zuen tradizio erlijioso oso batek erraz manipulagarritzat irudikatzen ziren. Samaniegoren bertsoak ez zuten, beraz,

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 75.

emakumeen gozamina bere baitan kritikatzeko asmoa. Baina bai kritikatzeko zuten kontrol eklesiastikoak sexualitate femeninoan zeukan eragina gorputz femeninoaren plazer sexualaren esperientzia estasi erlijiosoaren antzera irudikatuz irudi komikoa, kontrajarpena adierazten zuelako, sortuz. Poemak adierazten du, berriz ere, nola maskulinitatea kontrol klerikalaren eraginpean geratzen zen emakumeengan zeukaten erginarengatik. Kasu honetan gizon gazteak barregura kontrolatzeko ahaleginak egiten zituen emakumeak erakusten zuen kastitatearen aurrean, gizoni auresuposatzen zitzaion nagusitasun morala eta sexuala adieraziz emakumearen mindulikeriaren aurrean. Azken baten, Samaniegok desira subjektuak ziren feminitate formak irudikatu zituen, baina orokorreak alegigileak garaiko neska gazteei egozten zien maitasunaren eta sexuaren inguruko gaietan erabateko ezjakintasunetik eraikiak zirenak.

2.4.2. Gizon “otzanari” kritika.

Samaniegok aurkeztutako mundu erotikoan ohikoenak ziren irudi maskulinoak apaiz erregular eta sekular lizunak; lodikoteak eta taloak, karmeldarrak, agustindarrak, benediktinarrak, jeronimotarrak edota beste ordenaren batenak; gazteak edo zaharrak; exozistak edo konfesoreak, zeintzuek beraien neurritz kanpoko gogo eta potentzia sexualaren bidez nezkaxa jainkozaleak engainatzen zituzten beraiak nahi zituzten lizunkeriak egiteko. Era honetara, Samaniegok kleroaren autoritate morala zalantzan jarri zuen, ez bakarrik beraien hipokresia salatzen zuelako, baizik eta baita beraien gorputzaren esperientziaren ikuspegia, beraien artaldearen artean hedatzen zutena, ere zalantzan jarri zuelako. Adiskideen Elkarteko beste kideek testuinguru testual desberdinetan egin bezala, bere poema erotikoetan Samaniegok katoliko integristenen mundu ikuskera eta girputza ulertzeko ereduarekin desakordio nabarmena antzeman daiteke. Samaniegoren antiklerikalismoa, beraz, bi alderditatik agertzen zen. Alde batetik, apaizek beraien penitentei egiten zizkieten eskakizun zorrotzak beriaek ez betetzea egozten zitzairen. Eta bestetik, oinarri katolikoan egiten zuten interpretazio gogorrenak inposatzen zuen gorputzaren esperientzia zorrotza kritikatzeko zen beraiak ere ez zirelako betetzeko gai. Auzi hau “El voto de los benitos” testuan era ezinhobean irudikatua geratzen da. Bertan, Samaniegok benediktinarren kongregazio bat aurkeztu du zeintzuen irrika eta griña sexuala kontrolpean mantetzea zaila zen, hain zuzen ere guztiak batera komentu baten barruan inongo kanpo estimulurik gabe bizi baitziren:

Al principio, callando con prudencia,

*hacía cada monje la experiencia
de sujetar con mortificaciones
las fuertes tentaciones.*

*No se omitió cilicio,
ayuno, penitencia ni ejercicio,
más fueron vanas medicinas tales;
que, irritadas las partes genitales,
el demonio carnal más las apura,
dando a más penitencia más tiesura⁴⁷⁵.*

Bertso hauen bidez, alegigile arabarrak, haragiaren mortifikazioaren eta penitentziaren erretorika beraz baliatuz, gorputzari ezartzen zitzaion zigorraren logika parodiatzen zuten hain zuzen ere giza naturaren kontrakotzat jotzen zuelako. Eta aldi bereab, fraideek irudikatzen zuten maskulinitate debotoa ere karikaturizatu zuten. Beraien irrika sexuala kontrolatzen ez jakitearren irrigarri uzten zituen, baita beraien gorputzen ezjakintasun sakonarengatik. Bertsoetan, fraideek ez zekiten nola kanalizatu behar zuten beraien irrika, ez zekiten nola sentitu behar zen plazera, guztiz ezjakinak ziren hain zuzen ere beraien artaldearen aurrean kontrolatu nahi zuten eta autoritatea ziren alderdi garrantzitsuenean: sexualitatean. Bertsoak fraideen ezbeharrak kontatzen jarraitzen zuten:

*los sapientes y místicos varones
con santidad y ciencia propusieron
diversas opiniones,
pero en ninguna dieron
que a propósito fuese
para que luego la erección cediese⁴⁷⁶.*

Bertsoa arazoa komentuan boto berri bat gehitzean konpondu zela adierazten amaitzen zen. Boto berri honen arabera, fraide bakoitzak emakume garbitzaile bat izango zuten beraien “tramontanak” berriz ere “aztoratu” ez zitezen “lagun” ziezaien. Fraideen ignorantzia, eta baita hipokresia, poemaren azkeneko bertsoan da nabari:

*El abad, con presteza,
dejó al punto aquel voto establecido
y a los monjes, alzando la cabeza,*

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 90.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 91.

*dijo: -El Señor, hermanos, nos ha oído,
cuando remedia así nuestras desgracias⁴⁷⁷.*

Samaniegoren kritikek, alabaina, ez zuten edozelako printzipio erlijiosoz askaturiko maskulinitate kontrolagabe baten alde egiten. Sexuaren eta plazeraren naturalizazioak ez zuen nahitanahiez kontrolik gabeko sexualitate maskulino baten alde egitea suposatzen. Kleroak irudikatutako sexualitatearen kritikak zentzu ilustratuko bere maskulinitate ilustratuaren irudiaren zenbait klabe eskaintzen dizkigula uste dut. Maskulinitate honek, moral katolikoa ukatu gabe, gorputzaren izaera sentikorra onartzen zuen eta berau mortifikatzeari eta baztertzeari uko egiten zion, ezagutu, modelatu eta hezitzeko bideak ezarriz, bere rol soziala behar bezala betetzeko kriterioen arabera eta sentsibilitate berriak markoan bere tokia aurki zezan.

Samaniegok, hain zuzen ere, maskulinitate ezjakina edo “otzana”, bere bertsoetan sarritan izendatua agertzen den moduan, jarri zuen zalantzan. Era inplizituan neurritz kanpoko erlijiosotasunak gizonengan izan zezakeen eraginaren ondorioak salatzen zituen. Kritika hau “La poca religión” eta “La peregrinación” lanetan aurki genezake era argian. Lehenengo poemak prostitua baten historia kontatzen zuen. Emakumeak bezeroa etxera eraman zuen non senarrak biak *infraganti* harrapatu zituen. Bezeroa senarraren presentziaren aurrean guztiz izututa etxetik alde egiteko ahaleginak egiten ditu baina emazteak esaten dio:

*-No hagas tal, que es muy manso
-ella le dice-, y esto no le pica;
que ya en él es costumbre
vivir de su profunda mansedumbre⁴⁷⁸.*

“Otzan” adjetiboaren eta “otzantasun” berbaren erabilera ez da kasualitate bat. Otzantasuna teologia kristauaren erabera obedientziaren eta Jainkoaren beldur santuaren, espiritu Santuarekin bateratzen perfektuaren bidez lortzen zen egoera edo estadia zen. Antzinako Erregimenaren mundu ikuskera katolikoaren baitan familiaren barne ohikoak ziren gatazkak ekiditeko gizonak beraien etxeetan eta beraien emakumeekin mantedu behar zuten jarrera eta rola definitzeko doktrina katolikoak

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 92.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 112.

erabilitako nozioa arruntak ziren hauek. Makulinitate hau zen, hain zuzen ere, Samaniegok kritikatu zuena, ez bakarrik bere emaztearen aurrean bere autoritatea galtzen zuelako, baina baita bere autonomia moralaz jarduteko gaitasungabetua geratzen zelako erlijioak ezartzen zion kapo eraginpean geratzen zelarik. Oztantasuna, testuinguru diskurtsibo honetan, beraz, gizentasunaren faltaren esanahia hartzen zuen. Poemak emakume gaztearen gonbidatuak algarak ekiditeko alde egitea erabakitzean senarrak esandako berbekin jarraitzen zuen:

*-Hombre, no se levante,
que a mí no me ha ofendido
porque con mi mujer dormir pretende;
sólo la poca religión me ofende
con que, habiendo apagado
la luz, en un momento
no diga: Sea bendito y alabado
el santo Sacramento⁴⁷⁹.*

Nabaria da, karikatura baten aurrean kokatzen garela. Baina irakurleengan parrea eta irria sortarazteaz gainerapatrizio ilustratuaren eredia kontrajartzen zuen gizon izateko forma jakin bat kritikatzeko borondatea ere bazuela uste dut. Maskulinitate berriak, subjektu berriak bezala, bere identitatearen oinarrian autonomia eta autoritate moralak zituen. “Oztantasunean” bizi zen gizonaren parodia, zeinari bere emakumeak engainatzen zion inolako erreakziorik erakutsi gabe, kleroak ezartzen zituen, moral katolikoaren sermoilari nagusienak ziren heinean, mugen kontrako kritika zorrotza zen. Adiskideen Elkarteari kaltegarria iruditzen zitzaien ezarpenak ez zuen zerikusik moralitate publikoaren kontrolarekin –izan ere Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan zegoen euskal nobleziak espazio honen kontrol ekonomiko handia bazeukan– baizik eta bizitza pribatuaren eta intimoaren kontrolarekin. Samaniegoren bertsoetan antzeman dezakegunez, kleroaren intromisiotzat ulertu zuten jarreraren aurrean bizitza intimoaren eta familiarraren baitan beraien autoritateaz eta subiranotasunaz jardutea gizon ilustratuaren subjektibitatearen elementu substantziala izan zen.

Samaniegok parodiatu zituen feminitate eta maskulinitate formen alderdi gehienak batera ondoen irudikatzen dituen poema “La peregrinación” izena jaso zuen. Bertso hauetan, Samaniegok senar-emazte gazteen bikote bat aurkezten du, zeintzuek

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 113.

purutasun espiritual eta debozio seinale handiak erakusten duten. Gauzak hórrela, Jerusalemerea egiten ari ziren peregrinazio luze baten bitartean hamar arabek bikote gaztea bahitu zuten. Berehala bahitzaileak emakume gaztea bortzatzera zuzendu ziren senar izutuaren begirada ikaratuaren pean. Bertso esanguratsuenak ia bere osotasunean erakustea merezi du inolako interpretazio eskaini baino arinago:

*Iba a Jerusalén acompañada
una joven remilgada
de carácter tan serio,
que, aparentando un sano beaterio
siempre que su marido la embestía
inmóvil en la acción se mantenía;
y él, creyendo que en ella
duraba la vergüenza de doncella,
su virtud respetando trabajaba*

[...]

*Miró nuestra heroína sin turbarse
el diezmo musulmán que iba a tirarse,
y al saciar del primero los deseos,
con volubles y rápidos meneos
agitó sus caderas de tal suerte
que aflojó en dos por tres al varón fuerte.*

[...]

*La beata se levanta, se sacude,
y a desatar a su marido acude
que, testigo infeliz de su trabajo,
estaba pensativo y cabizbajo.*

*Viéndole así su esposa
le animó cariñosa,
diciéndole se aliente pues es de Dios milagro muy patente
el haber con las vidas escapado;*

*a que él la respondió: –Pues yo he pensado
que el milagro le hicieron tus meneos,
porque siempre me has dicho: Si lo quieres,
gózalo como pudieres”*

*A que ella respondió enfurecida:
-¡Está buena la queja, por mi vida!
¡Pues qué! ¿Me he de mover por un cristiano
como merece un perro mahometano?
No te hacía tan tonto:*

*la mala gente despacharla pronto*⁴⁸⁰.

Bertso hauetatik erator genitzakeen esanahiak eta nabardurak amaigabeak lirateke. Samaniegok “heroi” bat aurkezten digu, “beaterio” sakonaz jarduten zen emakumea, zeinak bere aldaken “mugimenduen” bidez hamar bahitzaile sendo eta bortitz bertan behera akatzeko gai zen. Eta ekintza guztia bere senar izutu bezain harrituaren begiradapean gertatzen da. Senarrak bere emaztearen pasibotasun sexuala bere lotsa, apaltasun eta ezjakintzasun santuaren ondorio zirela uste izan zuen momenturarte. Harriduraz, senarrak deskubritzen du bere emaztearen abilezia sexualak ukatu izan ziazkiola kristau bezala zeuzkaten bete-behar moralekin betetzeko bakar-bakarrik. Bertso hauek Samaniegoren begietan erlijioak esperientzia sexualaren eta bizitza intimoaren baitan, ez bakarrik emakumeen kasuan baizik eta era are larriagoan gizonezkoen kasuan, eragin zitzakeen eraginei egindako kritikaren adibide ona dira. “La peregrinación” poemak emakumezkoen gehiegizko erlijiosotasunak gizoezkoengan eraginak zituela irudikatzen zuen argi eta garbi. Gizon ezjakin eta autoritaterik gabekoa irudikatzen du, zeinak nahiz eta bere emaztea izugarritzko abilezia sexualak dituen ezin duen berarekin gozatu, hain zuzen ere, bere erlijiosotasun handiak bere senarrarekiko ezkontzako eginbideetaz gozatzea debekatzen zuelako. Ikusten dugu beraz, euskal noblezia ilustratuaren zenbait egilek beraien etxeetan, eremu domestiko eta sexualean, gizon izateko eredu horiei gaitzespen irekia erakutsi ziotela, beraien autoritateaz jarduteko eragozpena baitzelako.

Bere poema erotikoetan Samaniegok feminitate eta maskulinitate eredu jakin horiei egindako kritikaren esanahiak hobeto ulertzeko beharrezkoa da hauek Adiskideen Elkarteko gainerako generoren eta diferentzia sexualaren diskurtsoen markoan kokatzea. Generoaren eta sexuen arteko harremanaren eztabaida honetara egindako ekarpena saiakera filosofiko edota hezkuntza tratatu serioaren bidez ez zuen egin, Samaniegoren literatura erotiko satirikoa garaiko testuinguru diskurtsibo eta sozialaren oinarrizko alderdia da. Lynn Hunt *The Invention of Pornography* bere liburuan adierazi zuen moduan, “Sexual enlightenment was consequently a part of Enlightenment itself”⁴⁸¹. Testuingururik gabe ikertuta, esan liteke Samaniegoren helburua poema erotikoekin bere irakurleen artean barrea eragiteko helburutasun

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 169-172.

⁴⁸¹ HUNT (1996): 34.

bakarra zeukala erridikuluaren eta groteskoaren artean irudikatzen ziren elkartze sexualen irudikapenen bidez. Egiazki, gune popularren eta etxekoien irudikapena egoera irrigarri eta harrigarrietan bere irakurlearen humore zentzua mugiaraztea zuen bere helburuen artean. Hala ere, orain arte ikusi izan ahal dugun moduan, poemen edukiek gozamen literariotik haratago doan helburutasun zabalago bat zeukaten. Adiskideen Elkarteko gainerako genero proposamenekin bat zetorren kritika sozial baten partetzat hartu daitezkeela uste dut.

Samaniegoren *Fabulas en verso castellano* testua, Bergarako Errege Mintegian material didaktikotzat erabiltzeko idatziak izan ziren alegiak, mintegiko gazteak adibideen, kontra-adibideen eta ikasbideen bidez irakasteko asmotan idatzi ziren. Bere beste testuetako bat, *Medicina Fantástica del Espíritu*, logika verbera jarraitzen zuen eta estrategia narratibo eta literario emakumeak eta gizonak garaiko gaitz moralen inguruan hezi nahi zituen⁴⁸². Antzerkia bera adiskide arabarrarentzat onartu edo gaitzestu beharreko izaeren errepresentazioaren bidezko ikasketa iturri zen zeintatik ikuslegoak ikasketa bertutetsuak ateratzen zituen. Antzeko zentzuan argudia daiteke Samaniegoren poema erotikoek nolabaiteko eduki hezigarria zeukatela. Huetan bertutetsuak ez ziren elkartze sexualak irudikatu zituen, kontra-adibideen bidez, feminitate eta maskulinitate eredu ilustratuak indartzera zetozenak. Hala ere, Samaniegok bere bertsoen bidez ez zuen bakarrik kontra-ereduak erakusteko asmoa; maskulinitate eta feminitate eredu berriak ere indartzera ekarpena egitea ere nahi zuen.

Gorputz eta desira femeninoaren sexualizazioaren eta naturalizazioaren kasuan, hain era grodin eta bisualean irudikaturik, Samaniegok ez zuen hainbeste hauek gaitzestu beharreko ezaugarriak bezala irudikatu nahi, baizik eta errebisatzeko eta ñabartzeko alderdi gisa. Emakumeen desira sexual naturala, eta baita bere inozentzia eta ezjakintasuna, etengabe parodiatuak ziren, baina ez hainbeste hauek penalizatzeko edo kriminalizatzeko, baizik eta adierazteko ez zirelak beharrezko kanal bertutetsuetatik igarotzen. Hau da, Samaniegoren poema erotikoetan ikertu ditugun esperientzia sexual femeninoetan, emakumeak edo engainatuak ziren edo apaiz eta konfesore lohiek perbertituak ziren. Honek eragiten zuen beraien desira sexuala berari kontrajarria zitzaion marko diskurtsiboaren eta emozionalaren baitako hizkuntza eta ulermenaren

⁴⁸² Testu honen inguruko argibide gehiago ezgutzeko irakurri Emilio Palaciosen egindako sarrera, SAMANIEGO (2010).

bidez ematea, alegia, estasi erlijioso lez. Beraz, Samaniegoren poemen alderdirik interesgarrietariko bat da, nire ustez, neurritz gabeko erlijiosotasunak eta kleroaren kontrolak emakumeengan naturala eta inozentea izan beharreko hori desnaturalizatu eta perbertitu egiten zuela salatu zuela. Samaniegok ez zuen sexualitate femeninoarenganako, orokorrean, barregura sortu nahi. Bai ordea aipatu izan diren “santujaleen” eta “beaten” izaeraren aurreko barrea. Hauek ezkontzari zioten beldurra barregarritzat eta injustifikatutzat jotzen zen beti azkenean maitasun karnalaren plazera behin deskubritzen zenean. Horrela desira natural femeninoa, antinaturala edo barregarria izan ez zedin domestikatua, hezia eta katolizismoaren diskurtso ultramontanoaren desberdinak ziren printzipioen bidez kanalizatu behar zela adierazi zuen. Eta emakumeak apaizeri hipokritaren eraginpean egotetik aldenitu behar ziren.

Gauzak horrela, eman lezake engainatuak ziren neska gazte satujaleak edo beatak, zeintzuek plazera konfesoareak agindutako printzipio zorrotzen arabera ertsiki bizi zuten, ama eta emazte bertutetsuen irudien aurrean kontra-adibidearen rola jokatzen zutela, ez hainbeste sexualizaturik edo subjektu desiratzaitzat irudikatzen zirelako, baizik eta beraien sexualitate naturala ez zelako era bertutetsuan konfiguratu izan eta ez zelako behar bezala garatu. Hauek beraien naturaren inguruko superstizioaren eta ezjakintasunaren bidez manipulatuak izan ziren. Samaniegok maskulinitate desberdinak irudikatu zituen, apaiz ezjakin eta lohiak, bere gizontasuna zalantzan jartzen zen gizonak zeintzuek beraien emakumeen gehiegizko erlijiosotasuna pairatzen zuten. Gizon otzanaren parodiak bere autoritate morala eta sexuala ezartzeko gai ez ziren gizonak zituen jomuga. Beraz, norbanakoaren gorputzaren inguruko ezjakintasunaren ideia, Samaniego bezalako autoreen aburuz sektore katoliko kontserbakoienetatik zetorrena, feminitatearen zein maskulinitatearen konfigurazioak goitik behera zipristintzen zuen elementua izan zen.

Kapituluan zehar Adiskideen Elkarteak, nahiz eta Antzinako Erregimeneko egituren parte ziren noblezia lurjabeak eta jabe handiek osatutako talde murrizt batek osatua egon, mundua ulertzeko eta berarekin harremantzeko eredu berriak proposatu zituela erakusten saiatu nahiz. Bere diskurtsoetan ez zituzten berdintasuna, askatasuna edota emantzipazioaren nozioak bildu, mende amaierako ilustrazio erradikalenaren ezaugarriak izango ziren ezaugarriak. Hala ere, zoriontasuna eta osasun publikoa bezalako nozioak gehitu zituzten, zeintzuek euskal probintzietan berritasun handia

suposatzen zuten. Zoriontasun eta ongizate publikoa, familia harmonia edo poztasuna bezalako kontzeptuak euskal elite nobleak proposatzen zuten sentzibilitate ilustratu berria oinarritzen zituzten jarrera emozionaltzat osatzen ziren.

Euskal probintzietako pentsamendu ilustratuaren kasuko espezifikotasuna da, kasu honetan bakarrik ematen ez dena, zientziarengan edo aurrerapenean zuten fedea eta beraien katolizismoa ez zutela era kontrajarkorrean edo nahitanahiez problematikoan bizi izan. Aurrerapen zientifikoa ez zen marko moral erlijiosoaren gaindiketa lez edota katolizismoak eskaintzen zuten kosmobizio osoaren honketa lez bizi izan. Bi espazio horien elkarbizitza posible zelan ulertu izan zen. Ezagutzaren alorrean aurreratzeko zeukaten borondateak, hala ere, katolizismoaren esperientzia bere birplanteatzea suposatu zuten beraien mundu ikuskera eta subjektuaren autonomia moralaren nozioekin bateragarria izan zedin. Hurrengo atalean ikusiko dugun moduan, Adiskideen Elkarteak kleroari eskainitako jarduera eta ekintza eremua, zeinaren eragina nabarmena zen, ezagutzaren eta argien hedapenean zetzan, hain zuzen ere, akademia eta diskurtso burutsua heltzen ez zen leku haietan poblazio arruntak ulertzeko moduko hizkuntza baten bidez.

Aurrerapenean eta zientzia esperimentalak ekar lezakeen onuren fede sakonaren eskutik Adiskideen Elkartearen inguruan bildu zen taldeak errealitate natural eta sozialarekin lotura emozional berri bat eraiki zuten zalantzagabe erro ilustratuko optimismo baten oinarriturik zegoena. Biztanleriaren artean interpretazio eta esan zorrotzak zabaltzen zituen euskal kleroaren zati batetik, gorputzaren definizio berri bat eskaini zuten erru originalaren karga pisutsutik libre zegoena. Giza naturaren inguruan zeukaten ikuspegi berriak diferentzia sexuala eta generoa ulertzeko moduetan eragin nabarmenak izan zituen. Ikuspuntu materialistago eta enpiristago batetik, beraien ikusmoldean gorputza gisa esperientziaren egiak aurkitzeko espazioa bilakatzen zen, eta baita diferentzia sexualaren egia bilatzeko ere. Emakumeen eta gizonen arteko diferentzia biologikoek feminitatearen eta maskulinitatearen definizioak ematerako orduan pisu handiago hartu zuten, genero identitatearen esentzializazio izenak deitua izan den prozesuari hasiera emanez. Fenomeno hau, hala ere, ez dugu XIX. mendeko zentzu positibistan eman zen biologizazio baten moduan ulertu behar. Oraindik ere XVIII. mendeko ikuspegi naturalisten baitan ematen zen aldaketa izan zen. Hauentzat giza natura edo naturaltasuna ez ziren materialtasun inertetzat ulertzen zeinaren egia era bateko edo

besteko osaera genetiko, hormonal edo zerebral baten arabera azaltzen zen. Aldi berean oinarriak dimentsio sozial ezinbestekoa gordetzen zuen errealitate natural bati buruz ari gara. Premisa humanistetatik, natura, baita giza natura ere –baita emakumeena eta baita gizonena ere– hobetu ahal eta behar zen, modelatu eta hezi behar zen bere ekintza politikoentzat justifikazioa naturan aurkitu nahi zuen gizartearen parte izateko.

Giza naturaren eta gorputzaren kontzepzio hau jarraituz, Adiskideen Elkarteko genero proiektua sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren ideian oinarritu zen. Logika honi jarraituz, patu sozialtzat domestizitate gozotu baten baitako ama eta emazte izatea zuen feminitate ideal bat proposatu zuten. Diskurtso ilustratuaren baitan amatasuna eta ezkontza goraiatu ziren Trento ondorengo mezu katolikoaren ikuspuntuen aurrean. Naturaltasun femeninoa aldarrikatzen zuen rol sozial hau emakumeei berezkozat jotzen zitzaien, baina aldi berean moldatu eta findu behar zena, eta exijitzen zitzaien gorputzasun jakin baten bidez sozializatzen zen. Gorputz femenino honi auresuposatzen zitzaion naturaltasuna ez zen egoera primitibo aurre-kultural edo aurre-zibilizatu bati erreferentzen, ezta zentzu erromantikodun natura exotikoari edo misterioitsuari ere. Kulturaren bidez edertu eta findutako espazio sentsual bati buruz ari ziren, zeinari gizonen, mundu maskulinoaren eta oro har gizartearen zakarkeria, gogortasuna eta laztasuna arazteko gaitasuna aitortzen zitzaion. Diskurtso honen baitan, era honetara emakumeek beraien ekarpena egiten zioeten gizartearen zorientasunari eta aurrerapenari. Emakumeen hezkuntza ez zen bakarrik bizitza eta bete-behar domestikoarentzat beharrezko ezagutzak jasotzeko beharrezkoa, baizik eta baita sentimentduen eta emozioen heziketarako ere. Era honetara sexuen arteko afektuen eta desiraren mundua birkonfiguratu nahi zen. Katolizismoaren definizio negatiboek ukatuak izatetik bide bertutetsuetatik kanalizatuak izatera igaro behar ziren. Modestia naturalaren erotizazioa desira bertutetsu hau gorputzko elementuetako bat izan zen.

Feminitatearekin batera maskulinitatearen ikuspegiek ere aldaketa garrantzitsuak jasan zituzten. Beraien sentsibilitatea eta gizartea ulertzeko modu berriak maskulinitate eredu berrian oinarritzen zen. Subjektu moraltzat zeukaten autonomia eta subiranotasuna eta Estatu gizon bezala beraien identitatea oinarritzeko eta definitzerako orduan domestizitatearen formulazio hasi berriek garrantzia gero eta handiagoa hartuz joan ziren. Eremu domestiko honen definizioa gizionentzat ere enklabe sentimentaltzat eta gune desiragarritzat ondorengo maskulinitate burgesari berezkoak izango zitzaizkion

zenbait ezaugarriren jaiotzea ekarri zuen. Euskal noblezia ilustratuan eremu honek hartzen zuen garrantziaren adierazletako bat beraien bizitza pribatuaren, sexualaren eta ezkontzaren gaineko autoritatea izatearen aldarrikapena da, kanpoko eragintzat hartzen zituzten apaiz, konfessore eta sermoilarien aurrean, zeintzuek pertsonen bizitza sexualaren gaineko kontrola izateko liskarretan jarriaten zuten.

Atal honetan, bereziki, lineal edo presentista izan litekeen ikuspuntua ekiditen saiatu naiz. Ikuspuntu lineala mantenduko bagenu ilustrazioaren genero proposamenak gainerako genero ikuspegiak ordezkatu zituela pentsa genezake, hain zuzen ere etorkizunera begira ilustrazioak planteatutako diferentzia sexualaren ereduak gainerakoak baino garrantzi nabarmenagoa hartu zuelako. Beharrezkoa da identitateen eraikuntza prozesuen konplexutasuna kontuan hartzen duen begirada mantentzea eman ziren aldaketa edo haustura historikoak eta baita kontinuitateak antzemateko, diskurtso zaharretan eman ziren esanahi berrien inkorporazioak eta baita testuinguru berrietan ematen ziren diskurtsoen baitako erradikalizazioak eta mutazioak identifikatu ahal izateko. Ikuspegi ilustratuak ez zituen bere inguruko beste ikuspegiak ordezkatu, katolizismoaren ulerkera zorrotzarena kasu, baina tentsioan eta eztabaidan oinarritzen zen ikuspegien arteko elkarbizitza eman zen urteetan zehar. Elkarbizitza honek ez zuen beti ikuspegien arteko hurbilketa suposatu, alegia, ez zuen beti ikuspegi batek beste ikuspegi bateko elementuak inkorporatzea suposatu. Ikuspuntu berrien sorkutzarengatik beraien nagusitasuna zalantzan ikusi zuten ikuspuntuen baitan erreakzio eta erradikalizazio prozesuak ere eman ziren. Hurrengo atalean hain zuzen ere euskal kleroaren diskurtsoaren baitan eman ziren erresignifikazio eta erreakzio prozesu hauek ikertzen zentratuko gara berrikuntza ilustratuen aurrean eta XVIII. mendea amaierako tesutinguru sozio-politiko gatazkatsuen baitan.

Chapter III: The sins of modernity: the reconfiguration of religious masculinities and femininities (1789-1808).

The last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century were marked by the aftermath of the French revolutionary process and the War of the Pyrenees⁴⁸³. Apart from the consequences that the military confrontations had in the population from the Basque Provinces and the north of Navarre, especially in Gipuzkoa, the twenty years that straddled the change of the century were felt as a critical moment for other reasons too. The questioning of the *foral* order, for instance, provoked an important response⁴⁸⁴. In this context of political and social instability, many priests felt that the religious sense of the world was at risk. Towards the last two decades of the century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the religious discourse seemed to signal a reaction against the changes that they perceived were taking place as a consequence of the convulsive context. It would be wrong to believe that once enlightened authors proposed new formulations of sexual difference a new paradigm was established or that they received general acceptance. In fact, the most interesting aspect of the period is that the important changes that the enlightened nobility had carried out were followed by and coexisted with the strengthening and reinvention of the catholic models of pious femininity and masculinity. The revolutionary atmosphere in France, and as a consequence in Spain, had a strong impact on the Basque clergy's sensibility provoking a hostile reaction⁴⁸⁵. Their response to the political and social crisis and changes was aggravated by the impact that the ideas of materialism, natural sciences and disciplines like modern medicine were causing.

It is true that the Basque clergy had always been pessimistic about human nature. The re-evaluation of the body and the senses as vehicles for experience and knowledge of the world that empiricism and mechanist theories had introduced contributed to eroding the religious understanding of the earthly body as the decay of the flesh. The inversion of values that was taking place regarding the consideration of the body, the senses, life and social order provoked the strengthening of a negative understanding of the human

⁴⁸³ CHICO (2011); DE LA GRANJA, DE PABLO, RUBIO (2011): 31-48; AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2012): 46-93.

⁴⁸⁴ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 76 ff; DE LA GRANJA, DE PABLO, RUBIO (2011): 21-22.

⁴⁸⁵ JUARISTI (1987b): 64. For the general European and Spanish atmosphere, see SÁNCHEZ-BLANCO (2007): 91, and 203 ff.; ROBLEDO (2014): 38.

being as fallen or lost. In this chapter I will analyse the reformulation of the ideals of masculinity and femininity that the clergy proposed in the context of reaction against the undermining of the pillars of the *Ancien Régime*. As I will try to show in the following pages, the reconfiguration of the body played a central role for clergy not only by regulating the relationship between the sexes, but also in relation to the maintenance of social order. The religious values of obedience and docility were emphasised against the values of singularity, individuality and autonomy that emanated from the atmosphere that Enlightenment and liberal thought were spreading. They proposed models of masculinity and femininity in which everything sensuous and any attempt at singularisation, especially related to physical appearance, was condemned as a transgression of the law of what they believed to be the pure Christian and Basque community.

In order to understand the reinvigoration of a very negative meaning of the flesh, I will first analyse the sense of worry, fear and general anguish about the political context, but especially in regard to the state of social morality that was present in most relevant religious writings of the period. In the context of the broader political instability of the Spanish monarchy, the Basque clergy contributed to the reinforcement of the provincial identity, and therefore of the *foral* order itself, through the reinvention of the image of the good Basque patriarch. As Jon Juaristi and later Belen Altuna have analysed, the counter-revolutionary clergy found in the “Basque farmer” –*baserritarra*– the perfect safeguard of a moral order where religiosity and Basque language, in its purity, were the primary axes of their identity⁴⁸⁶. This generation of priests, with Juan Antonio Moguel (1745-1804) as the leading figure⁴⁸⁷, configured the religious branch of ruralism⁴⁸⁸. This view was based on the defence of the simplicity of the rustic life together with the Basque language. In order to understand this phenomenon, I will pay special attention to Juan Antonio Moguel’s famous dialogue novel *Peru Abarca*⁴⁸⁹, focusing on the critique of the “elegant man” that Moguel constructed in order to represent the corporeality that was opposed to the traditional farmer.

⁴⁸⁶ ALTUNA (2003): 157-184.

⁴⁸⁷ MICHELENA (1960): 106-112; VILLASANTE (1979): 200.

⁴⁸⁸ It had its complement in the political versions of this defence of the *traditional country life*. RUBIO (2010): 294.

⁴⁸⁹ Some literary critics considered it as the first novel written in Basque. It seems, nevertheless, that nowadays there is certain agreement in considering that it is only a dialogue. KORTAZAR (1997): 107.

Apart from that, I will analyse the way in which the anxieties about the risk that the religiosity of parishioners could suffer provoked important changes in the understanding of gender and of the weight attributed to it in the definition of women's identity. As we shall see, the concern about the patriarchal social order intensified traditional misogyny; the radicalisation of the most severe patristic notions about femininity had different developments. On the one hand, the ideal of the virile women farmer suffered important changes. In this regard, I will focus on the changes of the meaning attributed to feminine strength and virility in the works of Manuel Umerez (1757-1818) and Juan Bautista Aguirre (1742-1823), compared to the images of virile women proposed by Manuel Larramendi in his defence of Gipuzkoa.

On the other hand, the need to strengthen models of pious femininity, led some authors to reinvent the tradition of the feminine spiritual autobiographical genre, with important doses of mysticism. In order to understand the role that the reinvention of this genre played in the reconfiguration of sexual difference, I shall focus on the production of spiritual biographies and autobiographies, mainly referred to saintly nuns and women, but also certain men. The analysis of these sources will show that priests did not cultivate this genre, heir to the baroque, as a mere reproduction of an ahistorical religious ideal of femininity. It was a response to a perception of changes in the conduct and customs of women. It was consciously aimed at generating counterexamples of pious femininity, and also masculinity, from a very pessimistic understanding of the body that was still aligned with the most rigorous tendencies.

3.1. The feeling of a world in crisis.

After an important lapse in the production of writings in Basque, presumably caused by the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767⁴⁹⁰, the last decades of the century witnessed a proliferation of religious texts written in the language. Most of the topics and referents of those writings remained the same. The Council of Trent and the patristic tradition were their doctrinal guidelines. However, a sense of despair, a feeling that the world as it had been known until then was falling to pieces, permeated all their texts. "Adam's children have always been, and are, inclined to evil, and the world has been full of sinful acts" reminded Juan Bautista Agirre, the well-known priest from

⁴⁹⁰ VILLASANTE (1979): 202.

Asteasu⁴⁹¹, to add that “But today, it seems that evil has risen with the excuse of war [...] the world is lost by corruption [...] What could I do, when most Christians are in this situation and bad state?”⁴⁹². Even if the human being had always been inclined to evil, war had left the world in a state of total perdition in the eyes of clerics like Agirre. Moreover, the Basque clergy were well aware that Catholicism, the Church, the clergy and social hierarchy had been strongly shaken in France. Juan Antonio Moguel, among others, had sheltered French priests in his house during the revolutionary process⁴⁹³, which suggests that they had first-hand information about the enmities that the clergy raised in the neighbouring country.

More than two decades ago, in a short article, Iñaki Reguera suggested that during the revolutionary process, certain sectors of Basque urban society suffered a process of “relaxation of customs and the decay of the religious life” imbued by enlightened and encyclopaedic ideas⁴⁹⁴. It is not easy to justify that the level of religiosity had decreased, mainly because of the lack of sources to prove it. Besides, it should not be taken for granted that the reception of encyclopaedic or revolutionary ideas were assumed and incorporated as such. As we saw in the case of the *Bascongada*, the influence that they received from French encyclopaedism and other philosophical and political theories did not translate into rejection of religiosity, but in the re-elaboration of the meaning and the role that Catholicism played in the configuration of renewed subjectivities. However, there is no doubt that the counter-revolutionary clergy felt that the religious sense of the world and the human being was losing its centrality in relation to other discourses. This is evident in the mood that permeates the religious writings of the second half of the century. Even if they followed the traditional conventions and topics of Catholic doctrine, some of their works show a pessimism and a dark state of mind that was undoubtedly caused by the uncertainties that they were experiencing: “Not very good things have been heard about the past war with France. Priests have been treated with very heavy words; [...] and who knows what would have happened if the Lord did not defeat the enemy” reflected Juan Antonio Moguel on the French wars. “I do not know if we would be strong enough in our holy faith if we ever find ourselves in such risks as

⁴⁹¹ ALTUNA (1999).

⁴⁹² AGIRRE (1978b): 233.

⁴⁹³ ARTOLA (2009): 132-133.

⁴⁹⁴ REGUERA (1991): 81.

they found themselves”, he doubted⁴⁹⁵. The words of Moguel, written just before his death in 1804, did not only come from the classical pessimistic anthropology of Catholicism. They denote an aspect that was only explainable in its context: he was doubtful about the religiosity and faith of Basque people in an adverse situation such as the rise of revolutionary ideas. The French context, therefore, had left an important mark on some of the most important religious references of the Basque Provinces. “If we look at this world carefully, we will realize that it is full of paths and traps that drive you to sin. Among friends, or by ourselves, or in any place, everything is full of dangers”, claimed Agirre desperately⁴⁹⁶.

The response to this profound fear that the community of Basque priests felt manifested in the strengthening of the docility that they asked from their parishioners. The words of the priest from Oñati, Manuel Umerez, in 1805 show a desperate call to keep the respect for the old traditional institutions:

“You have to profess a great love and respect for religious men and women, for Priests, for the King and all his Ministers, and in the same way you have to teach this to your Children and Family, especially in these miserable times in which it is a trend to criticise them, not even respecting the Pope and his Bishops”⁴⁹⁷.

Their reaction to the advancement of modern ideas was based on a call to strengthen the traditional pillars of the old regime: religion and monarchy. They understood that the maintenance of the social order in the revolutionary context had to be founded on the reinforcement of the model of the docile parishioner that was fearful of God and divine authority.

However, the reactionary stances coexisted with different sensibilities, even among the clergy itself, towards the changes that modern philosophy and the revolutionary spirit were provoking. This is evident if we compare the discourse of Basque reactionary priests with the words of the Asturian priest Pedro Díaz de Valdés, member of the *Real Sociedad Bascongada*⁴⁹⁸. In 1790 the *Bascongada* convened a competition to receive dissertations that delved into the benefits that a well-informed clergy could provide to

⁴⁹⁵ MOGUEL (2004): 24.

⁴⁹⁶ AGIRRE (1978b): 28.

⁴⁹⁷ UMEREZ (2013): 353.

⁴⁹⁸ About Díaz de Valdés, see GARCÍA (1998) and ORDAZ (2005).

the poorest rural society⁴⁹⁹. Among the essays they received, it was Díaz de Valdés's work the one that the society rewarded in 1793. Its title was *Nos auxilia dicemus* and it was printed in the *Extractos de Juntas* of the same year⁵⁰⁰. In 1806, the work was reprinted under the title *El padre de su pueblo, ó medios para hacer temporalmente felices a los pueblos, con el auxilio de los señores curas párrocos* [*The father of his people, or the ways to make people happy through the help of parish priests*] and included an introduction to the work that the author had re-written in 1794, but that, for some unknown reason, had not been published⁵⁰¹.

The work of Díaz de Valdés shows not only a completely different understanding of the work that rural priests were supposed to carry out, but also a completely different sensibility towards the world itself. His collaboration with the *Bascongada* shows that some clerics understood that Catholicism was not only compatible with natural science, but that it had to evolve together with social changes and the progress of knowledge if it wanted to survive. The Asturian priest was also trying to defend and dignify the role of the clergy against the anticlerical spirit that they perceived was coming from the aftermath of the political and social alterations in France. However, his proposal radically differed from the reactionary move that some of the most rigorous authors were proposing. “The knowledge of Priests and Ecclesiastics has to grow every century, in proportion to the new knowledge that the present age offers”, wrote Díaz de Valdés in his introduction, adding “it is fair that we embrace new inventions, insofar as they do not offend the faith, morality and the Government; and in the way that they are the most useful to improve the situation of Citizens”⁵⁰². In his introduction, Díaz de Valdés was trying to present religion and its guardians, the clergy, as the pillars of the proper and desirable modernisation of the Spanish nation and its “enlightened” Monarchy –ruled at that moment by Charles IV– as he called it. In fact, it is not a coincidence that he used the terms Nation and Citizens repeatedly throughout the text. His introduction responds to a very specific strategy: in a context of animadversion towards clergy and aristocracy, the ennoblement of their work consisted in the reformulation of their earthly mission itself:

⁴⁹⁹ DÍAZ DE VALDÉS (1806): 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Apart from the printing of the work in the *Extractos*, the award included fifteen doubloons and the patent of meritorious membership of la *Bascongada*.

⁵⁰¹ DÍAZ DE VALDÉS (1806): 11.

⁵⁰² *Ibid*, 16.

“Thus, my intention in this report [the one that the *Bascongada* rewarded], was to prove that the Priests, instructed in advantageous knowledge, can easily improve the physical and moral Happiness of their Parishioners and be loved by all of them: shut the mouth of the foolish people that accuse the industrious clergy of being useless: they [priests] could also be happier thanks to the pleasure, and the good use, that the good knowledge about the natural things makes available; and finally to educate good vassals for the King, and good citizens”⁵⁰³.

His words could be considered a clear example of what has been called “Catholic enlightenment”⁵⁰⁴. The principal need that Díaz de Valdés saw in the renovation of the clergy’s role was the inclusion of the knowledge of natural sciences in order to instruct the ignorant people from the most remote places. “I want them to be powerful in the mastery of natural sciences”, said the priest about missionaries⁵⁰⁵. The traditional priest had to become a naturalist, a botanist, a great wise man that could educate and instruct even the most ignorant rural population:

“In our schools, we educate robust theologians and skilled dialectics [...] beware: we are also going to educate productive botanists and useful naturalists, which with their practice and dedication will make the people happy, and they will convince them that in their Priests they can encounter all the reliefs and aid, that their soul, and also their body, need”⁵⁰⁶.

The fundamental difference between his approach and the one of the rigorous clergy is not only the acknowledgement of compatibility between scientific knowledge and Catholic religion, but also the inclusion of the variable of physical happiness on earth into the Catholic doctrine. In this way, the clergy would be able to bring their parish temporal happiness “and he will make all the people happy in what is temporal, as he already does with that which is spiritual”⁵⁰⁷. The words of Díaz de Valdés were in line with the social reformism spirit of the *Bascongada* that was profoundly Catholic but

⁵⁰³ *Ibid*, 13-14.

⁵⁰⁴ LEHNER (2016); LEHNER and PRINTY (2010). For the specific case of Spain, see SMIDT (2010). In this regard, it would be interesting to think about whether the case of thinkers like Díaz de Valdés, who was a priest, should be considered “Catholic enlightenment” or more properly “enlightened Catholicism”.

⁵⁰⁵ DÍAZ DE VALDÉS (1806): 15.

⁵⁰⁶ RSBAP (1985e): 73.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 23.

included important changes such as an understanding of human morality that included earthly happiness and wellbeing in its anthropology and politics.

Díaz de Valdés's reformist proposal was also founded on the praise of the industriousness of farmers and saw them as the community in which Christian morality was best expressed. However, his view of the wellbeing of the body and the soul, his understanding of human beings was completely different from most Basque priests of the last decades of the century. This, of course, reflected on an assessment of the gender order that profoundly differed from the disorder that the rigorous Basque clergy perceived. The difference between their approaches is most evident if we compare Díaz de Valdés's words with the words of Juan Antonio Moguel, who was also, we must remember, a late member of la *Bascongada*.

“O my beloved Basques [*euskaldun*]⁵⁰⁸! It is shameful to say it. There is not Christian, nor heretic, nor gentile town in which the squares, streets, roads or public places are corrupted by so much relaxation, insolence, hugging and dirty hand-holding, as it is possible to see among Basques. I have lived many years among non-Basque people [*erdaldun*]⁵⁰⁹; I have never seen in any street, road or public place any man showing such evil temptations to any woman. They are prudent and serious. In the Basque towns⁵¹⁰, however, I do not dare to go out during holiday or festivities to take a walk, because I am sure I would see many filthy things”⁵¹¹.

Moguel's words evince an extremely pessimistic perception of the social situation that was dominant among priest by the end of the century: Basque society was on the verge of perdition and it was necessary to save it. The extremely negative view that Moguel had of the moral situation of the Basque people contrasts with the image that Díaz de Valdés had recollected in his Memory:

“I do not judge harshly the enjoyments of the small places. Even in the town of Bilbao, which is not small, during holydays and festivities they hire some sort of

⁵⁰⁸ The original says *euskaldun*, which designates a person who knows euskara. It is sometimes used to name the people inhabiting the Basque Country; apart from the linguistic meaning, it could also have the territorial sense. Both aspects are usually intertwined in this context.

⁵⁰⁹ The original says *erdaldun*, which designates a person who does not know euskara.

⁵¹⁰ The original says *euscalerrietan*, which is the plural of *euskal herri*. In this context, it has a different meaning to *Euskal Herria*. It just means Basque towns.

⁵¹¹ MOGUEL (2004): 106.

music to amuse themselves: and despite that, it is an industrious place, quiet and of very good customs. I do not think our century (I speak about Spain) is as abandoned as some depict it”⁵¹².

Díaz de Valdés’s words “as some depict it” show that he was dialogically engaging in a larger debate regarding the situation and morality of social customs. Even on the very polemic topic of attire, Díaz de Valdés seemed to be committed to the necessity of progress. “Even in the act of external dressing, the person who would persist in dressing as it was styled in the 13th century would be considered ridiculous”, defended the Asturian priest⁵¹³. The opinion of the rigorous clergy could not be more different. The enlightened apologies of comfort, measured luxury, and the care of the body to which Díaz de Valdés was receptive were received with profound condemnation by many of the priests that were also trying to reform, but in a very different way, the life of rural population. “The evil development of the world follows for its governance the doctrines of the false Gospel: eat as much as you please and dress according to the fashion: once they put down roots in the heart of the Head of the Family, they cause degeneration and disasters” wrote Manuel Umerez in 1805 in his *Osaba baten instruccinuac bere Illoba Ezconduta Necazari batentzat* [*The advice of an uncle to his married farmer nephew*]. The author was especially concerned with the consequences of the social changes that could take place in popular sectors: “what kind of damage and destruction will this pestilential doctrine cause to the poor farmer that lives with one or two farmhouses?”⁵¹⁴.

The production of most of the priests and missionaries that wrote their sermons, Catechisms or confession manuals in the period of the change of the century shows that their understanding of the body followed the same rigorous tendency that we found in the words of the Jesuits of the first half of the century. Joakin Lizarraga, for instance, gave a very illustrative example of this new rigorous reaction in one of his descriptions of the body: “The body is the house, the mouth, eyes and ears are the doorway [...] from the windows of our senses, death enters to hurt and kill the soul through what is heard by our ears and seen by our eyes”⁵¹⁵. The metaphor was clear: death penetrates through the senses. In addition, the exercises that the Franciscan missionary Pedro Antonio de Añibarro proposed in his *Escu-Liburua* [*Handbook*] (1802) in order to confront the

⁵¹² RSBAP (1985e): 116.

⁵¹³ DÍAZ DE VALDÉS (1806): 16.

⁵¹⁴ UMEREZ (2013): 180.

⁵¹⁵ LIZARRAGA (1846): 181.

moment of death –reminding penitents of human mortality and pain– show the extremism that their understanding of the human being involved. I am going to focus on two of them.

In one of the exercises, the author advised his parishioners to go to the Church and once there, to visit a grave, and finally to lay down on it imagining one’s own putrefaction: “Go to a Church today; and worshipping Sacred Jesus lay down on any grave: and say five times: Someday this body will be brought to this house, so that it rots and the worms eat it”⁵¹⁶. The other one proposed directly touching fire, resisting the pain as much as possible, while saying an Ave Maria: “Touch fire with your hand, or put your finger over a burning candle for as long as you can, especially while you are praying a Hail Mary; and tell yourself: if this fire burns like this, how will the true intense fire of hell burn?”⁵¹⁷. Apart from its aim to illustrate the suffering that sinners were expected to endure in hell, these kinds of practices were aimed to create docile bodies. Ultimately, it seems clear that their methods of subjectivisation were very similar compared to the Catholic tradition that emphasized the need to mortify one’s own flesh. However, Basque priests’ efforts of the *Fin-de-siècle* to incite such a pessimistic experience of the body seem even more strongly rigorous than their predecessors’ given that by that time, even among co-religionists, the body was being interpreted in much less penitential terms.

The sources analysed allow us to affirm that in the context of French Revolution and its aftermath in the whole of Europe, especially tangible in the Basque provinces through the War of the Pyrenees, the writings of some of the most important representatives of the Basque clergy show a profound concern and anguish about the social situation and the disorders that could arise from the changing and convulsive situation. Besides, catechisms, sermons and other religious texts show an understanding of the body that radically differed from, and criticised, any sensualist approach to the experience of the world. Those factors contributed to reinforce a very pessimistic anthropology that understood that the maintenance of the traditional Catholic social order needed not only the strengthening of the traditional elements of the Old Regimen –clergy, monarchy and the divine order–, but also the firm control of the bodies of their parishioners under austerity and restraint. This of course was not the only trend. As we have seen, some

⁵¹⁶ AÑIBARRO (1978): 35.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid*, 51.

authors related to the *Bascongada*, such as Díaz de Valdés, proposed different ways of situating religion and Catholic morality in the crisis of the Old Regime that included the reformulation of the mission of clergy as the providers of material well-being through the application of scientific knowledge. Among the most important works produced by the Basque clergy, however, there was a visible trend that manifested the need to configure an experience of the body based on docility and humility towards religious authority represented by priests and ministers of the monarchy. This, of course, is reflected in the reformulations of sexual difference. As we will see in the following section, in a society that was perceived as a process of decay, where religion and the references to *Basqueness* –the *Fueros* and the language– were seen in danger, the farmer was seen as the holder of purities and fixities regarding Christian and Basque values. The prevailing ideal of masculinity was that of the rural farmer, the patriarch, who represented a corporality that incorporated the values of the pure Basque and Christian community against any kind of singularisation or individualisation.

3.2. The fight against modern masculinity: the preservation of the body of community and religious values.

It is not a coincidence that, in this context of crisis of the religious sense of the world and the human being, Basque authors such as Manuel Umerez, Juan Antonio Moguel or Juan José Moguel, just to mention the most important ones, wrote several works in which family men were instructed in their tasks as good Christians and good Basques. The first of this kind was Juan Antonio Moguel's *Peru Abarca*, written before 1802 – shortly before his death– but finally published in 1880⁵¹⁸. In 1805, the aforementioned Manuel Umerez wrote *Osaba baten instruccinua bere Illoba Ezcondu eta Necazari batentzat*. In 1816, Juan José Moguel, the nephew of Juan Antonio Moguel (also a priest and future Carlist general deputy of Bizkaia), published *Baserritaar nequezalientzaco escolia*⁵¹⁹. In these three works, following different narrative techniques, they aimed to show how country men and farmers, should take care of their families. In other words, those texts were aimed at depicting the benefits of being good patriarchs. Religious obligations were above all the most important aspects that underlined all of those texts,

⁵¹⁸ GARATE (1936): 66. It is known, nevertheless, that some of its copies circulated during the period, VILLASANTE (1979): 211.

⁵¹⁹ MOGUEL (1987). This text was first published in 1816. In 1845, it was published again under the title *Basserritaar jaquitunaren eheco escolia*.

especially in regard to the safeguard of the morality of the family. Christian doctrine – including all the aspects related to the Ten Commandments– was displayed in a way in which the receiver could grasp the practical application of Catholic moral integrity. Umerez, for example, painstakingly described daily aspects, such as how to choose a good and religious wife that was fearful of God; the way in which it was necessary to behave with parents; the economic management of the household; the way to educate children, and everything that was related to sexual matters as well as the importance of properly confessing. As the title of his work stated, it was an instruction book on how to become a good Catholic man and a good governor of the household.

In order to grasp the changes and evolutions that were taking place in the understanding of masculinity, in what follows I will focus on the analysis of the ideal of masculinity in Juan Antonio Moguel's work *Peru Abarca*. Moguel's work deserves a thorough reading in this sense, firstly because it is the work of its period which best shows the profound crisis and anxiety that an important part of society was feeling in relation to the social and political changes that were taking place. Secondly, and most importantly in terms of this study, because it shows a dispute between two very specific masculinities that were actually inhabiting the same social reality of the Basque provinces: the austerity of the religious Basque farmer, the principal asset of Basque Catholicism, and the modernized and educated citizen for whom religion had been displaced in order to make place for other channels of interacting with the world.

Some research has considered Juan Antonio Moguel as one of the most important counterrevolutionary and anti-modern authors, together with Pedro Pablo Astarloa⁵²⁰. Moguel, as well as the rest of the apologists for the Basque language and *fueros* at the end of the century, was influenced by Manuel de Larramendi's philological views and his defence of the Basque *foral* order. There is a difference, however, that is impossible to ignore, that imprints Moguel's work with a specificity that should not be forgotten. Larramendi experienced the first centralist attempts of the Bourbon monarchy; but Moguel directly witnessed the consequences of the French Revolution and later of the War of the Pyrenees. Together with many other catholic priests, he experienced the attempts to demolish the pillars of the *Ancien Régime* very close to the door of his

⁵²⁰ ARTOLA (2009).

house. Those facts permeated Moguel's work, and his contemporaries', with pessimism and a sombre spirit that is possible to recognise in his works.

Apart from his religious production, Moguel's most important and well-known work is *Peru Abarca*. Jon Juaristi has suggested that Moguel could have been considered the founder of Basque romanticism had his novel *Peru Abarca* been published when it was written⁵²¹. Nevertheless, recently some other authors, favouring the methods and proposals of social history, have underlined the enlightened inheritance present in Moguel's *Peru Abarca* and classified Juan Antonio Moguel himself as an enlightened author⁵²². A close reading of the content of the dialogue novel, however, shows that Moguel's beliefs and proposals, especially if we consider their gender meanings, are far from being enlightened, not only comparing his work with the most radical versions of the European Enlightenment, but with the proposals of the first generation of members of the *Bascongada*. In this sense, I agree with Juaristi's suggestions that considered *Peru Abarca* to be neoclassic in its form, because it reproduced an instructive dialogue between a wise country man, the archetype of the tradition, and an urbanite citizen⁵²³, but profoundly counter-enlightened and anti-neoclassic in his pedagogic spirit, opposed to many of the proposals of authors such as Peñaflorida, Montehermoso or Samaniego⁵²⁴.

Peru Abarca narrates an encounter between a farmer, Peru, and Maisu Juan (which literally means "teacher" Juan), a barber who, as was the custom at that time, used to practice as a sort of a local physician. The rustic and austere farmer, owner of a *mayorazgo*, was confronted with a citizen that had forgotten not only how to properly speak in Basque, but also to practise all the customs and more importantly, the Christian values that could still be found in the remote small villages of the provinces, and that were supposed to be the essence of good Basques⁵²⁵. During the action, it was the rustic and not the trained teacher that enlightened the other reminding him of everything that he seemed to ignore: the language, traditional proverbs, traditional jobs, customs and most importantly, family and values, the house, especially in its domestic harmony, whose meanings I will try to explain. With this work, the author was not trying to allure

⁵²¹ JUARISTI (1992): 355.

⁵²² ESTEBAN (2016): 168-170; ESTEBAN (2017): 180-186.

⁵²³ The literal Basque is *kaletar*, which literally means *from the street*. It was used to signify, with negative connotations, the person that lives in the city or big villages.

⁵²⁴ JUARISTI (1992): 350.

⁵²⁵ ALTUNA (2003): 158.

the people whose way of living he was defending, but those that had already “moved on” to more refined or civilized ways of living: “Those dialogues are not directed to instruct the Basque youth, but to instruct those who are considered men of letters”⁵²⁶. In this process, he was recreating his own notion of Basque Catholic civilization, which was based on the belief that every past had always been better.

Therefore, Moguel’s work is not a mere reproduction of a predetermined tradition. It is primarily a production of a tradition in a world that is felt in the need of steady values and references that would ensure certain order in a situation of changes and alterations. This worldview, that was based on the anxious need of fixities and certainties, found in the past its references, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it *built* the past as the foundations on which the present should be attached, to be conceived and experienced. The meaning of tradition here, therefore, does not address a past that could be remembered *as it was*, an ontological terrain that could be re-created with more or less historical accuracy. The concept of tradition plays a similar role to a regulatory ideal that imposes its limits on what is possible and thinkable in terms of social order, but that does not have an established meaning because it has variable significations, because it is structurally productive, performative and creative. In this regard, it is very important to point out that, from an epistemological perspective, the defence of the “traditional” gender roles should not be understood as a mere step back precisely because the reactionary move is in truth productive and creates difference.

Moguel’s work confronts us with a debate –that was briefly addressed in the first chapter– about the role of religiosity in the configuration of masculinity during the process which has been called “secularisation process” or the progression from societies ruled by religion towards secular ones⁵²⁷. Even though the contraposition between the two was the central axis that guided the plot, very few works have paid attention to the gender implications of it. Moguel understood the crisis of masculinity as the loss of religiosity and the Basque language. It was conceived as a process of perversion of a body of values that defined the community, values that were incarnated in very specific body forms that were endangered by the novelties introduced by new social dynamics.

⁵²⁶ MOGUEL (1881): 6. I am using an edition from 1881. The editor claimed that it was a printed exact copy from the original manuscript that was kept by Franciscans from Zarauz in their convent.

⁵²⁷ GREGORY (1999): 86. In his work *Homo Religious*, Jeremy Gregory underlined the importance of paying attention to the models of masculinity proposed in religious contexts in order to question the social hegemony that some analysts have granted to the “secular man” or the “polite man” during the eighteenth century.

In the eyes of the priest of Markina, the crisis of masculinity had happened as the consequence of the incorporation of a new sensibility towards the world that was displacing the religious sense of the human being and also the religious sense of being Basque. The work of Moguel shows a preoccupation with the capacity that other discourses such as the defence of comfort and, most importantly, the relevance of self-appearance as expressions of one's own individuality had in the meaning of the human experience faced with the religious and the traditional references⁵²⁸. The profoundly traditionalist nature of *Peru Abarca* is even more explicit if we compare it with the works of other contemporary authors, such as Valentín de Foronda, that equated urban development, the refinement of manners or personal embellishment with progress⁵²⁹. "It is not enough, my friend, that men eat and are healthy", argued the author from Álava about the state of Spanish population, "it is necessary that they also enjoy comfort"⁵³⁰. In a very similar way that some other members of la *Bascongada*, Foronda was showing an understanding of the human being in which the appearance and corporal physical wellbeing, following new theories about social hygiene, was essential. From a very different perspective, Moguel was questioning the idea of the "progressed man" itself and his supposed superiority in relation to the traditional peasant. To this end, he confronted the "elegant know-it-all" urbanite, Maisu Juan, with an authentic Basque patriarch, Peru, a character in which religious and Basque identity were perfectly articulated.

Most of the accounts of *Peru Abarca* have focused on the character of Peru in order to underline Moguel's aim to recreate the pure originally Christian Basque, the embodiment of tradition, the typical patriarch of a traditional *baserri* [farm house] of the *Ancien Régime*⁵³¹. However, the character of Maisu Juan and the transformation he suffered during the action of the dialogue has been neglected. It is the interaction

⁵²⁸ On the changes in clothing habits and the uses of sumptuous goods in the case of Bilbao by the end of the 18th century, see PRADO (2009). This author suggests that: "Las transformaciones en la moda se aceleran sobre todo en el último tercio del XVIII de la mano del desarrollo de un importante comercio suntuario y la pujanza de la burguesía. El vestido va definiendo y unificando a los distintos grupos sociales, traspasando fronteras y reduciendo los trajes típicos a estampas turísticas, un proceso claro a partir de los años setenta del siglo XVIII", PRADO (2009): 140.

⁵²⁹ Valentín de Foronda's *Cartas sobre la policía* (1801) shows this new sensibility perfectly. The importance of new standards of hygiene and public health or the need for the architectural development of towns in the style of London and Paris in order to create comfortable spaces for socialisation radically different from the traditional ways of living that authors like Moguel were advocating.

⁵³⁰ FORONDA (1801): 65.

⁵³¹ In this regard, it is interesting to follow Juaristi's reflections on the differences between the "*bon sauvage*" and the "primitive". JUARISTI (1992): 353. See also ALTUNA (2000): 12 ff.

between those two characters which reveals to us the crisis that was being perceived in a mind such as that of Moguel. Little by little, the patriarch Peru discovered that the alleged process of civilization that Maisu Juan had suffered until he had become an elegant urbanite was in truth a degeneration of his humanity as a good Christian, as a Basque and as a man. And in this journey that they undertook together, Maisu Juan discovers that he had been living ignoring the most basic rules of the world. Considering its formal aspects, therefore, the story is a hybrid between a long fable and a tale of spiritual conversion: throughout their journey, Peru taught Maisu Juan how to recover his masculinity to become integrated into the community again⁵³².

The dialogue starts with the encounter between Peru and Maisu Juan, which is, in effect, an encounter between two very different corporalities. Their first encounter takes place in a tavern where Peru responds to Maisu Juan's pretentious greeting with disdain: "I am not a Sir; I have *abaracac*⁵³³ on my feet, a beret on my head, a coat over my body, this is my whole ornamentation"⁵³⁴. He wants to make Maisu Juan know that a tavern like that was not supposed to be a decent place for an elegant man like him. However, when he discovers that Maisu Juan is a barber that worked as the local physician when needed, he expresses his surprise: he does not understand why a simple barber has to dress like a lord. Annoyed by the rustic's words, Maisu Juan replies that he was not a barber like the *old* barbers, and claims to be as capable as a doctor, skilled in surgery and new techniques that he had learned in a hospital in Madrid: ultimately, he claims to be a learned man.

This entry may have just been thought as a comic encounter, but opens up the central line of the crisis Moguel was addressing: the encounter between a rustic that follows the traditional rules of masculinity without the need to make himself important through his image or outward appearance and the barber, whom he identifies with the elegant-

⁵³² It is difficult to discern why Moguel decided to "enlighten" the "enlightened" through this literary form. I believe, nonetheless, that it is not a coincidence that he chose to intertwine these two very popular genres. He was not offering them a grave moral essay, but creating a cultural artifact that mixed a style that enlightened authors knew well, the fable, with a highly-traditional genre that Moguel himself was familiar with, the Christian spiritual biographical literature. It may be interesting to explore the idea that, following the dialogic structure that he was offering, he was trying to make the two worlds meet and appeal to the codes that they shared.

⁵³³ "A kind of laced shoe or sandal made of leather or rubber, used in the Basque Country. Originally used by farmers, nowadays it is mainly worn by Basque folk dancers", in https://hiztegiak.elhuyar.eus/eu_es_en/abarka. Last consulted the 16/11/2017.

⁵³⁴ MOGUEL (1881): 43.

pedant, but ignorant of everything that is truly essential, including the Basque language. The opposition is clear: “I am, then, a Barber, a Bloodletting practitioner and a Surgeon”, claimed Maisu Juan with pride, to which Peru responds with disdain: “If you are nothing more than that, I am a carpenter, [...] an ox driver, a farmworker, a forester...”⁵³⁵. What Peru is critiquing was a way of living and of being that is embodied in a masculine exteriority considered immoral and non-authentic. In a world where the value of things had been altered, Maisu Juan has forgotten the importance that each thing has, including the value that he ridiculously attributes to his exteriority and body: “But if I have managed to progress to an honourable profession, why should I dishonour myself by dressing in unpleasant clothes?” questions Maisu Juan with incredulity. Peru responded furiously: “Shut up: you are a nobleman because you are from Bizcay, not because you are a Barber, a bloodletting practitioner, or a physician [...]. I am the owner of three farmhouses [...] and you see, however, how I dress. Why would you be better than me?”⁵³⁶. In a similar manner to Larramendi, masculine dignity does not lay in an embodiment of one’s own social status, precisely because the fact of being from Bizkaia has already ennobled them. One of the pillars of virility and masculine dignity –and also feminine– is precisely the belonging to an exceptional community: the provinces of the Basque Country. Again, the reinforcement of the belonging to the community eclipses the value attributed to gender as the definer of masculinity, showing the variable weight of each aspect in the definition of people’s identity and social position.

The opposition seems the most evident when they argue about anatomy. Although the discussion may seem irrelevant –in fact none of the analysis of *Peru Abarca* has considered it worthy of attention– it underlines a very important difference between confronted mentalities regarding human nature⁵³⁷. Maisu Juan tries to explain the benefits of dissecting dead bodies, alleging the advantages to know where the body parts were located in order to cure illnesses, something that would seem common-sense

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, 48.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid*, 51.

⁵³⁷ It might be interesting to point out that Juan Antonio Moguel’s father, Juan Ignacio Moguel y Pérez de Almazan, and his brother, Juan Ignacio Moguel y Urkiza, were both physicians. In fact, Juan Ignacio Moguel was member of la *Bascongada* too since 1773, see LASA (1981). Apparently, he wrote an important dissertation on anatomy that he dedicated to society and he was an important promoter of inoculations against smallpox, a practice in which la *Bascongada* consistently excelled. It seems, nevertheless, that Juan Antonio Moguel’s view about the human body and the human being, in general, was much more determined by his very conservative religious world view rather than by the hypothetical influence that his father’s or brother’s activity may have had on his thought.

to a modern mentality. Peru, however, is completely horrified, firstly because it seems to him utterly disrespectful towards the dead: “Oh cruel men! You do not even leave the dead in peace? Oh, terrible men!”⁵³⁸, and secondly because he does not understand what good the analysis of a dead body can be to a living one. What is more, Peru compares the anatomist with the butcher that easily chopped the animal parts. This scene suggests the frontal contradiction between the understanding of aspects so fundamental such as the human body’s life and death. Maisu Juan tries to explain that anatomy, in its different specialties, is meant to take care of the “factory” –referring to human body– that God had created:

“*Osteology*, or the knowledge that treats bones and cartilage; *Splanchnology*, or what refers to viscera; *Myology*, dedicated to analyse the muscles, how many and how they work. *Angiology*, this serves to show which the vessels are, how many and how they work”⁵³⁹.

The medical discourse, however, seems to profoundly dissatisfy Peru. “Peru, our knowledge is not for you”, advises Maisu Juan, “In order to learn anatomy you need a big and bright mind. Listen to me. The human body is like a small world or a *microcosm*...” he kept explaining⁵⁴⁰. Against the language that the local barber was employing to imply that his knowledge went beyond the capacity of a farmer like Peru to know the “reality” and “functioning” of the body, the rustic reproaches the learned barber that modern anatomy does not truly care about people and their wellness.

“You have never thought of God or of thanking a dead body while you examine it. [...] you spend your time there with your empty knowledge, without being able to discern which is the disease of the poor patient [...]. You will say that it is necessary to perform bloodletting; your colleague will say that the bloodletting will cause death [...]. Those are the benefits of your pompous anatomy [...] and if the sick man finally dies, you just do not care”⁵⁴¹.

⁵³⁸ MOGUEL (1881): 52.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*, 82-83.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 84.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid*, 83-84.

For Peru, Maisu Juan treats humans as pure mechanical inert matter, composed of parts, inflicting on them nothing more than pain in trying to *discover* their illnesses rather than trying to actually cure them. Moguel is criticising a mechanistic and materialist understanding of the body. From the point of view of Catholic scatology, the acceptance that after death the human being was reduced to matter, measurable and objectifiable, was quite problematic, precisely because it was the after-life which was the eternal and authentic life of humans. Firstly, the acceptance that after death there was “nothing” would mean that there was not any means with which to judge earthly life. Secondly, admitting humans’ capacity to know “everything” about the human body, how to cure it or how to dissect it in its parts would mean to acknowledge that humans had a knowledge that could unravel the unfathomable ways of God. What is more, Peru praises the ability of the healer women who, without the extravagant language of the modern physicians and a traditional knowledge of healing herbs, can re-set and cure broken bones. The fact that Moguel mentions this traditional feminine practice to defend it is certainly very interesting, precisely because it addresses an issue that had concerned the *Real Sociedad Bascongada*: the regulation of the practice of feminine unqualified healers, especially at the moment of giving birth. This specific topic shows that also in Basque society traditional forms of practical knowledge, which were open to women practitioner’s, were questioned by modern forms of understanding authoritative knowledge that was now identified with the male subject. Among the physicians that collaborated with la *Bascongada*, some of the most important, such as José de Luzuriaga, claimed the urgent need to properly instruct women in that regard⁵⁴². In the same way, in 1799 Valentín de Foronda wrote in his *Cartas sobre la policia* against healers and criticised the moralists that defended the extended idea that it was improper for doctors, men, to attend women in labour because it could give way to immorality⁵⁴³. Moguel it therefore positioning himself in relation to a topic that preoccupied practitioners of the period and affected medical practices showing a resistance to the evolution, homogenisation and institutionalisation of body care. All the medical knowledge that Maisu Juan reveals seems completely inexplicable to the mentality of Peru, simply because life, embodied life, and health, had different meanings for Peru and Maisu Juan. Peru, profoundly religious as he was, understood that human life and essence, including his illnesses, lay somewhere other than in the inert materiality of the

⁵⁴² RECARTE (1990): 114.

⁵⁴³ FORONDA (1801): 33.

body. Moguel is reacting against a modern understating of humanity, in which the human body was losing its spiritual content, in which the body was becoming bare matter. In other words, Moguel is reacting against a loss of the religious meaning of the health of humans.

That loss is embodied in the character of Maisu Juan, the antagonist of Peru. Maisu Juan represents all the facets of the modern man that followed the ideas of progress and civilisation that were based on the power of rational autonomy, sovereignty and the refinement of manners, including the measured uses of luxury and looking after one's own appearance according to the rules of fashion. However, the message is clear: this evolved man, who has studied anatomy in Madrid, knows how to perform a bloodletting, wears elegant attire and an extravagant hat, has forgotten how to say grace. "Men should not be like you", said Peru to Maisu Juan clearly stating that the man of progress is a failure⁵⁴⁴. He is the representation of the degeneration that a Basque man could suffer when he came in contact with everything that was considered foreign to the Basque Catholic essence. Perhaps the most relevant aspect that Moguel points out is that Maisu Juan has given up being the moral authority of his family, understood as the principal transmitting figure of Catholic values and doctrine: "I do not know how to pray Our Father in Basque, so I will answer in Spanish" says Maisu Juan. "Aren't you ashamed of it?", asks Peru to which Maisu Juan answers "I am a married man, and I have three children; but it is the mother who is responsible for teaching them doctrine. It is not my job"⁵⁴⁵. Moguel consciously represents Maisu Juan as a man who has lost religion, and therefore had lost his authority because he has delegated his religious obligations to his wife. Moguel was directly addressing the question of the family religious authority and the transmission of Christian values. As I pointed out in the first chapter, the Basque clergy were worried about the religiousness of men and the consequences that their lack of faith could cause in the patriarchal moral order. Moguel also defends the need for men to be the family Christian authority: "It is your responsibility, more than the mother's, to teach your children everything that is good"⁵⁴⁶. However, this authority that Moguel grants the head of the family to impose Catholic values was radically different from the masculine domestic authority that

⁵⁴⁴ MOGUEL (1881): 118.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 57.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 57-58.

enlightened authors were trying to recover. Moguel suggests the idea that the “learned” ones, precisely because it was assumed that their knowledge had granted them enough authority to avoid the traditional religious rituals such as mass, have lost truly valuable moral knowledge: “You spend the holidays working, just attending a short mass, and you probably attend very few High Masses. The priest gives you his permission, without asking any questions, probably because he thinks that you are a wise man just because you have been educated”⁵⁴⁷. In other words, he questions the religious autonomy that “knowledge”, by itself, could grant a person in comparison with the necessity to be guarded or controlled by clergy.

Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the place where Maisu Juan first realizes the importance and beauties of the traditional Christian life was Peru’s house. Moguel describes the domestic realm of Peru and his family as the harmonious lost Christian paradise. This celestial order was firmly based on a gender order and an understanding of sexual difference that shows evident continuities with the traditional Catholic doctrine as well as with the exaltation of traditional Basque customs. Peru’s sons, daughters and wife were depicted as the most humble, obedient, submissive and especially the most modest ones. “Your house is full of God’s grace”, declares Maisu Juan, surprised by Peru’s children’s submissiveness: “I am amazed by the shyness and modesty of your children”⁵⁴⁸.

From the very moment that Maisu Juan sets foot in his home, he is surprised by Peru’s family’s celestial order: “Peru, how lucky you are! The King himself does not live better than you”⁵⁴⁹. However, it is far from being the sweetened domesticity. Peru’s family was a heaven of strict order that followed the emotional austerity characteristic of the post-Tridentine Basque Catholicism. The tranquillity and the loving –but not at all intense– atmosphere of the family is the result of their fear of God, their respect for the father’s authority and their ancestral customs. It is precisely in Peru and his family’s company where Maisu Juan recovers his virility, which is a process of moral and physical conversion, aspects that were closely linked. From being used to wearing soft and beautiful clothes that comfort his body and single him out from the rest, the modern barber learns the benefits of wearing plain shirts and trousers, a cap instead of a hat, and

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 162.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 105.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 93.

above all, the typical *abarca* instead of shoes. “You have delicate skin”, Peru reproaches Maisu Juan when he complains of the roughness of the clothes that Peru had lent him to show him the country life: “Many handsome farmers wear these clothes without complaining that much!”⁵⁵⁰. Later on, Peru takes Maisu Juan to a foundry in order to show him another very traditional guild and its mechanics, which enable the author to enunciate the Basque vocabulary regarding the job. Moguel, nevertheless, uses the fictional encounter between the delicate urbanite and the filthy blacksmiths to defend a sense of virility that ridicules the squeamishness of the gentleman. When Maisu Juan is horrified by the blackness and the dirt in which the blacksmiths are covered –“Those that we see here do not even look like men” said the barber– Peru asked with disdain: “Maisu Juan: what did you expect to see here? Dressed-up men? [...] Moors seem beautiful compared with them”. The physical ugliness of those workers, nonetheless, does not diminish their nobility as pure inhabitants of Biscay: “they are clean inhabitants of Biscay thanks to their blood, they owe you nothing”, declares Peru⁵⁵¹. In a similar way to that which Larramendi formulated almost fifty years beforehand, Moguel argues that the virility of the men from Biscay did not depend on their titles, wealth or appearance but on their pure provincial origin.

After several dialogues and walks around the area with Peru, Maisu Juan finally realises that he is the truly ignorant one: “What kind of man am I?”, he asks rhetorically “A farmer [...] know[s] the doctrine better than me”⁵⁵². The ending of *Peru Abarca* is one of its most revealing aspects. When the local sheriff arrives at Peru’s house in order to arrest the barber for having tricked the old innkeeper lady of the tavern where he had spent the night before –where he first met Peru–, the sheriff cannot recognise him. Dressed in Peru’s outfit, as a plain Basque farmer, he does not match the description that the policeman was given: an exceptionally elegant man. Converted into Peru, therefore, Maisu Juan is able to be unnoticed and avoids prison. In other words, he is redeemed in return for renouncing everything that he believed in. He is accepted into the community that he had once abandoned. With Peru’s help, the modern man realises that the wellness of his body was in fact fundamentally guaranteed by his moral integrity and not by its physical senses. The barber finally leaves Peru’s house promising him that he was going to behave as a good Christian, confess regularly and

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 117.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid*, 124.

⁵⁵² *Ibid*, 161.

pay more attention to the state of his soul: “Yes, my dear Peru. I promise you that I will be better and that I will listen more to my soul from now on”⁵⁵³.

In a context of profound political and social instability, *Peru Abarca* shows that authors like Moguel were worried about the loss of the religious sense of the Basque community. As we perceive in the work of Moguel, this loss was expressed through transformations in masculinity. Maisu Juan was created to represent the degradation that Basque men could suffer: he had lost his religion and the Basque language. To recover his proper manliness, he had to recuperate his religious authority as well as the authority that language granted. The transformation of Maisu Juan was not only spiritual, but also physical: at the end of their encounter, the urbanite barber heads for his house dressed like the wise rural farmer. Maisu Juan has finally incorporated *Peru*. But, what does it mean? What we discover is that through this literary strategy, Moguel is fictionally resolving many of the conflicts that were part of his context regarding the development of masculinity. In his work, we find a profound anxiety regarding theories or ideas about the body, family, social hierarchy, health, progress or civilisation that were creating spaces for different experiences of the social reality as well as creating different meanings of being Basque. Those new experiences of *Basqueness* did not take religion, or the authority of the clergy, as their fundamental basis.

The originality of the *Peru Abarca* lies precisely in the fact that the literary conversion of Maisu Juan responded to the need that priests such as Moguel felt to resolve these social conflicts. From being a man who expresses his position through elegant attire, comforts his body through soft fabrics, and defends his right to singularise himself and his authority through surgical knowledge, he finally discovers that his integrity as a man rested somewhere else, somewhere that goes beyond all that was visible and noticeable at first sight. He discovers that his body and everything related to the perceptive and sensuous world, as well as all his rational knowledge, is not the essential part of himself. In fact, Moguel brilliantly –although we do not know if consciously or unintentionally– expresses this idea in the last scene when Maisu Juan manages to avoid prison. Once he renounces “his body” as an elegant know-it-all urbanite in order to dress like a common farmer, once he enters the community of truly religious-Basque

⁵⁵³ *Ibid*, 194.

men and renounces his individuality, he is forgiven and is finally absolved from the sins of modernity.

One of the most interesting aspects of Moguel's formulation is that the representation of Maisu Juan's improper masculinity is not conceptualised as a process of "effeminacy", understood as the physical acquisition of feminine features. As Christopher E. Forth has explained, by the end of the century, the requirement of acquiring refined manners made of men in the name of progress, modernity or civilisation could in fact be the cause of their unmanliness if they "became too beholden to the artifice and appetite that these practices required and encouraged"⁵⁵⁴. The criticism that Moguel makes, however, is not so much concerned with specific bodily forms that could be considered degenerate for a man; he is preoccupied with a conception of the human being that gave centrality to the body itself. Peru's virility is not expressed in certain physical features, but in his moral values: his is a body of values that Maisu Juan finally incorporates by ridding it of its own material filthiness. Maisu Juan is not an improper Basque man because his elegant manners were un-manly or feminine, but because, willing to single himself out above the rest, both physically and by means of his modern education, he lost his attachment to the community, both Catholic and Basque. He had forgotten what was really important: his Christian and Basque soul.

This understanding of self-singularisation as a danger for the community was, in fact, a common feature among many Basque religious authors during the crisis of the Old Regime. Manuel Umerez, for example, suggests exactly the same idea in his *Osaba baten instruccinuac*: "One should not be singular, different from the rest, in the way we dress or in the things we eat, provoking the admiration and attention of the rest and the anger of the Lord"⁵⁵⁵. The avoidance of singularisation was not exclusively related to the attire but also to elements like education, work or social hierarchy. "You have to offer education to the fewest sons as possible, but teach Agriculture to as many sons as possible" argued Umerez, suggesting that the more educated men were, the more possibilities existed for them to abandon the traditional way of living, driving themselves to an un-Christian sinful life⁵⁵⁶. The Basque-Christian subject that emerged from the incorporation of Christianity and *Basqueness* is one that opposed the

⁵⁵⁴ FORTH (2008): 43.

⁵⁵⁵ UMEREZ (2013): 182.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 348.

individuality of the masculinity that men like Maisu Juan were showing. Therefore, the opposition to singularisation was motivated by a twofold worry. The most obvious one was to keep the population away from the class or hierarchical disorder that could arise from the democratisation or incorporation of fashionable clothes that served to express social rank. And the second one, perhaps less obvious but equally important, was directed to avoid any process of individualisation that endangered the community. They thought that individualisation was not only dangerous insofar as it could undermine the homogeneity and unity of the traditional community, but also because it could potentially question religious integrity (based in a profoundly negative understanding of the flesh and the body as something to be mortified) that granted moral superiority to the community of traditional farmers.

The discursive proliferation of this kind of advice about being proper men suggests that, in a context of social convulsion, the primary gender concern of the Basque rigorous ecclesiastic community was centred on the role that religiosity had in the development of masculinity. The Basque clergy were clearly worried about losing their religious authority over men. Therefore, their efforts were principally directed towards the reinforcement of a docile masculinity of men that would nonetheless embrace their domestic religious authority as the head of their families: they did not write the equivalent of those masculine advisory manuals for women. However, in the next section I will try to show that, even if men were their central target, the ideas on femininity suffered important changes. Certain religious writings show an important reinforcement of misogyny that was partly the cause of the emergence of a discourse about the need for feminine domestic confinement and a clearer delimitation of sexual difference. Furthermore, I will argue that the abundance of feminine spiritual biographies or hagiographies in a context where that kind of literature was outdated, shows an attempt to configure a specific understanding of feminine body and sexual difference that could counteract new visions of gender.

3.3. Women between domesticity and sanctity.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rigorous Catholic understanding of femininity maintained retained almost all its clichés intact. Chastity and holiness were the most valuable feminine attributes, motherhood was still problematic and defined through very obscure rhetoric, and, of course,

matrimony was still conceptualised as a state less perfect than complete celibacy. It is not a coincidence, then, that Juan Antonio Moguel's nephew, Juan José Moguel, represented the quintessential religious models of femininity and masculinity in his work *Baserritaar nequezalientzaco escolia*, written more than a decade after the former wrote *Peru Abarca*. Even if the traditional life that Juan José Moguel represents was founded on perfectly harmonious matrimony, Saint Paul's maxim that celibacy was the most perfect way of life for men and women still permeated his writings and many of his contemporaries'. His work depicted an ideal family in which among the four sons and daughters, one of the girls had decided to become a nun while the other one had resolved to stay at home as a lay sister, keeping her virginity intact. Amongst the boys, one decides to become a priest while the other asks his father to help him to find a proper wife⁵⁵⁷. The discourse about the contention of passion was still operative as a means of regulating the behaviours of both women and men, especially when referring to sexual life: "About this debt, which is a serious obligation, the husband has no more right or authority over his wife than the wife has over her husband", advises Umerez to his fictional nephew in his *Osaba baten instruccinuac* about sexuality: "with this point, both of them are equal"⁵⁵⁸. The ideals of the obedient wife and the docile husband are still operative in their discourse.

However, even if the rigorous discourse does not incorporate new concepts, in other words, even if the lexicon is the same, there are some variations regarding the meanings of masculinity and femininity, especially in their understanding of the latter. While the context of social instability leads Basque clergy to invoke the image of the farmer as the model of masculinity, as the guarantor of communitarian and Christian purities, the image of the virile woman farmer undergoes a different outcome. The preoccupation with the changes that could take place in women's behaviour was resisted with a strategy of strengthening and concealing women's bodies. This need to reinforce the concealment of women provoked different approaches to the re-conceptualisation of femininity. Authors like Juan Antonio Moguel, for instance, provide continuity, although with some differences, to the image of the Basque virile women farmers as hard workers, even without the help of men. Nevertheless, one of the most evident changes was a visible worsening of traditional misogyny. Authors such as Manuel

⁵⁵⁷ MOGUEL (1987): 152-154.

⁵⁵⁸ UMEREZ (2013): 269.

Umerez or Juan Bautista Agirre propose a model of femininity in which the need for domestic seclusion comes to eclipse the dignified position that the hard work in the fields could grant women according to authors like Larramendi or Juan Antonio Moguel. In the works of Umerez and Agirre, the stability of gender order acquired a greater relevance as the foundation for the stability of the social order. In this sense, their writings suggest a clearer delimitation of the roles of women and men and an understanding of sexual difference in which the ideal of feminine perfection is limited to domesticity, in religious terms.

It is interesting to note that together with catechisms, sermons and advisory texts, the traditional hagiographic literature and spiritual biographical genre underwent an important popularity among renowned religious authors. I will try to show that those different approaches created variable meanings of femininity and sexual difference, and also that while some situations were extremely restrictive with the possibilities of women's space of action and roles, others, such as the discourse about feminine sanctity could open certain possibilities for the deployment of authoritative positions.

3.3.1. Feminine domesticity as seclusion: new meanings of feminine virility.

It is perhaps the work of Juan Antonio Moguel where we find the most evident continuity with the ideal of femininity proposed by Larramendi. The reinforcement of the rural way of living led Moguel to recreate an image of femininity that combined the exercise of extreme piety and mortification with the defence of a robustness and courage representative of their moral strength as pure Catholic and physical capability as farmers. Peru's daughters are the representation of the quintessential religious femininity, inclined to mortification and fasting. And at the same time, they are extremely prudish, to the extent that they are not even able to look any men in the eye, and this piety was combined with the quality of strength and love for hard work that could only be expected from strong Basque women farmers:

“They are of great renown and energy. Who would believe that they are able to treat and collect the linen without the help of any men considering the kind of hard work and all the problems that it entails? You can see them on the fields digging, *lajetan*⁵⁵⁹, hoeing, weeding and doing any other work. They know how

⁵⁵⁹ Using the *laya*, see footnote 131.

to yoke the oxen and how to drive the ox cart; they do it whenever it is necessary. Four girls brought up in a farm would run a big farm without the need of men for anything at all”⁵⁶⁰.

The description that Moguel offers of Basque farmer women in his *Peru Abarca* is certainly very powerful: women as capable as men to work the fields and economically sustain the house. In this sense, it can be argued that Moguel is revitalising Larramendi’s proposals of femininity and sexual difference in his defence of the traditional rural life of Gipuzkoa. However, while Larramendi’s virilisation and dignification of the farmer women serves as a way to create a clear inferior otherness, represented in the Castilian, in order to defend the identity of the province, Moguel is not only speaking from the need to reinforce provincial identity. It seems that Moguel’s dignification of women farmers is related to the strong Catholic belief that hard work in the field is supposed to be the best activity to avoid sin and temptation. It may be interesting to reflect upon the idea that the exhausting activity of farming can somehow be equated with the mortification of the flesh, so necessary for avoiding falling into temptation. In this regard, in *Peru Abarca*, Moguel included a song that was sung by the women that used to work recollecting and fabricating linen in order to show Maisu Juan the value of the women performed the task. The song opens with a very explicit line “Lets sing/The struggles [penac] of linen”⁵⁶¹. “Penac” in Basque literally means affliction or pain; a pain, nonetheless, that those women seemed extremely proud to endure in order to complete their task. The song describes the ways in which they use the hoe to sow the plant; how they use their hands to pull up the weeds and take care of the plants; how they put up with the dirtiness and the stink of the plant when it is soaked in water or how they used to sweat under the suffocating sun. “With body, hands and feet/It is necessary to carry on” sang the women showing the tremendous corporeal dedication and exhaustion that the linen needed to be finally produced⁵⁶². The work implied the exhaustion of the body that women were very proud to endure while they cheerfully sang in order to make the fatigue lighter.

⁵⁶⁰ MOGUEL (1881): 147-148.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid*, 141.

⁵⁶² *Ibid*, 147.

“For this/They do not need men/They are the sowers/The guides of the linen/Weavers and seamstresses/And spinners”, states the song⁵⁶³. This does not only point to the fact that women were physically strong enough to work by themselves, but also towards the possibility of drawing a clear physical separation between the sexes in a place, the field, where it was not problematic for men and women to interact. It is precisely owing to their physical strength that women could work separately from men. The difference with Larramendi, nonetheless, is evident in other aspects, principally in their disagreement on the topic of public dances. While the Jesuit defends the decency of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa and the performance of their traditional dances, Juan Antonio Moguel furiously condemns it, assuming that proximity between the sexes is always unavoidably dangerous. While authors like Larramendi perceive the danger of moral corruption or decay as an external threat, Moguel and his contemporaries feel that the enemy has already put down roots in the country. In other words, Basque society, and its male and female inhabitants, are already corrupted.

Despite the fact that sanctity has been, and still is, one of the highest forms of feminine perfection that most Basque religious authors share, others such as Umerez begin to question the moral superiority that piety had traditionally granted women. In his advice to his hypothetical nephew about how to treat women and how to choose a good wife, Umerez displays a misogyny that went beyond Catalayud’s most ferocious condemnations towards the supposed feminine sinful nature. His judgment about women’s incompetence for almost everything is directed at advising his male interlocutor about his superiority and therefore about his obligation to keep women in their place through his authority. The author’s anxiety in reinforcing and projecting a strong and austere Catholic masculinity leads him to invalidating any form of feminine perfection that could be similar to any form of masculine authority. In this sense, even if he acknowledges that men could also be foolish or brainless while some women could be wise and prudent, like the cases of nuns or saints, not even the latter are granted recognition for their virtue: “well, most of these [nuns and saints] too are usually lost; they do not know where to go or what to do: this is the state of many convents which are run by nuns”⁵⁶⁴. This enables the author to justify not only the utter inferiority of all women, especially of those who do not follow religious life, but also the need to restrict

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁴ UMEREZ (2013): 283.

their freedom: “what would happen to the Woman that lives in the world without the rule of any good Governor?”⁵⁶⁵.

Moreover, Umerez’s work gives us a clue to understanding the kind of reorientation that the Catholic view of gender identity undergoes later on in other ultraconservative Catholic points of view such as Carlism, as we will later see. In the same way that social order needed to be based on the repression of the body, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, gender order had to be secured by brutal emotional restraint and austerity that men were supposed to impose upon their wives and daughters. “Do you have daughters?” asks Umerez in his work, to which he immediately responds: “keep their Virginitly and do not smile at them [...] otherwise you run the risk of losing the authority of your house and end up like it is expressed in the Spanish language: *en casa de Mari Miguel el es ella, y ella es el*”⁵⁶⁶. Softness, happiness or sensibility are aspects that according to his rigorous view can alter the hierarchical order of the family, and therefore, social hierarchy itself. This hierarchy, however, is not based on an idea of complementarity between the sexes, but on an understanding of femininity and masculinity that has to respond to the same rigours. The difference between men and women, the aspect that made men superior to women according to Umerez, is principally their ability to keep away from sin: “The Devil created certain imperfections and vices which are more common in Women’s hearts rather than in men’s”⁵⁶⁷. Umerez is not suggesting that softness or delicacy are specifically feminine attributes but that women are more prone to exhibiting them in comparison to men. Therefore, the gender hierarchy and the family order could be disturbed not because their nature would somehow be altered or denaturalised, but because their positions of authority would be turned upside-down. According to Umerez’ interpretation if men yield to the temptations of any commodity or softness, they can fall to the point where they lose their authority over their wives. The radicalisation of misogyny strengthens the hierarchical vision of the sexes, creating a gap between men and women that, in the case of those authors, is insurmountable.

Therefore, even if masculinity and femininity are not defined according to the logic of complementarity as defined by enlightened authors, it is possible to perceive a

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 284.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 283. The italics are mine.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 281.

reinforcement of the difference between the sexes. This is evident if we consider an aspect that at the time acquired a relevance that Basque priests had not pointed out until then: the need for women to stay at home, even in rural areas where it was common that they would work in the fields, an activity that authors like Larramendi or Moguel had praised. Authors such as Umerez or Agirre propose a clear delimitation of the labours in which women can be involved and their disgust at women simply going out: “because, if women should not leave their homes to do what they have to do, they should leave it even less to do what they should not do”⁵⁶⁸. They are even suspicious of women that leave their houses to attend mass, as for them this leads to a decrease of the dignifying capacity that the image of the strong female farmer has. The archetype of the strong woman of the *caserio* combines the practice of Christian piety and austerity with a special capacity to work. In the femininity that Agirre proposes, on the contrary, the need that he sees in women to be separated from men in order to avoid temptation leads him to defend the idea that women should not even work in the fields of their houses:

“Among the things that correspond to the woman, the third is the house, and not to go to the fields leaving the children alone. In the houses, most of the times there is something to do for women; however, I heard that many women prefer to go to the fields with men rather than stay at home, and they spend the day digging. They leave their children alone, and the cat or the dog in charge of the lunch. What could come from this? To hear dirty and dishonest words, to see inappropriate licentiousness, and to lose the saintly fear of God”⁵⁶⁹.

The house, and specifically inside of the house, is the only place where women could develop their activities virtuously. In Larramendi’s formulation, feminine moral strength and devotion are accompanied by a corporeality that signifies their interior strength. The feminine body is certainly a body of values that elevates them beyond their alleged earthly weaknesses. Ultimately, their physical strength is a reflection of their moral strength. Moreover, in an understanding of the relation between body and gender in which the attributes of the biological body do not necessarily determine gender, in some cases women can be as strong as men, or even more so, as an expression of their extraordinary value, as it was the case of the rural farmers in the works of Larramendi and Moguel.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 293.

⁵⁶⁹ AGIRRE (1978a): 579.

The most interesting aspect of Agirre's re-appraisal of the Catholic model of femininity at the beginning of the nineteenth century is that the value of women's strength is altered. Agirre criticises the praise of that kind of feminine strength, arguing that the authentic strength of women lies in their ability to govern their houses assuming that working in the fields was something that only men could do: "Hark, Christian, the praises that the Holy Spirit offers the *strong women*; but do not think that strong women are those who do the work of men, but those that properly govern their houses"⁵⁷⁰. It is necessary to emphasise, nevertheless, that this much stricter delimitation of the roles that men and women had to perform, as well as the separation of their spheres of action, was not based on some sort of naturalisation of the sexual difference. The naturalisation of the sexes that enlightened authors propose, even though femininity is understood as related to the sphere of sweetened domesticity, never requires the domestic seclusion of women. Agirre, like Umerez, understands the problem in terms of the alteration of gender hierarchy; if women do all the hard work in the fields as well as everything involved in the upkeep of the house, what do men feel impelled to do?: "The husband of this woman forgot all the responsibilities of the house, and he did not need to find anything to supply his family, because his wife had done everything for him"⁵⁷¹. Women, above all else, have to live according to the fear of God and, in the case of Agirre, the fear of God can only be guaranteed if women are confined to their houses.

In a context of profound social changes where an important part of the clergy understood that it was urgent to control parishioners' lives and bodies, the worsening misogyny contributed to the reinforcement of sexual difference. It did not follow the logic of complementarity by the assignation of different essences to women and men: the classical anthropology was the same. However, the exacerbation of misogyny enlarged the gap between men and women in their way to achieve virtue, making it practically impossible for women to transcend their imperfections. In other words, they cancelled the possibility of exception and feminine honourability that had been traditionally assumed even by the traditional misogynistic discourse of Catholicism. In this regard, it is possible to see that the strong defence of a certain "traditional view", like patristic literature, created a different product that was even more misogynistic than tradition itself. This is clear in the damage that the image of the female *baserritarra*

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 580.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid*.

incurred in the works of authors like Agirre; they believed that the stability of social order, which was founded on the religious authority that men, as heads of their families, that had to be exerted in their households, depended on the immobility of gender hierarchy. The difference between the sexes was quantitatively enlarged, but it had qualitative consequences. Even if their Catholic conception of the body did not change substantially, the exacerbation of misogyny, which was influenced by the perception of social instability, provoked the stabilization and delimitation of sexual difference in terms of aggravation of the hierarchy between the sexes.

3.3.2. The rise of spiritual (auto)biographies: the question of the subject and sexual difference in the realm of the divine.

We have seen that one of the consequences that the intensification of misogyny had in the reformulation of femininity was that some authors tended to define sexual difference in a stricter way. However, the tumultuous period led other religious authors to revitalise a feminine reference, characteristic of the Catholic tradition, which in the light of the context acquired new contents and meanings: it was the renewal of the feminine mystical tradition. Even though the period of splendour of this religious literary genre had been the sixteenth century, subsequent periods and historical contexts would also witness the resurgence of exceptional spiritual female figures⁵⁷². The meaning of the mystical discourses and practices changed through the years because, as with any other historical cultural artefact, its signification was embedded in the social and cultural context itself. In the case of Italy, for example, Marina Caffiero has suggested that the revival of the feminine hagiographic literature and visionary mysticism at the end of the eighteenth century responded to the need to create a narration that would legitimise and reinforce the Catholic Church's attitude toward modernity⁵⁷³.

Hagiographic literature, as well as spiritual biographies of nuns, acquired a similar meaning in the Basque Country. They partly arise from the perception that social changes were causing important deviations in women's behaviour. In other words, they were intended to be examples for the correction of what was thought to be unchristian and immoral feminine behaviour. They recreated a model of feminine perfection that was clearly at odds with the image of the naturalised sweet, delicate and naive perfect

⁵⁷² WEBER (2012): 325.

⁵⁷³ CAFFIERO (1999): 196.

wife that the enlightened noblemen had outlined for their female partners. They showed a virulent reaction against elements as central to the enlightened project of progress as matrimony in a revitalisation of the typical Catholic demand for celibacy. Some of the spiritual biographies I will analyse in this section show an explicit criticism towards social practices and attitudes that certain women had incorporated and that were considered as endangering the traditional social order.

In the following lines, I will focus on three feminine spiritual (auto)biographies that were written between the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth century. I use the term (auto)biography because most of the spiritual biographies that are going to be explored contain autobiographical passages. It is a play on words, which implies a play on meanings that is intended to express the well-known historiographical issue of authorship of spiritual autobiographic texts that were commonly guided and supervised by confessors⁵⁷⁴. I believe that the always undecidable and ambiguous status of authorship of these texts points toward forms of feminine subjectivity that have the potential to question the pre-eminence of the autonomous modern ego as the only subject position through which to create spaces for agency⁵⁷⁵. I will also examine the spiritual biography of a man (the only one of this kind found so far for this geographical context), the well-known Franciscan missionary Francisco Antonio de Palacios (1727-1804), in order to explore the gendered meanings of this specific religious genre. I believe that apart from giving us information about the lives of women, religious autobiographic, biographic and hagiographic literature has the potential to inform us about the meanings of gender and sexual difference in different political, cultural and historical contexts. Furthermore, women's spiritual production does not only help to clarify aspects of individual women but also to understand complex processes of social and national formations in a specific historical context⁵⁷⁶.

In what follows, I will try to show the significance of the revival of the spiritual biographical genre by highlighting three elements. Firstly, that the model of saintly femininity was refashioned to counteract the possible changes that women and, to a lesser extent, men could incorporate in contact with new ideas about society, religion,

⁵⁷⁴ See MYERS (1992) and (1997); ZORROZUA (1998-1999); FERRÚS (2004): 67-68; DURÁN (2003); WEBER (2012): 322.

⁵⁷⁵ Regarding the topic of the formation of the self in the transit to modernity in the case of biographical and autobiographical sources, see the collection DAVIS and BURDIEL (2005).

⁵⁷⁶ In recent years, the most interesting and innovative approaches have been carried out in relation to the analysis of Mystical tradition in Latin America. See for example: DÍAZ (2010) or KIRK (2016).

and of course, femininity and masculinity. Secondly, that even though spiritual biographies responded to the same anxieties and misogynistic prejudices as the discourse that recommended domestic confinement, they proposed a model of feminine perfection that was different. This is evident if we consider that it created spaces for agency and acknowledged the moral authority that extreme piety granted certain women. And thirdly, through the comparison with the biography of a holy man, I will try to show that the discourse of sanctity responded to an understanding of sexual difference in which the sexed body and gender lost its pre-eminence in the definition of religious perfection for both women and men.

Between 1781 and 1789, Francisco Nicolás Ruiz de Luzuriaga wrote the marvels of the young farmer Bernarda Ruiz de Gamiz (1745-1781), his penitent. Her biography was entitled *Vida y Virtudes de la Venerable Bernarda Ruiz de Gamiz, natural de Betoño, aldea próxima a la ciudad de Vitoria, provincia de Álava* [*Life and Virtues of the Venerable Bernarda Ruiz of Gamiz, born in Betoño, a village near the city of Vitoria, Álava province*]⁵⁷⁷. In 1797, Sister María Ignacia de Ubilla (1768-1798), from Markina, started to write her spiritual conversion under the supervision of the aforementioned Juan Antonio Moguel, her confessor. She died before she could finish it, but her autobiographic short tale was later collected by Moguel himself in a much larger spiritual biography, written before his death in 1804. Her biography was called *Vida de Sor María Ignacia de Santa Maria Magdalena Ubilla, Religiosa profesada en el Convento de las Mercedarias Calzadas de la Villa de Marquina en este M. N. Señorío de Vizcaya y Obispado de Calahorra* [*Life of Sister Maria Ignacia of Saint María Magdalena Ubilla, professed nun in the Convent of Las Mercedarias Calzadas*]⁵⁷⁸. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Franciscan Pedro Antonio de Añibarro, from Areatza, wrote a long text about the mystic life of Benita de Arrizurieta (1772-1811), a nun from Navarra who spent most of her cloistral years at the monastery of Santa Clara, in Zarauz. Her biography was entitled *Noticia de la Sierva de Dios la M. Sor Josefa Benita del Corazón de María Arrizurrieta* [*News concerning God's handmaid, Sister Josefa Benita del Corazón de María Arrizurrieta*]⁵⁷⁹. The reading of the three tales shows that their writing was clearly inspired by the feminine mystic tradition that Teresa of Ávila

⁵⁷⁷ First printed and published by Luis Villasante in 1958 in the journal *Scriptorium Victoriense*. In following footnotes, I will use VILLASANTE to refer to this text.

⁵⁷⁸ First printed and published in 1927.

⁵⁷⁹ First printed and published by Luis Villasante in 1967 in the journal, *Scriptorium Victoriense*. In following footnotes, I will use VILLASANTE to refer to this text.

perfected in the sixteenth century. The three biographies contain episodes of a mystical relationship with God, supernatural moments of ecstasy and they all reproduce the discourse of divine love and pain⁵⁸⁰.

3.3.2.1. *The mirror of the “mundane ladies”: the saint as a counterexample.*

Juan Antonio Moguel, as well as other authors, expressed clearly that one of the purposes of their texts was to provide examples of sanctity for their parishioners: “My little girls, I say like San Juan, I do not write this heroic life so that you persist in your iniquity [...], so that you continue to be deaf to the voice of the Lord that is calling you with the example of this servant of Jesus Christ”⁵⁸¹. Their story aimed to serve, in a way, as a response to the changes that were taking place in the concepts of womanhood at the end of the 18th century. The biography that Juan Antonio Moguel wrote is perhaps the one that most clearly shows a critique of a femininity which was detached from piety and austerity that the Catholic ideal required. Besides, Moguel explicitly expressed his awareness and anguish about the damage that the model of Catholic sanctity was already suffering by the end of the century, especially among wealthy people whose lives were supposed to be more prone to delicacy and pleasure⁵⁸²: “If she commits herself to good” wrote Moguel about his penitent, “to the retirement from dangerous entertainment, to evangelical moderation, what jeering! What mockery! The indignation of her friends! She will be the object of every derision! What kind of strength of spirit should she have to ignore so many insults”⁵⁸³. The extract suggests that he perceived that his religious understanding of feminine perfection was going to be strongly criticised. It could be argued that his intention was to create a sense of social hostility towards religion precisely to imprint her decision to enter religion with heroism. Nevertheless, the words suggest that the society of the period was witnessing actual tensions in the judgement of the effects of elevated religiosity on women. It is María Ignacia herself who expresses her concern, in the autobiographical extracts that she leaves, about the way in which she would be judged by her town: “I will try to be

⁵⁸⁰ See CARRERA (2005), DE LA PASCUA (2013).

⁵⁸¹ MOGUEL (1927): 15.

⁵⁸² This is exemplified by Moguel’s claim that “la virtud de un rico, de una persona de carácter, es más edificante, más generosa y más noble. Con cuánta mayor facilidad puede una doncella plebeya ser honesta, moderada, retirada y abstraída de todo trato mundano, que una dama del siglo asestada por el torrente de lujo, por las amenazas de sus deudos, y por los atractivos fascinantes del bello mundo”, MOGUEL (1927): 19.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid*, 19-20.

demurer. I will serve God without offending men; but they will say that the priest and my maid have beguiled me.”⁵⁸⁴.

Moguel’s targets are the “mundane ladies”, those that are more concerned with enhancing their beauty, their conversations and the novelties of fashion; they are the women that have to read Maria Ignacia’s life story because their hearts are being corrupted. It is worth pointing out that he does not refer to women from the lower classes, those who have to employ their time working hard in the fields or as maids. They have fewer opportunities for mundane and corrupted relations. It is clear that his religious feminine ideal corresponds to a very specific class ideal: he refers precisely to those women of the higher spheres that had access, not only to all the dresses, perfumes and “dangerous” hobbies, especially those that involve spending time with men, but also to other kind of new cultural artefacts like novels, letters or press that were becoming popular among the feminine audience⁵⁸⁵. Those are the models of femininity that endangered the Catholic gender order. According to Moguel, the beauties of the world have blinded these ladies and what was worse, they are generating an attractive image of the “mundane life”; they are a bad example, not only for those of their status, but also for the rest of women.

The answer that Moguel gives to his perception of this situation requires an exemplary figure, Maria Ignacia, whose total dedication to God is the central element in the definition of the social role of women. As her confessor and she herself describes, before she decides to offer her life and virtue to God, Maria Ignacia was a mundane lady. She was arrogant, loved the “womanly” world, the dressing table and she liked to adorn her body; she was too impudent in her glances, even immodest. She used to take great care with the beauty and the vivacity of her eyes, in the way she walked. She was too flattering when she talked, she liked profane conversation topics and was a “friend of concepts”⁵⁸⁶. All these aspects make her very attractive among impious young people, or enemies of virtue; as she herself put it, she is in fact a bad influence on the whole town. All those aspects are described as the breakdown of the decency attributed to a proper woman of her social status. She is precisely breaking the religious image of

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 25.

⁵⁸⁵ BOLUFER (1995).

⁵⁸⁶ MOGUEL (1927): 58.

womanhood: that of the austere and pious lady that restrained her impulses. Besides, she is ignoring and resisting not only her maid's advice, but more importantly, her confessor's exhortations, and what is considered even more dangerous, she is provoking disorderly desires, not only among men, but also among women that wish to imitate her. Both her confessor and herself create an image of her past experience of femininity and womanhood that was a danger for the gender order of the town: "what hideous thing did I commit and made others commit with my provocative way of dressing; I used to go to mass like a 'clown', and I always had companions of my humour"⁵⁸⁷.

Apart from the negative light in which Sister Maria Ignacia remembers her past and talks about herself retrospectively, the interesting aspect of this narrative is that their fierce disapproval of her behaviour seems to profoundly differ from the images of femininity offered by enlightened authors of the same period. The mere act of having lively conversations, taking care of her own body, following fashion trends or a simple liking for singing was considered to be not only indecorous but also immoral for a woman. This offers us an idea of the rigour and austerity that was demanded from women, in case they wanted to represent the feminine perfection of a woman of their status. The contrast that this ultraconservative Catholic understanding of feminine propriety with other models that were becoming popular is patent if we consider another aspect of Maria Ignacia's story: following the advice of her confessor, her parents forbid her to write. When they discover that she used to write and have epistolary correspondence, they take the quill and the inkwell away from her.

I believe that this archetype of the arrogant know-all young girl cannot be understood as an ahistorical misogynistic standard of femininity offered in the quite rigid format of the spiritual biography or hagiography. It addresses many of the tensions and worries that were taking place regarding the ideals of femininity in the Basque Country and Spain at that precise moment, and this source informs us about them. Interestingly, the negative values that Moguel condemns in Maria Ignacia's behaviour are quite similar to those that, a few years earlier, the Marquis of Montehermoso would be praised as being not only adequate but desirable in a young girl. They were considered to be the requisites for being an elegant, educated, decent young lady of a great family that would make any

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 53.

honourable young man virtuously fall in love with her and create a family. However, I am not suggesting that Maria Ignacia incarnated the counter-ideal of enlightened femininity; there was never one single model of feminine perfection for enlightened thought, as there was never one single Enlightenment. Neither do I wish to imply that Moguel directly criticises the enlightened model; the ideal of monastic feminine perfection that Maria Ignacia's conversion represents is an anxious response to a social atmosphere of changes that were impregnating Basque society: in this case, changes in the gender identities that were affecting women's and men's behaviour. In this sense, the tale of Maria Ignacia's life before conversion serves to illustrate all the dangers that the alteration of Catholic femininity could represent. She incorporates many aspects that were becoming available for girls of that period through different mediums –press, letters or novels– that were creating a gender disorder in the whole town.

In this aspect, there is an aspect that is shared in Maria Ignacia's story as well as Bernarda Ruíz de Gamiz stories: a very negative picture of marriage. This is a feature that, by the end of the century, clearly contradicted the enlightened view of matrimony as the fundamental pillar of civilised society. "As Maria Ignacia did not want to abandon the idea of taking holy orders and the youngest sister wanted to be celibate" explained Moguel, "by obedience, Maria Ramona accepted to enter into the state of matrimony"⁵⁸⁸. The sister of María Ignacia de Ubilla is not left any other option: Moguel represents marriage as the last resort of a woman that is accepted through obedience. Even more strongly, the confessor of Bernarda depicted marriage as a temptation that the devil used to proposed to her in her visions. She confronts the devil's propositions with her own will to keep her virginity for ever:

"It would be better for you to lead a normal life, without so many difficulties. They are lying to you; your confessors do not know you; do not listen to them. Get married, and you will be freed from a lot of work. You know how to work, you have a decent dowry, and you could find a convenient match' [said the devil to her]. I do not know –she continued– what is wrong with me, but what I know is that at the same time that this happens to me, the desire to serve God gets bigger in me, and I detest even more the idea of getting married, and this I have told the Demons: you can tempt me, but you won't do any more than what God

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 57.

allows you. Even if the Prince of Asturias wanted me to marry him, seeing all your filth, I would never marry him, I respect more my virginity than the world and its comforts”⁵⁸⁹.

3.3.2.2. *The meaning of agency: corporal expressions of the divine love and suffering.*

It was well known by priests that feminine mysticism had a long history of suspicion from the Spanish Inquisition⁵⁹⁰. As Durán has suggested, there were two distinct positions towards the supernatural episodes that happened to mystical women, one that accepted revelations, and another one that was opposed to it because they assumed that it was the consequence of the excessive importance that mystic women attributed to themselves⁵⁹¹. This second tendency did not attribute credibility to their revelations. It seems, nevertheless, that Basque spiritual biographers defended the first tendency. In the case of Añibarro, for example, he defends himself and his penitent of the feared accusation of fraud, while at the same time legitimates the veracity of his penitents’ divine attributes: “I am aware of the respectable rule of the Holy Church according to which miracles and lives of saints should not be falsified: but at the same time, I want to publicly acknowledge the heroic facts of the souls that are truly virtuous”⁵⁹². In the same way, Moguel tries to defend mystical practices turning to great figures: “If we have to reject everything, because we consider that they are lies, or the cause of a fraud, or the cause of fantasies or evil illusions; the works of Saint Teresa, Saint Agustin, and many other male and female saints should be burned”⁵⁹³. It is very interesting to note in this regard that years before he wrote his penitent Maria Ignacia’s biography, in 1777, Moguel himself had been tried by the Inquisition. He was accused of “illusion” and “fanaticism” for having tried to influence and force some of his penitents to make them believe that they could hear and see souls from purgatory⁵⁹⁴. The record also suggested that he had been guided and tricked by an alleged holy woman that was supposed to have special powers in detecting whether or not his penitents were living in sin⁵⁹⁵. The record of the inquisitorial process is a very interesting piece insofar as it shows that the

⁵⁸⁹ VILLASANTE (1958): 92-93.

⁵⁹⁰ ESCUDERO (2005): 41-42; RICO (2015).

⁵⁹¹ DURÁN (2003): 31.

⁵⁹² VILLASANTE (1967): 123.

⁵⁹³ MOGUEL (1927): 61.

⁵⁹⁴ LARRAÑAGA (1970): 267.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 269.

mystic tradition of feminine religiosity was at the same time suspicious as well as popular among certain priests, Teresa of Ávila being the most cited reference.

Without assuming unquestioned credibility or purely objective value to the Inquisitors' and witnesses' declarations, it seems that Moguel had certainly been interested in being the guide of a chosen feminine soul, for some reason. Pilar Zorrozua has suggested that being the spiritual guide of an exceptional mystical woman could grant prestige to the confessor: the grandeur of the penitent signified the grandeur of the confessor⁵⁹⁶. This inevitably leads us to the question of agency in this kind of literature, which is the core issue of most of the debates about mystic tradition. If we accept that autobiographical mystical texts were written under the vigilance and pressure of confessors and that they responded to a mere strategy of ecclesiastic propaganda, can we possibly talk about the voice of women at all? The answer to this question depends upon our understanding of categories such as discourse, power, agency, subject, authority, authorship and, of course, genders itself.

The debate on this topic has long roots; some authors have tended to highlight the importance of this kind of literature underlining its relevance as the perfect examples of feminine authorship and authority. In the 1990s, authors such as James Amelang suggested, referring to Spanish mysticism in the modern period, that feminine autobiographical texts written after the wake of the Teresian mysticism “despite the vigilance of the ecclesiastic authorities, many nuns and holy women successfully defended their autonomy in the intellectual and emotional world of faith and religious practice”⁵⁹⁷. In a similar vein, authors like Sonja Herpoel claim that through their writings, women were able to “mentally transgress” the ecclesiastical imposition reducing the censure of the confessor⁵⁹⁸. Texts written from the convent seem especially attractive “because it is the best occasion to publicly show the reflections of the *I* as a conscious subject”⁵⁹⁹. Furthermore, she suggests that the sealed space of the convent is a like refuge where lots of women could arrive, escaping from pressing social constrictions and affirm and develop their own individuality⁶⁰⁰. Beatriz Ferrús too has followed a similar line of argument in her investigations about the baroque feminine

⁵⁹⁶ ZORROZUA (1998-1999): 211.

⁵⁹⁷ AMELANG (1990): 204.

⁵⁹⁸ HERPOEL (1997): 217.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 215.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 216.

mysticism when speaking about a “language of vindication”, being the body the primary place of resistance. Behind a text that apparently followed the orders of an external authority, there is a “knowledge which is specifically feminine, designed so that the woman that writes by obedience writes *herself*, so that the I-body is transformed in the hands of language. The control of the confessor is evaded”⁶⁰¹. In recent years, authors such as Maria José de la Pascua Sánchez has suggested that Teresa de Jesús’s autobiographical exercise left a trail which allowed many other women to “glimpse the path of the marginal subject towards the insurgent subject; she also gave guidance for a collective memory in which the move towards action will be taken”⁶⁰².

However, there have been other interpretations of autobiographical religious writings. Fernando Durán López, for example, has interestingly suggested that the persistence of this kind of expression of the self in spiritual terms, which massively imitated the topics, the language and the narrative structures of the Teresian model, is partly aimed at counteracting the consolidation of modern forms of the subject and society in general. “Mystics and contemplatives are the spearhead of the firm tendency to present the ecclesiastical state as a social ideal of maximum relevance” argues Durán⁶⁰³. In other words, in the author’s view, the discourse and practice of mysticism were thought to function as a means to gain adepts through imitation according to a moralising strategy of ecclesiastic institutions⁶⁰⁴. This is why the author suggests that it is not possible to maintain that feminine spiritual autobiographies correspond to any individual or collective effort to fight against the ecclesiastical patriarchal control, because they were actually part of a collective campaign of indoctrination that lasted for years, and got worse depending on the socio-political context, to control the social order⁶⁰⁵.

Durán is partly right in suggesting that spiritual autobiography and its substitutes, like spiritual biographies or hagiographies, were aimed at recreating a model of social behaviour for both women and men, based on asceticism and the mortification of the body that was intended to question and to fight modern subjectivities. This acquires even more sense in the case of eighteenth century texts where the consequences of the

⁶⁰¹ FERRÚS (2012): 135.

⁶⁰² DE LA PASCUA (2013): 188.

⁶⁰³ DURÁN (2003): 36.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

French revolutionary process were already visible. In the case of the spiritual biographies that we are analysing in the case of the Basque Country, the influence that the convulsive context was causing upon religious men and women and their world view is more than evident. Añibarro, for example, inserted episodes of the War of the Pyrenees in his narration about Benita Arrizurieta:

“I only add, to conclude the account of the year 1809, a prophetic event; during October of that year, the French government took away from us the convents, they stripped us of our habits and monastic life, made all religious men and women from the conquered country become secularised and we were prevented from practicing as confessors [...]. A year before this happened, Our Father Saint Francis told the aforementioned religious woman clearly that many calamities would happen, and that one of them was going to be that she was going to be deprived of her Ordinary Confessor. When she told me this, I asked her: if Our Lord God had planned to take my life away or to prevent me from my duties through some long disease. She replied that she had not been told that kind of news; and that she did not know by what kind of event she was going to be deprived of her Confessor. When the following year we were expelled from the Convents and when we were deprived of our licenses to confess, she repeated to me many times by word and in writing: *oh, my spiritual Father! With the grief of my heart I verify the prophecy of my Father Saint Francis*”⁶⁰⁶.

The repression suffered from French troops did not only serve to victimise the confessor; it also covers the personal narrative of Bernarda Arrizurieta with a halo of heroism and authenticity.

However, the fact that those stories were different versions of a model or an ideal that was intended to generate adepts does not necessarily contradict or diminish the fact that for many women, ascetic or religious life presented itself as a vital frame through which meaning was given to their world and practices, or even how to exert their authority in cases where they could reach an important status. If we complement religious biographic literature, turning to other kinds of sources of the period, such as personal

⁶⁰⁶ VILLASANTE (1967): 117.

letters, we can perceive how the subjectivity and identity of women were built from the conceptual and emotional framework that Catholic discourse offered the young ladies that had the opportunity to choose the path of religious life. This is the case of a personal letter from the young Josefa Antonia de Larrea Ugalde to her father, written in 1817 and collected in the personal archive of the Larrea family⁶⁰⁷. In her letter, Josefa expresses concern because her experience at the convent had not been as she had expected. Apparently, she had had a bad experience with the rest of the novices of the convent that she had entered, and is trying to explain to her father her motives for leaving the convent. Nevertheless, the reason that leads Josefa to abandon the convent does not seem to be related to the rigours or the submission that the Catholic doctrine asked from her, but from the poor religiosity that the rest of the girls were showing:

“I would have happily stayed [in the convent], but the vanity of my convent colleagues caused me a lot of pain and my heart was upset thinking how much money you must have spent so that I could have the same as my friends. And I realised that those things only caused me affliction [...] and I thought that if I had ultimately professed under such circumstances, you would have thought very badly of me”⁶⁰⁸.

Josefa is herself building her experience in the convent from the discourse that Catholic doctrine and education, which in her case presumably involves knowing how to read and write, offers her assuming that certain practices were in fact not Christian enough in her view. She assures her father that “it is not difficult for me to carry the burden of Religion”⁶⁰⁹. She reiterates her strong determination to her father: “my will and determined vocation is to be a Religious woman to keep my virginity for the rest of my life”⁶¹⁰, even though it is outside the convent. What I would like to suggest through this example is that the model of piety and devotion that Catholicism was trying to defend and revitalise, including the mystical one, was not a discourse, and certain practices that

⁶⁰⁷ Larrea was an important entailed state of Bizkaia well known for their strong Catholic beliefs and contributions to the building of local ecclesiastical institutions during the XVII and the XVIII centuries: <http://aunamendi.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/artikuluak/artikuluak.php?id=eu&ar=86400>. Last search: 13/07/2017.

⁶⁰⁸ LARREA (1818): n/n. Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia, sección Familia, fondo Larrea, signatura 2633/004.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

women incorporated acritically or without negotiation as the submissive acceptance of a command that arrived from a higher external authority, the blind, meaningless and passive acceptance of pure repression. As we can see in the Inquisition's records about Moguel's practice as a confessor, there were women that refused to accept the kind of spiritual path that he was trying to inculcate in them. Even though the model of sanctity is intended to propose a feminine –and also masculine– subject that was submissive, that would contribute to maintaining a theocratic social order, it is necessary to be aware of and discover the spaces of agency it created.

My aim is to inquire into the complexity of the meanings of the identity and subjectivity that emerged from that submission to the ecclesiastical institution and also to the power and love of God to which mystical women claimed to be directly connected and which shaped their lives. Women's bodies and their transformation were, of course, at the centre of mystical practices and ascetic life. As Amy Hollywood has explained “submission of one's own will to that of the divine was the precondition for women's agency within the religious sphere, either in the form of textual production or institutional development and reform”⁶¹¹. According to the author, visionary or mystic experiences were one of the ways through which women were granted the status of authoritative figures. In relation to her own historical investigation of medieval visionaries, the author suggests that the fact that women claimed that their writings were God's command and will, was in fact a “project of self-authorization”⁶¹². However, Hollywood's deep concern is related to whether or not it is possible to interpret the subjectivity and events of such a nature with the analytical categories available to us. In other words: does our modern naturalistic tale about the world allow us to understand, or perhaps better, to acknowledge, divine agency? Hollywood interestingly resorts to Dipesh Chacravarty's postcolonial view on the subaltern, specifically in his analysis of the Santal indigenous group in India. The problem is posited in the following terms: how are we going to understand, from our own secular conception of time and agency, supernatural modes of experiencing and expressing them, and I would add, the body itself? These preoccupations, in their philosophical and epistemological implications, might be too broad to be answered in this study. Nevertheless, from a historical point of view, the urgent question is the following: how did women's subjectivity emerge from

⁶¹¹ HOLLYWOOD (2004): 514.

⁶¹² *Ibid*, 519.

the “vital” frame that the mystical tradition offered them? What kind of subject was it? What was its meaning in its specific context? All these questions presuppose the questioning of the classical modern-liberal conception of subject and power.

The spiritual (auto)biographies that we are studying show us subjectivities that are formed and configured through the imitation of canonical saintly figures, being the *imitatio Christi* the major act of personifying a great life or embodying sanctity. Does it imply that there was not any space for the self and agency? The answer to this question fundamentally depends on the standpoint from where we judge the act of imitation and the subject itself. From the point of view of the modern subject, if we consider imitation as lacking authenticity or autonomy, then it is difficult to understand the specificity of the subjective forms that arise from this kind of literature⁶¹³. Precisely, in the case of the (auto)biographies that we are dealing with, the self emerges when the individual most perfectly approaches the ideal that was imitated through different performative practices. In the context of religious autobiography, then, imitation provides the means by which the subject achieves perfection. It is precisely this commitment which granted the individuals of our stories acknowledgement in moral and social terms.

The imitation of sanctity was displayed in a performative way in so far as women were strongly encouraged to read the life of saints not only to be inspired by their holiness but also to carry out their same exercises. The case of Moguel’s penitent is very illustrative in this regard: she claims that she used to read Augustine of Hippo’s *Soliloquies*, and Avancini’s or Fray Luis de Granada’s *Meditations*, and after reading Ignatius of Loyola’s exercises, she realises that it is necessary to imitate his penitential practices. The reading of the lives, exercises and ascetic experiences of other saints was, then, something that would illuminate and encourage young girls to take the path of sanctity, together with showing them the way to do it. In the case of the young farmer Bernarda, it is the reading of a religious manual that provokes in her “the desire for spiritual things of the soul, and from the beginning she shows her willingness to be inflamed by the love of God and to become inebriated by the pure wines of charity”⁶¹⁴. Most importantly, in some cases, the imitation of sanctity involved writing, apparently what Moguel had eagerly recommended one of his penitents as is mentioned by the

⁶¹³ See SCHWEIKER (1990). From the analytical tools offered by poststructuralist thought, the author offers a reflection about modern and pre-modern theories about mimesis and imitation.

⁶¹⁴ VILLASANTE (1958): 77.

Inquisition's record that I mentioned above⁶¹⁵. In the case of Moguel's view of feminine spirituality, writing is a fundamental part in so much as references such as Teresa of Ávila had left a written record of her religious journey.

The incorporation of sanctity through imitation used to begin with the very symbolic act of choosing one's own religious name. Benita Arrizurieta, for example, takes the name of Corazón de María. Even though she is encouraged by her convent sisters to take the name of Saint Peter of Nolasco, María Ignacia de Ubilla chooses the name of Mary Magdalene because she feels most identified with her sinful past, a fact that magnifies even more her later struggle for sanctity. However, the performance of sanctity takes place especially through corporeal ascetic practices that are described and experienced through a discourse where the love of God and pain seemed to be indissoluble elements⁶¹⁶. The three bodies that the three biographies show are clearly built as concealed bodies; the fact that María Ignacia and Benita are in the convent does not imply any profound difference with Bernarda, who lives in her family household. The confinement is a reflection of their souls imposing order upon their bodies, sculpting their bodies, and their bodies are protected against everything that was pleasurable, which paradoxically was the most gratifying aspect of earthly life for them. Benita's confessor writes that:

“She had resolved not to look at any man in the eye; nor to extend her sight beyond the walls of the convent or the floor of the Church. I asked her once, why did she not look at the beautiful sky? and she answered: if I let my eyes look at the sky, then they will want to look at the mountains, and at what happens beyond the Holy Cloister and everything else that is in the world”⁶¹⁷.

The practice of mortification was also another distinctive aspect of the three life stories. “I started using cilices; to restrain my perverted flesh through disciplines” expressed María Ignacia in her accounts⁶¹⁸. The violent gesture against the body might strike the contemporary reader. However, we should understand that in the mystic relation with

⁶¹⁵ LARRAÑAGA (1970): 268.

⁶¹⁶ DE LA PASCUA (2013): 177.

⁶¹⁷ VILLASANTE (1967): 119.

⁶¹⁸ MOGUEL (1927): 44.

God, the configuration of desire and pain was formed with a very specific sense⁶¹⁹. In the case of our penitents, the love of God requires the mortification of the body, because it is an experience of love and desire that is embedded in a tradition that had demonised the flesh. As I mentioned in the first chapter, the most rigorous Catholic understanding of the body was transversed by a contradiction, or what could seem a contradiction to us: bodily pain was desirable:

“And, considering her physical weakness and affliction, if we had not prohibited her to do so, she would have made terrible excesses against her body in order to satisfy the love that she had for God, and the holy hatred that she had against her body. No soul which is touched by Divine love should stop punishing the indomitable and rebellious body”⁶²⁰.

The love of God was fundamentally expiatory and therefore it had to imply suffering. Therefore, the love of God was manifested in the body through countless illnesses, which functioned as the external signs of his love: “The first was a large tumour on her knee, which was love and a great present from the Lord”, said María Ignacia⁶²¹. Then she suffered another disease in her eyes, and finally in her lips, precisely in the body parts that had served her the most in the enjoyment of the earthly pleasures: walking freely, watching with lust and speaking irreverently. Illness is undoubtedly represented as an attack to the senses. In a similar way, Bernarda Arrizurieta strongly punishes her own body until she causes herself lacerations and stigmata.

“The desire to do more rigorous penances was partly satisfied by continuous pains and corporal afflictions, common in this kind of souls. Her only wish was to get permission to do more penance; and when she was not allowed, she managed to do other mortifications; sometimes they were so harmful that her health was broken. This is precisely what happened during one summer in which she decided to sleep without taking off her tunic and habit; the harshness of the heat, the suffocation caused by the rough habit and the inconveniences caused by

⁶¹⁹ As Esther Cohen suggests in an article about expressions and forms of suffering during late medieval Europe, but that could serve us for all other historical periods and contexts, “The very existence of expressions of pain and their forms is culturally conditioned, and must be examined within the given historical context”, COHEN (2000): 39.

⁶²⁰ VILLASANTE (1967): 119.

⁶²¹ MOGUEL (1927): 52.

the filth hurt her more than any cilice or lashes; her knee became inflamed and she got an ulcer on it”⁶²².

Similarly, Bernarda, the young farmer, inflicts on herself similar penitential practices in order to get closer to God:

“repeating very intensive pains of contrition. From then on, she started to negate every physical need, to mortify her appetites, and to detach from every sensuous feeling in order to hold on to faith. This is the fruit that she got from prayer, and she showed it through her acts. They were all mortification and penance, increasing the fasting, the abstinence and the cilices”⁶²³.

The highest expression of this process of imitation of sanctity through mortification, which usually led to death, was the *imitatio christi*. It was the experience of the passion of Jesus through visions or through performances of mortification. For example, the young farmer Bernarda claimed through her miraculous visions to have suffered the very same pain that Jesus suffered during his crucifixion:

“it is enough to say that her pains depended on the mysteries that she contemplated and meditated. If she meditated about the crown of thorns, she had terrible headaches. [...] If she meditated about the Cross, her shoulders were so much in pain that she was not able to move a thing. When she realised that the pain in her head, arms and feet were continuous and prevented her from working in the fields, she begged God that her pains be moved to her heart with these words: it is my heart that has sinned, so it is only fair that it pays”⁶²⁴.

María Ignacia suffered Jesus’s pain through the performance of his passion:

“she mortified her back using a scapular of rough bristles instead of a delicate shirt, a thick tunic that suffocated her body specially during summer, which was more mortifying than cilices: some mornings –because she was not allowed to do

⁶²² VILLASANTE (1967): 120.

⁶²³ VILLASANTE (1958): 79.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid*, 87.

it every day– she would bring a cross of wood full of itchy thorns on her shoulder which used to cause her great pain”⁶²⁵.

Those images of suffering women are both horrifying and disturbing, as well as tremendously powerful insofar as they were thought to serve as moralising practices not for themselves, but for their whole community. “As an eyewitness, I can only say”, states Moguel about Maria Ignacia “that, if during the two years previous to her conversion she had dishonoured the community, she later honoured it with her exemplary life”⁶²⁶. Those expressions were of course directed to create a certain religious order that was especially harsh on women, but at the same time relied on feminine images whose imitation of Christ’s suffering was aimed to have the same expiatory effect with their community as Christ’s passion had with humanity. Moguel understood it as an exercise of communicating the expiatory flux to make it communal and to generate transformative effects in the town⁶²⁷. Another question is the kind of effect they actually had in their town or in their social community, which would require further investigation.

What I would like to emphasise is that those women did not act, neither were they perceived, as subversive figures that aimed to challenge an ecclesiastical power or norm, neither did they write as an exercise of liberation or emancipation in the modern or liberal sense of the concept, our sources do not tell us about a deliberate affirmation of the self through personal writing. However, if we take those writings seriously, we cannot maintain that those women were simply deluded and instrumentalised by their confessors, and clergy in general, in order to create references that would be followed or for pure indoctrination. The different sources mentioned suggest that even if women had very few alternatives to plan their lives autonomously, some of them had the opportunity to choose whether or not religious life or religiosity was their path. Therefore, it could be argued that the instrumentalisation of the story and the life of those women was, at least, ambivalent. While they submitted to the orders of their confessors through the imitation and performance of a Catholic tradition, they were

⁶²⁵ MOGUEL (1927): 84.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, 63.

⁶²⁷ In this regard, the analysis that Paula M. Keane offers about the concept “victim soul” is especially interesting, KANE (2002): 82. The concept refers to the extreme suffering that a person would bear in moments of extraordinary misery or calamitous situations as a heroic gesture. Suffering, in this sense, would be considered to have redemptive effects. See also Richard D. E. Burton’s explanation of “the doctrine of vicarious suffering”, BURTON (2004): xvi.

working as channels and means of communication for the love and message of God: the divine. In this way, they acquired a position of importance in the religious community, which was symbolic, but could also be factual. They turned to the divine and the sacred –whatever ontological or epistemological status we might grant to it– letting it inhabit their bodies in order to give meaning and sense to their experience of the world.

3.3.2.3. *The union with God: when the soul leaves the body (and the sex).*

It is precisely the analysis of the body as the vehicle for the communication with God that centres María José de la Pascua's analysis of mystical production especially based on Teresa de Jesus's writings. The comparison with Teresa de Ávila's case seems necessary in so far as it was an example of sanctity that inspired most of the (auto)biographies that we have studied for the period of the 18th century. De la Pascua argues that, in the mystic encounter, intellectual understanding was more an obstacle than a path to the love of God, the knowledge of God. According to the author, the mystic rhetoric and language suggests that the love of God, the supreme knowledge, takes place through the experience of the body: "the nature of the path does not follow the rational way, but that of empirical knowledge, through the experience of the body, in which God is manifested through his signs"⁶²⁸. It is precisely through this mystic experience of the body, the unity with God, the touch of God, through which what is impossible to express in words takes place: "it is right to conclude that the body appears as the more adequate vehicle to express what is ineffable"⁶²⁹. Following this view, divine knowledge would be beyond understanding because it is located in a place, the body, whose sensorial experiences of the divine are supposed to have meanings that transcend conceptual intelligibility. In this interpretation of the mystical experience, the body and the emotions would not only be the channels through which God communicates with his spouses, but also the places where the meaning of the mystic phenomenon happens.

In this sense, it is true that in the case of Basque writers of the 18th century, we find examples in which the mystical encounter is described as an unintelligible phenomenon. "It is easy to fake a vision or revelations or prophecies, but to explain the intimate heart, insinuations and communications of God with the soul is more difficult than explaining

⁶²⁸ DE LA PASCUA (2013): 174.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid*, 177.

intricate questions of scholastic Theology”, explains Moguel⁶³⁰. This also served as a means to give credibility to the miraculous nature of his penitent’s visions; they were so intimate and hidden that they were beyond common understanding. The argument of true faith, therefore, functioned by legitimating the extraordinary nature of what was impossible to defend otherwise. Moreover, it is evident that those episodes of supernatural character contributed to investing the mystic with an authority that, as I have mentioned earlier, was difficult to accept by some Catholic stances.

However, I believe that there is an important difference regarding the place and the role of the body in divine communication with God compared to de la Pascua’s analysis of the Teresian case. In the writings of Basque authors, there is a clear tendency to defend that the mystical encounter was something that took place in the realm of the soul. It is certainly true that the encounters were sometimes described as physical: “Jesus Christ received her and caressed her in his beautiful hands; she was full of tenderness, relief and sweetness, as it was expected from such a divine encounter”⁶³¹, wrote Añibarro. The presence of Jesus and the divine would usually be described as sensorial experiences that took place in the body of their penitents. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, it is equally true that the messages of God were manifested corporally, diseases and stigmata being the most evident ones.

Nevertheless, they showed an understanding of the divine encounter that privileged non-corporeal communication with God:

“People who have not experienced, read or heard the diverse ways in which God manifests Himself to souls cannot understand the difference between the visions of souls and the corporal or sensuous ones. If it is not a corporal vision, they all think that they are illusions or imaginary fantasies. Read the words that the Seraphic Mother Saint Teresa wrote while she was alive; from chapter thirty-five onwards and you will find that the visions, visits and talks with God are carried out through the immediate contact through the soul, and that they are truer, and less prone to deception than the external or corporeal ones”⁶³².

⁶³⁰ MOGUEL (1927): 62.

⁶³¹ VILLASANTE (1967): 116.

⁶³² *Ibid*, 118.

From a neo-platonic view, Añibarro proposed an interpretation of Teresa de Jesus's mysticism in which the protagonist was not the body but the soul, understanding that the soul could achieve a greater communion with God compared to the deceptive corporal experience. "Not all the visions that Saints had were through bodily eyes; they were usually through the eyes of the soul" underlines Añibarro⁶³³.

In a similar vein, Bernarda's confessor defends that it was precisely through the total abandonment of the body that the best understanding of God could take place:

"The reason is that since passions are mortified and restrained and without the power to rise against reason, the will is free to employ all its affects with God and it enjoys the most intimate conversations with him permitting us to know him with more clarity. On this occasion, the soul is left with an interior happiness and satisfaction from which it is difficult to separate it"⁶³⁴.

It is Bernarda's soul, and not her body, that enters into perfect communion with God. Moreover, he explicitly and consciously uses the word 'understanding', addressing a much more rationalised experience of the divine. The union with God, therefore, did not take place in the body like mysterious knowledge founded on the senses, but as a clear message that arrived through the soul. Furthermore, this understanding of the mystic relationship to God fits better with the extremely negative view of the body that they kept. Even though the mortification took place in the body, what was really united with God was the soul, and not the body. Even though the love of God was manifested in painful physical torments, communion with him was extracorporeal, something far beyond any limit that the body could impose. Therefore, the mortification of the body was mainly directed to annihilate it. In their interpretation of the mystic experience, the meaning of the divine could not reside in anything sensuous or corporeal, nor could it be communicated through it. What we see is that, also in spiritual biographies that were inspired by the Teresian model, the soul is privileged over the body as the space of perfection.

Even though most of the analyses of mysticism have focused on female figures, there are certain works that have examined masculine figures and have studied the meanings

⁶³³ *Ibid*, 119.

⁶³⁴ VILLASANTE (1958): 80.

of masculinity in relation to Christian spiritual writing⁶³⁵. Even if most spiritual biographies were about women, we find a spiritual biography about a man, Francisco Antonio Palacios (1727-1804), a Franciscan and missionary from Gipuzkoa, whose analysis shows that there were certain aspects that remain very similar if we compare them with the biographies about women. The *Noticia del R. P. FR. Francisco Antonio de Palacios* was written by Manuel Ventura de Echeverria before he died in 1827⁶³⁶. One of the most important differences between the biographies of women and that of Palacios is the absence of supernatural encounters, visions or stigmas that permeated women's stories with the halo of mysticism. Moreover, the defence of penance and mortification was much more restrained arguing that the excess of mortification could even signify a kind of hubris and disobedience. Therefore, the life of Palacios was not the tale of a mystical man.

However, Ventura Echeverria wanted to build the image of an exemplary saint that tried to imitate the life of Jesus and that lived between the isolation of the convent and the holy duty of the missions around the towns of the country. In this regard, it is interesting to point out that the elements that defined his sanctity or Christian perfection were not very different from the elements that made our visionary women examples of piety: extreme humbleness, passionate love for God, and a fierce repudiation of everything sensuous. "God should be on our minds every day, and some of those days we should exercise some of the steps of the painful and loving Passion of Christ"⁶³⁷, wrote Palacios in the orders of a convent in Tolosa where he was staying when he was thirty-one. He was not proposing a mystical union with God, but he was asking his convent brothers to imitate and actually feel Jesus's suffering through certain penitential exercises: "a discipline, prostrating ourselves for half an hour, as if we were in a coffin, calling for the precious Blood of the offended Lamb, we have to ask that the blood that we shed might be our salvation"⁶³⁸. Furthermore, even if the love for God seems less effusive if we compare it with our female stories, the recreation of the rhetoric of the love of God also permeated the life and language of Palacios: "I am not worthy of your love. I humbly and confidently wait. And I dare to say humbly as Moses did: how would I know your love when it arrives?", asked Palacios, "Without you I am nothing;

⁶³⁵ WEBER (2012): 322.

⁶³⁶ First printed and published by Luis Villasante in 1961 in the journal *Scriptorium Victoriense*.

⁶³⁷ VILLASANTE (1961): 55.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid*, 56.

and I could do everything if you comfort me. Come, then. I offer my whole self to you”⁶³⁹. Although Palacios was allowed to go out from the convent in order to carry out his popular missions, his body was configured as a concealed body, sealed to everything that was sensuous. His vow of chastity and virginity obliged him to avoid looking women in the eye, even in the face, and avoid any contact with them apart from the act of confession⁶⁴⁰. However, not only women, but also men had to be avoided. In fact, the way in which he warned his fellow brothers about the risk of the “passion” between them is very interesting: “There are certain risks at the convents [...] and being as we are brothers, we are easily driven by passion because we find ourselves among fellows, friends, etc.”⁶⁴¹.

Beyond those similarities between language, rhetoric and practices, there is an element that suggests that, on the path to Christian perfection depicted in all those biographies, gender had lost its relevance in the definition of virtue: they identified with masculine or feminine models of perfection regardless of their sex⁶⁴². This is an aspect that authors like Caroline Walker Bynum have emphasized previously⁶⁴³. Following a similar line of thought, Alison More has suggested that even early Christian writers such as Saint Paul or Patristic texts used masculine imagery to describe feminine holiness or the journey towards sanctity as a way of “becoming male”⁶⁴⁴. This makes sense insofar as virility was considered to be a perfect state in contrast to the much less perfect womanhood.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁴⁰ For a comparative perspective related to the topic of the meanings of male virginity in the case of Anglo-Saxon cases of sanctity, see RHODES (2011). See also BERNAU, EVANS and SALIH (2003) for an analysis of the meanings of virginity in the context of the late medieval period and virginity as a valid –and of course non self-evident– category through which to investigate the configuration of sex and gender in the medieval period.

⁶⁴¹ VILLASANTE (1961): 67. I cannot here develop an analysis about the implications on sexuality because it would divert us from our object of analysis. However, these kinds of sources do certainly offer rich materials for the deconstruction not only of ahistorical notions of homosexuality, but also heterosexuality.

⁶⁴² In this regard, see the contribution made by WEINSTEIN and BELL (1982). In their work about saints and society in the long medieval and modern period (1100-1700), based on quantitative analysis of data extracted from a large number of saints’ lives of both sexes, the author suggested that gender functioned as a fundamental factor for differentiating between ranks of sanctity contrary to my own argument, WEINSTEIN and BELL (1982): 220. They point out that the ways in which women and men develop their paths of sanctity are based on differentiated social roles in which male saints were in fact holders of actual ecclesiastical or social authority. However, even if the authors were able to define clearly a “masculine type” of saint, they could not isolate or define the feminine type of saint because aspects like “penitential asceticism, private prayer, mystical communion with the Godhead, and charity were often found in male saints as well as in females” WEINSTEIN and BELL (1982): 237. Therefore, they argue in favor of the term “androgynous” to refer to this kind of sanctity in women.

⁶⁴³ BYNUM (1982): 173.

⁶⁴⁴ MORE (2011): 34.

For the early medieval period, More has suggested that “The instability of gendered imagery facilitates the portrayal of the saint as an individual who has moved to a place beyond gender and sexuality”⁶⁴⁵. Without intending to generate ahistorical continuities, the biographies we are analysing point towards that kind of understanding of the sexed nature of the human in relation to sanctity and the divine. It is very interesting to note that male figures were also inspired by women saints, and on some occasions, they were encouraged to imitate them. In the case of our sources, while Francisco Antonio Palacios claims to be faithful disciple of Teresa of Ávila whose spiritual legacy he is consciously reproducing, María Ignacia, the penitent of Moguel, claims to be an ardent follower of Ignatius of Loyola. Furthermore, the changeability of the sex of the venerated saint was not only a matter of personal identification. Biographers themselves, priests themselves, defended the likeness of their penitents to references that differed in sex. That is why when Moguel defends the value of María Ignacia, he compares her to Augustine, and is the reason why he presents Mary of Egypt as the role model for saint Columbano: “What do you do, miserable Columbano? [...] Why shouldn’t you, brave man, do what Mary of Egypt did?”⁶⁴⁶. In a similar vein, when father Añibarro has to compare his penitent Bernarda Arrizurieta’s strength and value to a saint, he chooses Saint Pascual Baylon instead of mentioning any other feminine reference. This might suggest that sanctity did not so much point towards a gendered perfection, but to one in which sex and gender had lost their centrality as defining elements of the human virtue. It seems that those priests’ efforts to dignify feminine, and also masculine, piety as desirable through spiritual biographies and hagiographic literature recreates a sexual difference that connects with a deeply-rooted tradition.

In the sources that have been studied, therefore, the variable character of the category of gender, or its weak weight comparing to religious piety, is an important aspect to bear in mind. The question that we should answer now is the following: given the similarities that those sources from the 18th century had with sources of other periods, which was the specificity of the sexual difference that was configured by them? Firstly, I think it was partly intended to counteract practices and images of femininity and masculinity that the clerical sectors perceived as dangerous for the theocratic social order, which

⁶⁴⁵ MORE (2011): 33.

⁶⁴⁶ MOGUEL (1927): 14.

was suffering diverse and tumultuous processes of changes. Secondly, I think that their view was conditioned by the subordinated place that the authors attributed to body in giving meaning to Christian perfection that was based on the imitation of classical role models of sanctity and also to the mystic encounter itself. The authors referenced favoured an interpretation of the union with God in much more rationalised terms; corporeal experiences were manifestations of God's power but in which the communion with him was located somewhere beyond the limits, imperfections and delusions that the body could cause in the experience of Divine perfection. Finally, on a different level of analysis, I think that the studied spiritual biographies show that even by the end of the 18th century, and also at the beginning of the 19th century, sexual difference was not necessarily thought to be conditioned by any essentialist understanding of the body. Even though it was an important channel and scenario where God acted, the body itself –regardless of its sex– was not the dimension that gave meaning to the mystical or religious encounter or Christian perfection: it was the soul.

During the last decades of the 18th century, Basque society suffered important social, political and economic transformations. The traditional order, as it had been known, suffered important damages in different dimensions. Economic structures were showing clear signs of exhaustion. Moreover, the echoes of the French Revolution and the actual consequences of the War of the Pyrenees had left an important mark on Basque society. Together with those political events, social dynamics themselves had experienced new developments, especially in urban and commercial contexts. This situation provoked a reaction among most conservative sectors, as was the case of the Basque clergy. The many religious texts in *euskara* that were written by important members of the Catholic church during the period, show the reinforcement of the misogynistic rigorousness in their gender views which were influenced by the radicalisation of the negative view of the senses. However, as we have seen, their reaction did not reproduce exactly the same old visions on sexual difference. The image of the faithful and obedient *baserritarra* was strengthened and represented as the safeguard of the various aspects that were perceived to be in crisis: *euskara*, *foral* order and men's attachment to Catholic values. Even though the discursive frame was identical to all religious authors, their views on femininity presented different and significant aspects. The most relevant variation was that introduced by authors such as Agirre or Umerez, whose increasing misogyny gave a new weight to gender in the characterisation of women and contributed to a more

strictly delimited sexual difference. This delimitation was not built from the arguments about physical differences in line with the logics of complementarity, but from the perception that gender hierarchy had to be strictly reinforced. On the contrary, spiritual biographies show that the religious perfection that they aimed to prescribe proposed an understanding of forms of extreme piety and devotion where gender lost its centrality in the definition virtue. As I have tried to make evident, those different ways of configuring sex differences, gender, and the human itself either narrowed or opened the different positions that women could occupy, and the stances of authority that they could hold. In the following chapter, I will move on to the analysis of the images of femininity and masculinity during the revolutionary process of the beginning of the 19th century, in an attempt to grasp the different evolutions of all the ideas about gender that we have studied until now.

IV Atala. Generoa eta bataila-eremua: Iraultza Liberala eta Lehen Guda Karlista (1808-1839).

Atal honetan Iraultza liberalaren eta Lehen Guda Karlistaren bitartean generoan eta diferentzia sexualean eman ziren aldaketak eta garapenak aztertuko dira. Hurrengo orrialdetan, testuinguru honetan generoa eta diferentzia sexuala aurrez aurre egon ziren proiektuei eta sortutako diskurtsoei esanahia emateko baliatuak izan zirela erakusten saiatuko naiz. Ordena sozialaren eta generoaren inguruko liskar diskurtsiboak, baita emakumeek gizartean jokatu behar zuten rolaren ingurukoak ere, apustu politiko desberdinak ezaugarritzeko funtzionatu ziren gai garrantzitsuak izan ziren, baita aurkari politikoaren bestetasuna eraikitzerako orduan. Azken finean, Estatu konstituzionalaren sorkuntza prozesua, baita aldaketa politikoaren eta sozialen arteko erresistentzia eta erreakzioak ere, genero auziak ere izan ziren.

Atal honetan ikertzen den garaia guda testuinguru abagune ezegonkorra pairatu zuen, zeinetan iraultzaren eta tradizioaren arteko oreka badaespadaoa era baketsuan mantentzen ezinezkoa izan zen. Testuinguru honek diferentzia sexualean eta gizon zein emakume kategorien ezegonkortasunean izan zuen islada aldi berean. Hausturarako eta aldaketarako abagunean eman ziren, baina baita ikuspegi murriztaileak finkatzeko eta sendotzeko ere, zeintzuek beste enuntziario eremuetatik etorrira ikuspegi tradizionalenak sendotzea nahi izan zuten. Gainera, emakumeen gutxiagotasuna justifikatzaera etorriko ziren ikuspegi berriak sortu ziren antzinako argudioen eta elementu berrien topaketaren ondorioz sortu zirenak. Beraz, jarraian aurkeztuko dudako panorama momentu asaldagarrietan generoaren eta diferentzia sexualaren ikuspegi batzuk beste batzuegandik, berriengatik, ordezkatuak edo gaindituak direla mantentzen duen ideiatik aldentzen da.

Atal honetako lehenengo azpiatalean prozesu iraultzailearen lehen urteen bitartean euskal probintzietako liberalismoaren genero diskurtsoa herentzia ilustratuaren eraginpean garatu zela ikusiko dugu, sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren ikuspegia oinarri izan zuelarik. Liberalismoak feminitatearen goraiamena eta defentsa baliatu zuen balio patriotiko eta moralen transmisore gisa konstituzionalismoaren aurkakoei egozten zitzaieen fanatismo erlijiosoa atzerakoitzat irudikatzeko. Hiritartasun oso baten eskubidetik emakumeen bazterketa juridikoa testuinguru iraultzairentzat beharrezkotzat

jotzen zen patriotismo femenino indartsu batekin partekatu zela erakuten saiatuko naiz, bai frantseztearen kontrako garaian eta baita Hirurteko garaian ere. Emakumeen patriotismoaren goraipamen horrek, zentzu sentimental sekonekoa, genero ordena liberalak emakumeen parte-hartze politikoari ezartzen zizkien mugekin negoziazioaren beharra ekarri zuen. Muga horien ezengonkortasuna, eta baita feminitatearena ere, nabaria izan zen. Ezengonkortasun hau bereziki nabarmena da emakumeak guda ekintzetan parte hartzea ez zelako beti era bakar batean interpretatuta izan. Ikuspuntuen arteko talkak egon ziren.

Ondoren, jarrera antiliberal eta antimodernoaren eskutik eman ziren diferentzia sexualaren formulazioetan arreta jarriko dugu. Hirugarren atalean aztertutako ikuspegi ultrakatolikoen jarraitzaile ziren zenbait sektore euskaltzale konkretuetan zentratuko naiz. Vicenta Moguelen eta Jose Paulo Ulibarriren lanak aztertuko dira bereziki. Hauek *baserritar-katoliko-langilearen* irudiaren eduki politikoa erradikalizatu zuten hirietako soziabilizate ereduaren aurrean, zeina ordena moral tradizionalarentzat arriskutsutzat jo zuten. Eredu horien kritika egiteko saiakeran biek gorputz euskaldun baten ideia eraiki zuten zeinaren bestetatusuna gorputz erdaldunean, euskaraduna ez zen, komunitate tradizionalaren taldearen eta erlijioaren arauetara egokitzen ez zen horretan, gorpuzten zen. Biak diferentzia sexual eta ordena familiar sakonki erlijiosoak mantentzen eta aldarrikatzen saiatu ziren, zeinetan gizonei, etxeko burua ziren heinean, beraien betebeharrak moralekin eta sozialekin betetzea behin eta berriro eskatzen zitzairen. Hau da, maskulinitate debotoaren ereduaren errespetu zehatzak eskatzen zitzaion. Egile hauen ustez ordena sozial tradizionala akatzera zetorren soziabilitate eredu berrien sorkuntzarekin batera eredu hau krisi sakonean zegoen. Beraien idatzietan antzeman daitezkeen tentsioek, hala ere, katolizismo zorrotzaren ereduaren eskakizunen eta bizitza intimoaren eta ezkontzari esanahia eta zentzu berria ematen hasi ziren beste diskurtsoen arteko gurutzaketa problematikoak eman zirela erakusten digute.

Azkenik, liberalen eta karlisten artean emandako liskarraren baitan generoak izan zuen rola aztertuko dut. Beraien proiektu politikoak aukera dinastiko jakin batekin identifikaturik egon izana, Isabel de Borbón eta Carlos María Isidro de Borbon, generoak era bereziki esplizituan gatazka politikoa diskurtsiboki eta sinbolikoki egituratzea ekarri zuen. Isabel II.aren kausaren defentsan liberalismoak herentzia ilustratuko eta baita bikaintasun femeninoa aldarrikatzen zituzten argudio zaharragoak

erabili zituen. Gainera, emakumek ekintza belikoetan izan zuten parte-hartzeak, aurreko garaietan suertatu zen bezala, liberalismoaren generoaren ordenaren mugak bortxatu zituen irakurketak erraztu zituen emakumeen adore eta ausardia heroikoa aldarrikatzen zuten diskurtsoaren eskutik. Are gehiago, zenbait emakumek Isabel II.aren eskubideen defentsa emakume guztien gaitasun eta eskubideen defentsarako abagune moduan ulertu zuten beraien ahultasuna eta dependentzia azpimarratzen zuten ikuspegiak aurrez aurre kontrajarriz. Karlismoa, bere aldetik, liberalismoak irreligiositatea eta desordena sozial eta sexuala ekarriko lituzkeen aukera politiko gisa irudikatzen saiatu zen sutsuki. Liberalismoak monarkia femeninoaz egin zuen defentsa gobernu ahul baten ezaugarritzat irudikatu zen, zeina estabilitate politikoa mantentzen gai ez zen. Honen aurrean Carlos María Isidro de Borbónen, Carlos V.aren, irudi biril, zorrotz eta austeroa kontrajartzen zen, munduaren joan zoroa geldiaraziko zuena. Isabel II.aren aukera dinastikoa deslegitimatzeke helburuz karlismoak argudio misoginoenak indartu zituen aldi berean berriak ziren elementuak gehituz, feminitatearen ikuspegi esentzialista bezala. Horrela, diskurtso ultrakatolikoaren baitan tradizionalki egondako salbuespenareko aukerak guztiz mugaturik geratu ziren, emakume bat erregina izatea pentsaezintzat aurkeztuz.

4.1. “¡Hasta á las mugeres ha llegado el contagio de estos malditos tiempos!”⁶⁴⁷: emakumezkoen abertzaletasuna eta diferentzia sexuala (1808-1823).

El Liberal Guipuzcoano (1820-1823) –Sociedad Patriótica de San Sebastián elkarteak argitaratua– Gipuzkoako burgesia liberalaren adierazpen kanal garrantzitsua izan zen Hirurtekoaren bitartean. Bere orrialdeetan argitalpenak Ilustraziaren proposamenak eta espiritua jarraitzeko bokazioa zeukala aldarrikatu zuen⁶⁴⁸. Egiazki, bere diskurtsoaren erro ilustratuak oso nabariak ziren batez ere hezkuntzaren alorrari buruz esandakoari erreparatzen badiogu. Argitaratu zuten bigarren zenbakian mutilentzako hezkuntza proposamen bat argitara ematen zuten aberrian zehar Argiak eta ongizatea hedatu ahal izateko pentsatua zegoena. 1820. urteko irailean, bere hogeita laugarren zenbakian, aldizkari donostiarrak emakumeen hezkuntzari buruzko artikulu bat argitaratu zuen, Adiskideen Elkarteko printzipioak eta edukiak ia ia bere horretan aldarrikatzen zituena. Artikuluak hezkuntzaren beharra eta erabilpena aldarrikatzen zuten zibilizazioarentzat,

⁶⁴⁷ MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA (1821): 24-25.

⁶⁴⁸ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 309.

zientziarentzat eta aurrerapenarentzat, eta baita aberriaren askatasuna bermatzeko ere. Artikuluaren amaieran “[la] hermosa mitad del género humano” ere hezitzea behar beharrezkoa zela argudiatzen zen beraien erreforma sozialen proiektuaren baitan. Onarrian emakumezkoen hezkuntzaren onura nagusia gizonen laztasuna bigundu eta finduko lituzkeela zen: “sin su frecuente comunicación, nunca se puliría nuestra rudeza”⁶⁴⁹. Egileak horrela bigarren atalean aurkeztu den emakumeen eragin zibilizatzailearen argudioa berreskuratzen zuen emakumeei berezkozat jotzen zitzairen gaitasunen hobekuntza ekarriko lukeen hezkuntza aldarrikatzeko. Hezkuntza irudi honen arabera emakumeak ama, emazte eta alaba onak izateko hezi behar ziren gizonengan beharrezko eragin positiboa izan zezaten.

Artikulua azpimarratua izatea merezi duen kontrajarpen batetik abiatzen zen. Egileak adierazten zuen moduan nesken eskolentzako arauak eta planak mutilentzat ezarritakoekin identikoak izan behar ziren: “las escuelas primarias de niñas deben estar calcadas sobre las mismas bases”⁶⁵⁰. Are gehiago, egilearen unibertsaltasun helburua haratago zioan nesken hezkuntzak klaseen arteko desberdintasunak nolabait gainditu behar zituela adieraztean. Beharrezkoa zen topatzea “[un] punto de unidad de principios que debe reinar en todas las clases”⁶⁵¹. Idatziak, beraz, unibertsala zen gizonen eta emakumeen kontzepzioari egiten zion erreferentzia. Hala ere, egileak berehala zenbait ñabardura gehitzen zituen. Medio ekonomikorik gabeko nesken kasuan beharrezkoak ez ziren ezagutza guztiak baztertzea posible zen “para ejercer desde luego las labores generales propias de su sexo”, eta aldi berean errekurtsio ekonomikodun neskek “[para] perfeccionarse en las mas finas” hezi behar ziren “ya que el ejercicio de semejantes labores, y no el de artes ni ciencias, es al que las destina en general la naturaleza por la debilidad de su cuerpo, y la mayor destreza y soltura de sus dedos”⁶⁵². Beraz formulazio honetan ere, bokazio unibertsala eta berdinzalea bazuen ere, beste elementuekiko generoaren pisua erlatiboa izaten jarraitzen zuela ikus dezakegu. Neska guztiak ez zituzten gauza berdinak ikasi behar. Alegia, klaseak oraindik ere pisu handia zeukan berdintasunaren eta generoaren inguruko ideiak esanahitzean.

Artikuluan jasotzen zen proposamena ez zen horetan geratzen. Izan ere, bigarren hezkuntzara sarbidea lortzen zuten neskek gizartea “edertzeko” eta “simples mironas”

⁶⁴⁹ “Concluye el artículo sobre instrucción pública”, EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 24, 22/09/1820, 4.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*

ez izateko eta elkarrizketa alai eta interesgarri bat mantentzeko beharrezkoak ziren ezagutzak baino ez lituzkete jaso behar. Hau zen egileak emakueen rol sozialaz zeukan ikuspuntua. Baina proposamenaren alderdirik garrantzitsuena da hezkuntzaren eduki erlijiosoak egokitu egin behar zela ez bakarrik katolizismoak planteatzen zituen sinismenen aldetik, baizik eta baita bere praktiketan ere. Liberalismoak behin baino gehiagotan era ezkorrean fanatismotzat jo izan zituen jarrera erlijiosoetatik aldendu behar zen. Artikuluaren argudiaketak jarraitzen zuen esanez, egiatan, emakumezkoen hezkuntza arrakastatsua izateko ez litzatekeela nahitanahiez formala izan behar. Alegia, ez litzateke egongo inolako mintegiren edo heziketa etxeren beharrik. Etxean emandako heziketa, eremu pribatuari mugatutakoa, zeinak nesken eta mutilen arteko diferentzia nabarmenki areagotzen zuen, nahikoa izango litzateke beraien betebeharrekin betetzeko. Beraz, hasiera baten nesken eta mutilen heziketa identikoak ziren printzipioetan oinarritu behar zirela argudiatzen zuen egileak azkenean guztiz diferenteak ziren hezkuntza ereduak defendatu zituen. Neskentzako hezkuntza proposamena amaitutzat jotzen zen horrela, aipatuz, hori bai, ikasleak “*Universidad del Amor*” delakoan gogotsu sartu behar zirela “donde sus virtudes y amable dulzura les aseguran el empleo de catedráticas y rectoras de familias felices”⁶⁵³. Azken esaldi honetan egiten den etxearen ordena sentimentalaren eta ordena intelektualaren eremuen arteko transposizioa ez da nolana hikoia edo kasualitatea eta esanahi deberdinak erator ditzakegu bere baitatik. Alde batetik, egunkari liberalaren kideen muinean zegoen berdintasunaren nozioaren inguruko zertzeladak eskaintzen dizkigu: emakumeei gizonezkoek ustetan ez zeukaten gorentasun sentimentala aitortzen zitzairen hain zuzen ere egozten zitzairen gutxiagotasun juridikoa justifikatu ahal izateko⁶⁵⁴. Eta aldi berean, etxeko eginbeharrak “betebehar” edo “enplegu” nozioen pean izendatzea etxearen eta feminitate domestikoaren dignifikaziorako erabilia zen strategi diskurtsiboari erantzuten zion.

Egunkariaren hitzetatik eratortzen diren esanahi hauei begira, burgesia gipuzkoarraren liberalismoak kontzepzio ilustratuari berezkoak zitzaizkion elementu eta ezaugarriak biltzen zituela nabaria da: sexuen arteko osagarritasuna, gozotutako domestizitatea emakumezkoentzako eremu hobetzat; amatasuna feminitatearen patu goren bezala; emakumeak gizartearen alderdi zibilizatzaile gisa agertzea eta fanatismotik aldendutako erlijiosotasun baten praktika aldarrikatzea. Elementu horiek guztiak, gainera, beste

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁴ Liberalismoaren baitako berdintasunaren nozioaren izaera kontrajarkorrari buruz ikusi AGUADO (2003): 64. Ikusi ere ARESTI (2014b).

motatako artikuluekin osagarritzen ziren. Esaterako, amatasunari edota haurtzaroari buruzko artikulua zientifiko-dibulgatzaileen bidez. Hauetan amatasun intentsibo eta maitalearen irudia eraikitzen zen zeharo naturalizatua eta sakrifikatua. Eta aldi berean haurtzaroaren ikupegi gozotu eta inozentea emante zen, antetzio guztiak merezi zituzteen haur gozoen irudiak. Lola Valverde historiagileak ondo ikertu eta adierazi zuen moduan irudi hauek garaiko amatasun ereduetatik eta berau praktikan jartzeko moduetatik zeharo aldentuta zeuden, batez ere sektore xumeen bizitzaren kasuko haurtzaroaren kontzepzioekin⁶⁵⁵. Horrela isaltzen zen haur gormutuen zainketaren inguruan aritzen zen artikulua baten. Honetan egileak amei beraien seme-alabei hitz-egiteari ez uzteko eskatzen zien, alegia, ama eta semea elkartzen zituen maitasunezko lotura sakratu hori inoiz ez zezatela apurtu agintzen zien:

“¡Madre tierna! Mirad esa inocente criatura como se os sonr e desde su cuna; por merced a favor de su bien estar para lo venidero, no os dej is abatir as  por el dolor; estad siempre bien persuadida que ejercitando siempre el  rgano de la palabra, como lo habeis hecho hasta ahora, sin saberlo, conseguir is comunicar   este instrumento la flexibilidad y facilidad necesarias para ejecutar todos los movimiento; en fin, no desmayes, y reanimad ese fuego divino que arde en vuestras entra as”⁶⁵⁶.

Hala ere, azpiatal honen zehar erakusten saiatuko garen moduan, euskal probintzietako adierazpen liberalak ez ziren feminitatearen eredu hau erreproduzitzera mugatu. Iraultza liberalaren testuinguruan, monarkia konstituzionalaren sistemaren sorkuntza prozesuaren bitartean, eta abertzaletasun konstituzionalaren sorkuntza atmosferan generoak esanahi berriak hartu zituen. Estatu-nazioarentzat hiritartasuna, subjektu politikoa edota ezenatoki nazional berriaren itsasgarria izango zen abertzaletasun espainiarra bera bezalako elementu garrantzitsuen konfigurazioak –zeintzuek euskal probintzietan presentzia eta esanahi aldakorra izango zuten geografiaren arabera– formulazio ilustratuetaik jasotako feminitate eta maskulinitate erduei esanahi eta eduki politiko berriak eskaini zien.

⁶⁵⁵ VALVERDE (1994).

⁶⁵⁶ “Reflexiones filos ficas”, EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 5, 17/07/1820, 1.

Gaiaren inguruan egin diren ikerketek hiritartasunaren kontzeptuaren oinarrian egon zen genero bazterketa nabarmendu dute⁶⁵⁷. 1812. urteko Konstituzioak eskaintzen zuen “Hiritarra”ren definizioa auziaren inguruan erabat argigarria zen. Baina ez dago hain argi Kadizko konstituzioko gurasoek “Espainiar” kontzeptuari, ez “Hiritarrari”, emandako definizioan emakumeak ere kategoria honen pean kokatu zituzten. Irene Castells eta Elena Fernándezen aburuz testu konstituzionalak emakumeen “españolitate” izaeraren inguruan adierazitakoa ez da batere argia⁶⁵⁸. 1821. urteko Kode Zibilak emakumeei egotzen zien rola inguruan hausnartuz, Bartolomé Claverok adierazi du XIX. mendeko konstituzionalismoan “no eran las mujeres directamente *Nación, sino familia*”⁶⁵⁹. Hala ere, argi dirudi lehen testu konstituzionalaren erreakzioaren ondorengo urteetan garatzen eta aldatzen joan ziren liberalismoei, heterogeneoak zirenei, ez zitzaizela inporta izan “[con la] hermosa mitad del género humano” aberria maitatzearen betebeharrak goren konpartizea. Zenbait emakume ordena konstituzionalaren eta liberalismoaren defentsan jardun ziren, genero ordena liberalak ezarritako mugetatik haratago eta abertzaletasun konstituzionala era sutsuan agerraraziz⁶⁶⁰. Are gehiago, garaiko iturri literario eta periodistikoek erakusten dute abertzaletasun femeninoa, feminitateari eta baita aberriari ere egotzitako balio jakin batzuekin identifikatuta, apustu iraultzailea eduki sentimentalekin hornitzeko erabilia izan zela⁶⁶¹. Abertzaletasun sentimental baten eraikuntzari buruz ari naiz, sentimentalismo ilustratuaren eta gorespen emozional erromantikoaren erdibidean zegoena⁶⁶², zeina feminitatearen eta diferentzia sexualaren eraikuntza jakin batez elikatzen zen.

Konstituzionalismoa, XIX. mendeko beste agerpen politiko asko bezala, ez zen bakarrik irabazi eta galaren kalkulu arrazionalaren edo errealitatearen sozio-politikoaren analisi objektibo soilaren fruitu izan. XIX. mendeko liberalismoaren eduki emozional sakona kontuan izatea beharrezkoa da proposatu zituzten feminitate eta maskulinitate

⁶⁵⁷ CLAVERO (1987): 14; AGUADO (2005): 15; CUENCA (2008).

⁶⁵⁸ CASTELLS eta FERNÁNDEZ (2014): 104.

⁶⁵⁹ CLAVERO (1987): 15.

⁶⁶⁰ CASTELLS y FERNÁNDEZ (2014): 111-112.

⁶⁶¹ Independentzia guda bitarteko emakumeen parte hartzeari buruz prentsa eta literatura eremuan, ikus CANTOS (2010).

⁶⁶² Subjektibitate ilustratuaren eta erromantikoaren arteko diferentziari buruz, ikusi BOLUFER (2015a): 26.

planteamenduak ulertzeko⁶⁶³. 1958. urtean, Hirurtekoaren konstituzionalistek prentsa madrildarrean erabilitako hizkuntzaren inguruko artikulua labur baten Arthur Cullenek adierazi zuenez liberalek erabili zutena “un vocabulario circunstancial [que] trataba de reflejar las reacciones emocionales de los hombres que experimentaban la nueva situación política” izan zen⁶⁶⁴. Planteamendu juridiko eta legal hutsetara murriztea baino askoz gehiago, ekintza politiko liberalaren eta bere Antziako Erregimenarentzako erreformen proiektua gogo eta gorespen handiaz elikatu zen. Pablo Sánchez bezalako egileek espiritu hau XIX. mende hispaniarraren identitate liberal iraultzailearen erdigunean kokatu izan dute⁶⁶⁵. Egiazki, euskal probintzietako adierazpen liberalak erreforma konstituzionalak ekar litzakeen hobekuntzen aurreko gogoz eta entusiasmaz beteriko sentzibilitate baten irekiera erakusten dute. Azken finean, eduki politikoko jarrera emozional bat izan zen prozesu iraultzailearen hasierako garapenean paper inportantea jokatu zuena.

Hemen ikertzen den gaiarentzat eferbeszentzia konstituzional honen alderdirik interesgarriena da mundu politikotik emakumeen bazterketa juridikoak emakumeak rol politiko garrantzitsu bat izan ez zutenik ez zuela suposatu. Izan ere, feminitate liberalaren aspektuetako bat izan zen ideia liberalen transmisore eta elementu aldarrikatzailetzat irudikatu izan zela. Zentzu honetan, mende hasierako liberalismoak, testuinguru belikoak eta politikoak bultzatuta, feminitateari dimentsio politiko berri bat eman zion proposamen ilustratuetan aurkitzen ez zena eta hurrengo eran laburtu daitekeena: sentimendu abertzalearen sostenguaren oinarritzako elementu ziren emakumeak. Zenbait egileren arabera liberalismoak eskainitako feminitatearen irudiak emakumeak edonolako eduki politiko edo sozialik gabekotzat eraiki zituen, eginkizun domestikora erabat mugaturik, alegia zentzu rousseauniarreko elementu aurre-moral edo aurre-politikotzat⁶⁶⁶. Hala ere, lehen liberalismoaren kazetaritzako, literatur eta propaganda iturriek erakusten dute feminitatea defendatu zela ez bakarrik elementu moralizatzailetzat, baina baita sentimendu abertzalearen sortzaile, bultzatzaile eta transmisore moduan ere. Emakumeak liberalismoaren eta konstituzionalismoaren eragile emozional beharrezkotzat jo izan ziren. Emakumeak gizonak zein gainerako

⁶⁶³ Termino konparatiboetan, ikuspuntu epistemologiko honetatik, emozioak, gorputza eta sozialismoaren sorrerari buruz ikusi ARBAIZA (2015).

⁶⁶⁴ CULLEN (1958): 303.

⁶⁶⁵ SÁNCHEZ (2018): 5. Pablo Sánchez León-i eskerrak ematen dizkiot oraindik argitaratu gabe dagoen testu honen irakurketarako baimena emateagatik.

⁶⁶⁶ AGUADO (2003): 79.

emakumeak ekintza politikora gonbidatzen zuen abertzaletasunaren eramaileak ziren. Aldi berean, abertzaletasun femeninoaren errekursoak, bere bertsio gogotsuenean, zenbait emakumek Estatu liberalaren sorkuntza prozesuaz, era batera edo bestera, parte har zezaten espazioak ireki zituen.

1808. urtetik 1823. urtera doan testuinguru iraultzaileko liberalismoak feminitatea funtzio abertzalera lotuta ikusi zuen. Feminitatearen ikuskera jakin hori liberalismoaren alderdirik sentimentalena aldarrikatzeko baliagarria izan zen. Liberalismoak, nolabait, Ilustrazioak hasi zuen sentimentalismoa politizatu edo *patriotizatu* egin zuen. Auzi hau egiazki interesgarria da maila juridikoan sexuak eta generoak ezarritako mugak gizonezkoekiko berdintasuna lortzea ezinezko bilakatu baldin bazuten, emakumeen funtzio abertzalearen defendatzaileak generoak ezartzen zituen muga horiekin negoziatzera behartu zituelako. Era honetara, paradoxa interesgarriak sortu ziren, XIX. mendeko lehen liberalismoaren diskurtsoen markoan generoaren eta emakume kategoriaren ezegonkortasuna erakusten dutenak.

Batez ere kazetaritzako eta iturri literarioetan zentratuz azpiatal honetan garai iraultzailearen liberalismoak auzi hauek guztiak nola ulertu zituen azaltzen saiatuko naiz. Era berean, diskurtso liberalak bere apustu politikoa esanahitzeko generoari buruzko eztabaideetatik atera zituen elementuak ikertzen saiatuko naiz. Sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren teoria ilustratuaren oinordeko, testuinguru konstituzional berrian lehen liberalismoak feminitatea abertzaletasunaren transmisore eta bultzatzailetzat kontzeptualizatu zuen. Ezaugarri hau kleroaren kontrolak –jarrera antiliberal eta antikonstituzionalekin batera lerratu zen sektoreak– emakumeengan izan zezakeen eragin antiliberalaren kritika esplizituekin konbinatu zen. Era berean emakume abertzale sutsuen irudiak erregimen konstituzionalaren alde instrumentalizatuak izan zirela antzemango dugu eta nola aztertuko dugu. Adierazi dudan moduan, abertzaletasun femeninoaren aldarrikapena apustu liberalari eduki sentimental eskainiz funtzionatu zen. Azkenik, feminitatearen esanahien ezegonkortasuna aztertuko dugu. Ezegonkortasun honen arrazoa hurrengoia zen: emakumeak abertzale sutsuentzat, baita beraien ekintza belikoen defentsan ere, irudikatzen behararen eta desiratutako generoaren ordena mantentzeko behararen arteko harreman anibalentearen ondorioz.

4.1.1. Lehen liberalismoaren genero esanahiak: emakumezkoen abertzaletasunaren konfigurazioa.

“Criados en la leche de la servidumbre desconocíamos del todo aquellos dulces nombres PATRIA, LIBERTAD. Con la Constitución todo ha mudado”, adierazten zuen 1814. urteko urtarrilaren 11an *Correo de Vitorian* gehitutako artikuluko batek hurrengo esaldiarekin jarraitzeko: “Los Españoles constituidos imperfectísimamente en el antiguo régimen [...] formamos ya un verdadero cuerpo político y somos realmente una Nación libre, independiente y soberana”⁶⁶⁷. Bakarrik lau egun beranduago, *El Bascongado*, egunkari bilbotarrak, bere artikuluko baten lehen zatian hurrengo baieztapen sendoa egiten zuen: “La opinión pública en el país vascongado es mas favorable, que en ningun otro, á las nuevas instituciones”⁶⁶⁸. Hitz hauek oraindik garatzen hasia zen liberalismo baten adierazpenak baldin baziren ere, medio hauek euskal probintziako biztanleriaren abertzaletasunaz egindako aldarrikapena oso elementu garrantzitsua izan zen liberalismoaren garapenean. Abertzaletasunaren erakuspen hauetako bat *El Bascongado* egunkari berean aurki dezakegu, 1814. urteko urtarrilaren 29an. Egun honetan argitaratutako ohar batek izaera liberal argiko zenbait antzerki –komediek–, Bilboko hiribilduan izandako harrera bikaina azpimarratzen zuen. Antzerkiak *La Constitución ó Lo que puede un empleo*, *El afrancesado arrepentido* eta *La Constitución en Vizcaya* ziren⁶⁶⁹. Oharrak adierazten zuenaren arabera, antzerki hauek jaso zuten gogo onek “prueba[n] también que reynan aquí iguales sentimientos acerca del nuevo gobierno, que en la Corte”⁶⁷⁰. Balio literario eskasekoak baldin baziren ere, beraien eduki sinbolikoa ez da batere mespretxagarria kontuan hartzen baldin badugu Madril edo Bilbo bezalako hirigune garrantzitsuetan antzeztu zirela. Gune populatu hauetan, zenbait sektoretan gutxienez, liberalismoaren apustu politikoa eta konstituzioa legitimatzeko borondatea bazegoen. “La indignación que en los buenos patriotas de esta villa causa la vista de los que han sido partidarios del enemigo”, azaltzen zuen *El*

⁶⁶⁷ CORREO DE VITORIA, 7, 11/01/1814, 50. Javier Fernández Sebastián-ek azaldu duen moduan, artikuluko hori Casimiro Javier de Egañak, Arabako probintziaren abokatu eta kontsultoreak, idatzi zuen. Ikusi FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 196.

⁶⁶⁸ “Opinión publica en el país bascongado respecto a las nuevas instituciones”, EL BASCONGADO, 14, 15/01/1814, 109.

⁶⁶⁹ Lehenengo bi lanak irakurtzea baino ez dugu lortu, *La Constitución en Vizcaya* lana aurkitzeko aukerarik izan gabe edota ondorengo bertsioak edo kopiak existitu izan ziren ezagutu gabe.

⁶⁷⁰ EL BASCONGADO, 18, 29/01/1814, 148.

afrancesado arrepentido laneko egileak bere sarreran, “ha sugerido la idea de esta piececita”⁶⁷¹.

Mende hasierako liberalimo honek, gizarte baten zibilizazio maila emakumeei emandako tratua araberan neurtu litzatekeela argudiatzen zuten planteamendu ilustratuen ildo jarraituz, konstituzioaren kontrako jarrera kritikatzeko emakumeen egoera kaxkarra salatu zuen. Uste honen inguruko adierazpen asko aurki daitezke garaiko literatur lanetan eta baita prentsan ere. Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787-1862) dramaturgo liberalaren *La constitucion ó Lo que puede un empleo* obraren, zeinaren titulu originala *¡Lo que puede un empleo! Comedia nueva en dos actos* zen, antzezpenak Bilbon izan zuen harrera egitate horren adierazle da⁶⁷². Obrak bikote gazte batek, Carlotak eta Teodorok, ezkontzeko aurkitu zituzten oztopoak errepresentatzen zituen neskaren aitaren, Fabianen, aurkakotasunarengatik. Melitonek, antiliberal interesatu batek, neska gaixoaren aita engainatu zuen sinistaraziz Teodororen ideia liberalak gizartearentzat eta bere alabarentzat guztiz gaitzesgarriak zirela. “No quiero casar a mi hija con un liberal”, baieztatzen zuen Fabianek obraren hasieran⁶⁷³. Inprenta eta askatasun adierazpenaren askatasunaren kontrakoei jaurtitako kritiketatik gainera, Martínez de la Rosak Carlotaren aita, Fabián, eta Meliton, bere iruzurtia, emakumeen egoerari zegoekionez mentalitate atzerakoiduntzat irudikatu zituen. Hau da, egilearentzat emakumeei emandako tratua argudioa Fabiánek eta Melitonek defendatutako pentsamendu antiliberal erreakzionarioa ezorki ezaugarritzeko, atzerakoitzat eta kaltegarritzat, funtzionatu zuen. Horrela erakusten zen Fabianek, Carlotak bere maitalearenganako maitasunaren konstantziaz eta balioaz egiten zuen defentsa entzutean, hurrengoa adieraztean:

“Bravo! Señora doctora; habrá vd. quedado tan hueca con su parrafito de filosofía. No se ha perdido el tiempo al lado del señor liberal [...] hasta las mugeres ha llegado el contado de estos malditos tiempos. Ay amigo, qué tiempos los antiguos! Ninguna escribía dos renglones a su novio, aunque la mataran; porque sus padres habían tenido buen cuidado de que no supieran tomar la pluma en mano, ni conocieran el a, b, c; pero ahora! ahora! ya ha oído

⁶⁷¹ EL AFRANCESADO (1814): 3.

⁶⁷² ROMERO (2008): 323 dokumentatu duen moduan, obra hau Kadizen argitaratu 1812. urtean. Ikerketa honetarako 1821. urteko kopia kontsultatu da, Valentzian argitaratua, Biblioteca Nacional-ean digitalki eskuragarri dagoena.

⁶⁷³ MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA (1821): 7.

vd. el párrafo liberal que me ha espetado esta mocosa, que si hubiera nacido en otra época, estaría haciendo un dechado en la labor”⁶⁷⁴.

Martínez de la Rosaren obran generoa Fabián eta Melitonen antiliberalismoari esanahia emanten zion elementutzat erabilia izan zen. Alegia, Fabianen eta Melitonen jarrera erreakzionarioa ez zen bakarrik kritikatzeko inprenta askatasunaren kontra zioan heinean, baizik eta baita emakumeen heziketaren kontra agertu zuen borondatearengatik ere. “Sexu ederraren” defentsa, beraz, pentsamendu ilustratuarekin konektatzen duen perspektibatik, ideia liberalen parte zen, eta ez bakarrik emakumeek gizartean zeukaten egoera erreformatzeko edo dignifikatzeko agertzen zuen borondatearengatik, baizik baita emakumei eskaintako tratua liberalismoa bera eta gizon liberalak eduki dignifikatzailez hornitzeko erabilia zelako. “Sexu ederraren” defentsa ideia atzerakoien defentsan mantentzen ziren eta aldaketa politikoak defendatzen zituztenen arteko diferentzia egiteko erabilia izan zen sarritan.

Mota honetako adierazpenak gaiarekin harremana daukan garrantzi handiko beste auzi batekin konbinatu zen: kleroak emakumeengan zeukan eraginaren, emakumeen fanatismo erlijiosoaren eta beraien efektu antiliberalen kritika zorrotza. Eztabaida hau, sexuen arteko harremanean zela erlijiosoaren eraginaren ingurukoa, XIX. mende osoan zehar indarrean jarraitu zuen euskal probintzietan. Lehenengo liberalek jaurtitzen zuten gaitzespena emakumeen aurka baino, kleroa bera bere baitan eta euskal probintzietako herrietan bere misio jarduera kritikatzera zuzendua zegoen. Egiazki, hurrengo orrialdetan ikusiko dugunez, euskal probintzietan garatu zen lehen liberalismoa, sakonki katolikoa bazen ere, sarritan kleroaren kontrol zorrotza salatu zuen, neurritz gabekotzat jotzen zuena eta baita jarrera antiliberalen hedapenean zeukan rol protagonistagatik ere. Coro Rubio historialariak adierazi duen moduan, gaiaren inguruan zenbait politikari konstituzionalisten ezinegona nabarmena izan zen⁶⁷⁵. Ardura hau ez zen errekurso erretoriko soilak, baizik eta erro sakonetako uste bati erantzuten ziola dirudi: hain zuzen ere, emakumeek antolaketa sozialean eta familiarrean, eragile moralizatzaile oinarrizkoak ziren heinean, zuten eta izan behar zuten eraginaren ustea. Kezka hau ez zen bakarrik politikaren eremuan antzematen, baizik eta Hirurteko prentsan ere

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 24-25.

⁶⁷⁵ RUBIO (1996): 22-23.

antzamangarria da ⁶⁷⁶. *El Verdadero Patriotak*, Hirurtekoaren garaiko Bilboko argitalpen liberal exaltatuak, beranduago aztertua izango den moduan, bere orrialdeetan hurrengo esaldia jasotzen zuen: "...si las mugeres fueran todas liberales no habría un servil en España, [...] ellas son los timones de nuestros barcos; y por tanto me parece que el gobierno debía procurar atraer al buen partido á las que todo lo pueden"⁶⁷⁷. Horregatik, hain zuzen ere, beharrezkotzat jotzen zen emakumeen hezkuntza eta jasotzen zituzten eraginen gaineko kontrola izatea negatibotzat jotzen zuten kleroaren eraginari aurre egiteko.

Antzeko datetan idatzirik, *El Liberal Guipuzcoanon* editoreari bidalitako gutun bat azpimarratu behar dugu, 1822. urteko urriaren 28koa. Honetan eskarmentu handiko mediku batek egunkariari "errezeta" antzeko bat bildatzen zion hainbeste atsekabe eragiten ari zen "tifus anti-liberal"arekin behingoagatik amaitzeko. Errezeta erreza baino errezagoa zen. Fraide gehienek, beraien izaera otzan eta esanekoak izanik – egileak apaiz izatea esklabotza boluntarioarekin alderatzen zuen– "peluca"z aldatzeari inoiz muzin egiten ez zion prelatuari obedientzia itsua zor zieten. Prelatuak bere interesen arabera "servil" [morroi] izatetik liberal izatera aldatzeko ez omen zuen arazorik egilearen aburuz. Egoera honen aurrean egileak egiten zuen indukzioa hurrengoa zen: beharrezkoa zen prelatua konstituzionalismoaren onuretzat konbentzitzea, horrela fraideak ere bihurtuko ziren eta, hauen eraginaren ondorioz, emakumeak ere bihurtuko ziren: "...esto no tiene duda", zioen egileak emakumeen "simplicidad mujerial, que participa de los consejos de su confesor, como si fuesen intimidados por un anjel" azpimarratuz ⁶⁷⁸. Behin emakumeak beraien fraideen konstituzionalismoaren eraginez konstituzionalismora transformaturik zeudela, eraldaketa hau emango zen "[en] sus maridos, a sus hijos, a sus criados, en fin, a todo el mundo"⁶⁷⁹. Kleroaren eraginarengatik emakumeak potentzialki antikonstituzionalistak izan zitekeelaren asuntzioa ez zen aipamen anekdotikoetan geratu *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* edo *El Verdadero Patriota* bezalako egunkarietan. *El Verdadero Patriota*

⁶⁷⁶ Azpimarratu beharko litzateke, hala ere, zenbait sektore konstituzionalistek eta liberalek emakumeen klerikalismoarengatik eta bere eragin sozialengatik kezkatutako egoteak, ez du nahitanahiez adierazten emakumeak beraiek, edo gutxienez ez guztiak, klerikala zirenik. Pertzepzio bati buruz ari gara, ez bakarrik errealtatearen ikuspuntu jakin batetik sortzen zena, baizik eta emakume bat izan behar edo izan behar ez zuenari buruzko juzgu batetik sortzen zena. Atal honetan zehar ikusiko dugun moduan, ezin daiteke baieztatu euskal probintzietako emakume guztiak, ezta gehiengoa ere, kleroaren sermoi antiliberalen jarraitzeko akritikoak zirenik.

⁶⁷⁷ EL VERDADERO PATRIOTA, 48, 22/08/1822, 4.

⁶⁷⁸ "Receta", EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 243, 28/10/1822, 4.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

egunkarian publikatutako "...yo mejor creeré en los consejos de mi muger que en los del cura, pues estos son sólo un puro engaño"⁶⁸⁰, esaldiak bi ideia oinarrizko gordetzen zituen: alde batetik, kleroak mantentzen zuen kontrol sozialaren kontrako jarrera zuzena, eta bestetik, emakumeak hauen eraginpetik aldentzeko beharraren garrantzia, beraien funtzio abertzalea eta moralizatzailea bete zezaten.

Kezka hau emakumeei egotzitako rol sozialaren inguruko eztabaida zabalago baten markoan ematen zen. *Periódico de las Damas* argitalpeneko lehen zenbakian, 1822. urteko urtarrilaren 1ean publikatua, bizitza aukera moduan zenbait emakumeek ezkontzaren aurrean zelibatoa aukeratzearen inguruko bere sinezgaitasuna adierazten zuen editoreak. Tonu sarkastiakoan deskribatzen zituen emakume hauen, zeintzuek "no volverles á ver la cara á esos monstruos masculinos, mortificar su cuerpo hasta que espire, que lo hagan muy enhorabuena" aukeratu zuen⁶⁸¹. Testu honetan, *Discurso preliminar* tituluduna, egileak emakumeen komentuko bizitza nahitanahiez "benefizientzia publikorako" erabilgarriak ziren ekintzen eta jardueren egin beharrarekin lotzen zuen. "Femeninoa" eta "naturala" ez zen zelibatoa bezalako aukera bat onargarria izan zedin, egileak beharrezkotzat ikusten zuen bizitza mota hori naturalki femeninoak ziren helburuetara zuzenduta egotea: gaixoak eta behartsuak zaintzea. "Que es eso, señoras devotas? se me tuerce el hocico?", galdetzen zuen ironikoki, eta jarraitzen zuen, "Pues si esto no les gusta, dígoles á ustedes que no son ni religiosas, ni casadas, ni solteras; y si me apuran, ni mugeres tampoco"⁶⁸².

Liberalismo gogotsu eta exaltatuarentzat, neurritz gabeko erlijiosotasuna ez zen bakarrik emakumeen patu naturalaren kontrakoa, alegia, ez zituen bakarrik ama eta emazte onak izateko bere eginbehar gorenetatik aldentzen. Bere proiektu politikoaren lorpenerako ere eragozpen garrantzitsua zen. Emakumeen fanatismo erlijiosoak ideia liberalen garapenerako eragozpentzat ulertzen zen. Liberalismoaren baitan garatuz joan zen feminitatearen kontzepzioan erlijiosotasuna feminitate debotoak exijitzen zituen betebeharrak diferenteen bidez kanalizatu behar zela antzematen dugu. Eta horrela izan behar zen hain zuzen ere lehen liberalismo honen feminitatearen kontzepzioan katolizismoa, ondo ulertutako erlijioa, behar nazional berriei erantzuteko prest egon

⁶⁸⁰ EL VERDADERO PATRIOTA, 48, 22/08/1822, 4.

⁶⁸¹ "A las señoras", EL PERIÓDICO DE LAS DAMAS, 1, 1/01/1822, 10.

⁶⁸² *Ibid*, 11. *Periódico de las Damas* argitalpenean proposatzen zen feminitate ereduari buruz ikusi CRESPO (2014).

behar zelako eta ez alderantziz. *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* argitalpenean feminitate mota hori hurrengo terminoetan formulatua izan zen:

“Si queremos que nuestras acciones públicas y privadas lleven el sello de una religión santa, pura y despejada de los abusos con que la han empañado el interés, la ignorancia y las pasiones humanas, despejándola de la majestuosa y célica belleza con que salió de las manos de su divino autor, no las va menos en todo esto a las mujeres, y deben por lo mismo dirigir a este virtuoso fin el preponderante influjo por que su amable virtud y gracia tienen ganado en la sociedad y especialmente en el espíritu de nuestra bizarra juventud, a cuyos brazos esta fiada la custodia del pacto fundamental”⁶⁸³.

Liberalismo kementsuenak emakumeak paper garrantzitsu bat jokatzen zutela ulertu zuen, ez bakarrik ideia moralen, baizik eta baita ideia politikoen –diferentziatzen zailak diren bi eremuren– transmititzaile ziren heinean. Zentzu honetan sektore erreakzionarioenak formulatzen zituzten feminitatearen definizioak eztabaidatzera sartu zen eremu honetan ere indarra irabazteko eta bere proiektu politikoarekin bateragarri egiteko. Ikuspuntu katoliko klasikotik emakumeei egozten zitzaien eduki erlijiosoari muzin egin gabe, liberalismo honek bere intentsitatea eta zorroztasuna gutxitu zituen –sentsibilitate ilustratuaren ildo oso antzekoan– eta birformulatu egin zuen, eduki berriak eskainiz, aldi berean beharrezkoa zen emakume liberalen alde abertzalearekin era perfektuan konbinagarria izan zedin.

Lehenengo liberalek feminitatearen definizioaren eduki erlijioarekin egin zuten egokitzapena, batez ere Hirurtekoaren garaia bitartean, emakumeak aberriarenganako maitasunaren bultzatzaile gisa zuten rol garrantzitsuaren eraikuntzarekin batera garatu zen. Rol hau liskar politiko eta belikoen garaietan, 1808-1814 eta 1820-1823 urteen bitartean berebiziko garrantzia hartu zuen. Euskal probintzietako biztaleek konstituzionalismoari zor zioten atxikimenduaren aldarrikapena egiteko, emakumeen abertzaletasunaren errekursoak berebiziko garrantzia hartu zuen. Abertzaletasun hori goian aipatu dugun antzerkietako baten eragile nagusienetariako zen, *El afrancesado arrepentido* lana, azpitu lutzat *Aventura patriótica. El último día de los franceses en*

⁶⁸³ EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 162, 18/01/1822, 3. Pentsamendu liberalaren, katolizismoaren eta kleroaren arteko harremanari buruz Carmen García Monerrisek egiten duen hausnarketa interesagarria da. Ikus GARCÍA (2016): 253-254.

Bilbao zeukana. Hau Bilbon antzetzua izan zen 1814. urtean. Lanaren egileari buruz bere inzialak –D. T. D. S.–, Bilbon bizi zela eta bere jarduera profesionala hiribilduko bufete baten aurrera eramaten zuela baino ez dakigu. Istorioak frantsesaren azkeneko orduak kontatzen zituen Bilboko hiribilduan. Testuak XIX. mendeko diskurtso liberaletan zehar garatu ziren topiko bat erreproduzitzen zuten: beraien maitale, senar, eta semeei, beraien kide maskulinoei oro har, emakumeen bultzada abertzalea komunak ziren askatasunaren alde borrokatzeko⁶⁸⁴.

Lanaren bilbe nagusia Clararen eta Juanen arteko maitasun istoriaren inguruan garatzen zen. Lehengusu-lehengusinak ziren eta biak sutuki liberalak. Ezkontzeko zeuzkaten asmoak bertan behera utzi behar izan zituzten Monsiu Floripé, komandante frantsesaren presentzia zela eta. Honek Clararen anaia, Pedro, abertzaletasun espainiarra gorrotatzeko eta abandonatzeko konbentzitu zuen izaera eta gustu frantsesak, eta Frantziak oro har, errepresentatzen zuten gailentasuna sinestaraziz. Lanaren hasieratik espainiarraren aurrean bestetasun frantsesaren eraikuntza oso markatua antzeman daiteke, beraien izaeren deberdintasun absolutuaaren argudioaren bidez sortzen zen diferentzia izanik. Clararen anaiak bere aizpa Monsiu Floripérekin ezkontzeko ahaleginak egiten zituen bitartean –anaiak egitura instituzional napoleonikoaren baitan sozialki gora egiteko zeuzkan interesak agerian uzten zirelarik–, emakume gazteak behin eta berriz errepikatzen zuten: “Nunca podrá amar a vmd.”⁶⁸⁵. Clarak bere borondatea bere anaiaren presioei aurrejartzen zien eta komandante frantsesarekiko sentitzen zuen higuina hurrengo eran adierazten zuten: “...se empeña en enlazar á vmd. con ese figurin de *gabacho*”, zeinak, neskameak bere anaiari esaten zion moduan, “no sabe sino hacer gesticulaciones ridículas...”⁶⁸⁶. Frantsesaren itxurakeriak “cortesía española”ren kontrakoa ziren Clararen begietan: “¡Si vmd. viese los españoles de quan distinto modo expresan una pasión quando la sienten!” zioen Clarak komandante frantsesa bere ustezko maitasuna erakusteko itxurakeriak utz zitzaizkion⁶⁸⁷.

Istorioaren joanean, beraz, deskubritzen dugu heroiak, Clarak, bere anaiarekiko, frantsesaren promesak eta itxurakeriak liluraturik, eta frantsesari berari erakutsitako gaitzespenaz gainera, Juani berari, bere maitaleari 1808. urtean frantsesen kontra borrokatzen joatea eskatu ziola: “...yo misma, desde que se previó que era menester que

⁶⁸⁴ ANDREU (2009): 90.

⁶⁸⁵ EL AFRANCESADO (1814): 23.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 7-8.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

la juventud española acudiese á la defensa comun”, aldarrikatzen zuen, “le escribí [a Juan] que no esperase mi mano hasta haber satisfecho á ella el tributo que todos los hijos debían, de sus gustos, de sus comodidades, y si era menester de la misma vida”⁶⁸⁸. Juan, horrela, bere gizentasuna erakusteko gai izan zen, zeina bere abertzaletasun mailarekin alderatua zen. Bere zorientasuna nazionaren izenean sakrifikatzeko adorea erakutsi zuen horrela Clararen maitasuna merezitzeko. Borroka urte luzeen ondoren, bere lehengusua Clararen auz-aurre agertzen zen, harrotasunez beterik: “...me presento digno de tí: [...] la he visto agonizar á la patria, la he visto dar los que parecían sus últimos suspiros; pero nunca, nunca he tenido la tentación de abandonarla”⁶⁸⁹. Bere hitzen aurrean egiazki goritua, Clara bere burua espainiarren garaipenaren partaide aldarrikatzen zen frantsesen kontrako gudan eta Bilboko hirian emango zuten azkeneko gau hartan. Horrela adierazten zion Juani: “...en parte me debes el mérito de que puedes envanecerte”⁶⁹⁰. Juanen kemena bere maitasun abertzalean oinarritzen zen, zeinaren pizgarri nagusia Clararekiko zeukan maitasuna zen. Bien arteko maitasun erromantikoa politizatua zen eta aberriarekiko maitasunarekin guztiz identifikaturik geratzen zen lan honetan.

Lan honetan interesgarrien suertatzen dena da, hala ere, pertsonaia femeninoa zela, Clara, beneko izpiritu espainiarraren gordailutzat agertzen zena, aberriaren izaeraren benetako errepresentatzailea. Antzerkiaren pasarte batek honen berri argi ematen du. Juan, maitasunez beterik, Clarari beraien etxea izkutuan uzteko esaten dio frantsesen hatzaparretatik alde egiteko. Honen aurrean, Clarak neurritasuna eskatzen dio: “...los años y los trabajos ¿no han podido enseñarte á ser menos precipitado?”, aurpegiatzen zion neska gazteak, beranduago gehituz: “Sabes que detesto a ese canalla, que antepongo a todas las cosas mi buena opinión de española [...] y todavía si en la efusión de la amistad, y la confianza te cuento lo que pasa, te alborotas, en lugar de pensar en el remedio?”⁶⁹¹. Clara abertzaletasun gogotsuaren adibide zen eta, aldi berean, bere abertzaletasuna emakume honen kastitate eta purutasunaren gordailu legez funtzionatzen zen *gabachoari* ezezko garbi eta zuzena ematean –liberalismoaren feminitatearen hainbat formulaziotan agertzen zena, beranduago ikusiko dugun moduan–. Eta aldi berean, neurritasunaren eta balentriaren adibide zen. Era honetara,

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

Clara antzerki obraren benetako elementu moralizatzailea zen, bere zentzu politikoenean.

Ez bakarrik liberalismoaren lehenengo adierazpenetan, baizik eta baita Hirurtekoaren espiritu konstituzionalaren suspertzean ere, euskal probintzietako prentsa liberalean abertzaletasun femenino honen hainbat aldarrikapen aurkitzen ditugu, soldadu gazteen borroka konstituzionalaren eragile gisa ulertzen zirelako. Lehen aipatu dugun *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* argitalpenak ezaugarri honen hainbat adibide erakutsi zituen. 1822. urteko urtarrilaren 18an argitaratutako artikulua luze baten erredaktoreetako batek emakumeei zegozkien artikulua gehitu ahal izatea eskatzen zuten, beraien ekintzen garrantziak hala exijitzen baldin bazuen, “sin ser visto defraudar a ninguno de sus derechos a los galantes redactores del *Periódico de las Damas*, a cuya peculiar jurisdicción parece que debe pertenecer este género de noticias”⁶⁹². Kazetariak emakumeek euskal probintzietako herrietan soldadu liberalei eskainitako ongietorri patriotikoen berri eman ahal izatea aldarrikatzen zuen, esaterako Tuterako edo Tolosa bezalako herrietan egin bezala. Generoaren ikuspegitik ohar honek daukan garrantzia da, hain zuzen ere, emakumeen eragin patriotikoa liberalismoak gizartean sustraiak bota zitzaizkion beharrezkoa zela onartzen zela. “Es bien seguro que si todas las bellas hijas de la encantadora Iberia siguiese estos ejemplos”, amaitzen zuen bere artikulua kazetariak Tolosako neska gazteen adibidea erabiliz, “echaría bien pronto firmes raíces en nuestro ameno suelo la tierna y delicada planta de la libertad”⁶⁹³.

El Liberal Guipuzcoano bezalako argitalpenek bere orrialdeetan feminitatearen irudi maitakorrak eta amatiarrak, familia amak eta emazte ohoragarriak ziren heinean, defendatzen zituzten artikulua, gazte liberalak erakartzeko beharrezkoak ziren emakumeen edertasuna, erakargarritasuna, balentria eta ausardia goraiatzeko zituzten artikuluekin konbinatu zituen. Bi irudi hauek prisma sozial liberaletik ez ziren halabeharrez kontrajarkorrak, baizik eta garaiko testuinguruan osagarriak ziren feminitatea esperimintatzeko bi forma erakusten dituzte. Mota honetako testu zatiak eta poemak euskal probintzietako herri txiki zein handietan ospatzen ziren jai patriotikoetan gehitzen ziren, baita neska gazteek borrokalari liberalei egindako ongietorrien albisteetan. 1821. urteko martxoaren 16ko egunkariaren gehigarrian, militarrek

⁶⁹² EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 162, 18/01/1822, 3.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*

antolatutako jai baten albisteaz informatu ondoren, “Al bello sexo” deituriko poema labur bat gehitzen zen, beste askoren artean:

*“Del sexo encantador al atractivo
Aun los fieros salvajes sucumbieron
El súbdito, el Monarca, el héroe altivo
Fino homenaje a la beldad rindieron
Y pues que en sociedad influjo activo
Tus gracias y moral siempre tuvieron
Emplea ¡o sexo amable! Medios tales
En tornar de serviles liberales”⁶⁹⁴.*

Sexu femeninoa, gizartearengan eta gizonengan eragin positiboa izateaz gainera, erakargarria izan behar zen. Antzeko terminoetan beste egile batek Oiartzungo neska gazteak irudikatzen zituen 1820. urteko uztailaren 14ean argitaratutako artikulu baten. Honetan “Fiesta Patriótica” ospatu ostean neska gazteak zegozkien dantzak egiteko bildu zirela azaltzen zen. “La tarde después de las vísperas”, adierazten zuen, “se paso toda en regocijos dejando a este pueblo dócil en toda la libertad a que tiene derecho por la dulzura de sus costumbres”. Idazleak probintzietako biztanleen jai giroko elkartatze nagusiaren, dantzen, begirada erromantizatua eskaini zuen, beriziki emakumeen dantzetan zentratuz, zeinak bereziki interesagarriak ziruditen idazlearen begietan:

“Habitadoras del campo tienen por lo común un corazón sencillo que descubre la modestia pintada en sus semblantes: modestia respetable pero también seductora: tanto mas cuando se entregan al regocijo ó cuando se ven precisadas á responder á las engañosas palabras de los hombres que las cercan, entonces en risa se abren sus hermosos labios, sus ojos brillan, y cuanto mas se tiñe su rostro de carmín, tanto mas se hacen interesantes y mas peligrosas”⁶⁹⁵.

Aurreko atalean ikusi bezala, ez da hau landa guneko emakumeek jasotako lehen goraiipamena. Kasu honetan, hala ere, landa giroko feminitatearen goraiipamen honek nolabaiteko ikuspegi exotizatzailea eta erotizatzailea zen begirada eskaintzen zuen.

⁶⁹⁴ “Al bello sexo”, EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 74, 16/03/1821, 2.

⁶⁹⁵ “Fiesta patriótica de Oyarzun”, EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 4, 14/07/1820, 2-3.

Ikuspegi honek euskal tradizio hau, dantza, ulertzeko forma nahiko berriari erantzuten dio eta garai hartararte era hain argian hartu ez zuen zentzu politikoa ematen zitzaion: liberala. Ikuspegi horrek berritasun nabarmena zekarren, emakumeen edertasunaren erotizazioa egiten zen eta edertasun hau goraiatzeko zen beraien ohiturei berezkozat jotzen zitzaion espiritu liberalaren eramailea zen heinean. Emakumeen edertasuna, dantza, –euskal probintzian erro sakoneko jarduera– eta liberalismoa bat egiten zuten eta identifikatzen ziren bere alderdi literarioena ustiatzen zuen hizkuntza periodistikoaren bidez. Bailarako biztanleriaren askatasuna eta espiritu abertzalea emakume gazte hauekin identifikatua eta gorputz egina geratzen zen. Neska hauei egotzitako modestia naturala inozentea zen erekaragarritasun bat ematen zien. Mota honetako irudi femenino erotizatuek espiritu liberalari nolabaiteko emozioa, gorputza eta sentimentaltasuna ematen zioten. Artikuluaren egileak gogo betez adierazten zuen moduan ikusle hotzenak ere gozatu izango zukeen beraien espektakuluaz “[de forma que] se siente mejor que se explica”⁶⁹⁶.

Hain erabilia izan zen ezaugarri sentimental hau goian aipatu dugun *El Verdadero Patriota* argitalpenean ezin hobeki adierazita aurkitzen dugu. Argitalpen hau Bilboko dugu, Miguel de Alcoverrek argitarautu. José Antonio Cañabate zen bere erredaktore nagusia, andaluziarra, espiritu liberal exaltatukoa zalantzarik gabe⁶⁹⁷. Javier Fernández Sebastián-ek ondo adierazi duen moduan argitalpen honek “intenso ‘pathos’” bat askatzen zuen, garaiko bizkaitarrek pairatzen zuten giroaren “dramatismo y la dureza” egoerarekin bat zetorrena⁶⁹⁸. Gaur egunean kontserbatzen diren aldizkariko zenbaki eskasen artean, 1822. urteko abuztuaren 22ko aleak elkarrizketa patriotiko bat batzen zuen. Elkarrizketak Sevillako Erregimenduaren soldadu baten, Ávilako Probintziaren Miliziano baten eta Bilboko Boluntario Nazioal baten arteko fikziozko elkartzea irudikatzen zuen, aditzera ematen denagatik Bilboko hiribilduan⁶⁹⁹. Gehiegizko arreta jarri gabe eta gure ikerketa objektua alde batera utzi gabe, elkarrizketa bera zehaztasunez aztertzea bereziki interesgarria da euskal probintzietako sentimendu liberal exaltatuari gorputza eman zioten ezaugarri nagusienak gehitzen zituelako. Hauen

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 295. Egileari eta editoreari buruzko informazioa Bizkaiko Foru Aldundiaren Agiritegi Historikoko espedienteetan, Sección Judicial, Fondo Corregidor, signatura JCR 1290/005.

⁶⁹⁸ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 296.

⁶⁹⁹ Elkarrizketak ez dauka sinadurarik, baina azken esaldiaren ostean “El Argos” berba gehitzen du. Javier Fernández Sebastián-en arabera, garaiko hizkuntzarentzat El Argos era hedatuan erabilitako adierazpena zen –izan ere hainbat argitalpen liberal, bai Kadizen bai Murtzian izen hori erabili izan zuten titulu lez– eta “[se] utilizaba para designar a los liberales más atentos y vigilantes”, FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 295.

artean emakumeen abertzaletasunaren goraipamena aurki dezakegu nagusiki, ia kutsadura bidez transmititzen zen emozionalitate biziaz hornitua zegoena.

Konstituzioaren eta liberalismoaren defentsak euskal probintzietako, Nafarroako eta Kataluniako klerikalismoaren kritikarekin nahasten ziren. Bilboko Boluntario Nazionalaren ahotan horrela jartzen zuen egileak: “Y tanto como engañan...”, kexu zen boluntarioa, “y si no que hablen Cataluña, Navarra y Vizcaya, las cuales lloran los efectos de su seducción”⁷⁰⁰. Euskal probintzian konstituzioaren kontrako jarrera erlijoaren eragin kaltegarriaren ondorio zela defendatzen zuen adierazpen zuzena aurkitzen dugu, eta ez hainbeste izaera juridiko-administratiboa zuen deskordioaren eraginez, zeinaren arabera arau general berria, Konstituzioa, lurralde foralen lege partikularrekin ez litzateke bateragarria. Ildo honetatik jarraituz, egileak nolabaiteko euskal liberalismo primitiboari edo jatorrizko bati buruz hitz egiten zuen, foruak espainiar askatasunen aurrekari demokratikotzat jotzen zuen interpretazioaren ahaide zena. Formulazio honen bertsio goiztiarra Manuel de Aguirre egile ilustratuari zor zitzaion beranduago hainbat liberal euskaldun eta espainiarrek errekueratuko zutena⁷⁰¹. “A la verdad que á no ser por la malignidad de los curas y frailes me parece que los honrados vizcaínos se pudieran olvidar de lo que siempre han sido”, baieztatzen zuen borrokalari gaztelarrak. Boluntario bilbotarrak erantzun zion: “si renacieran nuestros antepasados y vieran que los vizcaínos preferían entregarse á enemigos extraños antes que vivir bajo los auspicios y la egida de unas leyes sabias y justas, creo que de vergüenza se volverían a los sepulcros”⁷⁰². Tradizioa eta arbasoak, beraz, ez ziren jarrera erreakzionarioen eta kontserbakoien errekurtsua soilik izan.

Baina hiru pertsonaien arteko elkarrizketa patriotikoa benetan egituratzen zuen elementua gaztelako soldaduaeren emakumeaz egin zuten goraipamena izan zen. Ez dirudi kasualitatea soldaduaeren emaztearen izena Leandra de Padilla izatea. Martínez de la Rosaren *La Viuda de Padilla* lanaren pertsonaia femeninoarekin abizena konpartitzen zuen. “...A no ser por mi muger”, aitortzen zuen senarrak, “quizás no me encontraría tan animado para pelear contra nuestros enemigos”⁷⁰³. De Padilla Andrea nolabaiteko indar eragile patriotiko bilakatzen zen *Afrancesado arrepentido* laneko Clara gaztea izan zen moduan. “Te advierto que mas quiero llorarte muerto con honor, que verte vivo

⁷⁰⁰ EL VERDADERO PATRIOTA, 48, 22/08/1822, 4.

⁷⁰¹ FERNÁNDEZ (1990): 76.

⁷⁰² EL VERDADERO PATRIOTA, 48, 22/08/1822, 4.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid*, 3.

y envilecido”, izan ziren Leandrak bere senarrari esandako azken hitzak bere bizkar-zorroarekin eta fusilarekin etxea utzi aurretik. Interesgarria da ikertzea feminitate patriotikoa aldi berean maskulinitate patriotiko, gazte, bat definitzeko eta gorputzari, indarra emateko erabilia zela. Maskulinitate honen oinarritzko ezaugarriak gazteak ekintzara bultzatuko zituen kemena eta adorea ziren. Konstituzioaren alde borrokatzen zen maskulinitateak eduki emozional sakona behar zuen borrokarako prest zeuden gorputz sendoetan eta askatasunaren galeraren aurrean heriotza duina aukeratuko zuten gazteetan haragi egiten zena. Ohorea eta askatasuna ziren, beraz, liberalismo exaltatuaren diskurtsoaren maskulinitatea definituko zituzten oinarritzko kontzeptuak. Balio hauek ez ziren formulazio teoriko hutsak, noski, baizik eta izaera afektibo sakoneko prozesu eta intentsitate bezala esperimendatzen ziren: “...no pude contestar a mi parienta”, onartzen zuen soldaduak, “que conocería en mi silencio el fuego que animaba mi corazón [...] desde aquel día me siento mas y mas inflamado, que no temo ningún peligro, y en fin, que me considero mas fuerte de lo que me creía anteriormente”⁷⁰⁴. Antzeko terminoetan adierazi zen Bilboko Boluntarioa Padilla andrearen sentimendu sakon eta gordinak entzutean: “me ha conmovido”, baieztatzen zuen, jarraian adierazteko “ahora mismo me encuentro ya electrizado y capaz de batirme hasta con el demonio”⁷⁰⁵. Testuak erakusten digu energia patriototikoaren jarria, emakume baten irudian gorputzurik, oinarritzkotzat jotzen zela fisikoa zen muskulo politikoa mugiarazteko.

Adore patriotiko maskulinoa, konstituzioari maitasuna, borrokara bultzatzen zuen indarra “Ó muerte ó constitución, ó Constitución ó Muerte” oihuarekin batera – elkarriketako hiru parte hartzaileek erabili izan zuten adierazpena beraien batzarra amaitzeko odol paktu baten bidez– egiazki, ez zen hausnarketa teoriko soil baten ondorioa. María Sierrak liberalismoaren diskurtsoaren eta emozioen arteko harremana ikertu du, batez ere garai isabelinoan eta ondorengoan zentratuz. Bere aburuz “el régimen genérico-sentimental romántico funcionó en paralelo y como soporte del liberalismo como sistema político”⁷⁰⁶. Sierrak, iturri parlamentarioaren azterketatik abiatuz, argudiatu du XIX. mendeko birilite burgesaren sentimentalitatearen gako arrazoien aurrean emozionalitateari bigarren mailako postu bat egoztean zetzala, hain

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁶ SIERRA (2015): 17.

zuzen ere, feminitatea definituko lukeen ekuazioaren alderantzizko eragita baten⁷⁰⁷. Hala ere, 1808-1814, 1820-1823 eta beranduago ikertuko dugun 1833-1839 urteetako testuinguru iraultzailean, zeharo konbultsoa izan zena, oso garrantzitsuak izan ziren zenbait iturrik, kazetaritza iturriak eta literatura esaterako, patriotikoki jokatzeko eta borrokatzeko mugitua eta hunkitua izan behar zuen maskulinitate baten irudia erakusten digute. Honekin esan nahi dut norberaren interes pertsonalen gainetik konstituzionalismoaren balioa, askatasunaren sinonimotzat hartzen zutena, emozio biziz sentitu behar zela. Ez naiz hemen “komunitate emozionalaren” eraikuntza bati buruz ari, Barbara Rosenweinek adierazi zuen zentzuan⁷⁰⁸. Gorputza aberriarengatik borrokara bultzatuko zuen mundu ikuskera jakin batekin batera ematen zen sentipen politiko liberalarekin harremanean garatzen zen dimentsio emozionalaren biziagotze bati buruz ari naiz, definituz eta mugatzen zaila dena⁷⁰⁹. Emakumeen abertzaletasuna, bere aldetik, konparazinezko emozionalitate bizi batez hornitua izango balitz bezala irudikatua izan zen. Afektibitate hau benetako emakume liberaletan berezkozat jotzen zen. Prentsa liberalean hurrengo berbekin definituak ziren: “las que todo lo pueden”. Sinesmen hau jatorri ilustratu argiko onarpen baten oinarritzen zen: emakumeak balio politiko eta moralen transmititzaile garrantzitsuak ziren. Horrela, liberalismoak abertzaletasuna ekintza politikorako beharrezkotza jotzen zen intentsitate edo, nahi bada, sakontasun batekin hornitzen zuen iruditeria femininoa proiektatu zuen.

4.1.2. Emakumezkoen rol soziala eta parte-hartzea: abertzaletasunaren beharren eta genero exijentzien arteko tentsioa.

Aurreko orrialdeetan euskal probintzietako lehenengo liberalismoak sortu zituen feminitate eta maskulinitate irudiak zeintzuk ziren aztertzen saiatu gara, eta baita diskurtso liberalaren beraren esanahiak eta edukiak ezagutzea generoaren ikuspegitik. Zer esan genezake espazio politikoan emakumeek izan zuten parte hartzeaz eta liberalismoaren aldeko borrokan izan zuten rola inguruan? Sakonean ikertua izan den moduan, liberalismoaren eta konstituzioaren aldeko gune politikoetan, jarrera kontserbakoi edo aurrerakoietatik, emakumeen parte hartze politikoaren kontrako

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁷⁰⁸ ROSENWEIN (2007).

⁷⁰⁹ Ideia hau Sarah Ahmed teorilariak aurkeztutako teorietan oinarritzen da. Honen erabera, emozioak era pasiboan gorputzetan aurkitzen diren estadiak baino gehiago, emozioek gorputzak mugiaraziko eta konfiguraturako lituzkete. Hau da, beraien izaera oinarrian sortzailea, eraikitzailea eta dinamikoa da. Eta, noski, historikoki eta kulturalki situatuak. AHMED (2014): 4.

ahotsak ez ziren gutxi izan. Honen adibide da, esaterako, emakumeak Gorteetako eztabaidak entzutera joatea debekatzen zuen arauaren inguruko eztabaida, adibide askoren artean emakumeen bazterketa politikoen artean nabariena adierazteagatik erabilitzen duguna⁷¹⁰. Hala ere, garaian garrantzia irabazten ari ziren medioen bidezko emakumeen parte hartze politikoa erakusten du, prentsan edo sozietate patriotikoen bidez, emakumeen artean diskurtso politikoen eta sozialaren eremuan parte hartzeko borondatea bazegoela. Parte hartze honek, zenbait kasutan genero ordenaren beraren mugak zalantzan jartzea suposatzen zuen. Gune hauek zenbait emakumeei egoera politikoen inguruko iritzia emateko eta eztabaidatzeko aukera emateaz gainera, emakumeek gizartean zeukaten rolari buruz hausnartzeko eta kritikatzeko aukera eman zien, baita feminitatearen beraren definizioaren inguruan zalantzak planteatzeko ere. Emakumeek gatazka liberalaren baitan eta erregimen konstituzional berriaren defentsan izan zuten parte hartzea, zeina garrantzitsua izan baitzen inplikaturako emakumeen kantiategiaren haratago, ez dago zalantzan jartzetik garaieraren inguruko historiografiak argi utzi duen moduan⁷¹¹.

Hala ere, emakumeen parte hartze horren esanahia, eta gune horietan feminitateak hartzen zuen esanahiarena garaiko emakumeen eta gizonen ikuspegitik, ikerketa eremu zabala eta interesgarria da oraindik. Egungo ikerlarien ikuspegitik galdera nagusia hurrengoa da: emakumeak subjektu politikotzat eraikitze moduko espazioak sortu ote ziren da auzi eztabaidatuena. Galdekatzaile hauek jarraituz, hurrengo orrialdeetan bere alderdi desberdinetatik emakumezkoen abertzaletasuna goraiatu zuten diskurtso liberalen baitan feminitatearen esanahiak nola eraiki ziren aztertzen saiatuko naiz, emakumeen parte hartze belikoa bera ere kontuan hartuz. Ikusiko dugunez, erregimen konstituzionalaren defentsaren lehenengo hamarkadetan, konstituzionalismoaren eta patriotismoaren beharrek genero ordenak ezartzen zituen exijentziekin harreman aldakorrek eta anbigualak izan zituzten.

Euskal probintzietako kasuari dagokionez, liberalismoaren eta konstituzionalismoaren gertuko prentsa gisa honetako gaiak lantzerik behartuta egon zen, bai emakumeen sektore jakin batek irakurria zelako, eta baita bere artikuluen artean emakumeek erregimen berriko erakundeetan edo soziabilitate liberalaren guneetan izan behar luketen parte hartzearen zein beraien rol sozialaren inguruko oharrek argitaratzera

⁷¹⁰ ESPIGADO (2006): 44; ROMEO (2006): 66-67; FERNÁNDEZ (2009b): 146; ARESTI (2014b).

⁷¹¹ CASTELLS, ESPIGADO, eta ROMEO (2009).

bultzatuta ikusi zelako. Gai hauen inguruko iritziak medio anitzetan adieraziak geratu ziren. “No es dado a nosotros”, adierazten zuen *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* argitalpeneko kazetari batek 1822. urteko urtarrilean, “el decidir la tan controvertida cuestión de filósofos y políticos acerca del rango que el bello sexo debe ocupar en la sociedad, ni tampoco nos arrogaremos la presunción de aleccionar a las tiernas y hermosas españolas”⁷¹². Hala ere, kazetariak berehala aurrean egindako oharraz ahazten zen bere irakurle emakumezkoei esateko: “...solo quisiéramos recordarlas [...] que solo en el país donde reinan la libertad y la razón, podrán ellas ser felices y dulces compañeras de un amigo de su elección, y madres virtuosas y respetadas de una familia amante”⁷¹³. Liberalismoaren aldekoak ziren idazle eta kazetari gehiengoak emakumeei egozten zieten fintasunak, samurtasunak eta inozentziak ez zien ekiditen emakumeei gogoraraztea liberalismoaren garaipena beharrezkoa zela emakume bezala beraien ongizatea bermatuko lukeen aukera politiko bakarra zen heinean. Zentzu honetan generoaren hierarkiak ezarritako mugak gaindituko ez lukeen gatazkan parte hartzera gonbidatzen zituzten. Emakumeen usteko izaera aurre-politikoak, naturalizatuak eta domestikoak, hiritar oso bezala eremu politikoan parte hartzea ukatzeko erabiliena zen argudioak, abertzaletasun femeninoaren diskurtsoarekin nolabaiteko harreman anbigua eta malgua mantentzen zuen. Ikuspegi orokorrak onartzen zuen emakumeen parte hartze politikoa, kulturala edota gizarteko beste edozein eremutan, gizonezkoek bezalaxe ezinezkoa zela, naturak edota konbentzio sozialek horrela agintzen zutelako. Baina horrek ez zuen ekiditen emakumeei oinarrizkotzat jotzen zen funtzio politiko bat bete zezatela exijitzea: liberalismoaren gordailu eta transmititzaile izan zitezten. Gizonezkoen termino berdinetan emakumeen parte hartze politikoa ezorki ezaugarritzeko egile kontserbakoienek erabilitako “hermafrodita moral”⁷¹⁴ nozioa, egiazki, emakumeen egoera anbiguoaren eta zailaren adierazle da.

Zenbait urte arinago, tropa napoleondarren kontrako borrokaren osteko hurrengo urteetan, 1814. urteko urtarrilaren 22an, *Correo de Vitoria* argitalpenak bere hamargarren zenbakian “las Damas de Vitoria” taldeak edo egile misterioetsuek sinatutako artikulu bat gehitu zuen⁷¹⁵. Testuak estilo zeharo lardaskatua eta nahasia

⁷¹² EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 162, 18/01/1822, 3.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ FERNÁNDEZ (2009b): 138.

⁷¹⁵ Oso gutxi edo ezer ez dakigu egiatan sinadura horren atzean zeuden emakumeei edo egileei buruz. Ezin genezake era guttiz fidagarrian esan emakumeen talde batek idatzia izan zenik. Edozein kasutan, femeninoaren lehenengo pertsona pluralean idatzia doan testu bat dela zalantzarik ez dago.

zerabilen. Baina emakumeek egoera sozialean eta politikoan zeukaten interesaren inguruko informazio baliagarria eskaintzen digu, baita feminitatearen eredu diferenteen inguruko eztabaidetan zeukaten interes berezia ere. Egunkariaren erredaktoreak emakume hauek emakumeek argitalpenean parte hartzeko zeukaten interesaren eta insistentziaren aurrean bere nahigabea agertzeko ez zuen erreparorik izan. Bere sarkasmoa nabaria da aztertzen ari garen testua aurkezterako orduan hurrengo adierazi zuelako: “...no nos hemos atrevido ni siquiera a variar las faltas de ortografía”⁷¹⁶. Testuak emakumeak politikan zeukaten interes bizia generoak ezarritako mugekin bateragarriak egitera behartuak egon zirela erakusten du. Hitz hartzearen aurreko barkamena eskatzearen errekurso erretorikoa baliatuz “Damas de Vitoria” emakumeek egunkari gasteiztarrek maila baxuko liskar politikoak ekidin zitzala eskatzen zuten. Antza denez, emakumeek kalitazteko diskurtso politikoaren eta intelektualek inguruko hausnarketa sakonak irakurri nahi zizuten zeintzuen bidez beraien ulermena bera ere zabaldu ahal izateko asmoz. Alegia, emakume hauek argitalpen bat beraiantzat, eta orokorrean pertsona guztientzat, erabilgarria izan zedin bete behar zituen baldintzen inguruko bere iritzia ematen zuten eta berau kontuan hartua izatea exijitzen zuten: “...la acordada edicion concibió nuestro espíritu la agradable esperanza de un recreo instructor, inflamo nuestros corazones el deseo de erudicion”, zioten Damas de Vitoria taldeko emakumeek ondorengo kexua adierazteko: “No sospechaba, Señor Redactor, nuestro sindéresis, que la edición de Vitoria pudiese jamás llegar a reducirse, á un emblema de ineptias y futilidades”⁷¹⁷.

Erreklamaizo honen alderdirik interesgarriena da, emakumeei egozten zitzaien “la ternura de nuestro sexo” izaera eta ezaugarria baliatzen zuen hizkuntza eta erretorika erabiltzen bazuten ere, beraien eskaera garaiko gizarteak ezartzen zizkien feminitate eredu debotoaren eta domestikoaren inguruko kritikarekin batera ematen zela: “mayor fruto recogeríamos las doncellas, de unas nociones político-morales, y de algunos discursazos de los hombres”, eskatzen zuren andre gasteiztar hauek, “siéndonos amargamente bochornoso, que á no ser la Mauricia que lee la vida de la venerable Madre Catalina de Cristo, no haya una entre nosotras que se separen de la almohadilla, costura, calzeta, punto tambor, bastidor y amoríos”⁷¹⁸. Laburra, baina zuzena eta irmoa,

⁷¹⁶ “Representación dirigida al Redactor del Correo por las Damas de Vitoria”, CORREO DE VITORIA, 10, 22/01/1814, 74.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid*, 75

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid*, 76.

esaldi honek beraientzat iraingarritzat eta eskastzat jotzen zituzten ereduaren pean bizi zirela adierazten zuen feminitatearen esperientzia bat erakusten digu. Ezta beaten bizitzek, ezta gozotutako domestizitate sentimentalak ere, ez zituzten emakume hauen asmoak eta beharrak asetzen. Politikan, kulturean eta gizartean interes bizia zuten irakurle amorratuak ziren eta arduratzen ziren beraien egoeraren inguruko iritzia emateko eskubidea izatea aldarrikatu zuten. Gutxiagotasunaren eta sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren erretorikaren errekurtsioa erabiltzen bazuten ere, “pues aunque en la sociedad estamos admitidas como unos entes momentáneamente necesarios y opuestos á los ocios de la literatura”, gizartearen aurrean beraien balioa erakusteko zeukaten gaitasun intelektualaren aldarrikapena egin zuten: “no dexa de haber entre nosotras algunas politiquillas, que ansían recitar con juicio cualquiera párrafo, que pueda captarles la atención y buen concepto de nuestros cohetaneos”⁷¹⁹.

Hurrengo zenbakietan, eta “Damas de Vitoria” taldeko emakumeek egindako iradokizunaren aurrean, argitalpeneko editoreak “Décimas” testu bat eskaini zien. Hauetan egileak andreak politikan parte hartzeko aurkeztu zuten gogoaren egokitasuna kolokan jarri zuen, hain zuzen ere, generoak ezarritako mugak gaindituko lituzkeelako:

*“Lo político-moral
no se encuentra entre las modas:
patriotismo, y sereis todas
dignas de fama inmortal.
Si del amor nacional
pretendeis un distintivo,
con zelo caritativo
los enfermos socorred,
ó todas juntas haced
a la Patria un donativo”⁷²⁰.*

Erredaktoarentzat, beraz, abertzaletasunak emakumeei “modetatik” haratago zioan duintasuna emango lieke, baina beti ere genero ordenak ezartzen zituen exigentzien muga pean mantentzen baldin bazen. Azkeneko bertsoek, hala ere, salbuespenerako nolabaiteko zirrikitu batzuk irekitzen zituen adieraziz, nolabait, generoak ezartzen zuen

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁰ “Décimas”, CORREO DE VITORIA, 11, 25/01/1814, 88.

hierarkiak gainditu ahalko litzatekeela egindako ekintzek eta emakumeen adoreak horrela mereziko balute:

*“y si el sexô femenil
Quiere parte en esta gloria,
Haga un hecho que en la historia
Merezca ser alabado,
Y que veamos grabado
En las armas de VITORIA”*⁷²¹.

Duintasun patriotikoan emakumeek zute parte hartzearen inguruko eztabaida honekin amaitzeko argitalpenaren hamaikagarren zenbakiak Joaquina de Campuzano, andereño “Rioxano-Vitoriana” baten erantzuna gehitzen zuen. Bere erantzuna, editorearenak bezalaxe, bertso batzuk ziren. Neskak generoak ezartzen zituen mugen baitan ere emakumeek abertzaletasunaren erakustaldi handiak egin litezkeela defendatu zuen. Bi eremu horiek, genero arauak eta abertzaletasunaren exijentzia, ez ziren bakarrik uztargarriak, baizik eta baita harmoniatsuak ere:

*“Entre moda, y patriotismo
No hallamos contradicción,
Ántes su combinación
Forma un contraste hermosísimo.
Toda vez que á quixotismo
No huelan, nuestras acciones,
la fama y las opiniones,
todas quedarán atrás,
pues no pensamos mas
que en socorrer a los Campeones”*⁷²².

Hirurtekoaren garaian ere, euskal probintzietako prentsa liberalarak emakumeen parte hartze politikoaren inguruko eztabaiden indarraren zantzuak eman zituen. Aberriaren eta liberalismoaren aldeko parte hartze hau, noski, ez zen gizonezkoen parte hartzearekin alderatzen. Sozietate Patriotikoak, Hirurteko garaian sektore liberalentzat bereziki garrantzitsuak izan ziren eztabaidaguneak ⁷²³, emakumeek nolabaiteko

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*

⁷²² “Respuesta de una Señorita Rioxano-Vitoriana à las décimas del Editor del Correo de Vitoria”, CORREO DE VITORIA, 13, 1/02/1814, 98-99.

⁷²³ GIL (2012); ÁLVAREZ (2015): 56.

presentzia batez gozatu ahal izan zuten espazioak izan ziren. Gune hauetan emakumeek nazioaren etorkizun zalantzakorrari eta kezkarriari buruz berba egiteko eta eztabaidatzeko aukera izan zuten, nahiz eta, ikusiko den moduan, mugak nabariak ziren⁷²⁴. Donostiako Sozietate Patriotikoaren, La Balandra, kasua ez zen zentzu honetan salbuespen bat izan. Sozietatea 1820. urtean sortu zen eta adierazpen bide nagusitzat *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* argitalpena izan zuen⁷²⁵. Sozietatearen agiritan adierazten diren kide guztiak gizonak dira. Hala ere, *El Liberal Guipuzcoano* egunkarian argitaratutako batzarren inguruko oherrengatik badakigu emakumeek ere parte hartzen zutela. Hori bai, maila diferentea zuten eta beraientzat espresuki antolatutako gunetan ezertzen ziren. Emakumeak sozietatean parte hartzearen defentsa jatorri ilustratuko argudio baten bidez egin zen, hain zuzen ere, hainbatetan aipatu den gizartean eta gizonengan feminitate samur eta gozo batek izan zitzakeen eragin positiboaren onarpenaren argudioaren bidez. “Y también las mujeres, esta porción de nosotros mismos, que solo bajo el despotismo ú la hipocresía esta privada del derecho que la á dispensado la naturaleza, de dar colorido y hermosura á cuanto hacemos los hombres”, azaltzen zuen egunkari donostiarrek, “también las mujeres asisten a la sociedad patriótica de S. Sebastian”⁷²⁶. Beraz, zenbait emakume donostiarrek Gorteetako sesioak irakurtzen eta eztabaidatzen ziren tertulia haien bidez egoera politikoan zuten interesa asebeta ikusi zuten. Emakumeen interes politikoa edota beraien izaera politikoa bera, hala ere generoak ezarritako mugen pean murriztua zegoen hurrengo pasarteak adierazten duen moduan:

“...se las ha visto confirmar con amable risa y complacientes miradas de aprobación lo que ellas mismas sienten y desean mejor que nosotros, y que también dirían con mas gracia y enerjia, si la modestia y las atenciones de su sexo les permitiera usar de la palabra en publico y subir a una tribuna con tanta frecuencia y desembarazo de ciertos adornos convencionales, como á los hombres”⁷²⁷.

⁷²⁴ FERNÁNDEZ (2009b): 133 eta hurrengoak; CRESPO (2014).

⁷²⁵ *El Liberal Guipuzcoano*ren edizio eta argitalpena Sozietatearen egitasmoan artean garrantzitsuenetarikoa izan zen, batez ere Gorteetako eztabaiden, albisteen eta informazioen ezagutarazpenerako. Bere sorkutzari buruzko agiriak, baita bere kideen zerrenda bera ere, online kontsultatu daiteke Gipuzkoako Agiritegi Orokorren web gunean, Erreferentzia Kodea: AGG-GAO JDIM4/12/29.

⁷²⁶ “Sociedad patriótica”, EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 268, 24/01/1823, 3.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*

Zalantza gabe, marko konstituzional berrian emakumeek izan behar zuten lekuari eta rolari buruz eztabaidatzen ziren gizon liberalek emakumeek politikan eta eremu sozialaren inguruan zuten interesa ondo baino hobeto ezagutzen zuten. Izan ere emakume hauek eremu horiek okupatzen zituzten eta beraiengatik borrokatzen ziren genero arauak esanten zutenak debekatzen bazuen ere. Honakoa bezalako pasarteek, hala ere, mugak erakusten dituzte. Liberalen diferentzia sexualaren eta genero ordenaren ulermena liberalismoaren eta gizonezkoen patriotismoaren konplementua izan behar zuen emakumeen patriotismoaren eraikuntzari aurrejartzen zen, nahiz eta azken hau konplexurik gabe aldarrikatzen zen sarritan, goian ikusi dugun moduan. Naturak, biologiak eta konbentzioek ezarritako argudioak –sarritan diskurtso beraren baitan batera ematen zirenak– emakumeen patriotismoa sexu femeninori ezartzen zitzaizkion aukeren eta mugen arabera kanal legitimoen bidez kanalizatua izen zedin bermatzeko funtzionatzen ziren. Emakumeen medioak “barre adeitsuak” eta onarpen “begiradak” ziren. Are gehiago, emakumeak gizonezkoek baino era baliotsuago baten “sentitzen” eta “desiratzen” zuten patriotismo baten gordailu ziren. Liberalismoa goratzen eta legitimatzen zuen sentsibilitate patrioko femeninoaren eraikuntza zen hau. Zergatik? Feminitatea naturalizat eta inozentetzat ulertzen zen heinean berezkoak ziren ezaugarri hauek beraien patriotismoa gizonezkoena baino autentizitate eta balio handiagoz hornitzen zuten. Baina diferentzia sexualaren arauen arabera emakumeek ez zuten patriotismo hau hitzen bidez adierazteko autoritaterik ez zituztelako gizonek okupatzen zituzten enuntziario espazioak okupatzeko eskubiderik. Azken finean, generoaren ordena zalantzan jarriko ez zuen patriotismo baten aurrean aurkitzen gara, sexuen arteko konplementaritatearen ideian ongi finkatutako formulazioa.

Hala ere, Sozietate donostiarrean parte hartu ziren gizonezkoen zein emakumezkoen gogo eta berotasun patriotikoaren testuinguruak genero harremanen estabilitatea aldatu zuten espazioen sorkutza ekarri zuen, momentu batzuen bitartean baino izan ez bazen ere. Argitalpen honek berak adierazten duen moduan, Sozietate donostiarrean zenbait salbuespen eman ziren. Kasuetako bat María Concepción Torres del Prado andreari zegokion. Andre honek tradizionalki maskulinoa zen eta emakumeei debekatua egon zen enuntziario ohorezko eremu hori okupatu zuen: tribuna. Torres andreak oholtza erabiltzeko egin zuen eskaeraren aurrean, “...los señores, dispensando el reglamento a favor de la galantería y de tan digno motivo, uniendo su satisfacción á la de todos los demás espectadores, señalaron con prolongado aplauso la presencia de dicha señora en

la tribuna”⁷²⁸. María Concepción Torres andrearen parte hartzea, zeinak arautegia bera urratzen zuen, momentuko egoerarengatik eta gizonen adeitasunarengatik justifikatua izan zen salbuespenako ekintza izan zen. Hala ere, Torresek adierazitako hitzek, ez bakarrik momentu hartan, baizik eta baita ondorengo momentuetan ere, ordena sexualak inposatzen zituen mugak gainditzen zuen patriotismo femeninoaren erakusle dira.

“Ciudadanos”, izan zen Torresek bere hitzaldiari hasiera emateko erabili zuen berba, hasieratik bere entzulegoarekin berdintasunezko egoera komunikatiboa sortuz. “Conozco las leyes del decoro y la moderación: no se me ocultan las interpretaciones que pueden hacerse del acto de ocupar yo esta tribuna”⁷²⁹, adierazi zuen ondoren. Konbentzioen erabileraren oroigarri hau erabili bazuen ere, Torresek ez zuen barkamena eskatu nahi baizik eta bere hitzaldiak, alegia, emakume batek tribuna eta hitza hartzeak, konbentzioak kontrajartzen ez zituztela aldarrikatu: “creo que no procedo contra aquellas, y al mismo tiempo perdono y compadezco a los mal entendidos”. Bere hitzek, nolabait, 1821. urtean eman zen polemika baten ildo jarraitzen zutelaren dirudi, hain zuzen ere, emakumeak Gorteko ezatabida parlamantarioak entzuteko debekuarena. Alegia, sentipenera mugaturik zegoen eta hitzaren erabilera debekatua zeukan feminitatearen aurrean Torresek emakume izatearen ulermen zeharo diferentea erakutsi zuen eta bide batez garaiko ereduak kritikatu zituen. Torresek espazio horren erabilea aldarrikatzen zuen bere sentipenak adierazteko bere aberrikideak ziren heinean bere berdinak ziren gizonei hurrengo hitzak zuzenduz: “Déjenme con vosotros alternar en el desahogo de mis sentimientos patrióticos, y halla, halla vayan do quieran con sus criticas y sus puerilidades”⁷³⁰.

Hizlariaren diskurtsoak erakusten du bere abertzaletasuna gizonezkoekin berdintzen zuen sentimendu lez aldarrikatu zuela:

“¡Qué objeto tan tierno para mi corazón la patria! ¡Qué dulce vuestra compañía cuando os veo ocupados de sus intereses! ¿habia yo de intimidarme asta el punto de renunciar a su goce? No, ciudadanos, con vosotros estaré en la sociedad patriótica, con vosotros sufriré si se me permite en bien de adorada patria las incomodidades y trabajos mas penosos”⁷³¹.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁹ EL LIBERAL GUIPUZCOANO, 269, 27/01/1823, 3-4.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*

Torresen hitzetan, aberriarenganako maitasuna eta mina ziren, hain zuzen ere, sozietateko gainerako kide gizonezkoekin berdintzen zituen ezaugarriak. Bere hitzek gizonen eta emakumeen arteko diferentzia gaindiezina eraikitzen zuen genero ikuspegia bera baino garrantzitsuago bihurtzen ziren patriotismoarekiko eta konsituzionalismoarekiko fidaltasunak gurutzaturiko feminitatea erakusten dute. Azken baten, Torresek emakume izateagatik aberriari uko egingo ez ziola, berarengatik sufritzeari eta sakrifikatzeari utziko ez ziola, adierazten zuen. “Ciudadanos la muerte es menos amarga que el sucumbir al despotismo”, daklamatu zeun Torresek *El Verdadero Patriotaren* elkarrizketako fikziozko emakume abertzaleak, Leandra de Padillak, bezala: “Escuchaz, oid los gritos de las victimas de Nápoles y Turin. Yo, reconcentrada al mas profundo silencio, oigo que nos dicen: españoles, pelead”. Ondoren, María Concepción Torresek bere diskurtsoa amaitzen zuen “He dicho” irmo eta benazko baten bidez. Amaiera honek ekidin ezin zen Torresen autoritate pertsonala baieztatzen zuen. Artikuluak berak adierazten zuen moduan Torres sakonki laudatua eta txalotua izan zen bere entzuleriarengatik. Torresen diskurtsoaren sarrera gisa aritaratu zen artikuluko kazetariak adierazten zen moduan “lo mejor que nosotros podemos decir para animar el patriotismo⁷³²”.

Ez dago zalantzarik Torresen diskurtsoan generoaren mugak ere egon bazeudela. Berak ez zuen emakumeen eta gizonezkoen borroka berdintsua aldarrikatzen baldintza berdinetan. Ez zuen, ezta, gizon eta emakumeen arteko berdintasun juridikoa onartuko zuen konstituzionalismoaren edo liberalismoaren definizioa eman. María Concepción Torresen diskurtsoak, hala ere, aberriarenganako maitasunean zeukan parte hartzeko eskubidea aldarrikatzen zuen, baita berau publikoki adierazteko eskubidea ere. Eta hau egiten zuen, aldi berean, berak okupatu zuen espazioa, tribuna, emakumeentzat desgokia zela adierazten zuten jarrerak kontrajarriz eta kritikatu. Era honetara, generoak garrantzia eta pisu handia zeukan feminitatearen kontzeptzioa erakutsi zuen, baina malgutasunerako aukera handiak zeuzkana, hain zuzen ere gogo konstituzionalistak eta liberalismoak muga horiei era erabakigarrian eragin zitelako. Horrela eztabaidarako guneak ireki ziren, ez bakarrik egoera politikoaren inguruan baizik eta emakumeen eta beraien egoera sozialari buruz ere. 1823. urteko urtarrila bezalako testuinguru gatazkatsuan eman zen abertzaleasun femeninoaren adierazpen mota hauetako onarpenak hainbat galdera mahaigaineratzen ditu: sozietateko kideek

⁷³² *Ibid.*

María Concepción de Torres eta bere diskurtsoaren meritua txalotzen zuten emakumea *bazen ere?* edo, hain zuzen ere, emakumea *zelako*, alegia, bere abertzaletasunak eta adoreak emakume bat izanik balio handiagoa hartzen zutelako? Interesgarria litzateke auzi hau hautatu beharreko alternatiba lez ez aurkeztea, baizik eta pentsatzea planteamendu horiek zenbateraino izan zitezkeen diskurtso berberaren parte, nahasturik, erakutsiz garaiko testuinguru irekian feminitatearen esanahia anbiguala zela.

Liberalismoaren, konstituzionalismoaren eta bere aurkarien iritzi publikoa sortu eta eragiten ziren espazioetatik gainera emakumeek bataila-eremuan parte hartu zuten eta beraien ekintzak azterketa publikoaren objektu izan ziren. Elena Fernández bezalako egileak Independentzia Guda bitartean eta baita Hirurteko garaia bitartean emakumeen esperientziak dokumentatzen izugarritzko lan handiana egin dute⁷³³. Martina Ibaibarriaga edo María Ángela Telleria emakume euskaldunen kasu dokumentatuak bezala, ikertuak izan badira ere⁷³⁴, azterketa luzeagoa eta bereiziagoa mereziko lukete, gatazka iraultzailean izan zuten inplikazio zuzenaren esanahia ulertzeko. Hemengoan gako batzuk baino ez ditugu emango adibide baten azterketaren bidez. María Ángela Telleriaren kasuan sakondu dut, zeinaren inguruan agiri gehien dauzkagun momentuz. Kasu hau gatazka politikoko garai horren bitartean genero esanahiak eta emakumeak inguraturik egon ziren tentsioen adierazgarri da. Bere irudiak eta kasuak, borrokalari antinapoleonarren artean bere balentriengatik goraiapamen handia sortu baldin bazuen ere, aldi berean feminitatearen definiziorik esentzialistenak erakutsiko dizkigu, XIX. mende hasieran gero eta indar handiagoa lortuz zioaztenak.

Gloria Espigado, Elena Fernández edo Juan José Sánchez egileek ondo adierazi duten moduan, 1811. urteko martxoaren 18an *El Conciso* egunkariak Telleria neska gaztearen balentriaren laudorioa eskaintzen zuen 1809. urtean gobernu frantsesaren esku preso zeuden hainbat soldadu espainiarren ihesia ahalbidetu zuelako⁷³⁵. Laudorio testu mota hauen inguruan, duela ia bi hamarkada John Lawrencek defendatu zuen hain zuzen ere frantsesaren kontrako egoerari buruz hitz egiten, abertzale espainiarrek emakume borrokalariak bere eduki propagandistikoaren parte lez irudikatu zituztela⁷³⁶. Egiazki, 1811. urteko *El Conciso*ko artikulua heroiatasunez beteriko errelatoa sortu zuen neska gaztearen inguruan, zeinak bere espíritu patriotikoak bultzaturik hainbat soldadu

⁷³³ FERNÁNDEZ (2009a) y (2009b).

⁷³⁴ SÁNCHEZ (2009): 180-185.

⁷³⁵ ESPIGADO (2006): 44; FERNÁNDEZ (2009a): 103-104; SÁNCHEZ (2009): 182-185.

⁷³⁶ LAWRENCE (1999): 269.

espainol askatu zituen hainbat gorabeheren ostean. Idatzi hartan Telleria heroi baten gisara irudikatua zen, torturatua eta iraindua izan ostean hainbeste desiatzen zuen askatasuna lortu zuena. Bere istorioa Kadizerarte bere ihesiaren errelatorekin batera zetorren, hau ere, heroitasun eta patriotismo femeninoaren erretorikaren bidez kontatua: “Penetrada esta digna española de los sentimientos de amor à la patria, y odio al tirano [...] estaba impaciente por tener ocasión de servir de algun modo, y a cualquier costa, à la mas justa de las causas...”, zioen *El Conciso*ko kazetariak 1811. urteko martxoaren 18 hartan⁷³⁷. Idatzian goian aipatu izan diren sentsibilitate abertzale femeninoaren inguruan generoari eta patriotismoari buruzko elementuak goraiatzen ziren: “Este ensayo patriótico lleno el corazon sensible de aquella verdadera *muger fuerte* de tal contento, que se creía dichosa en medio del inminente riesgo de ser acusada y descubierta”⁷³⁸. María Ángela Telleriaren kontra zabaldu zen prozesuaren espedientean gordetzen den auto kriminalean, haatik, Sánchezek berak ikertu duen moduan, gaztearen ekintzen eta bere esanahiaren beraren ikuspegi zeharo diferentea erakusten digu⁷³⁹.

Beharbada beharrezkoa litzateke hastea gaztearen deklarazioak, hainbat izan zirenak, jasotzen dituen dokumentuan irakurri daitekeela, behin lehen deklarazioa eginda, idazkariak Telleriari berak esandakoa “[en] la lengua vulgar Bascongada” hizkuntzan ulertzera eman behar izan ziola adieraziz. Hau da, antza denez, autoa eta bere deklarazioak gaztelaniaz erredaktaturik badaude ere, Telleriak euskaraz deklaratu zuen. Izan ere, bere defentsak Telleriak gaztelania ez ezagutzea argudio errugabekotzat erabili zuen. Honek ez du esan nahi Telleriak gaztelania ezagutzen ez zuenik, baina adieraz lezake Telleriak ihes egiten lagundu zuen preso espainiarrarekin izan zuen komunikazioa mugatua izan zitekeela.

Autoan batzen duen moduan, halaber, Telleriak ez zuen inongo dokumenturik sinatu, 24 urte zituelako, hau da, adingabekoa zelakoa, eta baita, antza denez, idazten ez zekielako. Telleria bere deklarazioan, bera bizi zen eta Pedro de Orosqueta presbiteroaren neskame lez lan egiten zuen Durangoko hiribilduan preso zegoen ofizial espainol batek limosna bat eskatu ziola eta berak bi pesetekin lagundu ziola kontatzera mugatu zen. Ofizialak

⁷³⁷ “Patriotismo y heroicidad de una española”, EL CONCISO, 39, 18/03/1811, 209.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid*, 210.

⁷³⁹ Bizkaiko Foru Aldundiko Agiritegi Historikoan, Sección Judicial, Fondo Corregidor, Signatura JCR0955/033. Agiri oso luzea da, “Autos criminales promovidos de oficio por el Corregidor contra María Ángela de Tellería” tituluduna. Orrialde guztien artean gutxi batzuk baino ez daukate orrialde zenbakia. Hurrengo orrialdeetan testu hau AUTOS CRIMINALES, SIG. JCR0955/033 izenarekin erreferentziatuko dut orrialdeen inguruko informazioa eman ezin gabe.

diru gehiago bildu zetzala agindu zionean auzoko desberdinen artean diru gehiago bildu zuen. Hamazortzi ogerleko eta erdi biltzea lortu zuen auzoko eta herriko pertsonen artea eta, dirudienez bera izan zen ofizialari limosna entregatu ziona. “Jaro de Arandia” deituriko leku aldendu eta bakarti baten limosna handiago bat entregatu zion. Epaitegietan zergatik lagundu ote zion galderaren aurrean, Telleriak hasieran esandakoaz gainera ezer gehitzerik ez zeukala baino ez zuen erantzun. Ofizialaren jatorriaren, mailaren eta helmugaren inguruan ezer ez zekiela adierazi zuen. Telleria, limosna eman zioten hainbat auzokoren testigantzak batu ostean, fiskaltzaren eta bere abokatuaren idatzien aurkezpenaren ostean, neska gaztea Durangoko moja agustindarren komentuan, edo hiribilduko kartzelan bertan, bi urteko itxialdira kondenatua izan zen⁷⁴⁰.

Hala ere, gaztearen espedientearen alderdirik interesgarriena ez da juzgatu ziren egintzak *El Conciso* aldizkarian kontatutakorekin alderatuta guztiz desberdinak izatea. Ikerketa honen helburua ez da gertaturakoaren usteko errelato objektibo zalantzaezina eraikitzea. Kontuan izan behar dugu, gainera, espediente judizialean batutakoak ez duela nahitanahiez egitasunaren bermea ematen. Telleriak berak gezurrak zirenak kontatu ahal izan zituen bere deklarazioak bere burua edo lagundutako presoak, edo presoak, babesteko. Testuinguru jakin batean idatziko testu bat da zeinetan emakume baten ekintzak juzgatu ziren gatazka politiko bereziki arriskutsuko garaian. Hizkuntza judizial jakin bat erabili zen bere kategoria bereizgarriekin, ez bakarrik napoleondar administrazioaren marko judizialari eta politikoari dagokionez, baita feminitateari dagokionez ere. Telleriaren irudiaz generoaren ikuspuntutik interes handiena daukana emakume izatea eta gerra ekintza baten inguruan egotea era desberdinetan interpretatuta izan zela da, testuinguru berdinean kokatzen ziren diskurtso desberdinengatik eta enuntziario eremu diferenteetatik eztabaidan ari zirenak. Azterketa honekin nahi dena testuinguru belikoan emakumeen parte hartzea eztabaidagai izan zela eta honek emakumei egotzi beharreko balioak definitzerako orduan bere eragina izan zuela erakustea da.

Fiskaltzak eskainitako diskurtsoa bereziki gogorra izan zen. Telleria gazteari Frantziara bidean zeramatzaten preso zegoen ofizial espainiar bat ihes egiten laguntzen jardun izana egotzen zitzaion. María Ángela emakume izateak ez zien egotzitako karguei

⁷⁴⁰AUTOS CRIMINALES, SIG. JCR0955/033, z/g.

inolako garrantziarik kentzen. Izan ere, Telleria emakumea zela ez zen fiskaltzaren apelazioan zehar inon agertzen. Bakarrik bere penaren eskaeran adierazten zen bera emakumea zela kontuan hartu behar zela. Fiskaltzaren arabera kondena handiagoa merezi bazuen ere, hain zuzen ere emakumea zen heinean eskatzen zituen “diez años de reclusion en una casa de corrección”⁷⁴¹.

Hala ere, defentsaren argudioak dira, Pedro Martín de Olano bere zaindaria erabili zituenak, momentuan indar handiz funtzionatzen zuen feminitatearen kontzepzioaz eta emakume kategoriaz informazio handiena eta aberatsena eskaintzen digutenak. Eta indar handiz funtzionatu zirela diogu abokatuaren alegazioen ostean fiskaltzak eskatutako pena bi urtetara murriztua izan zelako hain zuzen ere sendoki argudiatuz Telleriaren izaera femeninoak bultzatu izan zuela egindakoa egitera. Telleriak deklaratuak egintzak ukatu gabe, abokatuaren estrategia, hain zuzen ere, gazteak bere deklarazioan erakutsitako xalotasunak eta sinplizitateak Telleriak egiten zuenaren delitu izaeraren guztiz ezjakina zela erakusten zutela adieraztea izan zen. “La ignorancia de ella la favorece expresamente en ella por su sexo, edad y oficio”, argudiatu zuen Martín de Olanok⁷⁴². Egiatan, abokatuaren arabera, María Ángela ofizialaren biktima baino ez zen izan. Ofizialak neska gaztea ahula eta erraz engainagarria bihurtzen zuten ezaugarri guztiengatik abantaila hartuz –adingabekoa zen, jornalari baten alaba, analfabetoa eta gaztelaniaren edo legeen ezjakina– neska gazte gaixoa engainatu egin zuen.

Abokatuak Telleria juzgatzen zuen “tribunalaren sentsibilitatea” goraiatu zuen eta aldi berean feminitatearen kontzepzio jakin bat erakusten zuen bere bezeroa erabat errugabetzeko: emakumeak, beraien izaerarengatik, ezin ziren subjektu aktibo eta autonomo lez hartueta hortaz ezin ziren egiten zutenaren errudun izan. Are gehiago, abokatuak ematen zuen feminitatearen definizioan emakumeak ez ziren inongo zentzutan subjektutzat hartzen. Martín de Olanok, izaera filosofikoko eta moraleko argudioak eskainiz, bere pasioen, hau da “movimientos del alma” zeritzotenen, menpe zegoen gizakiaren definizioa eskaini zuen. “Da la naturaleza a todos los seres, y animales sus distintivos”, adierazi zuen abokatuak ondoren diferentzia sexuala fundamentatzen zuten oinarri naturalak ezartzeko: “Dio a las mugeres la compasion y la amabilidad”. Natural sendoki oinarritzen zen feminitatearen definizioaz baliatuz jarraitu zuen: “Arrastro pues a esta joven su compasion: pudo mas que sus fuerzas: no fue

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, z/g.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, z/g.

señora de sus operaciones”. Martín de Olanok, horrela, bere defendatua inolako erresposabilitateik errugabetzen zuen⁷⁴³.

Erabilitako argumentua, egiazki, trebea eta indartsua zen generoaren pisua, natura hutsera murriztuz, beste edozein motatako alderdi baino garrantzi handiago hartzen zuen emakumeen definizioa mahai gainean jarri baino ez zuelako egiten, bere muturrera eramanez. Bere emakume izaeraren aurrean, ezta neska presoaren interes politiko edo ekonomiko hipotetiko batek, ezta bere klase sozialak, ezta bere pietate erlijiosoak ez zuten balio bere ekintzak esplikatzen. Bere argudioaren arabera, Telleria, hain zuzen ere emakumea zelako, ezin izan zuen beste era batera jokatu; bere izaera femeninoaren arabera edozeinek itxarongo lukeen moduan jardun zen: “Hizo esta joven desdichada lo que imperiosamente le prescribió la naturaleza”. Ezin zen Telleria ofizial antinapoleonderrekin kolaborazioaz errudun zela esan, ezin zen bera borrokalari antinapoleondarra zela argudiatu eta ezin zen beraien erakunden kontra jarduteagatik errudun zela esan. Bere defentsa emakumeak bere ekintzen subjektu guztiz irresponsabletzat hartzen zituen kontzepzio baten oinarritzen zen. Beraien sexuaren eta beraien instintu naturalen eraginpean bizi ziren guztiz hauen kontra ezer egitekorik izan gabe. Azken baten, erruduntzat hartzen baldin bazuten emakume izateagatik baino ez lirateke Telleria kondenatzen egongo: bera kartzelara eramanez “se castigaría a la compasion y ternura de una joven”, baieztatu zuen abokatuak zorrozki⁷⁴⁴. Sententziak ez zuen neska gaztea errugabetzat jo, baina fiskaltzak eskatutakotik asko aldendu zen. Akusatua, bere “la fragilidad é ignorancia propias de su sexo” ezaugarrien eraginez bi urteko itxialdira kondenatu zuten. Eta interesgarriena da, sententziak zioenaren arabera pena hau “para que la sirva de escarmiento” ezartzen zitzaioela. Bere kondenaren izaera erakusgarria azpimarratzen zen bere zigorrezko edukia alde batera utziz⁷⁴⁵.

Analisi honetarako aukeratutako perspektibatik, prozesuak, bere osotasunean, diferentzia sexuala eta feminitate naturalizatuaren kontzepzioak garrantzia hartzen ari zela eta sozialki errotzen ari zela erakusten du. Honek ez du esan nahi garairako ikuspegi hegemonikoa zenik, ordea. Hala ere, definizio honek zekarren berritasuna azpimarratu behar da. Ikuspegi katoliko tradizionalaren kontra, zeinaren arabera emakumeek zein gizonezkoek aukeramen osoa zeukaten, alegia, ongiaren eta

⁷⁴³ *Ibid*, z/g.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid*, z/g.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid*, z/g.

gaizkiaren, bekatuaren eta bertutearen artean erabakitzeke gaitasun oso zeukaten, abokatu defendatzaileak erabilitako ikuspegiaren arabera kondizio femeninoak emakumeen moralitatea guztiz determinatzen zuen askatasunerako aukerak murriztuz. Emakumeak natura eta instintu hutsera murriztuak ziren pertsonalitate juridiko osoa izateko aukera ukatuz⁷⁴⁶. Baina are garrantzitsuagoa oraindik, neska honen kasuak ondorio politiko eta ikusi dugun moduan juridiko sakoneko feminitatearen esanahiari buruzko eztabaida soziala erakusten du. Horrela, aztertu ditugun iturri desberdinetan Telleria bera ezaugarritzeko bi eredu oso desberdin ikusi ditugu: bere ekintzetaz errugabea eta irresponsablea zen neskatxa ahul eta ezjakina eta heroi patriotikoa, beldurgarria eta ausarta, nazioaren defendatzailea, liberlismoak gorai patzen zuena.

Mende hasierako prozesu iraultzaileetan emakumeen parte hartzearen adibide baten informazioa eskaintzeaz gain, Telleriaren kasuak ezegonkortasun politikoko eta sozialeko testuinguruan feminitatearen definizioak eta emakumeak kategoria bera ezegonkorrak zirela erakusten du. Hurrengo ataletan ikusiko dugun moduan, hurrengo urteetan, konkretuki gatazka karlistaren baitan, emakumeen parte hartzea antolatuagoa izan zen, bere esanahia era sendoagoan artikulatu zen eta iturriek adierazten duten moduan emakumeen parte hartzea handiagoa izan zen. Azpimarratu nahi dut, hala ere, bere garrantzia ez datzala hainbeste elementu kuantitatiboan baizik eta kualitatiboan. Antzaenez, Guda Karlisten bitartean bando liberaleko emakumeen parte hartzeak, eta berari hauekin batera garatu zen feminitateak, esanahi berriak hartu zituzten emakume baten monarkiaren defentsaren testuinguruan.

Ikusi dugun moduan euskal probintzietako liberalismoaren iturriek ez digutela “ángel del hogar” irudia erakusten edo amatasunaren funtzioari soilik lotzen zitzaion feminitatearen irudia⁷⁴⁷. Oinarrian zegoen diferentzia sexuala nabarmena baldin bazen ere eta naturaren zein konbentzioetan oinarritzen ziren muga argiak ezartzen bazituzten ere, asaldatze biziko garai bereziak emakumeen izaera eta emakumeak berak politizatu behar izan zituen, beraien eremu emozionaletik edo sentimetaletik izan bazen ere. Emakumeak kausa konstituzionalaren eragile aktiboak bihurtu behar ziren, beraien sentipen patriotikoak onartu behar izan zituzten eta baita beraien parte hartze zuzena era baiezkorrean onartu ere. Gatazka politikoak emakumeen rola inguruan

⁷⁴⁶ ARESTI (2000): 391.

⁷⁴⁷ Zentzu honetan Elena Fernándezekin bat egiten dut adieraztean 1845. urterarte “ángel del hogar” delako feminitate irudia ez zela bere osotasunean garatua izan, are gutxiago, guztiz operatiboa izan zenik gizarteko alor praktikoetan, FERNÁNDEZ (2009b): 133. Ikusi ere BURGUERA (2016): 259.

eztabaidatzeko eta feminitatea eta maskulinitate erduei buruz zalantzak planteatzeko espazioak ireki zituen. Aldi berean, diskurtso liberalek eta konstituzionalismoaren defentsak emakumeen eta feminitatearen inguruko eztabaideetatik beraien proiektu politikoa legitimatzeko edukiak eta esanahiak atera eta erabili zituzten. Zentzu honetan, neurritz kanpoko erlijiosotasunak kausatzen zuen atzerapenari, kleroaren kontrolari edo emakumeen heziketari eskasari egindako kritikak erregimen konstituzionalari bere justifikaziorako argudioak esakintzea bilatzen zuen aldi berean. Hala ere, hurrengo atalean ikusiko dugun moduan, jarrera liberalak ez ziren izan generoaren eta diferentzia sexualaren inguruan kezka agertu zuten aukera politiko eta sozial bakarra. Hurrengo orrialdetan ikusiko dugunez, testuinguru ezegonkorrak erregimen liberalaren aurrean ikuspegi tradizionalistek nola erreakzionatu zuten ere bere eragina zuen generoan. Tradizioaren defentsatik eta kontserbakoitetasun sakonetik generoa eta diferentzia sexuala oso forma desberdinean ulertu ziren ezenatoki politiko eta sozial berrian.

4.2. Gorputz euskaldunaren eraikuntza: erlijioa, euskara, tradizioa.

Liberalismoaren adierazpen politikoen jaiotza eta hedapenarekin batera, XIX. mende hasierako urteak euskal probintzietan sentimendu antiliberal sakon baten konfigurazioa urteak izan ziren, konstituzionalismoaren kontrakoa eta baita Hirurtekoaren bitartean indarrean jarri ziren neurri ekonomiko eta sozialen kontrakoa ere⁷⁴⁸. XIX. mendeko lehen hamarkadetaz geroztik, zenbait euskal herritan, Bilbo hiribilduaren kasua bezala, krisi ekonomiko sakona bizi izan zuten gatazka belikoen ondorio latzen eraginez eta baita produkzioaren zein merkataritzaren eremuan zentzu modernizatzailan eman ziren transformazioengatik ere⁷⁴⁹. Testuinguru honetan, gaur egungo Bilbo gunean, mendearen lehenengo hamarkaden bitartean konfigurazio politiko berri bat eman zen, Joseba Agirreazkuenagak eskainitako azterketatik abiatuta *euskaltasun politikotzat* definitu daitekeena. Cosme Belaunde bezalako egileek errepresentatutako alderdi liberala zeukan euskaltzaletasun politiko batez ari gara, eta aldi berean alderdi erreakzionarioa ere bazuena, Jose Paulo Ulibarri (1775-1847) edo Vicenta Moguel (1782-1854) –biak ziren Abandoko elizateko auzokoak, Bilbo alboan⁷⁵⁰– bezalako

⁷⁴⁸ RUBIO (1996): 33.

⁷⁴⁹ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (1998).

⁷⁵⁰ Gaur egun Abando Bilboko hiriaren parte da.

egileek defendatutakoa. Azken hau goian behin baino gehiagotan aipatu izan dudan, Juan Antonio Moguelen iloba txikia zen⁷⁵¹.

XIX. mendeko euskaltzaletasunaren adierazpen goiztiar honek ezaugarri garrantzitsu bat zeukan: euskararen baieztapen, euskaldunen hizkuntza, identitatearen ezaugarri politikotzat hartzea, nahiz eta hasieratik adierazi dugun moduan, oraindik ere identifikazio probintzial sendotik egiten zen. Konstituzioak ezartzen zuen zentralizazioaren eta euskal lege bereizgarrien deuseztapenaren aurrean foruen defentsa euskararen defentsarekin batera ez zen egun batetik bestera sortutako aldarrikapen politikoa. Aurretik azaldu dugun moduan, bere erroak XVIII. mendean sartzen zituen aldarrikapen politikoa zen hauxe goian ikertu den Manuel de Larramendiren kasua adibide argiena izanik. Joseba Agirreazkuenagak azpimarratu duen moduan, hizkuntzak, gero eta anitzagoa zen gizarte baten eta liberalismoaren garapenak markatutako testuinguru baten, zentzu politiko berria hartzen zuen eta garrantzia handiko elementu identitarioa bilakatzen zen⁷⁵².

Javier Estebanek Vicenta Moguel eta Ulibarri, Juan José Moguelekin batera, Vicentaren anaia, eta Pedro José Astarloa, Abandoko frantziskotarren komentuakoa, “Abandoko taldearen” egiltzetza klasifikatu ditu, guztiek ondo bereizgarriak ziren alderdi ideologiko garrantzitsuak konpartitzen zituztelako⁷⁵³. Guztiek ikuspuntu zorrotzeneko eta sentimendu komunitario sakoneko jarrera katolikoaren kosmobizioa jarraitzen zuten, beraien kontzepzioen oinarrian foruak eta euskara zeudelarik elementu esanguratsaile lez. Elementu hauen guztien definizioek XVIII. mendeko formulazioetan aurkitzen ditugun erreferente identitarioak biltzen zituzten, bai izaera erlijiosokoa eta baita izaera foralari eta komunitarioari dagokionez ere. Vicenta Moguelen eta Jose Paulo Ulibarriren produkzioaren singularitatea da, ikuspegi katolikoaren defendatzaile amorratuak baziren ere, ez zirela inolako ordena erlijiosoaren parte. Horregatik, hain zuzen ere, testuinguru liberalean beraien testuetako eduki erreazionarioak eta nabarmenagoa zen erlijio gizonen idatzitako izaera erlijioso edo deboziozko testu hutsekin alderatzen baldin

⁷⁵¹ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2008): 108.

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, 110.

⁷⁵³ Javier Estebanek “Abandoko taldea” deitu izan duen inguruko egileen produkzioaren azterketa zehatza eta zabala eskaintzen du. Bere ikerketak Vicenta Moguel, Juan José Moguel, José Paulo Ulibarri, Pedro José Astarloa eta beste egileek ikuspegi ultrakontserbakoi eta erreazionariotik euskaraz idatzitakoren inguruko ikerketa zabala bideratu du historia sozialaren ikuspuntutik. Ikusi ESTEBAN (2017): 203 eta hurrengoak, eta (2016).

badira⁷⁵⁴. Beste era batera esanda, beraien ikuspuntuaren baitan eremu politikoa eta soziala erlijioaren menpean egon beharreko giza dimentsioak ziren, beraien testuen eta idatzien eduki puruki politikoa askoz ere nabarmenagoa zen. Beraien idatzietan eta enuntziario pozisioaren puruki politikoa zen ezaugarri hau, erlijioz haratago, beraien maskulinitatearen eta feminitatearen formulazioetan eragina izan zuten, baita diferentzia sexualaz izan zuten pertzepzioa ere. Katolizismoa tradizionalaren koordenaden baita kokatzen baldin badira ere, egile hauek eduki eta esanahai berriak ekarri zituzten.

Azpiatal honetan Vicenta Mogueli eta Jose Paulo Ulibarriri egotzitako testuen azterketan zentratuko gara. Vicenta Moguelen lehen lan garrantzitsua bere *Ipui Onak* izan zen, 1804. urtean argitaratutako alegia latindarren itzulpenen kolekzio bat. Baina batez ere bere gabon-kantetako bertsoetan antzematen den kritika sakona interesgarria surtatzen da bereziki. Hauetan liberalismoa eta eredu debotoetatik aldentzen ziren maskulinitate eta feminitate ereduak kolokan jarri zituen sutuki, batez ere hirien inguruneetan ematen ari ziren dinamikoagoak eta aldakorak ziren harreman sozial berrien sorkuntzaren markoan. Bere gabon-kantak, euskaraz idatzitakoak eta eduki politiko oso garrantzitsukoak, interes bereziko iturria dira, Jurgi Kintanak Guda Karlisten garaiko *bertsopaperen*⁷⁵⁵ inguruan adierazi zuen moduan, gisa honetako idatziek orokorragoa zen publiko batengana zuzendurik zeudela zirudien, alegia, herriari zuzenduak zeudela ziruditen⁷⁵⁶. Jose Paulo Ulibarri, bere aldetik, bere korrespondentziaren kopia bat utzi zuen. Dokumentu honek informazio handia eskaintzen du. Alde batetik, garaiko pertsonaia politiko eta sozial garrantzitsuekin izandakoa harremana erakusten du, bere pentsamendu antiliberalaren eta erreakzioaren berri ematen diguna. Bestetik, bere emazteari bidalitako gutunek, eta bere emazteak berari bidalitakoek ere, bere bizitza pertsonalaren inguruan informazio zeharo baliagarria utzi digu. Oro har, berak errepresentatzen zuen maskulinitate debotoaren irudiaren eraikuntza eta bere tentsioen inguruko material bikaina dira gutun hauek. Hain zuzen ere, bere emaztearekin trukatu zituen gutun hauek eredu debotoaren esperientzia pertsonaletik sortzen ziren tentsioak erakusten dizkigute. Kontuan izan behar dugu

⁷⁵⁴ Berriki zenbait autorek Jose Paulo Ulibarriren pentsamendua, eta oro har, bere inguruko egileen pentsamendua, kontrairaultzailatzat jo izan dute zuzenean, ARTOLA, ESTEBAN, eta ULIBARRI (2017).

⁷⁵⁵ Euskaraz idatzitako bertsoak zeuzkan orri soltea, bai egile ezagun batek idatzia, edo egile ezezagun batek idatzia.

⁷⁵⁶ KINTANA (1999): 65. Euskal probintzietan bertsoak sortzearen tradizioaren inguruan ikusi MADARIAGA (2014): 523 eta hurrengoak. XIX. mendeari eta Vicenta Moguel zein Ulibarriren inguruan 567. orrialdetik aurrera.

testuinguru honetan maskulinitateari, bizitza intimoari eta ezkontzari berari ere esanahia emateko hainbat diskurtso eztabaidan ari zirela eta beraien arteko gurutzaketak eman zirela.

Vicenta Moguel eta Ulibarri bezalako egile tradizionalistek ordena sozialarekin zuen harremanean genero ordenaren inguruan agertu zuten kezka gizonen egoeran zentratzen zen, batez ere erlijioarekiko gaitzuste gero eta handiagoari zegoekionez. Aurreko urteetako eta beraien garaiko apaizekin konpartitzen zuten ezaugarria zen hau: gizonen fedea mantetzea. Beraien idatziek iraultza liberalaren garaia bitartean ematen ari ziren aldaketa eta dinamika sozio-politikoaren inguruko mesfidantza handia erakusten dute. XIX. mendeko Bilboko soziabilitatean eman ziren aldaketen eta transformazioen inguruan Joseba Agirreazkuenagak azaldu duen moduan, “los cafés y las tabernas se convirtieron en lugares de difusión de las novedades y en suma generadores de opinión pública, un elemento característico de la nueva sociedad liberal”⁷⁵⁷. Eredu hauek ziren, hain zuzen ere, batez ere jende herrikoiena erakartzen zituzten tabernak, Vicenta Moguel zein Jose Paulo Ulibarri gehien kezkatzen zituzten lekuak. Hiriko soziabilitate eremu hauek desordena sozialarentzako eta generoarentzako gune lez ikusi zituzten.

Beraien kritiken bidez, gune landatar eta hiriko gunearen arteko dikotomia tradizionalari definizio berria eskaini zioten. Beraien ikuspegian, landako ohitura tradizionalak errekonstruatu beharrezkoa zen gune hiritarrak guztiz degradatuak eta desmoralizatuak zeuden bitartean. Bizkaitarren identitatearen eraikuntzaz egin zituzten proposamenak, guztiz antiliberalak eta antimodernak zen “gutasun” baten eraikuntza, katolizismo ultramontanoak eta landa giroko bizitza estilo zorrotzak ezartzen zuten moralitate baten gurutzatutako feminitateen eta maskulinitateen defentsaren bidez ere egin ziren. *Baserritarraren* erreferentziak, hirugarren atalean aipatzen genuen nekazariaren edo jornalariaren irudiak, hirietako bizitza ereduaren kontrako, eta liberalismoaren kontrako, irudi lez izugarritzko garrantzia eta egunerokotasuna izan zuen. Beraien ikuspegia, hala ere, gatazka garaiko testuinguruari berezkoa zitzaiona, maskulinitate gulariaren kontzeptio erlijiosoari indar handia eman zien. Identitate bizkaitarren, foralaren, erlijiosoaren eta euskaldunaren formulazioa bere balio erlijio eta komunitarioak haragitzen zituen gorputz batez hornitu zen. Gorputz hau gorputz abjektuari, gorputz

⁷⁵⁷ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (1998): 361.

erdaldunari, atzerritarraren gorputzari, azken batean gorputz ez bizkaitarrari, kontrajartzen zitzaion logika baten bidez eraiki zen.

Ez dira asko izan Vicenta Moguelen bizitzaren eta obraren inguruan aritu izan diren lanak⁷⁵⁸. Bere produkzio literarioa nolabaiteko familia edota herentzia intelektualen baten klasifikatzeko beharrak zenbait autorek Vicenta Moguelen lana ilustrazioaren ondoriozkoa eta bere oinordekotzat jotzera bultzatu izan ditu⁷⁵⁹. Zentzu honetan, kontuan izan behar dugu bere lehen lana, *Ipui Onak* deiturikoa eta 1804. urtean argitaraturikoa –bere osaba Juan Antonio Moguelen heriotzaren urte berean, berak hogeita bi urte zituenean– alegia latino klasikoan, edota Ibañez de la Renteriarren, Samaniegoren edo bere osabaren zenbait testuen euskararako itzulpenez osatua zegoela⁷⁶⁰. Lan honen sarrera berak defendatzen zuen moduan bere lanak heziketarako helburu garbia zeukan: alegien eta ipuinen bidez landatar munduko populazioa hezitzeko asmoa zuen. Bere lehen obra honen baitan espiritu neoklasikoak garrantzia handia zeukala dirudi beraz, zeina aldi berean katolizismoaren ikuspegi zorrotzarekin, paternalistarekin eta garaiko nekazal gizartearen interklazismoarekin elkarbizi zena. Vicenta Moguelek bere itzulpenen balioa aldarrikatu zuen ez bakarrik beraien edukiarengatik, baita euskarari, hizkuntza literario gisari, merezi zuen prestigio soziala eskaini nahiziolako⁷⁶¹. Bere osabaren lanak eta garaiko beste idazle euskaltzalek utzitako eragina oso nabaria da. Vicenta Moguel bere genealogia intelektuala argi adierazten tematu zen, euskararen lantzeaz arduratu ziren egileen leinu honen parte bilakatuz, bere osabak hain era sustsuan landu izan zuena. Vicenta Moguel, beraz, euskararen denfedatzaile moduan aurkezten zuen bere burua eta hizkuntza horretan idazteaz harrotzen zen.

Mogueldarren familiako kide izateak idazle honi garai hartan edozein neskak jaso zezakeen heziketarekin alderatuta askoz ere sakonagoa eta zabalagoa zen heziketa bat

⁷⁵⁸ ALTZIBAR (1982) eta (2008); KALTZAKORTA (1992); OLAZIREGI (2003).

⁷⁵⁹ ALTZIBAR (1982): 457. Baieztapen hau, zuzenegia ez baldin bada ere, ez da harrigarria. Bere aita medikua izan zen eta Adiskideen Elkarteko inguruarekin harremanean egon zen. Aldi bereab Adiskideen Elkarteko zenbait kideekin lotura familiarak zuezkaten: <http://aunamendi.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/eu/moguel-urquiza-juan-ignacio/ar-96517/>, azken kontsulta 19/09/2017. *Ipui Onak* lanari egindako sarreran Vicenta gazteak Munibe familiaren laudorio handia eskaintzen zuen, ikuspuntu zeharo paternalistatik, herriari gertukoa eta eskuzabala zen noblezia errepresentatzen zuelako. Ikusi ere OLAZIREGI (2003): 209.

⁷⁶⁰ Ikerketa honetan obra horren 1991. urteko edizioa kontsultatu da.

⁷⁶¹ MOGUEL (1991): 150.

jasotzea ahalbidetu zion⁷⁶². Bere osabak berak, goian aztertzen genuen moduan patristika tradizionalak determinatutako feminitatearen ikuspegia zeukanak, Vicenta hezitzearen onuren inguruan kezka agertu zituen. Bere iloba baldin bazen ere eta ikasketetarako bokazio eta talentu argia agertzen bazuen ere Juan Antonio Moguelek emakume bat hezitzearen inguruko zalantza sakonak zeuzkan: “La singularidad y genio de una muger me hicieron temer alguna altanería de espíritu”, konfesatzen zion Markinako presbiteroak bere kide zen Vargas Poncerekin trukatu zuen gutun baten bere ilobari buruzko heziketaren inguruan. “Paré en esto [su instrucción] por cobardía, o por temor”, adierazten zuen Moguelek berehala gehitzeko probintzian euskal hizkuntzaren gramatika bere iloba bezain adituagorik ez zegoela adierazteko⁷⁶³.

Bere osabaren erresistentziak izan bazituen ere, hezi izan zen testuinguru intelektualak Vicenta Moguelek bere feminitatea nola esperimentatu zuen eta sentitu zuen zuzenean eragin zuen. Giro horrek bere alegigile eta ondorengo gabon-kanten idazle fazeta ere eragin zuen duda gabe. *Ipui Onak* bere lanaren sarreran alegigile gazteak gutxiagotasun femeninoaren erretorika erabili zuen idazteko izan zuen ausardiaz barkamena eskatzeko. Baina berehala bere erudizioa aldarrikatu zuen irmoki: “...ez dagokiola neskatxa bati bururik ausitzea liburugiñeñ: asko duela gorua, naiz jostorratza zuzen erabiltzea” arrazoitzen zuen Moguel gazteak ondoren adierazteko “Naiz sinistu, naiz ez, esan bear det, gaztetxea nintzala irakurri ta azaldu oi nituela Fedroren latineko ipuiak [...] Zortzi urte nituenean ekusirik nere neba edo anaia ikasten asi zala gure osabarekin latinezko izkera, jarri zitzatan buruan ikasi bear nuela nik ere”⁷⁶⁴. Vicentak horrela bere interes intelektual goiztiarra aldarrikatzen zuen kultua eta eruditoa zen familia baten baitan. Ez dago hain argi, beraz, zenbateraino ari zen Vicenta barkamena eskatzen sarrera honetan⁷⁶⁵.

Moguel familiako gazteenak bere familiaren parte izatea, bere osabarekiko eta anaiarekiko zeukan harremana erabiltzen zuen bere autoritate intelektuala aldarrikatzeko eta justifikatzeko⁷⁶⁶. Emakume idazle gisa, Vicenta oso fenomeno berezia zen, batez ere XIX. mende hasierako testuinguruan eta Markina bezalako herri

⁷⁶² OLAZIREGI (2003): 212.

⁷⁶³ ALTZIBAR (1982): 458-459.

⁷⁶⁴ MOGUEL (1991): 27.

⁷⁶⁵ Mari Jose Olaziregik defendatu du bere sarreran Vicenta enuntziario maskulinoaren espazio okupatzeagatik barkamena eskatzen ari zela. OLAZIREGI (2003): 205-206.

⁷⁶⁶ MOGUEL (1991): 27.

baten. Bere argudioek, hala ere, ez zeramaten inolako ilustrazio edo modernitate zantzurik. Honek ez du esan nahi, ordea, berritzaileak ez zirenik. Itzultzaile gisa bere jarduera defendatzeko erabili zituen argudioak Antzinako Erregimanaren gizarte hierarkiko eta zorrozki katolikoaren oinordeko ziren. Vicenta Moguelek zentzu erlijiosoko feminitatearen kontzepzioa baliatzen zuen bere ezagutza eta lumaren erabilera defendatzeko. Bere argudioaren arabera hauek ez zuten emakume katoliko bati eskatzen zitzaizkion bertuteak, pietatea eta debozioa, kontrajartzen: “Jakiteak ez du eragozten birtute andi batera igotzeko”, zioen, “Santa Florentina, Santa Paula, Santa Brigida, ta beste Santa batzuek, emanak ziran liburuetara. Baziakien latinez ez eze, gehiago ere; ez, egiaz egaatzeko arrotasunez ta jakin nai utsez, ta bai bideak artzeko Jaun-goikoagana”⁷⁶⁷. Bere jarduera intelektuala, beraz, bere osabarena eta bere nebarena bazala, nagusiki erlijioso zen funtzio moralizatzaile bideratua zegoen. Erabili izan zitzakeen letretako emakumeen arteko erreferente guztien artean –Josefa Amar bezalako emakumeek aurretiaz egin bezala⁷⁶⁸– Moguel gazteak santitate adibide femeninoak baino ez zituen izendatu. Vicenta Moguelek bere jarduera literarioaz egin zuen defentsa, beraz, ez zen emakumeek, orokorrean, idazketara edo zientzietara dedikatzeko gaitasunaren defentsa moduan ulertu behar. Moguelena salbuespenaren defentsa zen, leinu erlijioso eta intelektual-familiar jakin baten parte zen heinean defendatzen zen kasua. Vicenta Moguelengan pentsamendu erlijiosoaren garrantzia ez zen nolana hikoia izan, ezta iragankorra ere. Xabier Altzibarrek argudiatu duen moduan, beranduago ere Vicenta Moguelek obra erlijiosoak idatzi zituen, baita gai aszetikoen ingurukoak ere, tamalez kontserbatu ez direnak⁷⁶⁹.

“Zein gauza sinisgaitza neskaxa batengan!”, adierazi zuen bere buruaz, neskaxa gazte batek gaztelania, euskara eta latina era perfektuan ezagutzea zein arraroa surtatzen zen azpimarratzeko⁷⁷⁰. Ezinezkoa da egileak bere obrari sarrera idaztean zeukan asmoaren alderdi eta esanahi guztiak aztertzea. Baina antzeman dezakegu bere ohiz kanpoko erudizioaren izaera justifikatzeko beharra sentitu zuela: “Edozeñek daki Esoporen ipui latiñez ta itz lotu gabeetan daudenak, errazagoak dirala aditzen, Fedro, ta Virgilioren itz lotuak baño”⁷⁷¹. “Edozeñek daki” hori ez dirudi kasualitatezkoa eta zentzu bikoitz nabarmenari erantzuten ziola dirudi. Egiatan, oso murrizta zen pertsonen talde bati,

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 32.

⁷⁶⁸ AMAR Y BORBÓN (2010).

⁷⁶⁹ ALTZIBAR (2008): 28.

⁷⁷⁰ MOGUEL (1991): 27

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid*, 28-29.

batez ere gizonezkoez osatutakoari, egiten zion erreferentzia, kapitaul kultural oso altuko pertsonak; bere burua talde pribilegiatu onen baitan kokatzen zuen. Esaldiak, beraz, hitzez adierazten zuenaren kontrakoa zentzua izan zezakeen: edozein pertsonak ez zuela ezagutzen Esoporen ipuin latindarrak Fedrorenak edo Virgiliorenak baino ulerterrazagoak zirela. Bera, beraz, ez zen edozein pertsona. Vicenta Moguelek bere erudizioa eta idazle gaitasuna salbuespen moduan aldarrikatzen zituen. Berak bere gaitasuna aldarrikatzen zuen emakume *baldin bazen ere*, ez emakumea *izateagatik*, hurrengo esaldian argi geratzen den moduan: “Obe ez ote da, emakumea banaiz ere, igarotzea onetan zer jantzi-berri dan gora ta beera aitatzen baño?”⁷⁷².

Hamar urte beranduago, testuinguru diferente baten, “Damas de Vitoria” taldeko emakumeak ere garaiko feminitate erduek emakumeei egozten zieten ezereskeriaz kexu ziren. Etxeko eginbeharretara, joztera eta “maitasun” kontuetara kondenatzen zituen irudi horren kritika egiten zuten. Vicenta Moguelek moden berrikuntzei egiten zien gaitzespena oinarritzen zuen feminitatearen esperientzia eta mentalitatea bera, hala ere, Damas de Vitoria delakoek aurkeztutako kexuarekin ez zeukaten zerikusirik. Vicenta Moguelen ondorengo idatziek bere mentalitatea koordinatu sendoki tradizionalistetan garatuko zela erakusten digute. Ikusiko dugunez, bere bertso idatziek modernizazio ekonomikoaren eta sozialaren ondoriozko transformazio sozialen eta liberalismoaren kontrako erreakzio gogor bat elikatzea zuten helburu, batez ere Bilboko gune hiritarretan, zeinetan bera ere bizi izan zen.

1817. urtean Vicenta Moguel Eluterio Basozabalekin ezkondu zen, zeinaren aitak Vicenta Moguelen zenbait lan inprimatu ziren moldiztegi bat zeukan⁷⁷³. Data horretatik aurrera Vicenta Moguel Abandon bizi izan zen, non José Paulo Ulibarriekin eta frantziskotar komentuko inguruko eragile sozialekin harreman garrantzitsuak ezarri zituen⁷⁷⁴. Ulibarri, jaiotzaz arabarra bazen ere, Bilboko bizitza politikoaren parte izan zen 1814. urtetik aurrera kargu politiko diferenteetan⁷⁷⁵. Alzibarrek berak adierazi duen moduan, Vicenta Moguelek eta Ulibarrik batera lan egin zuten orri solteen eta gabon kantean sorkuntzan, argitalpenean eta hedapenean⁷⁷⁶. Bere idatziek erakusten duten

⁷⁷² *Ibid*, 32.

⁷⁷³ ALTZIBAR (2013): 30.

⁷⁷⁴ ALTZIBAR (2008): 29 y 34.

⁷⁷⁵ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2008): 114.

⁷⁷⁶ 1962. urteko artikuluko baten *Oleri* aldizkarian Lino Aquesolok adierazi zuen Ulibarrik berak Vicenta Mogueli bere idatziak ematen zizkiola euskeraren aldetik zuzendu zitzaizkion: <http://andima.armiarma.eus/oler/oler13/oler1340.htm>, azken kontsulta 18/09/2017. AQUESOLO (1962).

moduan, ez zuten bakarrik ideologia partekatu, baizik eta transmititzen saiatu ziren mundu ikuskera oso bat ere. Halaber, oso antzekoa zen marko kontzeptual eta linguistikoa zerabiltzaten, eta generoaren zein diferentzia sexualaren ikuspegi identikoa. Biek sentsibilitate honen oso erakusgarria den iturrien multzoa eskaintzen dute.

Vicenta Moguelen eta Jose Paulo Ulibarriren idatziak, erabat garaikideak zirenak, logika tradizionalaren, absolutismoaren, erregezaletasunaren, eta beranduago, karlismoaren, defentsa sutua erakusten dute eta baita sentipen antiliberal eta antimoderno sakona⁷⁷⁷. Vicenta Moguel hamar gabon-kanta idaztera heldu zen eduki politiko eta sozial zorrotzekoak 1818 eta 1832 urteen artean⁷⁷⁸. Izaera puruki politikoko beste idazlan batzuren egiletasuna, bertsoan, ere aitortzen zaizkio. Alde batetik, Hirurtekoaren amaieran idatziak izan ziren bertsoen hiru multzo, 1812. urteko Konstituzionaren inguruan⁷⁷⁹. Bestetik, izenburutzat “Karlitenak” izena zeramatzen zenbait berso, 1837. urtean idatziak eta karlismoaren ingurukoak⁷⁸⁰. Ulibarrik, bere aldetik, korrespondentzia zabala utzi zuen, baita beste motako idatzi batzuk ere klasifikatzen oso zailak direnak, saioak eta bertsoak. Hauen eskuizkribuen kopia bateratu bat *Gutun-Liburua* deitu zen bilduma pean argitaratu ziren. Horrek guztiak bere pentsamendu politikoaren erakusgai garrantzitsua eskaintzen du 1823. urtetik 1836. urtera.

Moguelek bertsoan jarri zituen gabon-kantak urte askoko gabeneta tradizio bat jarraitzen zuten. Garai berezi horretan zenbait bertso paper banatzen ziren, batez ere eliz inguruetan, zeintzuetan gai erlijiosoak, Jesusen jaiotza eta beste motatako pasarte biblikoak, garaiko kezka politiko eta sozialekin nahasten ziren⁷⁸¹. Izan ere, idatziak urtez urtez edukiz aldatzen ziren, baita beraien tonuan ere, erakutsiz beraien edukia eta esanahiak momentuko egoera sozio-politikoaren arabera, eta baita egilearen gogoaldartearen arabera sortzen zirela. Genero honen bidez kristautasun primitiboaren edota erromatarren aurrean euskaldunen menderazintasunaren mitoei indar berria eman, Moguelek bi garaien arteko transposizioa egiten zuen. Bata antzinakoa zeinetan bere arbasoek erromatarren kontra, eta orokorrean atzerritarren kontra, bere odola eman

⁷⁷⁷ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2008): 114.

⁷⁷⁸ Hauek Xabier Altzibarrek argitaratu zituen *Bidebarrieta* aldizkariaren hemeretzigarren zenbakian, 2008. urtean, Altzibarren beraren sarrera batekin batera.

⁷⁷⁹ IRIGOYEN (1997): 445.

⁷⁸⁰ ALTZIBAR (2013): 23.

⁷⁸¹ AGIRREAZKUENAGA (1998): 360.

zuten bere foruak, fedea eta hizkuntza aldatu gabe mantentzen zitezkeen. Eta bestea, berea, zeinetan “etsaia”, fedearen, euskararen eta foruen galerak eta liberalismoak berak bizkaitarren biotzetan jada erroak bota izan zuteneko garaia. Bere gabon kantetan, egileak ez zion liberalismoari edo konstituzionalismoari zuzeneko adierazpenik egiten baina probintzia itotzen zuten gaizki moralen eta liberalismoaren arteko nolabaiteko identifikazioa bazegoela antzeman daiteke. Batez ere hiriko soziabilitate eredu berrien, tabernaren, inguruan eta aizialdiko beste gune batzuetan fede katolikoa abandonatuz batzen ziren gizonengan. Horrela, 1824. urteko gabon-kantetan, Vicentak Abandoko herritarrei jakinarazi zien beraien arbasoak erromatarrak eta fede gabekoak suntsitzea lortu bazuten ere etsaia indartsu izaten jarraitzen zuela: “...ez dira oraindik/etsajak amaitu”⁷⁸². Hain zuzen ere, foruen kontra jartzen zirenei buruz ari zen Moguel, zeina, egiatan, foruen desagertzearen alde agertzen ziren jarrera konstituzionalistei egindako adierazpen zuzena zen.

1823. urtean, justu Hirurtekoa amaitzean, José Basozabalen moldiztegitik, Vicenta Moguelen aitagarrearen moldiztegitik, liberalismoaren eta Konstituzioaren kontrako hiru bertso multzo argitaratu ziren. Xabier Altzibarrek ez du bere egiletasuna argitzen, bai Vicenta Mogueli, bai bere neba Juan Joséri egotziz. Alfonso Irigoienek, ordea, defendatu du bertso horiek seguraki Moguelen leinuaren gazteenaren lumatik ataratakoak izan zirel⁷⁸³. Beraien izenburuak hurrengoak ziren “Markina, Xemein eta Etxebarrik Irurak bat Agur Egiten deutse Konstituzioneko Damiari”, “Konstituzioneko Damiaren Asmuak Zortzikuan” eta “Ama Doncellari Zortzicua”⁷⁸⁴. Bertso hauen mezu politikoaren azterketa egiazki interesgarria litzateke oso. Hizkuntza arrunt eta popular baten bidez, liberalismoaren oinarritzat aurkezten ziren horien kritika egiten zen. Liberalismoa doktrina engainagarri eta interesatu lez aurkezten zen, askatasuna aldarrikatzen zuena ondoren agintariak herriaren errekurtsioak politikoki eta ekonomiko beraien mesedetan erabil zituzten. Konstituzioak eta liberalismoak apaizak, mojak, fraideak eta foruak akatuko zituztela azaltzen zen, baita gizonak miliziatan eta kintetan parte hartzeri behartuko zituela ere. Eta kritika hauek guztiak Fernando VII.aren eta Josefa Amaliaren laudorioarekin konbinatzen ziren, biak paregabeko bertutearen gordailutzat deskribatuak zirelarik.

⁷⁸² ALTZIBAR (2008): 79.

⁷⁸³ IRIGOIEN (1997): 445.

⁷⁸⁴ Zortzi bertsoetako estrofa.

Generoaren ikuspegitik bertso hauen alderdirik interesgarriena da Konstituzioa herriari dama baten itxurapean agertzen zitzaiola, “politika” izena zeukana:

*“Politica izena
daben damachuba,
Cadiztic agertuzan
chito apainduba.
Berba labanac eta
barrez arpegija,
Barruba euki arren
ez chito garbija”⁷⁸⁵.*

Liberalismoari eta konstituzionalismoari egindako kritika Konstituzioa sinbolikoki feminizatzearaz eta misoginia tradizionalaren topikoak egozteaz baliatzen zen. *Konstituzioa Dama*, *Dama Politika* edo *Dama Liberal* tropeok konstituzioa emakume edertzat, liluragarritzat eta aldi berean, engainagarri, interesatu, tranpati eta kaltegarritzat aurkezten zuten. Emakumeei egotzitako ezaugarri hauek liberalismoaren legitimitatea eta balioa bera zalantzan jartzeko instrumentalizatuak ziren. Sexuen osagarritasunaren onarpenetik, adierazpen liberalek abertzaletasuna goraiatzeko “femeninoa”ren, zentzu laudagarrian, ezaugarriak erabili baldin bazituzten⁷⁸⁶, jarrera erreakzionarioenak, erlijiosotasun oso zorrotzetik eta femeninoa edozein motatako balio baikorrekin identifikatzea gaitzesten zutela, feminizazioaren errekurtsua arerio politikoa gutxiesteko erabili zuten. Bi jarrerek, liberala eta erlijiosotasun zorrotzetik planteatzen zena, feminitatea eduki politiko positiboak edo negatiboak sortzeko erabiltzean kointziditu zuten. Hau, nolabait, kategoriaren beraren ezegonkortasunaren adierazgarri da. Hurrengo orrialdetan ikusiko dugunez, misoginia handiko ikuspuntuetatik, femeninoa pentsamendu erreakzionarioak bere apustu politikoa edukiz hornitzeko erabilia izan zen, eta baita bere arerio politikotzat ikusten zuenaren bestetasuna mugatzeko.

Vicenta Moguelen ia bertso gehienak pesimismo oso sakona erakusten dute. Aurreko atalean bere garai aurreko eta egile erlijioso garaikideen kasuan aztertzen genuen

⁷⁸⁵ IRIGOIEN (1997): 45.

⁷⁸⁶ Honekin ez dugu esan nahi dikurtso liberalak emakumeentzat gainerako diskurtsoak baino berdinzaleagoak zirenik, are gutxiago feministak zirenik. Beraien sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren kontzepzio partikularretik, feminitatea zenbait esanahiez hornitu zutela eta hauek beraien planteamendu politikoa era batera edo bestera gehituak izan zirela baino ez da adierazten. Jarrera kontserbakoiak, alta, katolizismo zorrotzaren ildoan, feminitatea patristikaren oinordeko zen misoginia batetik interpretatu zuten. Beraien feminitatearen kontzepzioak diferentzia sexualaren eta gorputzaren ikuspegi diferenteetan egituraturik zeuden. Ezaugarri hauek ere beraien gatazka eta eztabaida politikoa ere bere lekua izan zuten.

moduan erakusten zuen ezkortasuna pesimismo antropologiko katolikotik haratago zioan. 1819. urteko bere bertsoetan bere arbasoek burua altzatuko balute beraien seme-alabetaz lotsa sentituko luketela salatzen zuen. Bere larritasuna edo ezinegona eragile erlijiosoek kontrolatutako eta kaltegarritzat ikusten zituzten hirigune sozialetatik aldendurik zegoen nekazal ordena tradizionala galtzen ari zela pertzibitzetik sortzen zen. Egiazki, bere gabon kantetan hiria elementu liluragarritzat eta limurtzailatzat agertzen zen, baina aldi berean zikina eta zitala, pekaturako tentaldiaren deia, pixkanaka-pixkanaka garairate nekazal guneetan antzinako patriarkek mentendu izan zuten ordena soziala akatu zuena⁷⁸⁷. Hirian dibertsiorako eta iritzien trukaketarako, baita iritzi politikoak partekatzeko, leku egokiak aurkitzen ziren tabernaren edo merkatuaren kasua bezalaxe. Espazio hauek, elizak, etxeak edo landak ez bezala, potentzialki gizartearen, familiaren eta generoaren desordena zekartzatela uste zen. Baserritarrei leku hauek, eta orokorrean, hiria ekidin zezaten egiten zitzairen egile hauen artean ez ziren gutxi izan:

*“Geldi-geldika gara
urira jatziko
an zer dan igaroten
dogu ikusiko.
Gauza barregarriak
dira agertuko
edo negargarriak
obeto esateko”*⁷⁸⁸.

Garai hartan suertatzen ari ziren errealitate sozialean eta politikoan aurrean beraien atsekabea hurrengo bertsoen antzekoetan islaturik geratzen ziren:

*“Nik ez dakit zer esan
Gaurko egunian,
Deritxat ez naguala
Bizkaiko lurrian”*⁷⁸⁹.

Horrela hasten zen 1828. urteko gabon-kanta, berehala ondoren Jainkoaren beldur santuan bizi ziren gizakien artean baino mairuen arteko lurraldean bezala sentitzen zela adierazteko. Egoera sozialarengatik adierazten zuen bere ezinegon sakona, ia bere gabon-kata guztietan ageri zena, bizitza eredu tradizionalak berreskuratzeko deiarekin

⁷⁸⁷ Joseba Agirreazkuenagak Ulibarriren kasurako ere adierazten duen moduan, hiria, “uria” euskaldunen galerarako lekua zen. Ulibarrik hiria elizateetako herrieekin kontrajartzen zuen sarritan. AGIRREAZKUENAGA (2008): 115.

⁷⁸⁸ ALTZIBAR (2008): 90.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 85.

nahasten zen. Moguelen bertsoak zalantza gabe sentimendu komunitario bat berreskuratzea zuten helburu: "...guztiok biar geunke/esan *gu gara gu*", 1824. urteko gabon-kantetako bat hitz horiekin amaitu zuen 1824⁷⁹⁰. "*Gu gara gu*" adierazpen tautologikoaren edukiak erlijio katolikoa, euskara, Foruak, nekazal giroko bizimoduak eta hiriko merkataritzari zein salerosketari, oro har hiriko bizitzari, ukapen zuzena ziren. Elementu horiek guztiak emakume eta gizon bizkaitar onen ezaugarritzat hartzen ziren.

Moguelen bertsoek, José Paulo Ulibarriren idatziak bezalaxe, gizartean degenerazioa, eta baita bere birsorkuntza ere gorputzaren espazioan leku hartu behar zutela erakusten dute. Gorputz indibiduala, sendoki komunitarioa zen ikuspegi batetik, gorputz sozialaren korrelatutzat ulertzen zen: behin gorputz indibiduala degeneratua, gizartea bera ere degeneratuko zen. Bere gorputzaren ikuspegia katolizismoaren ikuspuntu zorrotzenen oinordeko zen. Munduko sakrifizioak, eusteak, austeritateak eta sufrimenduak zeruko salbazioa ekartzea eta bizioa ekiditea bermatzen zuten. Horrela zioen 1828. urteko gabon-kantan:

*"Nekerik nai ez artu
jan ta edan ondo
ezin bizi ganaindez
onela luzaro.
Lurrak ez dau emongo
neke бага ezer,
negar egingo dogu
gogotik, bai, laster"*⁷⁹¹.

Hala ere, gorputzak bere planteamenduetan zentralitate handiagoa hartzen zuen gatazka politikoaren espazio nagusi bezala, esentziak eta balio komunitarioak ainguratzeko leku bilakatzen zen argi eta garbi degeneratzailatzat hartzen zituzten balio horien aurrean. Goian ikusi dugunez, hau ez zen formulazio berri bat. Manuel Larramendiren edo Juan Antonio Moguelen lanek erakutsi zuten gorputza, termino katolikoetan eta moral zorrotz batek blindatua, komunitarioaren esperientziak leku hartzen zuen eremu nagusienetarikoa zela. Hala ere, gorputza gaitzesten eta espiritualizatzen zuen tradizio katoliko baten definizioa jarraitzen bazuten ere, gorputzak askoz ere politikoagoa zen dimentsio bat hartzen zuen, zeinetan ezaugarri eta balio korporalek esentzialaren kualitatea hartzen zuten. Fenomeno hau egoera sozialak eta politikoak eraginda eman zela deritzot, zeinetan beraien ordena sozialaren ikuspegiari gorputzasun inmakulatu eta

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 78.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid*, 86.

osasuntsu batez hornitzeko beharrea ikusi ziren. Vicenta Moguel eta Jose Paulo Ulibarri sakonki erlijiosoak ziren, baina elizgizonek idatziko sermoi, katezismo eta saio erlijioekin alderatuta beraien idatzietan eduki politikoak pisu askoz ere handiagoa hartu zuen.

Sabino Aranaren nazionalismoaren formulazioarentzat José Javier Díaz Freirek adierazi zuen moduan, identitatea edo komunitatearekiko identifikazioa ez zen hausnarketa intelektual hutsaren ondorio izan. “Hemos de buscar la emoción nacional en el cuerpo”, adierazi du egileak⁷⁹². Nazioa eta identifikazio nazionala gorputzetik eraiki ziren. Baieztapen hau ez da bakarrik baliagarria XIX. mende amaierako nazionalismoarentzat baizik eta komunitatearen identitatearen eraikuntza hainbaten kasurako ere erabilgarria da, hemen aztertzen dena kasu. Ulibarriren idatzietan, gainera, ordena sozialaren aldaketaren inguruko kezka bultzaturik gorputzasun irudi abyektuak, fisikoki degeneratuak, sortu zituela antzeman dezakegu Ulibarriren pentsamenduan, alderdi biologikoak errelebantzia garrantzitsua hartzen zuen desordena soziala esanguratzeko orduan. Desordena soziala euskalduntzat ulertzen zuen arauetara egotzen ez ziren gorputz itsusi eta higuigarrietan gorputzen zen. Gorputz euskaldunaren degenerazioaren inguruko kezka hauek, gainera, nolabaiteko zentzu sasi-genetikoa hartzen zuten. Edaleak, erretzaileak eta erdaldunak –bestetasun absolutuarekin era bereiztezinarekin identifikatzen ziren ezaugarri hauek– ondorengo txikiagoak zituzten mahatsaren kontsumoaren ondorioz, ardoa edatearen eraginez, ale txikiko fruta zen heinean. Bere hitzetan, degenerazio fisikoa, literalki, herrikoa ez zen produktu bat kontsumitzearen ondorio izan zitekeen, hurrengo hitzek ondo erakusten duten moduan:

“Nago gaxoric Vizcaya ecusten dodalaco gaixoric ardoaz eta herderias eta pipias. Oneic eguiten deusie vizcayari sangoa meatu, guibela chimeldu, buruco ullia urdindu, eta aotic arnaza charra, daukelako urdaila garrastua, eta kiraitua, güero emeti dator Zori char gaiztoac vizcaitar loredunentzat. Seme alabac chikerrac, lenengoti zorturic dagozaco ardoen medo edo sustantciari. Matsa dan leguez garau chiquerra dacar izaitia chiquerra. Eta cembat gazteago ardao artzea da ez aztea azur eta okelea eta bai eldu acibagaric eta chiker geratutia”⁷⁹³.

⁷⁹² DÍAZ (2001): 80.

⁷⁹³ ULIBARRI (1975): z/g.

Ulibarrik mehatxu fisikotzat ikusten zituen eta generazioen bidez transmititzen ziren bizitza formen aurrean geitzespen sakona agertu zuen, esan daiteke nazka bera ere agertzen zuela. Horrela bestetasun mespretxagarria eta baztergarria eraikitzen zen hiriko zenbait sektore herrikoienganako agertzen zuen nazka eta gaitzespenaren bidez. Ez zituen bakarrik inmoraltzat jotzen baizik eta baita fisikoki nardargarritzat eta degeneratutzak. Ulibarrik, desordentzat ulertzen zuen horren kausa eta jatorria seinalatzeaz gainera, gorputz euskalduntzat ulertzen zuenaren eta berau ez zenaren arteko muga fisikoa ezartzen zuen.

Aurreko garaietako egile eklesiastikoen ildo berean, baita bere garaikoek egiten zuten moduan, Vicenta Moguelek zein Ulibarrik salatzen zuten desorden sozialaren pean zegoena maskulinitate eredu berrien ezaugarriei kritika sakona zen. Nekazal inguruetako kontrol eklesiastikotik eta hirietako aizi forma berriak besarkatzen zituen gizon eta euskaldun izateko forma ezegokiak ziren hauek. Alegia guztiz ustelgarriak eta galgarriak bere egiten zituen gizontasun bat eraiki zuten euskaldun zintzoaren kontrakoa zena. Bi egile hauen pentsamendu tradizionalista balio erlijiosoen eta moralitatearen tranmisioaren oinarri nagusia zen etxeko patriarkaren autoritate sendoan oinarritzen zen. 1825. urteko gabon-kantak adierazten zuen moduan jutzizia etxean hasten zen, etxaldearen eta familiaren gobernu onetik:

*“Bakotzak bere etxia
lenengo zuzendu,
ta gero justizijen
bidiak aztertu”⁷⁹⁴.*

Moguelen eta Ulibarriren proposamena ez zen mantentzearen zentzuan egin, baizik birsortze terminoetan. “Antzinako” Bizkaiko gizonen degenerazioa izendatzeko Moguelek zein Ulibarrik behin baino gehiagotan errepikatu zuten adjektibo bat erabili zuen: “emetu”, eta kasu batzuetan “ematu”. Lehenengo berbak feminizazioari erreferentzia egiten dio eta bigarrenak azken honekin harremanean zegoen berba bati: lasaitzeari edo baretzeari. Emetu, hala ere, ez zen feminizazio fisiko bati erreferitzen, ezaugarri femeninoak hartu izanagatik emandako gorputzeko ahultasun bat pairatzeari, baizik eta fedea, euskara eta adore gerlaria galtzeagatik emandako degenerazio fisiko bati egiten zion erreferentzia:

⁷⁹⁴ ALTZIBAR (2008): 82.

*“Non dogu bizkaitarrak
orduko fedia?
Nun geure garbitasun
eta sinistia?
Orain argaldu dira
alako bijotzak,
Gizonak emeturik
dirudije motzak”⁷⁹⁵.*

Afeminaturik, gizonak “motzak” ziruditen, kanpokoak, euskaraz hitz egiten ez zutenak, gaztelaniaz hiz egiten zutenak. 1825. urteko gabon-kantan praktikan identikoa zen adierazpen bat aurkitzen dugu:

*“Nun da orain orduko
gizonen indarra?
Nun orduko berbeta
Garbi eta ederra?
Egunik egunera
Dakusguz galdurik
Euskaldunen biotzak
Erdi emeturik”⁷⁹⁶.*

Ulibarrik, bere aldetik, 1831. urtean Anitua jaunari bidalitako bere gutun pertsonaletako baten kanpoko degenerazio biologikoarekin zeukan kezka adierazten du kanpoko ardoaren kontsumoak probintziako sagardoa edan beharrean ekar litzakeen ondorioak arrazoituz hurrengo hitzen bidez: “Eta campoco ardoac emetu eta amelutu eta calte andiac osasunari gorputzari eta Aminiarri”⁷⁹⁷. Feminizazioa, beraz, kontzeptu zabal baten gisara guntzionatzen zen erreferente fisiko edo esanahi konkreturik eta definiturik gabekoa. Hala ere, argi dago zentzu ezkorrean erabilia zela mespretxatu beharreko bestetasuna sortzeko asmotan.

Gutasunaren, gu-aren birsorkuntza generoaren ordenaren birsorkuntza ere suposatzen zuen. Generoaren ordena ere hiriko aiziak eta merkataritza jarduera berriek esakinitako forma berriak degenratu zuten. Beraien proiektuak familia bizitzaren birsorkuntza ekarri behar zuen, hierarkia sexualean eta patriarkaren autoritate erlijiosoan oinarritzen zena. Ikuspegi honentzat, maskulinoaren balioan hain sendo mantzentzen zena, zuzendu

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 74.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 82.

⁷⁹⁷ ULIBARRI (1975): z/g.

beharreko lehenengo elementua gizonak ziren. Juan Antonio Moguelen Maisu Juanen kasuan bezalaxe bere autoritate erlijiosoari uko egin zion maskulinitate bat zen gizartea arriskuan jartzen zuena. Maskulinitate honek sekulako desorden soziala sortzen zuen moral katolikoaren printzipio honak atera behar ziren etxeko eta familiako ordena hankaz gora jartzen zuelako:

*“Ardaua ta pipia
dabiltzan artian,
Bakia paltako da
Etxe ta kalian.
Txakolina morkuan,
okela erria,
emazte ta umeei
erremuskadia”⁷⁹⁸.*

Zentzu honetan, Vicenta Moguelek hainbat gabon-kantetan egiturarik gabeko familia haustuak aurkezten zituen. Orokorreak ama bakarti eta negartien irudiak sortu zituen, bere seme-alabak elikatzeko gai ez zirenak beraien senarren abandonuarengatik. Senarrak hiriko aizek eta jokuek seduzitutako kirtentzat irudikatzen zituen, edaleak, jokaleak eta basapiztiak. Moguelen gabon-kantek nekazal giroko familietako ordena goraiatzeko zuen, sexuen arteko hierarkia sendoan oinarritzen zena baina bizitza ereduaren aldaketaren ondorioz, aginte kristauen kontra zioazten aldaketen ondorioz, hankaz gora zegoena. Taberna, tabakoa, alkohola, jokia eta baita erakargarriak iruditzeke kezka eta modak jarraitzea ere, gizonek familia buru bezala zeukaten beharra eta erreponsabilitatea galtzea eragiten zuen Moguelen aburuz. Horrela adierazi zuen hurrengo bertsoan:

*“Gerrija estu-estu,
Bularra arrua,
Prakak zorrua legez,
Buruba erua.
Uste dabeé diriala
Adonis barriak”⁷⁹⁹.*

Emakumeak ez ziren ordenarako dei honetatik libratzen. Izan ere, beraien ardura zen senar on eta osasuntsu bat aukeratzea “adonis berriengandik” limurtuak ez izateko. Gizon hauek beraien edertasunean eta bizioetan baino ez zeukaten interesa eta beraien emakumeen bizitza infernua bihurtzen zuten. Bere idatziek erakusten digute maskulinitate erlijiosoaren eredua, *euskaldun fededunarenera*, jada ez zela bizitza

⁷⁹⁸ ALTZIBAR (2008): 93.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 90.

kidetzat aukeratzeko hain erakargarria, antzinateko garaietan bere arbasoentzat izan omen zen bezala, bederen. Horrela salatzen zuen Moguelek emakume ezkongai gazteen artean ikusten zuen gizon langile eta debotoenganako irrietan:

*“Gizon gazte bat bada
biargin zintzua,
elexa zalia ta
ez tabernakua,
neskatillak darué
esan lotsa baarik
ez dot neuk ez artuko
olako txaldanik”⁸⁰⁰.*

Hain zuzen ere, bertso hauetan, maskulinitate langile eta debotoari, bere betebeharrak kunplitzen zituenari, egindako muzin honetatik sortzen ziren familiaren ezbeharrak, abandonua eta tratu txarrak. Vicenta Moguelen bertsoek maskulinitate eta feminitate erlijioso eta debotoen krisiaren pertzepzioa zeukatela erakusten digute, eta horrekin batera sortzen ari ziren erreakzioak ere. Gizon eta emakumeen artean ematen ziren harremanak elizaren eta apaizen eta familiaren kontroletik at zeuden logiken arabera ematen ari zirenen sentsazioa mota honetako bertsoetan agerian geratzen da:

*“Ze lagun artzeen dozun
ondo begiratu
gero noraezian
ez dedin damutu.
Munduko esamesei
ez arren jarraitu
argitu zaizala Jaunari eskatu”⁸⁰¹.*

Ikusten dugunez, 1830. urterako ere Vicenta Moguelek bere gabon-kantetan emakumeek Joseren eta Mariaren arteko ezkontzaren adibidea jarrai zezatela agintzen zien beraien familian zoriontsu nahi bazuten izan eta zerua irabazi nahi baldin bazuten. Moguelek pertzibitzen zuen arazoa ez zen nolana hikoia, izan ere, landa guneko emakumeek ere bere etxeetan kunplitu behar zuten rolari ere muzin egiten ziotelako. 1829. urteko gabon-kantak bere etxeetatik kanpo, merkatuan produktuak saltzen, lan egiten zuten emakumeek era zorrotzean kritikatzten zituen. Egileak jozketa edota etxearen eta ondorengoaren zainketa sostengua hiriko jardueratan, merkatuan, esaterako, irabazteko alde batera uzten zituen feminitate moduak degeneratutzat irudikatu zituen. Irudi hauen bidez, Moguelek feminitate debotoaren eta sakrifikuaren

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 95.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid*.

ezaugarriak besarkatzen ez zituzten emakumeen jarduerak kritikatzeko zituen sutsuki. Arazoa, berriz ere, hiriak beraien eskura ezartzen zituen erosotasunetik eta ohitura berriek ekarri zituztela zen. Kezka hauek hainbat bertsoetan nabari dira feminitate ereduaren ematen ari ziren aldaketak erabat argi irudikatze dituztenak eta, batez ere, pertzibitzen zituzten aldaketa hauek eragiten zituzten erreakzioak. Vicenta Moguelek ehunak ehundu baino gehiago ehunak erostea nahiago zuten emakumeak; beraien senarren arropak jozi baino jozkilearengana joaten ziren emakumeak edo tipikoki euskalduntzat hartzen zituen arto eta gaztaianak bezalako jaki austeroagoak baino gehiago merkatutik ekarritako arraina nahiago zuten emakumeak sutsuki kritikatzeko zituen:

*“Gorua egitia
Dinue alper da,
Miesia erosi
Askozaz obe da
[...]
Gizonen praka zarrak
Guk atondutia
Ezin izan leiteke,
Betor joskillia.
Zakutxu bat autsegaz
Banua plazara,
Andik ekarriko dot
Alogera etxera”⁸⁰².*

Moguelek gisa honetako jarduerak etxearen eta berezkoak zitzaizkien eginbeharren abandonuarekin identifikatzeko zituen eta horren ondorioz ematen ziren familietako desordena garrantzekin. Mota honetako emakumeak eta gizonak, hirira “jaizten” zirenak honek eskaini ziezaikeen berritasunengatik limurturik, ordena moral tradizionalaren desgitearen errudunak ziren bere erroa bera hankaz gora jartzen zutelako: genero hierarkia sendoan oinarritzen zen familiaren ordena. “Andra kalezaliak/ez dira etxerako” zioen bere gabon-kantak ondoren adierazteko “kaleko” emakumeekin elkartzen ziren gizonen patua ez zela hoberena izango, “gizonak biarko dau/imini jateko”⁸⁰³. Emakumeek etxean bete behar zuten rola beste eginkizunak egiteagatik ustea, beraz, nahiz eta sarritan eta tradizionalki etxetik kanpo egindako jarduerak etxaldearen sostengu ekonomikorako beharrezkoak izan ziren landatar guneetako ekonomia eredu autarkikoen baitan, Moguelentzat familiaren eta generoaren ordenaren desordena zekarren.

⁸⁰² *Ibid*, 90.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid*, 91.

Vicenta Moguelek maskulinitate eta feminitate eredu tradizionalak aldarrikatzen zituen galdutako ordena publikoaren osasuna berreskuratzeko, desohoratutako arbasoak berriz ere ohoratzeko. Interesgarria da antzematea emakume eta gizon izateko eredu tradizionalen defentsa honetan Moguelek batez ere gizonezkoen erreponsabilitatea azpimiarratzen zuela. Bere erreferentzia marko erabat hirarkiko, zorrotz eta misoginotik, Vicenta Moguelek gizonezkoen beraien betebeharrak bete zitzaten eskatzen, edo hobeto esanda, exijitzen zien. Moguelek egiten zuen eskaera ezarritako eta errotutako ordena baten betetzearena zen, bai emakumeentzat, baina baita gizonentzat ere, betebeharrak maskulinoen zegoenez inolako moral bikoitzezko lekurik utzi gabe. Hain zuzen ere, bere zorrotzasun moralaren unibertsaltasunak, sexua eta generoa kontuan hartu gabe aplikatu behar zena, gizonei beraien emakumeen eta seme-alabei zor zieten errespetua eta betebeharrak kunplitzea exijitzea ahalbidetzen zion. Moral katolikoa aterpetzat hartzea, zeinak emakumeek egin behar eta ahal zutenaren inguruan izugarritzko muga zorrotzak ezartzen zituen, gizonezkoentzat gogortasun berdina eskatzeko baliabide diskurtsiboak eskaintzen zizkion. Egitate hau 1830. urteko gabon-kantan argi eta garbi antzeman daiteke. Bere bertsoen bidez Vicenta Moguelek edale ohiko baten eta agure berbalapiko baten arteko tabernako elkarrizketa irudikatzen zuen:

*“Ez dauka arretarik
Nire emaztiak,
Biar ez leuke ezkondu
Alako andriak.
Katillu bete salda
Ez daki egiten,
Alkandora garbi bat
Ez deusku iminten.*

*Egun txarrian nintzan
Beragaz ezkondu,
Damutu jatan baña
Eldu zan berandu...⁸⁰⁴.*

Bere emaztea eta seme-alabak gaizki tratatzen zituen edaleak, lan egin nahi ez zuenak eta bere dirua alkoholean eta jokoan xahutzen zuenak, bere emazteak sukaldatzen ez zekienez keze zen. Azken baten, ezkontzeaz damutzen zen. Bere “desgraziaren” aurrean tabernako agureak gazte “gaixoarengatik” errukitzen ziren eta bere ontasuna goraiatzeko zuten: bere emakumea hain ezgaia izanik ere edale gazteak ez zuen bere

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 94.

emakumea hil. Orduantxe egilearen ahotsa entzun daiteke indarraz gizon alferrontzi eta agure berbalapikoen inmoralitatea salatuz etxeetako pakea akatu izan zutelako:

*“Gizon alper zantarrak
Ta atso barritsubak
Nastez bete daruez
Etxe baketsubak”*⁸⁰⁵.

Gizon biziotsu eta degeneratu hauek arboasoen izen ona orbandu zuten. Patriarka onaren duintasuna eta eutoritatea ezerezean geratu zen gizonek beraien betebeharrak egitea ekiditen zutelako eta amandrea ondratu eta ohoratua, etxeko andre sendoaren irudia ere zikindu zuten “sorgin” hutstzat hartuz:

*“Aitobe gizajua
Dago ezereztzat,
Ta amandre tristia
Artzen da sorgintzat”*⁸⁰⁶.

Bere emaztearekin, María Josefa Landa Urkizarekin, era maitakorrean *Mari Pepachu* deitzen zuenarekin, José Paulo Ulibarrik trukatu zituen gutun pertsonalak, feminitate eta maskulinitate eredu debotoek garaian sufritu zituzten tentsio eta aldaketen erakusgarri zira. Gutunek eredu hauek gizon eta emakumeei beraien bizitza intimoan ezartzen zieten muga eta jarduera eremuen inguruko informazio aberatsa eskaintzen digute. Gutun gehienak Pepa Landak Parisen bere familiaren hainbat kontu zirela eta emandako denbora bitartean idatziak ziren. Gutun hauek koordenada erlijioso sakonetatik bizitza intimoa eta sexuala nola esperimentatzen eta sentitzen zen aztertzea ahalbidetzen dute eta baita zorrotasun moralaren exijentziek gizon eta emakumeen arteko ezkontza barruko bizitza afektiboa nola moldeatzen eta nola funtzionatzen ziren ikustea ahalbidetzen dute.

Gutunaren generoaren bidezko subjektibitate historikoen sorkuntzaren eztabaida teoriko konplexuan sartu gabe, zenbait auzi azpimarratu behar dira honen inguruan. Seinalatu nahiko nuke gutun hauetako batzuen azterketaren bidez ez dela nire helburua Ulibarriren edo Landaren erradiografia mentala eskaintzea. Ez dut gutuna barneko niaren edo egilearen benetako nitasunaren idatzizko islada hutstzat hartzen. Alde batetik, gutunetan erakusten diren subjektibitateak bere testuinguru historikoaren arabera aztertu behar direla ulertzen dut, kontuan hartuz, gainera, testuinguruak berak

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

nia edo ahots pertsonaltzat hartzen dugun hori adierazteko eta esperimendatzeko formei eragiten eta konfiguratu dituelako. Alegia, ezin dugu ahaztu historikoki kokaturiko formazio subjektiboak direla. Bestetik, gutunak dialogikoki, zentzu bakhtiniarrean, eraikitzen diren subjektibitateen adierazpen idatzia direlako, hizkuntzaren, idazlearen, irakurlearen eta testuinguruaren artean ematen den harreman aldakorren eta ezegonkorren baitan⁸⁰⁷. Orain premisa hauetatik José Paulo Ulibarri eta María Josefa Landaren arteko gutun trukaketa atertuko dut, labur bada ere.

Ulibarrik bere emazteari idazten zion lengoai personal bat erabiliz bere kezka intimoak adierazteko, baina aldi berean konbentzioek ezarritako mugak antzeman daitezke. Bere gutunetan Ulibarrik gizakiaren dimentsio pertsonala eta intimoa kontrol sozialaren eta komunitatearen babesaren pean mantendu behar ziren kontzepzio bat erakusten digu. Bere emazteari bidalitako gutunetan, intimitatea ez zen pribatutasunaren gordailu lez agertzen, baizik eta kontrol eta onespren sozialera eta eklesiastikora zabalik egon behar zen eremu bezala. Hau bereziki nabarmena da Ulibarrik bere emazteari adierazitako kezketan: antza denez bera etxetik kanpo zegoen bitartean bere auzokoek etengabe galdetzen zioten bere emaztea noiz itzuli behar zen edo hain bakarrrik egonda osasunez ondo sentitzen ote zen. Ulibarriren tonuak erakusten du bere egoera arraroak edo ez konbentzionalak sakonki lotsatu egiten zuela bere auzokoen arteko esamesak ezagutzen baitzuten⁸⁰⁸. Era berean, apaizek ezkonduen bizitza intimoan eta sexuarean zeukaten kontrolaren inguruan egindako aipameak asko dira, anitzak eta oso esanguratsuak. Ulibarriren eta Landaren arteko gutun trukaketak erakusten digu komunitateak ezarritako kontrola oso zorrotza zen mundu sozialean bizi zirela. Zentzu honetan pertsonen subjektibitatearen eraikuntza arau eta espektatiba hauei egokitzea behar beharrezkoa zen. Pribatutasunaren eta publikoaren esperientzia, gainera, koordenada sakonki erlijiosoan baitan ematen zen zeintzuetan bi dimentsioen arteko muga ez zen hain argia. Ulibarriren ahots epistolarra, azkenik, bereziki garrantzitsua da bidegurutze baten kokatzen zen subjektibitate baten eraikuntza erakusten digulako. Bere kode moral zorrotzak exijitzen zizkion betebeharren jazarpena eta hauek betetzeko gai ez zela ikustean eragiten zioten larritasuna erakusten dute.

Ulibarrik bere emazteari bidalitako gutunetako batzuk sakonki afektiboa zen lengoia erakusten dute; "...zeure betico senarra esanic emen naucazu bacarric, zeure

⁸⁰⁷ FERNÁNDEZ (2013):24.

⁸⁰⁸ ULIBARRI (1975): z/g.

maitasunean pizturic eta egun ordu guztietan kendu bagaric dalaco equiya naz emen zuretzat...”, Pepa Landa agurtzen zuen 1831. urteko urtarrilaren 27an bidalitako gutunean⁸⁰⁹. Bere maitasunezko adirazpenak Abandoko bizitza sozialaren inguruko informazio trukaketarekin, ezkonduen jardueraren inguruko eta baita auzi politikoen inguruko iritzien trukaketarekin konbinatzen ziren. Hala ere, gutun hauen alderdirik interesgarrienak Ulibarrik bere emazteari hain zuzen ere bere ausentzia luzearengatik zeuzkan eta jakinarazten zizkion kezka, konfliktu eta larritasunetan, bai maila pertsonalean eta baita maila sozialean ere, datzate. Hizkuntza ez hain maitakorrean, 1833. urteko apirilaren 29an Pepa Landak bere senarrari bidalitako gutun baten emakumeak bere senarrari Jainkoaren legearen arabera jardutea exijitzen zion: “Orain encargetan deusut bios guztiaz Jaungoicoen amoriarren guizona guizona legues porta duzaizela ...”⁸¹⁰. Antzaenez, Ulibarri bere emaztearen gomendioak jarraitzen saiatzen zen. Aurreko gutunetan eta baita ondorengoetan ere bere ahaleginen berri ematen zion eta. 1833. urteko apirilaren 18an, esaterako bere emazteari hurrengoak jakinarazten zion: “Guizona guizona leguez portatzeco nic eguiten dot Aleguiña”⁸¹¹.

Baina, zertan zetzan Landak bere senarrari Jainkoaren maitasunaren izenean betetzeko exijitzen zion gizentasuna? Oinarrian maskulinitate erlijioso baten eskaerak betetzean zetzan zeinaren oinarrian zorrotasun morala zegoen. 1830. urteko gutunean, Ulibarrik bere emakumeari berak agintzen zion moduan bizitzen saiatuko zela agintzen zion, ia ez zela kalera ateratzen eta igandean eliza frantziskotarrean konfesatu eta komulgatu zela. Era berean, aipatu den 1833. urteko apirilaren 18ko gutunean agintzen zion: “Nic egunien egunien Meza entzuten dot Yaincoari erregutuz bergaiti, zeu eta Pepechu eta Carlos-chu gaiti”⁸¹². Ulibarri, horrela, bere emazteari bere debozioa eta zorrotasun morala jakinarazten saiatzen zen.

Bere gutun guztien artean, baliteke datarik gabeko gutunetako bat izatea garrantzitsuena eta interesgarriena gure azterketarako. Ematen du, hala ere, *Gutunliburuan* mantendu zen ordenarengatik gutuna 1830. urtean idatzi zela. Gutunak izenburu lez “emasteari bacarric” esaldia zeraman, gutunaren beraren pribatutasuna azpimarratuz. Gutun honetan Ulibarri bere emaztearen aginduak bete ezin zituelako guztiz akaturik sentitzen zela irakur dezakegu. “Nic gogoan dauket Zeure esan ondea”, zioen, berehala

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 126.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid*, z/g.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid*, z/g.

⁸¹² *Ibid*, z/g.

adierazteko: “baña nazan leguez buru charreco Parcatucozu eta onez ygarocozu gustue ze ori da ezconduen gurucia”⁸¹³. Ulibarrik ezconduen gurutzea jasan egin behar zelari egiten zion erreferentzia ikuskera sakonki katolikotik hitz egiten zuela adierazten du. Mentalitate honen erakusgarri da, era berean, bere emazteari egiten zion adierazpena: Ulibarrik, bere emaztea onean eta txarrean maitatuko zuen, eta bere senara zen heinean, munduko pertsona gaiztoena izango balitz ere maitatuko lukeela agintzen zion. Hortaz, bera ere, bere emaztea zen heinean bere senarra maitatzera behartuta zegoen gauza guztien gaineratik: “...zu icen baciñan Munduan charrena gauza gustietan neure ematea sara, eta nic bardin bardin gure, neure emaste zarialaco”⁸¹⁴. Harrigarriro, gutun honek sexuaren eta ugaltzearen inguruko nolabaiteko azalpenak biltzen ditu, Ulibarrik bere emazteari idatzitakoak. Hizkuntza zeharo kriptiko eta ilunean idatzirik daude eta beraien ulermena ez da erreza, baina antza denez izaera sexualeko gaien inguruko argibideak dira⁸¹⁵.

Argi geratzen denez, ezconduen artean gaiaren inguruko desakordioa existitzen zen. “Ai Mari pepachu Zeu charto informauric ez gura cenduen bein batu eskeru gueyago batu”, idazten zion bere emazteari, maiztasun handiago harremanak mantendu nahi ez izana aurpegiatuz, hain zuzen ere “txarto informaturik” egon izanagatik. Antza denez, gutunak iradokitzen duenaren arabera Ulibarrik arrazoi honegangatik beragatik seme-alabarik izan ez zutela uste zuen⁸¹⁶. Are gehiago, bere emazteari bere ausentziaren aurrean desesperaturik aurkitzen zela jakinarazten zion, berarekin etengabeko amtsak izanik. Ezin dugu baieztatu harreman sexualen alderdi “teknikoenei” buruz hitz egiteko darabilen hizkuntza nahasiaren arrazoa zein den: gaiaren inguruko ezjakintasunarengatik, bera bezalako gizon erlijioso batentzako gaiak berak zeukan izaera delikatuarengatik edo bere emazteak irakurri behar zuen testu bat izateagatik. Hala ere, termino hain ilunen eta nahasien erabilerak diozku diskurtso katoliko zorrotzaren baitako sexualitatearen eta gorputzen adierazpena, eta baita esperientzia ere, oso konplexua zela. Garrantzitsua da Ulibarrik sexualitateari dagozkion prozesuak

⁸¹³ *Ibid*, 120.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid*, 129.

⁸¹⁵ Honekin batera, azpimarratu behar da Ulibarrik gutun honetan darabilen euskarak, eta bere idatziek orokorrean, ulermena asko zailtzen duten akats asko dauzkatela. “¿Historia o novela? El herrador vascofilo Jose Paulo Ulibarri”, titulua zeramatzan artikulu baten, 1915. urtean *Euskalerraren alde argitalpeneko* 104. zenbakian arigitaratutakoa, Julio de Urquijok adierazten duen moduan bere emazteari bidalitako gutunetan Ulibarrik lengoai oso “naturalista” zerabilen, URQUIJO (1915): 228. Goian aztertzen dugun gutunari errefereitzen zaiola ulertzen dut.

⁸¹⁶ ULIBARRI (1975): 126-127. Ikusi halaber AQUESOLO (1962).

azaldu nahi zituelako baina errekurso linguistiko metaforikoak eta zehaztugabeak erabiliz. Bere azalpenak ugalketaren inguruko asuntzio popularrak diruditenen eta Ulibarrik autoritatzetat jotzen zituen “Guizon Yaquintzuac” erabilitako termino gutxi gora behera zehatzen arteko nahastea ziren. Antza denez, gaiarekiko bere ezagutza eta jarrera berarekin hitz egiten zuen konfessore dominikar batek esaten zionaren eraginpean zegoen. Ezkontzaren inguruko zalantzak zituenean Ulibarri apaiz honengana joaten omen zen aholku eske⁸¹⁷.

Edozein kasutan, Ulibarriren gutunek hainbat urte lehenago Samaniegok bere bertso erotikoetan kritikatu eta satirizatutako auziak erakusten dizkigute: sexualitateari dagokionez katolizismo zorrotzak gorputzaren desirari ezarritako mugen baitan sentitzen eta esperimentatzen zen gorputz bat. Azken finean, bere autoritate sexuala gurutzebidean aurkitzen zuen maskulinitate bat dakusagu, bere etxeko autoritate erlijioso eta morala izateko exijitzen zion diskurtso katolikoak erabat desautorizatua. Honekin ez dugu adierazi nahi beste marko kontzeptualetatik, mentalitateetatik edo sentsibilitateetatik sexualitatea era naturalagoan bizitzen zenik, sexualitatea bizitzeko era naturalak edo neutralak leudekeela onartuko bagenu bezala. Bakarrik azpimarratu nahi dira sentsibilitate eta diskurtso katoliko zorrotzaren inkorporazioaren eta jarduera sexualen artean sortzen ziren tentsioak.

Ulibarrik jarraitu nahi zuen maskulinitate erlijioso eta debotoaren eta hauen zorrotzasunak jarraitzeko aurkitzen zituen zailtasunen arteko tentsioen adierazpen nabarmenena hurrengo hitzetan antzeman daiteke: “Nic eguin arren biotza eztutu arnaza gueratutiaz il aguinian leguez atzeratuteco biotzeco gogoia alper alperric dala”⁸¹⁸. Kontenitzeko gai ez zela konfesatu ostean, Ulibarrik eiakulazioa eusteak ekar litzakeen arazoak eta osasunerako arriskuak azaltzen hasi zela dirudi: pasioa kontenitzeko ahaleginetan arnasa eusteak norbera itotzea suposa lezake edota baita edemen agerpena ere, zeintzuek azken bate heriotza bera ekar zitzaketen. Zentzu honeta, Ulibarrik inplizituko kontentzioa egiatan “naturaleza edo izaitian contra”, alegia, antinaturala, zela adierazten zuela dirudi. Baina berehala, bide ez naturalen bidezko eiakulazioak ekar zitzakeen arriskuak deskribatzen hasi zen: ilearen galera, hile urdinen agerpena eta baita famatua den bistaren galera bera ere⁸¹⁹. Beraz, egilearen hitzek gorputzaren eta

⁸¹⁷ ULIBARRI (1975): 127.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 127-128.

sexuaren inguruko diskurtsoen arteko, “ezagutzen” arteko eta esango nuke jarrean arteko gurutzaketa erakusten dute. Ulibarri bere esperientzia berari esanahia eta zentzua eman nahi ziola argi dago. Bere idatziek erakusten digute gurutzadura baten zegoela, bere nahien, grinena, ezgupenen eta desioen artean murgildurik izugarritzko gatazka morala eta batia existentziala eragiten ziona.

Aztertu dugun dokumentuak izugarritzko garrantzia dauka hainbat arrazoiengatik. Alde batetik, kontrol klerikal zuzenak eragindako eta modelatutako sexualitatearen eta intimitatearen esperientzia personal bat erakusten digu. Ez da kontrol auzia bakarrik, baizik ere bere esperientzia sexualari esanahia emateko Ulibarririk eskura zeuzkan kontzeptuena ere, katolizismoak, hain zuzen ere, eskaintzen zizkionak. Ulibarriren subjektibitatea gurutzebidean sortzen da, exigentzia moralak obeditzeko nahiaren eta hauek betetzeko bere gaitasun ezaren eta transgresioen konfesioaren arteko gurutzaketatik. Egilea, katolizismoaren bertsio integristenaren defendatzailea izanik⁸²⁰, bere emazteari konfesatzen zion, hizkuntza zeharo emzionalan, –izan ere behin baino gehiagotan negarrez dardaka idazten ari zela adierazten zuen– bere ausentzia jasangaitza egiten zitzaioela, baina aldi berean jainkoaren legeak bete nahi zituela: “...ni negar eguiten dot San Pablo leguez biyotza estu eta triste eukicot ceu etorri artian...”, kexu zen⁸²¹. Eta bestetik, bere emazteari egindako konfesio ariketa baten aurrean aurkitzen garelako. Honek katolizismo integristak kondizionatutako eremuetan ere sexuen arteko harremanaren formen eta ereduaren inguruan zalantzarako eta elkarrizketarako guneak egon zirela adieraz dezake.

Ulibarriren eta Vicenta Moguelen gisako adierazpen politikoak eta kulturalak, goian ikusi dugunez kontrajarpenez eta tentsioez libre egon ez zirenak, karlismoaren substratu popularra elikatzea ekarpena egin zuten. Ulibarririk berak bere testuen artean Carlos María Isidro de Borbónen, Carlos V.aren, defentsa berezi bat utzi zuen bere jarraitailentzat 1834. urtekoa. Karlos V.ena zen Koroaren oinordeko legitimo bakarra. Testua liberalismoaren kontrako eta goian aipatu ziren gorputz euskaldunaren topiko guztien aldeko argudioen nahasketa bat zen. Laburki esanda, liberalismoak Espainiaren

⁸²⁰ Zentzu honetan azpimarratu beharra dago bere gutunetako bat, 1831. urtekoa, Fray Francisco de Estarta apaizari zuzenduta zegoela, Zarauzko frantziskotarren komentuan zegoena. Gutunean Ulibarririk Abandora misio bat eramateko egin zituen ahaleginak jakinarazten zizkion, ordurarte arrakastarik gabekoak. Gutun honetan bere zonaldeko elizateetara misioak eramateko zeukan gogo bizia nabaria da berak antzematen zituen gaitzak (alkoholismoa, jokia, tabakismoa...) ekiditeko. Aldi berean zonaldeko zenbait pertsona ezagunek misio hauek eramatearen aurka agertu zirela ere antzeman daiteke.

⁸²¹ ULIBARRI (1975): 129.

eta euskal probintzien degenerazio ekarriko zuen. Fernando VII.aren anaia gizartearen garbitasuna bermatuko zuen aukera bakarra zen. Garbitasun hau, orokorrean pekatu liberalaren aurreran euskararen eta katolizismoaren defentsan oinarritzen zen, bi hauek eredu moral konkretu batekin loturik⁸²². Kuriosoki, Ulibarriren aburuz liberalak Frantziako Iraultza bitartean Luis XVI.a eta María Antonieta Austriakoa hil zutenak izan ziren eta baita Ingalaterran Ana Bolena eta bere alabaren doktrina lizunak jarraitu izan zituztenak ere, zeintzuek aberri hartako amaiera ekarri zuten⁸²³. Ana Bolena eta María Cristina de Borbón eta Isabel I Ingalaterrakoa eta Espainiako Isabel II.aren arteko paralelismoak aukera liberalak euskal gizarteko sektore batzuegan sortzen zuen mespretxua ondo adierazten zuen. Liberalismoaren kontrako indarrek Isabel II.aren monarkia ilegitimotzat ikusi zuten, eta liberalismoa, berarekin identifikatuz, euskal probintziatiko desorden eta gaitz sozial guztien eragile gisa: erlijiosotasuna eskasa eta elizaren kontrako erasoak –batez ere herrikoitzat sentitzen ziren sektoreetan, klero sekularren kontrakoak, baina baita erregularrekoak eta emakumezkoan ordena erlijiosoaren kontrakoak ere–; behartutako desamortizazioak –populazio pobreenaren kontrako erasotzat ulertuko zena–, orden forala zalantzan jartzea eta, noski, genero ordenaren desordena ere.

4. 3. “La regencia de las mugeres y el reinado de los niños”⁸²⁴: genero gatazka liskar karlistaren baitan (1833-1839).

Goian ikusi dugun moduan, XIX. mende hasierako adierazpen liberalak ikerketa askoren azterketa objektu izan dira. Generoaren ikuspegitik egindako azterketen helburua emakumeen eta baita espainiar Estatu-nazio liberalaren oinarrian zegoen genero kontradikzioaren rola zein izan zen ulertzea izan da. Hala ere, lehen karlismoaren azterketak eta Lehen Guda Karlistaren inguruko ikerketak, genero ikuspegitik bederen, ez dira ia existitzen salbuespenen bat kontuan hartzen ez baldin badugu⁸²⁵. Karlismoaren baitan eta lehen guda zibil honetan generoaren eta diferentzia sexualaren kontzepzioak kontuan hartzea interes handia dauka hainbat arrazoirengatik. Alde batetik, euskal probintzian eta Nafarroan populazioaren parte handi bat aukera karlistarekin identifikatu zelako. Izan ere, zenbait historiagilek Carlos María Isidro de

⁸²² Orain arte adierazi den moduan, ez dira adierazpen nazionalistak edo protonazionalistak, baizik eta identitate probintzial sendotik egiten direnak.

⁸²³ ULIBARRI (1975): z/g.

⁸²⁴ GACETA OFICIAL, 68, 17/06/1836, 363.

⁸²⁵ CARIDAD (2011); CRESTELO (2011).

Borbónen jarraitzaileen lurralde nagusienak izan zirela argudiatu dute⁸²⁶. Bestetik, liberalen eta karlisten arteko liskarraren hasieratik, generoa, feminitatea eta maskulinitatea eztabaidagai oso garrantzitsu izan zirelako. Hildako erregearen ondorengo zuzenaren sexuak, emakumezkoak, liskar karlista genero liskarreko terminoetan ere garatzea eragin zuen era garrantzitsuan. Erakustiko dugunez, gatazka honetan generoak paper determinantea izan zuen, alde bateko edo besteko argudioak eraikitzerako orduan, bederen.

Carlos V.aren⁸²⁷, María Cristina de Borbón eta Isabel II.aren irudiak, bai alderdi liberaletik, bai alderdi karlistaren aldetik etengabe kontrajarri ziren aurkari bakoitzaren proiektu sozialaren eta politikoaren defentsari genero eduki argiak eskainiz. Ondorengo dinastikoaren auzia ikuspegi sozio-politiko jakinen arteko kontrajarpenarekin identifikatu zen. Hurrengo, orrialdetan azaltzen saiatuko naizen moduan, gatazka genero ikuspegi/proiektuen eta diferentzia sexualaren kontzepzio desberdinen arteko aurkaritzarekin identifikatu zen. Bi jarrera hauen arteko gatazka garaia bereziki interesgarria suertatzen zaigu. Testuinguru guztietan diskurtsoen artean ematen ziren elkarrekintzen eta interakzioen azterketa beti da garrantzitsua eta gomendagarria, identitateak beti era dialogikoan eraikitzen direlako. Kasu honetan, liberalen eta karlisten arteko gatazkarako ikuspegi analitiko hori bereziki baliagarria da eraiki zituzten generoaren eta sexuaren ikuspegiak etengabeko elkarriketan eta elkarrekintzan egon zirelako berritasun handiko ikuspuntuak eraikiz. Auzi dinastikoak, halaber, monarkia femininoaren legitimitatea monarkia maskulinoaren aurrean zalantzan jartzea zekarren. Honek, bere liskar diskurtsiboetan, baina baita praktikoetan ere, feminitateen eta maskulinitateen ereduaren inguruko eztabaidak berebiziko garrantzia hartzea eragin zuen. Eta hau ez zen bakarrik auzi dinastikoari loturik bakarrik gertatu, baizik eta baita aurrez aurre jarri zituzten proiektu sozialen inguruko auzian ere.

Azpiatal honetan batez ere prentsa iturrian zentratuko naiz. Garai honetarako iturri mota hau batez ere boletín eta gazeta ofizialek, liberalek zein karlistek, osatzen zuten. Momentu gatazkatsuen baitan prentsak, komunikazio eta informazioen transmisio

⁸²⁶ ORTIZ DE ORRUÑO (1998): 25 eta (2004): 196.

⁸²⁷ Batzutan Carlos V.aren izena erabiliko dut Carlos María Isidro de Borbón izendatzeko. Errege izan ez bazen ere, bere aldekoek normalean izen hori erabiltzen zuten bera izendatzeko. Nolabait, Karlos V.a berbak, egiazkoa ez den izenak, karlismoari berezkoak zitzaizkion balioen eta ezaugarrien multzoaren, baita maskulinitatearen ezaugarrien ere, pertsonifikazioa eta inkorporazioa izandaten du.

bide gisa garrantzia handia hartu baitzuen⁸²⁸. Hala ere, ez da aztertuko den iturri bakarra izango. Beste motatako idatziak ere aztertu dira: orri solteek edo bertso-paperek, gutun pertsonalek edo testu literarioek ere informazio zabala eta garrantzitsua eskaintzen zute. Karlismoaren azterketak errelebantzia handiagoa hartuko du hainbat arrazoiengatik. Alde batetik, karlismoaren kazetaritza iturriek, liberalismoaren adierazpen bideekin alderatuta, euskal probintzian eta Nafarroan homogeneitate eta jarraitutasun handiagoa eskaintzen dutelako. Bestetik, gatazka bitartean generoaren inguruko liberalen ikuspuntuak aurreko azpiataletan aurkeztu diren ezaugarrien jarraitzaile izan zirelako hein handi baten. Jarrera karlistak, aldiz, azpimarratzea merezi duten zenbait berritasun gehitu zituzten. Edozein kasutan, jarrera bietan era erlazionalean aztertuak izango dira, beraiek proposamenak bata besteari erantzuteko beharretik sortu zirelako hein handi baten. Lehenik eta behin alderdi karlistaren ikuspegiko oinarri edo printzipioetan geldituko nahiz, bere apustu politikoa eta soziala egituratzerako eta esanguratzeko orduan, eta baita liberalaren bestetasuna adierazterako orduan, generoak zeukan rolean arreta jarritz. Bigarrenez, auzi dinastikoaren baitan generoak jokatu zuen rolari arreta jarriko diot. Eta azkenik, emakumeek izan zuten parte hartze zuzenak bi bandoetan hartu zuen esanahien azterketan zentratuko naiz.

4. 3. 1. Karlismoaren ideologia eta antropologia: liberalismoa moralaren, gizartearen eta generoaren perbertsio gisa.

1830. urteko martxoaren 29ko Pragmatika Santzioaren arabera erregearen ondorentza era zuzenean ezarriko zen ondorengoaren sexua zein zen ardura izan gabe. Laburki esanda, 1833. urteko irailaren 29an Fernando VII.a hil zenean María Cristian de Borbónen erregeordetzaren eta ondorengo Isabel II.aren monarkiaren defendatzaileen, ordena konstituzionalaren eta liberalismoaren aldekoen, eta Carlos María Isidro de Borbónen, Carlos V.a, Fernando VII.aren anaiaren tronuaren defendatzaileen arteko gatazka armatu bati hasiera eman zitzaion⁸²⁹. Gatazka, ikusiko dugunez, ez zen auzi dinastiko batera murriztu. Aukera dinastikoak *munduan egoteko* eredu jakinekin identifikatua egon ziren, zeintzuek ondoretza auzi soilari konplexutasun handia eskaini zioten Jordi Canalek ondo argudiatu duen moduan⁸³⁰.

⁸²⁸ FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 412.

⁸²⁹ AROSTEGUI, CANAL eta CALLEJA (2003): 49.

⁸³⁰ CANAL (2000): 29-30.

Karlismoa errealismoaren eta absolutismoaren oinordeko zen kultura politikotzat irudikatua izan da⁸³¹, antiliberala, konstituzioaren kontrakoa, eta kontrairaultzailea, monarkikoa eta ultrakatolikoa Antzinako Erregimenaren krisiaren testuinguruan sortu zena⁸³². Tradizionalistatzat eta kontserbakoitzat ere deskribatua izan da⁸³³. Zenbait egileren aburuz, karlismoa aukera dinastiko jakin batekin identifikatu aurretik, Carlos María Isidro de Borbónek, bazegoen antiliberala zen tendentzia politiko bat, erakundeak Antzinako Erregimenaren arabera mantentzearen aldekoa zena, erreformen kontrakoa⁸³⁴. Aurrekari moduan Hirurtekoaren garaian liberalen, absolutisten eta erregezaleen arteko gatazkak existitu izan zirela argudiatu da. Hainbat ikerketek karlismoa testuinguru eta giro europako kontrairaultzailearen baitan kokatzen dute zeinetan euskal probintzietako karlismoa bera ezaugarritu zuten hainbat osagarri aurkitzen diren: apaizeriaren presentzia –bai antolakuntza mailan eta baita diskurtso sorkuntza mailan ere– eta nekazalgoaren sostengu zabala⁸³⁵. Euskal probintzietako kasuarentzat, Coro Rubio historiagileak ondo adierazi duen moduan, Lehen Guda Karlistak estanda egin zuenean gizartean antagonismo sozial, politiko eta ekonomiko argiak existitzen ziren jada. Alde batetik, liberalismoaren eta neurri modernizatzaileen kontrako populazio masa handi bat zegoen, nekazalgoa, hirietako zenbait biztanle, apaizeria eta nekazal guneetako lurjabe ertain zein handiak. Eta bestetik, lurjabe handiak ziren noblezia eta hirietako burgesia altua⁸³⁶. Gainera, Ortiz de Orruñok adierazi duen moduan euskal probintzietako eta Nafarroako biztanleriaren identifikazioa karlismoarekin ezin da bakarrik alderdi ekonomikoari begira azaldu, baizik eta baita izaera kulturalerako elementuak kontuan hartuz ere⁸³⁷.

Hain zuzen ere ideien eta adirazpen kulturalen ildotik liberalismoaren eta karlismoaren arteko gatazka era berrietan ezaugarritu nahi dugu, lehen etapa belikoa bitartean, bederen, ildo zentraltzat generoa eta diferentzia sexuala hartuz. Bai liberalismoaren eta baita karlismoaren baitan ere, bai beraien diskurtso ofizialetan eta baita herrikoietan ere,

⁸³¹ AROSTEGI, CANAL eta CALLEJA (2003): 15.

⁸³² CANAL (2002): 119. Espainia eta Europa mailan karlismoaren garapenaren ikuspegi zabal baterako XIX. eta XX. mendeetan zehar ikusi, CANAL (2000) eta (2007).

⁸³³ Adjetibazio hau, hala ere, ez da ulertu behar pentsamendu tradizionalistaren edo kontserbakoien eta karlismoaren arteko identifikazio bakartzat. Beste adierazpen politikoak ere adjektibo horien bidez defini daitezke.

⁸³⁴ AROSTEGI, CANAL eta CALLEJA (2003): 32.

⁸³⁵ MARTÍNEZ eta PAN-MONTOJO (2000): 36. Tetu honetako egileek lerro karlistak osatu zituzten sektoreen, nahiko heterogeneoen, zerrenda nahiko zehatza eskaintzen dute, bai eremu herrikoietan eta baita klase goberniaren baitan ere, 44-49. orr.

⁸³⁶ RUBIO (1996): 35.

⁸³⁷ ORTIZ de ORRUÑO (2004): 196.

generoa, batez ere erlijioarekiko zuen harremanean, esanahi politikoak eraikitzeko kategoria lez funtzionatu zen. Alegia, maskulinitatearen eta feminitatearen eredu edo formulazio jakinak aurkariaren bestetasuna sortzeko eta identitate propia sendotzeko instrumentalizatuak izan ziren.

Auzi dinastiakorekin eta Antzinako Erregimenaren oinarri ekonomikoen krisiarekin batera, liberalen eta karlisten arteko gatazka ezaugarritzerako orduan erlijioaren defentsaren garrantzia azpimarratu izan da. Prentsa karlista ofizialak, eremu nazional zein internazionalen informazioa berreiatzeko organu garrantzitsuak, ikuspuntu teokratiko zorrotz eta sakonak determinatutako *Jainko, Aberria eta Erregea* lemaren bertsioa eskaintzen zuen⁸³⁸. *Gaceta Oficial* argitalpenaren erredaktorearen hitzek erakusten dute bandoen artean eman zen gatazka erlijioso ez zela bakarrik botere eklesiastikoaren birorganizazioaren, murrizketaren eta kontrolaren inguruko auzia izan, maila sozialean zein ekonomikoan. Guztiz diferenteak ziren gizakiaren inguruko ikuspegi antropologikoen arteko auzia zen, baita eremu politikoa, eremu probatua, Jainkoa eta errealtatea bera ulertzeko moduen arteko talka sakona:

“Los revolucionarios, que viven sin fe, sin ley, sin esperanza, sin culto y sin Dios: ellos que miran los acontecimientos humanos como obra de la causalidad, resultados de mecanismos, y eterna posesion de la nada: ellos que con lengua sacrílega [...] secundan el yugo de la Fe, calificándola de una servidumbre pueril que se ha impuesto sobre si la flaqueza del hombre...”⁸³⁹.

Pentsa genezake Carlos V.aren aldeko apologistek erabilitako hizkuntza hau lengoai erlijiosoaren erabilera erretorikoa zela lege zaharren arabera Elizaren pribilegioen mantenua defendatzeko izaera politiko eta propagandistikoko gatazka diskurtsibo gorien markoaren baitan. Hala ere, iturriek, bai kazetaritzaren alorrean eta baita literatur eremukoak ere, eremu erlijiosoak antolakuntza politikoarekin eta sozialarekin izan behar zuen harramanaren ulerkeren arteko konfrontazioa iradokitzen digute. Jainkozkoa

⁸³⁸ Javier Fernández Sebastián-ek eta Javier Díaz Nocik adierazi duten moduan, prentsa karlistak bere hasiera esanguratsua *Boletín Oficial del Ejército del Rey N. S. Don Carlos 5º en Navarra*, (*Boletín de Navarra*) argitalpenarekin izan zuen, 1833. urte amaieran argitaratzen hasi zena. Ondoren, 1835. urtetik aurrera *Gaceta Oficial* izena jarri sioten, lehenengoz Tolosan eta ondoren Oñaten argitaratua. Eta 1837. Urteko urritik aurrera *Boletín de Navarra* y *Provincias Vascongadas* izena hartu zuen. Bere erredaktore nagusia Miguel Sanz y Lafuente apaiza izan zen Oñatiko Unibertsitatearen errektorea. Unibertsitateko ikasleek lagundu zioten eta baita Juan Colina y Muñoz sargentuak, eta 1835. urtetik, Manuel Sotak. Ikusi FENÁNDEZ (1991): 415-418 eta DÍAZ (2012): 69-70. *Gacetaren* editoreen inguruan ikusi halaber TAMAYO eta MADARIAGA (1981).

⁸³⁹ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 55, 13/04/1838, 220.

eta politikoaren arteko harremana bera ere, era zeharo diferentean ulertu zuten. Diskurtso karlistak liberalek sarritan egozten zien integrismo erlijiosoaren kritikari liberalismoaren modernitate eta berritasun hutsalaren grinari kritika aurrejartzen zion. Pentsamendu karlistaren arabera liberalismoak hobekuntza eta erreforma sozialak, mundutarrak, ekarriko zituela hitz ematen zuen. Baina hobekuntza horiek, egiatan, lortezinak ziren. Gizakia, politika eta gizartea izan behar zutenaren balorazio okerretik egiten ziren promesak ziren horiek pentsamendu karlistarentzat. Goiko zatian irakurtzen genuen moduan, gizatasunaren eta gorputzaren esperientziaren inguruan ere liberalek eta karlistek izugarritzko desberdintasunak gordetzen zituzten. Antropologia katolikoa teoria mekanizistei kontrajartzen zitzaien –eta orokorrean erlijioan oinarritzen ez ziren ikuspegi filosofikoei– gizakiari eta gizatasunari ez zietalako zentzu erlijiosoa egozten, moralari mundutarrak haratago zihoan oinarri traszendental bakar eta gorena eskaintzen ez ziotelako. Izan ere, gatazka osoan zehar, prentsa karlistaren estrategia izan zen, hain zuzen ere, liberalismoaren oinordetza ilustratua kritikatzeko, erlijiogabea izatea leporatuz. Liberalismoa, horregatik, Espainiako desordena moral eta sozial guztien kausa zen: “...el mundo, tal cual lo ha puesto la moderna filosofía, no es mas que un sarao [...] Este es el doloroso estado á que la llamada moderna ilustración ha conducido á una parte del pueblo español”, kexu ziren⁸⁴⁰.

Gorputza “sarao” liberal horren erdigunean kokatu zen elementu degeneratutzat. Gorputzaren kontrolik gabeko gozamenak gizarte espainiarra galerara bideratu zuen pentsaera karlistaren aburuz. “Daran por bien empleado, y aun reputaran necesario lo mucho que gastan en el adorno de su persona y de sus casas [...] para cubrir unos cuerpos, sacos de tierra, pasto de gusanos, retablo de miserias”, kritikatzeko zuten *Gaceta* aldizkariko erredaktoreak, ondoren filosofia liberal modernoaren baitan hipokresia nabaritzat jotzen zuten ezaugarria azpimarratzeko, “y se escandalizan de ver una mala casulla de seda, un pequeño caliz de plata...”⁸⁴¹. Moguealdarrak, Ulibarri eta goian aipatu diren beste egile erlijiosoek potentzialki ustelgarriztat ikusten zituzten soziabilitate eremuei eta ohiturei jaurtikitako kritikak diskurtso honetan materializatzen ziren ideologia eta soziabilitate liberalaren elementu karakteristiko gisa: “Salid de ese

⁸⁴⁰ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 141, 8/02/1839, 576.

⁸⁴¹ GACETA OFICIAL, 108, 4/11/1836, 534.

teatro, de esas fondas y cafes, de esas orgias bacanales donde estais insultando á la comun miseria”, leporatzen zien *Gacetako* erredaktoreak liberaleri⁸⁴².

Maila diskurtsiboko, baina baita praktika eta sinboloen mailako, bestetasunaren eraikuntzaren logika, gatazka honentzat erabateko garrantzia izan zuen, ez bestetasun absolutua konfiguratzeko zuelako bakarrik, baizik eta gu legitimo bat sortzeko ekarpena egiten zuelako. Operazio honetan, barbarismoaren atribuzioa, bi bandoen aldetik oso erabilia izan zen tresna diskurtsibo eta sinbolikoa, zentrala izan zen. Zentzu honetan, generoak elementu esangurutzailer nagusitzat funtzionatu zen. Emakumeei eskainitako tratua, beraien egoera soziala, eta maskulinitate zein feminitate formak, beraien formulazio diferenteetan barbarie edo degradazio liberalaren elementu ezaugarritzaile gisa funtzionatu ziren eta baita karlismoaren iluntasuna, atzerakoitasuna eta basakeria ezaugarritzeko ere.

Zentzu honetan, prentsa karlista sutuki eta errepikakorki kritikatu eta desprestigiatu zuen elementuetako bat abertzaletasun liberal femeninoa izan zen. Garaiko prentsa liberalak, *Correo del Norte* egunkari donostiarrek bezala⁸⁴³, hainbat kasutan garai napoleondarraren kasurako zein Hirirteko garairako goian ikertzen genituen abertzaletasun femeninoaren erreferenteak erabili zituen. 1834. urteko apirilaren 25ean argitalpenak *Turia de Valencia* argitalpenean argitaratutako emakume gazte baten hitzak gehitzen zituen, Gipuzkoako neska gazteak ere bere adibidea jarrai zituzten: “...es digno de que todas las señoritas imiten una tan patriótica idea. No es que falte patriotismo á las señoritas de San Sebastian, antes bien, como todos los habitantes de la leal y fiel Ciudad, están dotadas de nobles y justas ideas”⁸⁴⁴. Neska gazteak idatzitako testuak bere erakargarritasun fisikoa, bere erotismoa aldarrikatzen zuen, borrokalari liberalak erakartzeko eta antiliberalak usatzeko metodo gisa:

⁸⁴² BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 43, 2/03/1838, 172.

⁸⁴³ Javier Fernández Sebastiánek egunkari honen inguruan adierazten duena azpimarratu behar da. Egunkari hau bere artikuluen artean euskarazko idatziak sartzen lehena izan omen zen nekazal gune euskaldunetara ere iristeko asmotan, FERNÁNDEZ (1991): 453. 25. zenbakia, 1834. urteko maiatzaren 30ekoa, “Necazariac bere arteacori”, deitutako idatzia gehitzen zuen. Honetan Donostiako eremuko nekazariak alderdi karlistarekin ez alistatzeko konbentzitzen saiatzen ziren, eta jada armak hartu izan bazituzten, ejerzitu liberalari itzultzeko honek ez zuelako inolako zigorrik ezarriko borondate ona aurkezten zuenari. Honen aurretik antzeko hitzekin beste idatzi batzuk ere publikatuak baziren argitalpen honetan. Kuriosoki, 22. zenbakia, 1834. urteko maiatzaren 19an argitaratua, harpidedun batek ohar bat egiten zien argitalpeneko editoreei: nekazarietako alderdi karlistan zeuden senideak izanez gero bere baserriak kenduko zizkietela esateari utzi behar zioten. Idazlearen arabera arrazoirik izan gabe, erredaktoreek asumitzen zuten zonaldeko nekazalgu guztia karlista zela bakarrik horren parte txiki bat baino ez zenean Carlos V.aren jarraitzaile.

⁸⁴⁴ CORREO DEL NORTE, 15, 25/04/1834, 3.

“Yo soy una muchacha que solo cuento 15 abriles, y con este par de ojos negros, he de hacer mas guerra á los carlistas que todo un batallón. Y á fe que estoy en un pueblo que va ya para tercera facción, y en donde hay un padre Teologastro, que ha impuesto pena de excomuni6n mayor à los que me miren: todo de rabia por que siempre le he huido este cuerpo, que dicen que es muy mono; pero veremos quien puede mas, sus barbas o mis ojuelos”⁸⁴⁵.

Zati honek gordetzen duen mezuak genero ikuspegiaren aldetik mereziko lukeen azterketarekin ez genuke inoiz bukatuko. Gazte baten ahotsa irakurtzen dugu, lehenengo pertsonan –edo honen errepresentazioa– borroka liberalari bere gorputza, bere edertasuna erabiliz, ematen diona. Zatiak neskak “padre Teologastro”ak bere begi beltzei egotzitako esanahi ezezkorra eta bekatuzkoa nola inbertitzen duen erakusten du hauek erotizatuz eta borroka liberalaren aldeko armatzat aurkeztuz esanahi positiboa emanaz. Emakumeen gorputza, beraz, borroka antiklerikalerako gunetzat irudikatzen dela antzematen dugu.

Gacetak errepresentatzen zuen karlismo ofizialarentzat emakumeen patriotismo liberala emakumeengan onartezina zen fedegabetasuna eta bihozgabetasuna suposatzen zuen. Urteak aurrera joan ahala, *Gaceta* argitalpena bere orrialdeen artean liberalismoen aldekoek ospatzen zituzten jai abertzaleen, konstituzionaren goraipamena egiten zuten horien, inguruko ohar laburrak gehitu zituzten. Erredaktoreek ospakizun horiek gizartearen, generoaren eta sexuaren desordenerako gune moduan irudikatzen zituen. Jai hauetako bati buruz 1835. urteko abenduaren 1ean zioen “[que] concurrió toda la gazpiña, gente alegre y retozona, el cuellierguido y acicalado señorito, la dama ilustrada de gentil desembarazo, el marinero bien bebido, la relamida costurera, el sóbrio figonero y las castas susanas que habían servido la mesa”⁸⁴⁶. Azken baten, feminitate eta maskulinitate desordenatuak irudikatzen zituen katolizismoaren bertsio integristaren kontroletik aldentzen zirenak. Honentzat gozamina, atsegina edota poztasun kolektiboa bera, bere baitan, desordenerako eta kaoserako abagune gisa ulertzen ziren. Pertzepzio honentzat arazo gehien suposatu zituen elementua “emakume patriotak” edo “hiritarrak” izan ziren. *Gacetako* erredaktoreak hauen guztien izenak letra etzanaz tipografiatzen zituen, letra tipo honen erabileraren bidez beraien izaera femeninoaren eta patriotikoaren arteko moldakaiztasuna adierazi nahiko balu bezala. Damek, emakume

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ GACETA OFICIAL, 11, 1/12/1835, 47.

ilustratuek, “jendaila patriotikotzat” hartzen zituen horien arteko azpitalde bat osatzen zuten ospakizun hauen testuinguruan, gorrotatzen zuten patriotismoaren formarik baxuena errepresentatzen zutelako. Emakumeak “el teatro del patriotismo mujeril” deitzen zutenaren protagonista gorrotagarriak ziren⁸⁴⁷.

Liberalismoaren defendatzaileek, bere aldetik, karlismoaren aldeko emakumeak sutsuki kritikatu zituzten, baina ez beraen fedegabetasunarengatik, baizik eta egozten zieten ezjakintasunagatik, despotismoarengatik eta fanatismoarengatik. Zentzu honetan, goian aipatutako *Correo del Nortek* 1834. urteko maiatzaren 16an, bere 21. zenbakian gehitutako artikulu baten egileak Donostialdeko dendetan eta merkatuetan Isabel II.aren kontra eta Don Carlosen alde hitz egiten ziren emakumeei mehatxu edo ohartarezpen bat jaurtitzen zien: artikularen egilearen aburuz, karlismoa defendatzen zuten emakumeei gobernutik jasotako edozein dirulaguntza edo sorospen publiko, alarguntza pentsioa bezala, jasotzea ukatu beharko litzaieke. Baina artikuluko elementurik deigarriena emakume hauek ezaugarritzeko erabilitako adierazpenak ziren: “energúmenas que no acaban de creer que hay brujas, charlan en sus casas con demasiado desenfreno contra la inocente REINA y su gobierno”⁸⁴⁸. Emakumeen karlismoaren aldeko jarrera fanatismo erlijiosoak edo obskurantismoak, azken baten, ezjakitasunak eraginda zegoela baieztapen horretan inplizituki zioan. Are gehiago, bere ikuspuntutik emakumeak ziren, hain zuzen ere, elementu atzerakoiena eta bere senarren pozisio politikoa gehien determinatzen zuena gainera. “Dejen de ser déspotas”, aholkatzen zien egileak, “mas aun de sus propios maridos; déjenles que se alisten en las filas que defienden la legitimidad; crien a sus hijos amando y apreciando al gobierno que les dá ó les proporciona sustento, y no escandalicen enseñándoles à decir viva Carlos V...”⁸⁴⁹. Horrela karlismoaren aldeko emakumeak ezjakinak eta fanatikoak zirela adierazteaz gainera beraien eraginpeko senarrak desautorizatutzat erakusten zituen.

Aitzitik, karlismoaren kasuan liberalismoaren erlijioabetasunaren eraginez emakumeen galera, degradazioa edota prostituzioaren goradaka eman zela argudiatzen zen. Erakunde eklesiastikoez eskaintako benefizientzia zerbitzuei ezarritako murrizketak

⁸⁴⁷ GACETA OFICIAL, 5, 10/11/1835, 19.

⁸⁴⁸ “Artículo remitido”, CORREO DEL NORTE, 21, 16/05/1834, 4.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

prentsa karlistaren aburuz desordena sozial eta sexuala eragin zuen⁸⁵⁰. Bere atikuluen artean behin eta berriz errepikatzen zuten gaia emakume erlijiosoen erakundeen egoera tamalgarria salatzea zen. Gaia hainbat zenbakitan eztabaidatu zen. Ez da bakarrik garrantzitsua karlismoari liberalismoa emakumeen erakunde erlijiosoak erasotzeagatik basatitzat edo erlijogabetasuntzat irudikatzeko aukera ematen ziolako, baizik eta pietatean eta kastitatean oinarritutako emakumeen bertutearen kontzepzioa, baita gizonena ere, erakusten duelako ikuspegi ilustratu-liberaletik guztiz aldentzen zena. “La *filantropía* de los liberales quiere descubrir en todas las religiosas una vocación forzada”, kexu zen *Gaceta* argitalpeneko erredaktorea⁸⁵¹. Erredaktoreak aipatzen zuen eztabaidaren erdigunean katolizismo zorrotzenak emakumeei, eta baita gizonezkoei ere, ezartzen zien kritika kokatzen zen. Honek, antza denez, liberalistentzat indar peko bokazioak eragiten zituen. Kritika honen azpian goian aipatzen genuen sexua eta generoa ulertzeko forma desberdinen arteko talka antzeman dezakegu. Ikuspegi liberalarentzat emakumeen komentuko klausura eta baita gizonezkoen praktika erlijiosoak beraien izaera natural sexuatuaren kontra zioazten. Erredaktore karlistak ezkontza zibilaren eta mojen eta Jainkoaren arteko ezkontzaren arteko konparazioaz baliatzen zuen bere jarrera defendatzeko:

“¿Cuántas víctimas no hay de la dureza, de la ambición, y del capricho de los parientes en el estado conyugal, que lloran de verse unidos con un lazo funesto, pero *indisoluble* por todo derecho aun por las *leyes civiles*? Y sin embargo nada se dice, porque realmente nada se puede decir contra un empeño tan sagrado. ¿Pues por qué se declama con tal entusiasmo contra la perpetuidad del vínculo que une con el Esposo del Cielo á las vírgenes de la tierra?”⁸⁵².

Testu zati hau interesgarria da jarrera katoliko zorrotzenen artean ezkontzaren ulerkerak zeukan esanahi anibalentea erakusten duelako. Aldi berean, beraien mentalitate zorrotzarentzat, fatalismo katolikoaren eraginpekoa, koordinada liberalen baitan zeukaten ezkontzaren ikuspegia azpimarratzen zuen arbitrariotasuna kritikatzeko. Alde batetik, zelibatoa hobesten zuten ikuspegi tradizional ezkorrenak jarraituz egileak ezkontza zibilek sor zitzaketen ezbehar guztiak azpimarratzen zituen. Ezkontza, duda gabe, kate astun bat zen, baina apurtezina zen katea, sakrifizioz eta erresignazioz

⁸⁵⁰ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 141, 8/02/1839, 576.

⁸⁵¹ GACETA OFICIAL, 24, 15/01/1836, 112.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

eraman behar zena. Eta bestetik, ezkontza kate bat baldin bazen, gurutze bat, lege zibilak ere apurtu ezin zutena, zein zen arrazoa estatu erlijiosoak, Jainkoarekin egiten zen ezkontza, zekarren gurutzea eta katea apurtzeko? Erredaktore karlistak emakumeen jarduera erlijiosoaren kontra agertzen zirenei egozten zien hutsaltasuna eta inkonsistentzia, azken baten, ezkontzaren, feminitatearen eta gizakiaren inguruko definizioen desakordio sakonaren ondorio zen.

Zentzu honetan, karlismoak, berriz ere, arerioa kritikatzeko erlijiosotasunaren faltaren argudioa erabili zuen. Alde batetik, liberalak sexualki kontrolgabetzat eta lizuntzat irudikatzeko, eta bestetik, gizarte espainiarra bere pasioen menpeko lez irudikatzeko. Horrela, *Gacetaren* erredaktoreak liberalen aurrean Don Carlos apalaren defendatzaileei buruz zioen “...no quieren que sus hijas sirvan a la brutal incontinencia de los voceros, ni que sus desdichadas esposas vuelvan a maldecir una fecundidad fatal: no quieren volverlas á ver en las ruidosas orgías que celebra el libertinaje liberal”⁸⁵³. Eta gizonen inguruan baieztatzen zen “[que] ni quieren que sus hijos sean desde su infancia el degradado instrumento de una disolución nefanda”⁸⁵⁴. Degradazio moralaren eta ahultasunaren muturren artean garatzen zen maskulinitate liberalaren irudi bat eraikitzen zuen horrela. Emakumeen, neska gazteen eta haurren kontrako eraso basatien eta bortxaketen albisteak asko ziren prentsa karlistaren baitan –baita liberalean ere–, eta informazio hau bataila-eremuan erakusten zuten ustezko ahultasunarekiko mespretxuarekin konbinatuko zen. Liberalismoaren aldekotzat jotzen zituzten maskulinitate irudi abyektuak sortu zituzten horrela: “Desengañemonos: la guerra es un arte. El currutaco, el mercader y el mancebo corren como el viento al oír silvar las balas”⁸⁵⁵.

Liberal libertinoaren, neurrigabekoaren edo dotorearen irudi ezkorrak borrokalari karlista apal, obediente eta sufriztaileari kontrajartzen zitzaion “piadoso Carlos V”ren pauso sendo eta irmoak jarraitzen zituena. Maskulinitate erlijiosoaren apoligia zen hau. Borrokarako pizgarriak bere Jainkoaren eta Erregearen gloria eta errespetua baino ez ziren: “¿No se podría decir que Dios ha enviado Angeles exterminadores para acabar con los enemigos de Don Carlos? [...] los Angeles exterminadores han sido esos

⁸⁵³ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 10, 7/11/1837, 40

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁵ GACETA OFICIAL, 13, 8/12/1835, 58.

valientes, animados del noble principio católico y monárquico”⁸⁵⁶. Borrokalari karlisten indar fisikoa borrokarako kualitate gizagaindiko batekin konbinatzen ziren *Gacetako* erredaktoreak adierazten zuen moduan. Borrokalarien sendotasunari eta irmotasunari egiten zitzaien erreferentzia, gainera, ez zen bakarrik fisikotasunari egiten, baizik eta batez ere beraien espiritualtasunari, kausa justu batengatik sufritzeko eta mina jasateko gaitasun neurgabe bati.

Zentzu honetan, ez da harritzekoa liberalen bertso-paper herrikoietan, guda garaian idatzitakoetan, elite karlista militarren ezaugarri hori barregarritzat jartzea: hain zuzen ere, beraien erlijiosotasuna. Baina, karlisten ezaugarri hau irrigarria zen beste arrazoi batengatik ere. Liberalen ikuspegitik ulertezina zen beraien pietateaz ohoratzen ziren gizonak gerran krudeltasun handiz jardutea. Antonio Zavalak batu zituen zenbait bertsoetan pertsonaia karlista ospetsuak arrazoi honengatik barregarri uzten ziren: Ramón Cabrera, el cura “*renegado*”, Joaquín Abarca y Blanque eta Carlos María Isidro bera, *el rey cura*, barregarri usten zituzten eta kritikatuak ziren beraien debozioarengatik eta haren izenean guda odoltsua egiteagatik: “bedeinkazioakin / egiten du gerra”, salatzen zuen bertsoetako batek, *Karlos Bostgarren Errege Deitzen Danari Euskaldunak Zortzikoa*, Jose Bixente Etxegaray bertsolari⁸⁵⁷ donostiarrak paratutakoa 1837. edo 1838. urtean⁸⁵⁸. “Odolgiro” berba zen bertso liberaletan mendian borrokan zebiltzaten soldadu karlistak dekribatzekeo adjetibo erabiliena.

4. 3. 2. “*Reclaman imperiosamente el brazo varonil de Carlos V*”⁸⁵⁹: *monarkia femeninoaren esanahiak. Sexua eta generoa eztabaidagai*

Auzi dinastikoa liberalen eta karlisten arteko gaztazkaren piztaile eta osagarri garrantzitsua izan zen. María Cristina de Borbón - Dos Siciliasen, bere alabaren adingabetasunaren bitartean erregeordetzan egon zenaren eta Isabel de Borbónen, liskarra hastean hiru urte baino ez zituenaren, irudiak eta pertsonak berak, alderdi karlistaren kritiken erdigunean kokatu ziren beti⁸⁶⁰. Azpimarratu behar da Carlos María Isidro de Borbónen jarraitzaileek Fernando VII.aren alargunaren erregeordetzari egiten zioten kritika ez zela desakordio ideologikoa edo politikoa erakustera mugatzen María

⁸⁵⁶ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 48, 20/03/1838, 190.

⁸⁵⁷ Bertsoen atontzailea, orokorrean, herrikoiak.

⁸⁵⁸ ZAVALA (1992): 250.

⁸⁵⁹ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 25, 29/12/1837, 100.

⁸⁶⁰ Isabel II.aren biografia batentzat ikusi BURDIEL (2010).

Cristina liberalek defendatzen zuten aukera monarkikoa errepresentatzen zuten heinean. Adierazi dudan moduan, auzi dinastikoa oinarrizko genero auzi baten zeukan bere erroa eta ezin dugu ahaztu. Gatazka osoan zehar genero esanahiek Isabel II.aren monarkia femeninoaren legitimitate eza defendatzen zutenen eta Carlos V.aren monarkia maskulinoaren legitimitatea defendatzen zutenen argudioei esangura eta zentzua eman zieten. Hurrengo orrialdeetan azalduko dudan moduan, emakumeen monarkiaren defentsa edota gaitzespenaren atzean generoaren ulermenaren inguruko desberdintasun eta desakordio nabarmenak zeuden garaiko salbuespeneko testuinguruak berak ere hauetan eragin nabarmena zuelarik. Liberalen eta karlisten iruditeria osatu zuten irudiek –karlismoaren baitan Braganza aizpak Carlos María Isidro de Borbónen lehen eta bigarren emazteak, Tomás de Zumalacárregui edo Ramón Cabrera bera aurkitzen ditugu– beraien apustu politikoei edukiak emateko instrumentalizatuak izan ziren eta diferentzia sexuala ulertzeko era desberdinak erakusten dizkigute.

María Cristinaren erregentzia bitartean euskal probintzietako prentsa liberalaren diskurtsoa bere eginbeharren defentsa laudagarria egin zuen. Honek, orokorrean hizkuntza maternal esploitatzen zuten, Isabel de Borbónen ama zen heinean monarkia ildo honetik eramango zuela defendatuz. *Augusta Madre*, *Excelsa Madre* edo *Excelsa Matrona* ziren bera izendatzeko sarritan erabiltzen ziren formulazio ohikoenak. Bere aldeko diskurtso liberal legitimatzaileen baitan etorkizuneko erreginaren ama izateak, zalantza gabe, konparaezinezko errelebantzia ematen zion. Garaiko kantu herriko liberalaetan ere María Cristina *ama gobernari* edo *Ama liberala* deitua zen⁸⁶¹. Kantu hauek, noski, nekazal giroko populazio euskaldunaren artean liberalismoaren aukeraren onurak eta Isabel II.aren tronuaren legitimitatea hedatzeko helburua zuten. Hala ere, maternal edo amatir adjektiboak ez zituen bere defendatzaile guztiak asetzen. Are gehiago, batzuen aburuz, adjektibo hori bere mailako eta ohoreko emakume baten izaera deskribatzeko guztiz desegokia zen. Horrela, 1834. urteko martxoaren 1eko *Boletín de Álavan* argiratu zen oharraren idazlearen aburuz Erregina Gobernatzaileria izendatzeko *Excelsa Matrona* berba erabiltzea guztiz tamalgarria zen. Egileak bikaintasun femeninoaren defentsaren argudioak berreskuratzen zituen adierazteko María Cristina *matronatzat* irudikatzea arrunckeria hutsa zela⁸⁶²:

⁸⁶¹ ZAVALA (1992): 117.

⁸⁶² XVIII. mendean zehar bikaintasun femeninoaren diskurtsoaren jarraipenaren inguruan ikusi BOLUFER (2000).

“A una Reina en cuya noble fisionomía brillan á competencia la juventud y las gracias, á una Princesa que acabamos de ver montada sobre un brioso caballo que manejaba con gentil donaire y singular destreza, recorrer las filas de sus valientes guerreros, arrancando vivas y aplausos sinceros del alegre y generoso soldado español, no le va bien el titulo de Excelsa Matrona. Al hablar de la Reina Gobernadora todo lo que no sea acercarse a lo angelical, divino, ó celestial, es bajo, y no corresponde á sus altas virtudes y á las eminentes calidades que la ennoblecen y distinguen”⁸⁶³.

Artikuluaren egileak, horrela, Erregina Gobernatzaillearen bikaintasunaren irudia matronaren egunerokotasunarekin eta mundutartasunrekin kontrajartzen zituen. Egileak eguneroko ezenatoki bat irudikatu zuen: bentatan lotara geratzen ziren bidaiariena “[que]se encuentra con el ama de la casa bien gobernada y colorada, que sentada muy á su placer en el escaño de la cocina, recibe sin moverse ni descomponerse los cumplidos [...]: qué Matrona tan reverenda parece la mesonera!”⁸⁶⁴. Bere artikuluan liberal arabarrak diskurtso laudagarriaren errekurtsoak zerabiltzan, antzinako argudioen oinordekoak, garairako berritasun nabarmena suposatzen zuten egitate batzuk legitimatzeko eta defendatzeko: 1830. urteko Lege Salikoaren –edo espezifikoki 1713. urtean Felipe V.ak indarrean jarritako Ondorengotza Arautegia– deuseztega gizonzkoen oinordetza maskulinoko hiru mende ostean emakume bat tronura igotzeko ahalbidetzen zuena. Liberalismoak Ilustraziotik jaso zituen feminitate ikuspegi berriak inkorporatu baldin bazituen ere, goian ikusten genuen moduan, horrek ez du esan nahi Isabel II.aren monarkiaren defentsan beste motatako argudioak erabiliko ez zituela hizkuntza eta kode zeharo desberdinetatik zetozenak. Bere argudioaren paradoxa, egiatan esanahi historikoen garapen konplexuaren adibide baino ez dena, idazle liberal arabarrak María Cristinaren erregeordetza modernitatearen ezaugarritzat defendatzen zuela da bere kontrakoaren aurka hurrengoak esanez: “los malvados que pretendían volvernos al siglo 16” zioen Carlos V.aren defendatzailei buruz hitz egitean⁸⁶⁵. Zehaztasun historikoak diosku erregetza femeninoak, eta bere defentsa termino horietan, XVI. mendeko ezaugarria dela XIX. mendekoa baino. Baina garapen eta aldaketa historikoak erakusten dute erregeordetza femeninoaren zirkunstantzia berriak zenbait liberal erro sakoneko

⁸⁶³ “Artículo remitido”, BOLETÍN DE ÁLAVA, 7, 1/03/1834, 5.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

argudioak erabiltzera bideratu zituela modernitate handia edukiko balute bezala obskurantimo karlistaren kontra adierazteko.

Bere aldetik, prentsa karlista, itxaron zitekeenez, María Cristina de Borbónen eta Isabel II.aren monarkiaren aurkako erabateko kontrajarpena aurkeztu zuen ultrakatolizismoari berezkoak zitzaizkion misoginiako argudioak erabiliz. Prentsa karlistaren aburuz Erreginaordearen aginpiderik eza, izaera txarra eta liberalen aginpean zegoen egoera politiko tamalgarria deskribatzeko erabili zituzten adierazpenak oso anitzak ziren: “la mal aconsejada señora”; “el inconcebible alucinamiento de esta señora”; “ha llegado à colmo la ridiculez, la indigna volubilidad e inconcebible aturdimiento de Cristina” edo “es doloroso [...] ver à esta infeliz señora hablar y obrar tan contradictoriamente” entre otras⁸⁶⁶. Ezjakintasun eta inkompetentzia hau, emakume baten gobernuari berezkozat jotzen ziotena, Carlos V.aren irudi birilarekin alderatzen zen, monarkia “grave, cristiana y vigorosa” baten bermea ekar zitzakeen pertsona bakartzat aurkeztzen zena⁸⁶⁷. Eta baita Carlos V.aren bigarren emaztearen irudiarekin ere, Beirako Printzeza, María Teresa de Braganza. Erredaktore karlistak, 1838ko urte aldera emakume bien arteko alderaketa suntzizailea eskaintzen zuen:

“La una tiene de su parte los siglos, y la otra el momento fugitivo, bastante para sorprender y engañar, pero que hace lugar siempre á la eternidad de la justicia. Aquella se vé rodeada de todo lo que existe de fuerte, de profundo y de durable en el corazon de los pueblos, en la religion de sus mayores y el antiguo honor; pero esta para dar pan á los soldados encargados de sostener su agonizante gobierno, ha despojado los Templos de lo que tenían, y ha hecho fundir hasta las campanas: ha ultrajado la majestad del Culto, y hace hoy lo que en otro tiempo los moros en la Católica España”⁸⁶⁸.

Evari eta Mariari buruz arituko balitz bezala, artikulua egileak hurrengo esanez amaitzen zuen: “El genio del bien y el genio del mal estan personificados, en las dos mugeres que hoy vemos en la escena al otro lado de los Pirineos⁸⁶⁹”. Karlismoaren erro ultrakatolikoarengatik pentsa genezake beraien misoginia salbuespenaren defentsarekin

⁸⁶⁶ Guztiak GACETA OFICIAL edo BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCGONDAS argitalpenetan batuak.

⁸⁶⁷ GACETA OFICIAL, 69, 24/06/1836, 367.

⁸⁶⁸ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 118, 20/11/1838, 475.

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

edo, gutxienez, onarpenarekin, konbinatuko zela pietate eta bertute kasu gorenetan, esaterako, María Teresa de Braganzakoari egotzitako ezaugarrien kasuan. Aitzitik, prentsa karlistak zein beste iturriek erabilitako argudioek adierazten digute María Cristina ez zela erregeorde ezgaitzat jotzen bere izaera espezifikoengatik, alegia, Eva konkretu bat izateagatik, baizik eta soilik emakume izateagatik, alegia, bere kondizio sexualarengatik. Beste hitzetan esanda, karlismoaren eduki ultramisoginoak generoak zeukan pisua zeharo indartzen zuen. Horrela, generoa erregeordetza femeninoaren izatea, eta gainerako emakumeen izatea ere, eduki ezkorrez betetzen zuen, determinatzen zuen, ezaugarri esangurutzailerik printzipal bilakatzen zen. Horrela adierazten zuten Carl Ferdinand Henningsen kapitai eskoziarraren hitzek ere, alderdi karlistarekin borrokatu zena, 1836. urtean bere *Campaña de doce meses en Navarra y las provincias vascongadas con el General Zumalacárregui* lan autobiografikoan hurrengo esaldiak argitaratu zituenen: “...el pueblo sabe bien que, según las leyes de España, ninguna mujer puede empuñar el cetro y encuentran que es un insulto a la dignidad española el ser gobernados por una mujer”⁸⁷⁰. Zumalakarregi deituriko poemaren bertsoek ere, Jean-Baptiste Camousarry poeta eta apaiz lapurtarrak idatzitakoa, Antonio Zavalaren arabera 1835. urtean idatziak izan zirenak ejerzitu karlistaren nagusiaren heriotza eta gutxira, sentipen bera adierazten dute⁸⁷¹. Poemak Zumalacárregui euskaldunen heroi biriltzat laudatzen zuen, zeinak tximista baten moduan bere ejerzituak gidatzen zituen, fedearen eta antzinako euskaldunen izaeraren mantenuaren bermea zena, azken baten. Irudi honen aurrean María Cristina, edo Isabel, euskaldunak zanpatzera eta agintzera zetorren emakumeak lirateke eta galdetzen zuen: “*Emazteki atze bat tronuan utziko?*”⁸⁷².

Berriz ere prentsa ofizial karlista izan zen Isabel de Borbónen tronua ilegitimitatearen inguruko argudio landuenak erabili zituenen, izaera dinastiko, legegintzako eta noski, generoaren ikuspegiko argudioen nahasketa eginez. 1837. urte amaieran eta 1838. urteko hasieran, *Boletín de Navarra y Provincias Vascongadas* argitalpena bere zenbait

⁸⁷⁰ HENNINGSEN (1939): 5. Testua Londresen argitaratu zen 1836. urtean eta gaztelaniara egin zen itzulpena 1935. urtekoa da. Ikusi <http://aunamendi.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/eu/henningsen-carl-ferdinand/ar-58744/>, azken kontsulta 19/09/2017.

⁸⁷¹ ZAVALA (1992): 196.

⁸⁷² *Ibid*, 192. Bertsoak dio “emazteki atze bat”. Atzek esanahi desberdinak ditu zeintzuen artean bat aukeratzea oso zaila den. Ezin dugu ehuneko ehunetan jakin egileak zer esan nahi zuen, baina poemaren gainerako mezuekin kontzontzian, “atzeritar” esanahia baliagarria liteke. Ikusi: <https://hiztegia.labayru.eus/emaitza/LH/all/extra%25C3%25B1o%2520%25C3%25B1a/2495985?locale=es> azken kontsulta: 04/12/2017.

zenbakitan Francisco Mat3nez de la Rosak Gorteetako Komisioetan Koroaren Diskurtsoari egindako erantzunaren inguruko hainbat art3kulu gehitu zituen. Isabel II.aren Koroaren legitimitatea defendatzeko, bere diskurtsoetako baten Mat3nez de la Rosak hurrengo argudioa agertzen zuen: estatuaren oinarrizko legeen arabera “[exist3a] una pr3ctica antigua, la cual es coet3nea al nacimiento mismo de la monarqu3a hereditaria en Espa3a: pr3ctica jam3s interrumpida, com3n al reino de Navarra, al reino de Arag3n, de Valencia, de Castilla, de Leon, y 3 todos los que compon3an el imperio espa3ol”⁸⁷³. Hain zuzen ere, emakumeek tronua oinordetzan hartzeko ohituraren argudioa zerabilen Mat3nez de la Rosak, adibide nagusitzat Isabel Katolikoaren irudia goraiapatuz. *Bolet3n*aren erredaktorea, bere aldetik, baieztapen horri bere argitalpenetik erantzuteko 1837. urteko abenduaren 29ko alean art3kulu luze bat argitaratu zuen. Honetan Espainiako Koroaren historia osoan zehar egondako monarkia femenino guztiak deslegitimatzeko ahaleginak egin zituen. Monarkia Godoaren garaitik oinordetza legen inguruko hausnarketa luzea eskaintzen zuen azken baten hurrengo defendatzeko: “muger, ninguna de *tiempo inmemorial*”⁸⁷⁴. Are gehiago, argudiatzen zuen emakumeak erregina izan ziren sei kasu baino ez zirela existitzen: “Nu3a, Urraca, Sancha, Isabel, Berenguela y Petronila”⁸⁷⁵. Emakume hauek guztiak oinordetza maskulinoa existitzen ez zelako, ez era zuzenean ez transbertsalki, edo oinordeko zuzena izan gabe, Isabel I.aren kasua bezalaxe, zirkunstantziek hala eskatu zutelako igo ziren tronura. Eta beraien pietaterengatik, debozioarengatik eta zuzentazunarengatik ezagunak izan ziren emakume hauetan ere erregina izateko gaitasuna zalantza jartzen zuen hain zuzen ere berain kondizio femeninoak ezartzen zituen mugengatik: “Isabel nada hizo: era una buena Se3ora, y nada mas”⁸⁷⁶.

Erredaktoreak benetan azpimarratu nahi zuena zen inolako kasutan “eme” baten erregetza positiboa izan zela, emakumeen eta gizonen arteko kualitateak konparaezinak zirelako. Bere argudioa sendotzeko, hurrengo art3kulutan oinarri biologizistako argudioak baliatu zituen emakume eta gizonen arteko diferentzia naturalak existitzen zirela determinatzen zituztenak eta bakoitzari funtzio eta eginbehar diferenteak ezartzen zizkionak:

⁸⁷³ MART3NEZ DE LA ROSA (1837): 16.

⁸⁷⁴ BOLET3N DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 25, 29/12/1837, 100.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁶ BOLET3N DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 30, 16/01/1838, 120.

“si la naturaleza hubiera dotado á las mugeres del vigor físico y de la fuerza intelectual de los varones, sin quitarles nada de su ternura, de su vivacidad, y de la delicadeza esquisita de sus sentimientos, seria la muger en esta quimérica hipotesi una *hermafrodita* moral; y teniendo en su mano la ternura que subyuga, la razón que dirige, y el valor que fortalece y defiende, podría ponerse en cuestion teóricamente, la conveniencia de un gobierno mugeril. Pero la naturaleza ha dispuesto las cosas de otro modo, haciendo incompatibles física y moralmente las cualidades de entrambos sexos”⁸⁷⁷.

Bere diferentzia sexualaren ulermenak, izaera ilustratuko eta liberaleko jarreraren aurrean, ez zuen sexuen arteko elkarrekiko osagarritasuna defendatzen. Horren kontra, emakumeen sentsibilitatea, beraien eragin posiblea –ilustratuentzat oso positiboa zena–, ez zuen termino laudagarrietan kontzeptualizatu. Erredaktoreak María Cristinaren eta Isabel de Borbónen erregetzaren defentsa liberalak kritikatzeko zituen, hain zuzen ere, sentsibilitate femeninoaren eraginak eremu politikoan eta sozialean izan zitezkeen eragin positiboak zalantzan jarritz. Sevillako hirian inprimitutako paper solte baten inguruan hurrengoak zioen:

“Dice el follelista que el bello sexo ejerce y debe ejercer un dominio indeclinable: ¿pero de qué dominio se habla? ¿Es por ventura el dominio de las pasiones, el dominio del sentimiento? Muy bien; pero de aquí nada se infiere, porque el dominio de los afectos no es el dominio de la razón, el dominio de la cordura, de la prudencia y del vigor necesarios para gobernar”⁸⁷⁸.

Erredaktore karlistaren planteamenduan, pasioak eta sentimenduak ikuspegi ezkorretik juzgatuak izaten jarraitzen zuten, katolizismo zorrotzaren ikuspegitik. Erredaktore karlistaren argudiaketan ez zegoen Ilustrazioak pasioetaz, sentimenez eta zentzumenetaz, giza naturaren parte ziren heinean, egindako integrazioa eta birkontzeptualizazioa hauei esanahi positiboa emanez, bai politikarako, moralerako eta ezagutza bera garatzeko ere. Feminitateaz eta diferentzia sexualaz zeukan ikuspuegia sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren ideian oinarritzen zen, baina ez zen gizakien pasio edo sentimenduen birplanteamenduarekin batera egin, katolizismo zorrotzaren antropologiaren ildotik jarraitzen zuen. Honek eduki berriko misoginia sutsuari leku

⁸⁷⁷ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 27, 5/01/1838, 108.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

ematen zion. Emakumeak naturalki eta halabeharrez pasioei loturiko eremuari murrizturik egonda, ezinezkoa zen feminitatearen edo emakumeen beraien definizio positiborik ematea politikoki edo sozialki izan zezaketen balioarengatik Ilustrazioak edo liberalismoak egin bezala: "...la pasión y el sentimiento que son un medio de dominar en la muger, son también un medio para dominarla; y cada persona de ese sexo si manda a veces tiránicamente, al momento llega á ser esclava la que ayer fue señora"⁸⁷⁹. Are gutxiago, bere gobernatzeko gaitasuna defendatzea ezinezkoa zen, izan ere, "onak" izan ziren erreginak ere, Isabel Katolikoaren edota Beira Printzearen kasua bezala, "dependen de su constitución orgánica"⁸⁸⁰. Era honetara, argudio berriak, emakumeen ikuspegi esentzialistarena kasu, beraien konstituzio organikoaren pean determinaturik geratzen zirenak, erro sakoneko misoginia tradizionalarekin elkartzen ziren: "y por mas siglos que trascurren, y por mas que progresen la civilización y las luces, la muger siempre será muger" epaitzen zuen azkenik erredaktore karlistak⁸⁸¹.

Testuinguru konkretu honetan, zeinetan karlismoak diskurtsiboki militarki ekiditen saiatzen ari zena kontrajartzera behartuta zegoen, misoginiaren esentzializazioa eta unibertsalizazioa salbuespen femeninoaren inolako posibilitatea ukatzeko helburua zuen. Noski, Isabel de Borbónen kasua behar horren zentruan kokatzen zen: "...y es bien claro que la dirección de los negocios públicos es un juguete en las manos débiles de una muger; y esto aun cuando sea una muger privilegiada y de un talento poco comun"⁸⁸². Bere argudioen artean pertsonaia historiko-legendarioei egindako erreferentziak ez ziren falta. Seminaramis erregina, esaterako, emakumeen erregentziak beti arriskutsuak eta mespretxatuak izango zirela argudiatzeko erabili zuen. Diferentzia sexualaren eta feminitatearen kontzeptualizazio honetatik, emakumeen gobernu, liberalismoarekin identifikaturik, "la desorganizacion y la anarquía" baino ez zuten ekarriko, alegia, kaosa⁸⁸³. Naturalizatutako diferentzia sexualak sexuen ikuskera zeharko hierarkizatua ez zuen aldatu. Naturalizazio honek gutxiagotasun femeninoa zalantzaezina bihurtzeko helburua baino ez zuen, inongo kasutan aldatua izango ez zena.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

Erredaktore karlistaren arguaketan “la constitución orgánica” argudioaren gehiketak, egiatan, beste edozein formulaziorerkin konparatuz ikuspegi askoz murriztagoa zelarren emakumeentzat. Emakume izateko forma duinak edo laudagarriak erabat murrizten zituen. Birilizazioaren bidea, giza perfektutasun ildo bakarraren ideia jarraitzen zuena, ixten zen eta berarekin salbuespenarekiko tolerantzia. Eta Ilustrazioak zein liberalismoak irekitako bidetik, emakumei feminitateari berezkoa zitzaion eremutik-afektuena, sentsibilitatearena edota eragin zibilizatzaile eta moralizatzailearena-nolabaiteko parte hartze sozial eta politikoa ahalbidetzea, guztiz onartezina zen. Karlismoak adierazten eta aldarrikatzen zuen austeritate ultrakatolikoaren markoan, sentimentalaren eragina, fintasuna, femeninoa, oro har, ezin zen, inongo kasutan, positibotzat jo. Femeninoa, termino horietan ezin zuen maskulinoa zena osatu, baizik eta soilik eta bakar bakar gutxiago izan. Horregatik, onartzen zuen hobeto zela, edozein kasutan “someterse à un Neron mas bien que à una Mesalina”⁸⁸⁴.

Iturriek zalantzarik gabe erakusten dute auzi dinastikoaren inguruko gatazkak generoaren eta diferentzia sexualaren inguruko eztabaida eragin zuela. Eztabaida hau, noski, testuinguruko zirkunstantzien pean eman zen. Isabel II.aren defendatzaileak emakumeen eragin moralitzailearen argudioa erabili zuten, *Excelsa Matronaren* iruditeria erabiliz eta goraiapatuz eta feminitate bikainaren diskurtso tradizionalarekin konbinatu zuten. Karlismoak, bere aldetik, monarkia femeninoaren posibilitate guztiak ixteko beharra ikusita, argudio berrietako diskurtso bat sortu zuen zeinetan misoginia klasikoa izaera esentzialistako argudioekin nahasten zen, ia biologizistak zirenak. Emakumeen perfekziorako edo duintasunerako aukera, horrela, erabat murriztuak geratzen ziren. Sexuen arteko harremanaren ikuskera zeharo hierarkizatua eskaini zuten, baina inolako salbuespenareko lekuri utzi gabe, zeinetan balio gorenak gizonezkoiei mugaturik zeuden: muturreko austaritate emozionalean oinarritutako birilitatea. Argudiatu zuten moduan: “el interés de los pueblos lejos de llamar a una niña [...] reclaman imperiosamente el brazo varonil de Carlos V”⁸⁸⁵.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁵ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA Y PROVINCIAS VASCONGADAS, 25, 29/12/1837, 100.

4. 3. 3. *Emakumeen parte-hartzea eta bere esanahiak: “...los derechos de nuestro sexo”*⁸⁸⁶.

Lehen Guda Karlista bitartean emakumeen inguruan idatzi ziren lanen artean urbanei buruz idatzitakoak dira seguruenik interesgarrienak generoaren ikuspegitik. Emakume urbanoen taldeak herrietan karlisten tropen kontra borrokatzeko boluntarioki izena ematen zuzten emakumeen taldeak ziren gizonezko urbanoekin batera gerra egiteko⁸⁸⁷. Gai hau ez da interesgarria liberalismoaren aldeko borroka aktiboan ere emakumeak egon zirela erakusten duelako bakarrik, baizik eta, bereziki, feminitatearen beraren esanahiaren inguruko hausnarketa sakona ere eragin zuelako emakume eta gizon hauen artean. Momentuz esku hartean dauzkagun agiriak ez dira asko, are gehiago, oso gutxi dira. Baina beraien edukia zeharo esanguratsua da. Hurrengo orrialdetan ikusiko dugunez, alderdi karlistak emakumeen parte hartze hau beti kritikatu izan zuen. Liberalismoak ekarri zuen eta ekarriko zuen gizartearen, generoaren eta familiaren desordenaren adierazle ziren emakume hauek. Haatik, material interesgarriena borrokan jardun ziren emakume liberalen ahotik jasotzen dugu. Izan ere, hauetako batzuek liberalismoaren eta Isabel II.aren aldeko beraien borroka, emakume bezala, beraien eskubideen aldeko borroka lez ulertu zuten, aldi berean, esplizituki beraien gerrarako edo gobernurako gaitasuna mespretxatzen zuten ikuspuntuak kontrajarriz.

Garaiko prentsa liberala eta karlista, eta baita zenbait dokumentu idatzik ere, Lekeitio, Plentzia edo Eibar bezalako Bizkaiko eta Gipuzkoako herrialdeetan emakume urbanoek egindako gerra ekintzen inguruko konstantzia utzi dute. Hala ere, beste zenbait herritan ere emakumeak parte hartu zutenaren aipamenak ere badaude. 1835. urteko utarrilean *Boletín de Navarra* argitalpenak, *Gaceta Oficialaren* aurrekoak, Lekeitioko Gobernu Militarrena eta Komandantzia Generalera bidalitako ofizio bat argitaratu zuen. Ofizio hau alderdi liberalari partida karlista batek hartutako informazioa zeraman. Honetan, Bilboko hiribilduaren gobernadorak, Hipólito de Mujicak, Lekeitio herrian Antiguas Cántabras zeritzan emakumeen konpainia bat ofizialki osatuko zela adierazten zuen. Mujicaren diskurtsoak emakumeen partaidetzaren lehen onura gisa liberalismoaren aldeko gizonen artean piz zezakeen eragin moralizatzailea eta imitatzailea

⁸⁸⁶ BOLETÍN DE ÁLAVA, 81, 14/10/1834, 2-3.

⁸⁸⁷ CRESTELO (2011); CARIDAD (2011): 192 eta hurrengoak. Espainiako XIX. mende osoan zehar milizia urbanoen inguruan, konkretuko Madrilgo kasuaren inguruan, ikusi PÉREZ y ESPADAS (1978). Lehen Guda Karlista bitartean milizia urbanei buruz Tudelako kasurako ikusi SANTOS (1994).

azpimarratzen zuen: “He creído que haría un servicio á S. M. la Reina Nuestra Señora si conseguía interesar en el triunfo de la 2.a Isabel *al bello sexo que tanta influencia tiene sobre el nuestro*”, zioen, azkenekoz sententziatzeko “...su presencia reanimará el espíritu de los combatientes entusiasmados, cual las *antiguas Cántabras*, a sus fogosos hijos, apasionados y tiernos amantes. Me persuado que esta Disposicion causará buen efecto moral”⁸⁸⁸. Emakumeen parte hartzea beraien izaera eta kondizio sexualerako egokitzat jotzen ziren jardueretara murriztua geratzen zen: zaurituak eta gaixoak zaintzera mugatuko zen, eta beharrezkoa balitz bakarrik beste motatako ekintzak egingo zituzten, munizioa mugitzea bezalakoak eta “análogos a su sexo” ziren beste zerbitzu batzuk. Azken baten, ofizioak adierazten zuen moduan: “Venerables matronas, esposas amantes, y doncellas hermosas y entusiastas” baino ezin ziren izan⁸⁸⁹. Interesgarria da, hala ere, azpimarratzea, gizonezkoen ekintzei osagarriak liratekeen jarduera bezala petsatuta bazeuden ere, emakume parte hartzaileen zerrenda gizonezkoen maila militarren arabera atondua zegoela eta genero maskulinoan idatzia, beraien kargu printzipal eta ertain guztiekin: Carmen Cenavilla Anderea, tenientea; Petra Gorosabel y Sagasti Anderea, tenienteordea; Ezequiela Ojangoiti Anderea, 2. tenienteordea; Antonia Goitia y Arana Anderea, 1. sarjentua; Josefa Izaguirre y Garavilla Anderea, 2. sarjentua etc.; Fernanda Abio Anderea, 1. kaboa etc. eta gainerakoak, 44 emakumek osatutako zerrenda itxi harte, soldaduak⁸⁹⁰. *Boletín de Navarra*, bere aldetik, alderdi liberaleko informazioak transmititzen bazituen ere, emakume hauen izen ematearen inguruko bere iritzi zeharo ezkorra ere eman zuen. Prentsa karlistaren aburuz, jarduera hauek ekarriko zuten generoaren desordena erabatekoa zen:

“Sabemos que entre estas nuevas Urbanas hay muchas todavía niñas, ¡Qué buenas madres y esposas fieles saldrán con principios tan brillantes! Si toda la virtud de San Vicente de Paul es necesaria para que asistan al Varon enfermo ¿Qué se podrá esperar de las que sin mas vocación que su capricho, por seguir la llamada despreocupación y el tono del día, se entregan a las faenas tan peligrosas como las que encomienda en Sr. Gobernador? *el tiempo lo dirá*”⁸⁹¹.

⁸⁸⁸ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA, 62, 21/01/1835, 3.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4. Boletín karlistak erreproduzitzen zuen zerrenda hau Lekeition preso izandako Juan José Echevarriak eman zion Diputazio Orokor Karlistari. Echevarria Enkarterrietako Errege Brigadako nagusiaren, Cástor de Andéchagaren, eskutik askatua izan zen. Zerrenda Lekeitioko alkateak egina izan zen, Juan Bustista Arancibiak. Bizkaiko Foru Aldundiko Agiritegi Historikoan, Sección de Administración de Bizkaia, Fondo Seguridad Publica, Guerras y Servicio Militar, SIG. AQ01565/010.

⁸⁹¹ BOLETÍN DE NAVARRA, 62, 21/01/1835, 4.

Antzeko terminoetan adierazi zen Casa-Eguiako Kontea, Nazario Eguia, Carlos V.aren Estatu eta Guda Bulegoko Idazkaria 1836. Urteko otsailean. Plentzia kostako hiribildua indarrez hartu zutenean hogeita zazpi emakumek osatutako urbanen taldea aurkitu zuten⁸⁹². “Queriendo imitar la exaltación de los revolucionarios”, zioen Eguiak, “han dado en ello una prueba inequívoca de su extravío, tan reprehensible como indecorosa y contraria á la educacion, costumbres y ocupaciones de su sexo”⁸⁹³. Nabaria da konfrontazio belikoa alderdien arteko dialektika diskurtsiboaren mailan ere ematen zela eta honetan ikuspegiaren arteko kontrajarpena sistemakikoa ematen zela. Hala ere, emakumeak gerran parte hartzearen auzian nabaria dirudi karlismoak emakumeen parte-hartze armatua, edo semi-armatua, liberalismoak ezarritako ordena sozialari berezkoa zitzaion genero desordenaren ondorio, eta kausa, gisa ulertu zuela. Beraien ordena sozialak beharrezkoa zenean emakumeak konfrontazio armatuetan parte hartzea onartzen zuten, are gehiago, begi onez ikusten zuten. Karlismoak ideia honen kritika bere legitimitatea bera defendatzeko erabili izan zuten.

Beharbada, gure gune geografikoan armagile nagustitzat hartu izan den herrialdeko urbanek, Gipuzkoako Eibar herriko emakumeek, gatazkan emakumeen parte hartzearen inguruko agiririk interesgarriena utzi digute. Eibarko biztanleria nagusiki alderdi liberalaren aldekoa zen. Bai Gipuzkoako eta baita Arabako prentsa ere, bakoitzari zegokion boletinen bidez, 1834. urteko bigarren erdialdean eraso karlistak ekiditeko Eibarko emakumeen part-hartze handiaren informazioa argitaratu zuten. Arma egiteko eta erabiltzeko bere trebetasunarengatik ezaguna, Eibar ondo babesteko zaila zen herrialdea zen bere kokapen geografikoa zela ere. Berau karlisten erasoetaz babesteko ahaleginak, hortaz, oso handiak izan ziren. Gipuzkoako prentsa informazio bitxiaren eta bereziki oihartzuna jasotzen zuten sarritan. 1834. urteko urrian, esaterako, *Boletín de Guipúzcoa* argitalpenak bere oharretako baten Eibarreko biztanleek elizako kanpadorreko kanpaiak urtu egin zituztela babesteko munizioa egiteko⁸⁹⁴. Boletín berak urte bereko abuztuan ohartarazten zuten Eibar herria guztiz babestua zegola, ez bakarrik Isabel II.aren alde borrokatuko ziren “guarnición de 200 bizarros cazadores” taldearengatik, baizik eta baita 14 eta 70 urte arteko gizon armatu guztiengatik eta “100 heroínas” osatutako emakumeen talde batengatik, zein herriko gainerako

⁸⁹² GACETA OFICIAL, 37, 1/03/1836, 183.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁴ BOLETÍN DE GUIPÚZCOA, 50, 16/10/1834, 4.

emakumeengatik. Hauei buruz zioen fusila “Zabalak” berak, garaian Eibarko herria eraso zuten talde karlistaren nagusi milatarrak, baino hobeto erabiltzen zekitela⁸⁹⁵.

Urte bereko urrian, prentsa liberal arabarrak Eibarko hiru emakumeen oharra argitaratu zuen. Herriko emakume guztien izenean Bernardo Senosiain Gobernatzailerak eta Agintari Militarri urbanoen zerrendatan izena emateko baimena eskatzen zioten⁸⁹⁶. Josefa Diega Achucarro de Arguiarro, ezkondua; Felipa Cortezena, ezkongabea; eta Ursola Alberdi de Sarasqueta, alarguna, Eibarko emakumeen izenean, ekainean karlisten lehenengo erasoaren aurrean emandako erantzunarekin guztiz ase gabe egonda beharrezkoa zen edozein jardueratan parte hartzeko eta laguntzeko baimena eskatzen zuten. Erabili zituzten argudioek erakusten dute beraien eskaera generoak ezartzen zituen mugekin uztargarri egin behar izan zutela. Eskatzaileen arabera, zuzeneko parte hartzea edota borroka beharrezkoa ez zen momentuetan:

“...hay objetos de publica utilidad y filantropía, muy compatibles con el decoro de nuestro sexo, en que se nos pudiera ocupar. La elaboración de cartuchos de artillería é infantería, la de hilas, vendages y otros aprestos de hospital para heridos y enfermos; la asistencia de estos y sus ropas, todos son objetos á que nos dedicaremos gustosamente”⁸⁹⁷.

Baina, ekintza hauek guztiak “sin perjuicio de usar el fusil cuantas veces los rebeldes se presenten a tiro” egingo ziren⁸⁹⁸. Eibarko emakumeak beraien kasua salbuespen moduan aurkeztu zuten, gainerako emakumeek ere jarduera horiek egingo luketela asumitu gabe. Adierazten zuten moduan, bazekiten emakume guztiak ez zeudela egoera berdinean. Baina beraien kasuan, egoeraren salbuespenak eskatzen zuten eta horretarako prest zeuden: “Nacidas en una población, donde todos sus habitantes son armeros, y hoy todos Urbanos desde la edad de 13 años hasta 80, criadas entre las armas, y familiarizadas con ellas”, argudiatzen zuten “nadie debe estrañar que el manejo de un

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 4.

⁸⁹⁶ BOLETÍN DE ÁLAVA, 81, 14/10/1834, 3. Zenbait ikerketek adierazten dute ezinezkoa izan dela agiri bidez emakumeen milizia urbano hau azkenean sortzea posible izan zen hala ez., <http://aunamendi.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/eu/eibar/ar-37475-25106/>. Edozein kasutan, honek ez du esan nahi sortua izan ez zenik, maila informalean, bederen. Bestalde, garaiko prentsak beraien parte hartzeari buruzko dokumentazioa eskaintzen du, baita emakume hauek parte hartzeko izan zuten borondatearena, bere baitan, garrantzitsua iruditzen zaigun informazioa.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 2.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

fusil no sea poco menos que indiferente que el de las agujas”⁸⁹⁹. Beraz, beraien argudiaketa paradoxa batetan oinarritzen da. Paradoxa hau, beste paradoxa asko bezala, generoari buruzko diskurtsoek ezarritako mugekin borrokatu behar horretatik sortzen zen: beraien parte hartzea eta fusilarekin zuten trebetasuna berezia zen, izan behar zuen, bai beraien egoera pertsonalen zein belikoen eraginez. Baina aldi berean beraien trebetasuna egunerokotasunean kokaturik justifikatzen zuten. Fusilarekin zuten trebetasunak ez zuen joztorrazarekin zuten trebetasunarekin inolako kontrajarpena ekartzen, alegia, ez zen kunplitzen zuten feminitate eredu normatiboarekin kontrajarpenean sartzen. Honek erakusten digu euskal probintzietako eta Nafarroako herrietan zehar ematen ziren feminitatearen esperientziak ez zirela ez homogeneoak ez nahitanahiez arauak ezartzen zituzten genero mugetara mugatzen. Eibarko emakumeek fusila erabiltzeko egin zuten eskaera beraien abilezia defendatuz amaitu zuten eta hau Isabel II.ak berak Espainia gobernatzeko zeukan gaitasuna goraiatzeko ere erabili zuten. Aldi berea, emakumeak jarduera horietara dedikatzeko gai ez ziren horiek gogor kritikatzten zituzten ezjakintzat hartuz:

“Deseamos, si, con este motivo hacer ver á muchos ignorantes en la historia, ciegame te preocupados por nuestro sexo, pues es exagerada la timidez atribuida como inherente á nosotras para semejantes rasgos; asi como para gobernar una monarquía en las circunstancias mas criticas y difíciles esta S. M. la Reina Gobernadora dando actualmente al mundo una lección sublime de lo que es capaz una mujer”⁹⁰⁰.

Emakume haiek fusila hartzea eta Estatu bat gobernatzea ekiditen ez ziren feminitate eredu bat defendatu eta, dirudienez, praktikatu zuten. Bere idatzian bere sexuari zegozkien jarduerak egitera mugatu ahal zirela argudiatzen bazuten ere beraien eskaeraren amaierarako muga horietatik at zioazen gauzak egin nahi eta ahal zituztela defendatzen amaitu zuten, mugak ezarri nahi zizkieten arurrean beraien gaitasuna aldarrikatuz. Eta alderdirik nabarmenena da Isabel II.aren tronurako eskubideen aldeko borrokaz egiten zuten aldarrikapena emakume guztien eskubideen defentsa gisa ere ulertu eta bizi izan zutela. Honek ez zuen lehen maiialako aldarrikapen politikoa suposatzen bakarrik, baizik eta generoak ezarritako mugetatik haratago emakumeen gaitasunen defentsaren polititzazio bera ere. Adierazten zuten moduan, beharrezkoa

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

baldin bazen edozer egiteko prest zeuden: “[a] morir si necesario fuese al lado de nuestros padres, hijos, maridos y hermanos, defendiendo la causa de nuestra idolatrada Isabel II los derechos de nuestro sexo”⁹⁰¹. Eibarko Agintari militarrek, karlisten lehen erasoaren kontra emakume haiek jada gidatu izan zituenak, oso begi onez jaso zuen Eibarko emakumeen eskaera. Izan ere, emakumeak borondatez izena eman ahal izateko komisió bat deitu zuen. Azkenean, 476 emakumek eman zuten izena eta bost konpainiatan banatutako batailoí bat osatu zen, “Isabel II” izena jaso zuena⁹⁰².

Beraz, baieztatu genezake Isabel de Borbón-en tronurako eskubideen defentsagatik egon zen liskarrak emakumeak ziren heinean beraien gaitasunak defendatzeko, eskubideen defentsaren zentzuan, espazioak ireki zituela. Genero arauak ezartzen zituzten mugak ondo ezagutzen bazituzten ere, beraien ohiko parte-hartzea gizonezkoen jardueren osagarri izatera mugatua egonda, salbuespen egoerak emakume izateagatik egotzi izan zitzaizkien rola eta egoera zalantzan jartzeko aukera eman zuten. Jozter eta iruteraren behar zuten rola ez zuten gaitzetsi. Baina beraien emakumetasuna ezaugarri horietara mugatzen ez zela defendatu zuten, izan ere, behar zenean, gizonezkoak bezalaxe, fusila hartzeko eta erabiltzeko gai eta indartsu ziren.

Generoa, horrela, diskurtso liberalaren egituratzaile gisa funtzionatu zen beste kategoriekin nahasten zen bitartean. Liberalismoaren feminitateari buruzko ideiak, fanatismo erlijiosoak ekar litzakeen ondorio ezkorrena bezalaxe, euskal probintzietan liberalismoaren alde egon ziren zenbait defentzaileei beraien apustu politikoa legitimatzeko balio izan zuten eta aurkariena atzerakoitzat eta kaltegarritzat ezaugarritzeko. Atal honetan zehar mende hasierako liberalismoak Ilustraziotik hainbat elementu oinordetzan hartu zituela antzeman dugu. Hauek beraien feminitatearen inguruko diskurtsoa gorpuzteko erabili zituzten: sexuen arteko osagarritasunaren ideia edo eragin femeninoa gizartea moralizatzeko eta zibilizatzeko elementu ezinbestekoa zenaren ideia. Testuinguru iraultzailean, elementu hauek kontazio berriak hartu zituzten. Liberalismoak emakumezkoen eta gizonezkoen arteko berdintasun juridikoari atea itxi baldin bazion ere, emakumeek rol politiko eta sozial garrantzitsua bete behar zutela onartu zuen. Emakumeek erregimen berriaren sorkuntzan abertzaletasun konstituzionalerako lehen mailako garrantzia izan zuten, bai bere goraiamenean eta baita bere transmisioan ere. Emakumei egotzitako eginbehar politiko honek, exijentzia

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*

patriotiko honek, generoak ezartzen zituen mugen inguruko eztabaidak piztu zituen. Genero ordenak eta diferentzia sexualaren kontzepzioek aldaketa erradikalak jasan ez bazituzten ere, zenbait muga lausotu egin ziren zirkunstantziek ezarritako beharren aurrean. Horrela, Ilustrazioaren ildo jarraitzen zuen ikuspegi liberalean feminitate amaikoia eta osagarritasun naturalizatua emakumeen patriotismoaren laudorioarekin elkarbizi zen. Patriotismo honen izenean, batzutan, heroikotzat hartu ziren emakumeen ekintzak defendatzera ere iritsi ziren. Heroitasun femeninoa, gizonezkoen heroitasunarekin alderatu ez zena, bestalde, osagarritasunaren logikaren baitan mugatua geratzen zen eta liberalismoaren sektore batzuek erabili izan zuten liberalismoa bera, aberriarengatiko eta konstituzioarengatiko borroka, eduki emozional eta sentimental sakonaz hornitzeko. Konbinazio hauek produktiboak eta kreatiboak ziren tentsioak sortu zituzten. Emakumeen laudorio politikoa eta patriotikoa egiteko espazioen irekierak emakumeei part-hartze politikoa ukatzen zien mugen gaineko zalantza piztea ahalbidetu zuten nolabait, genero ordena eta diferentzia sexualaren eredu liberala hankaz gora jarri ez bazen ere.

Aldi berea, euskal probintzietan ordena tradizionalaren defentsaren alde eta konstituzioaren zein liberalismoaren kontrako adierazpen politiko berriak sortuz joan ziren. Euskal probintzietako zenbait sektore tradizionalistek gertatzen ari ziren edo pertzibitzen zituzten aldaketa sozial eta politikoen aurrean erreakzionatu zuten. Liberalismoa, eta baita Bilbo bezalako hiri guneetan suertatzen ari ziren modernizazio eta transformazio prozesuak, euskal ordena tradizionalaren kontrako mehatxu lez ikusi zituzten, baita genero ordenaren kontra ere. Eta fenomeno hauek ezinegon sakonetik espermentatuak izan ziren. Vicenta Moguelen eta Jose Paulo Ulibarriren idatzien artean sexuen arteko harremanaren konfigurazioa eta maskulinitate zein feminitate eredu erlijiosoan eta komunitarioen indartzeak berebiziko garrantzia izan zuen. Gorputza, esanahi politikoen bataila-eremu gisa ukapen eta gaitzespen prozesu honen protagonista izan zen. Adaketa sozialen aurrean erresistitzeko gorputz euskaldunaren eraikuntza prozesua izan zen eta baita arau hauei egokitzen ez ziren gorputz abyektuen ideien sorkutza prozesua ere. Ikusi dugunez, diskurtso erreakzionarioa batez ere gizonezkoen moralitatearekin arduratua egon zen. Gizonak beraien familietako buru izan behar ziren, patriarkak izan behar ziren, baina erlijoaren gaitzusteak ordena hau kolokan jartzen ari zen. Vicenta Moguelek, hain zuzen ere, gizonezkoek beraien betebeharrak moral eta erlijiosoak betetzen ez zituztela salatzen. Diskurtso katoliko zorrotzena baliatuz

gizonek bete beharreko hainbat exigentzia proposatu zituen, batez ere familiarekiko zegokion betebeharreran. Sexuen arteko moralitatea eta betebeharrak neurtzeko moral bikoitzaren kontra agertu zen. Gizon-euskaldun-kristau-lengilearen maskulinitate erlijiosoaren alderi debotoenak indartzeko eskera, hala ere, eredu horren tentsioak agerian usten zituen adierazpenekin elkarbizi zen.

Lehen Guda Karlista bitartean, liberalen, konstituziozaleen, absolutisten eta karlisten arteko tentsioen momenturik gogorrena eman zen, gatazka beliko bati hasiera emanez. Berriz ere generoa liskar beliko eta diskurtsiboen egituratzaile eta esanguratzaile gisa funtzionatu zen. Auzi dinastikoa generoaren auziarengatik gurutzatua egoteak nahitanahiez emakume baten monarkiaren defentsari eta bere gaitzespenari ere forma eman zion. Liberalismoak argudio tradizionalak berreskuratu zituen, emakume erreginen irudiak goraiatzea bezala. Hauek beraien iruditerian ez bazeuden ere bere argudioen artean gehitu ziren salbuespeko testuinguruan: XIX. mendeko testuinguruan emakume batek errege izateko zeukan eskubide eta gaitasuna defendatzea.

Are gehiago, argudia daiteke zirkunstantzia horrek diferentzia sexualari buruzko diskurtsoei forma eman ziela. Prentsa karlistak, zentzu honetan, Isabel II.ak tronura igotzeko zeukan eskubidea ukatzeko bere misoginia tradizionala gogortu zuen eta honek bere diferentzia sexualaren ikuspuntuari zuzenean eragin zion. Izan ere, bere misoginia ez zen fundamentu esentzialista gabeko misoginia katolikoaren identikoa elementu berriak gehitzen zituelako emakumeen gutxiagotasuna, salbuespenik gabe, justifikatu ahal izateko. Eta aldi berean, liberalismoaren aldeko zenbait emakume mobilizaturen artean, Eibarko emakumeen kasua bezala, Isabel II.aren aldeko bere borroka emakumeen gaitasunen eta eskubideen aldeko borrokatzat ulertu zutela antzeman daiteke. Honek izugarritzko berritasuna suposatzen du, batez ere, beste egile batzuen adierazpenekin konparatuta, Vicenta Moguelek egindako adierazpenekin, esaterako, zeinak ez zuten unibertsalak edo orokorrak izateko asmorik.

Conclusions

It would be a truism to conclude by arguing that gender and sexual difference traverses the experience of what is human and reality. This idea has been rather the starting point of this research, a premise that I have tried to reinforce and, above all, whose *how* I have interrogated. On this basis, I have tried not only to satisfy a curiosity concerning gender, but also the history of the Basque Country at the crossroads of two centuries. This is the political, social and cultural scenario that has been analysed, on this occasion with the intention of clarifying the meanings that gender and sexual difference contributed to its evolution. Therefore, the premise of the entire thesis is that gender has to be analysed in relation to everything else. Specifically, from the methodological perspective selected, I have analysed gender and sexual difference in relation to the body, the different categories of identity existing during the period –especially those pertaining to the religious, community (provincial) and class– and also, of course, in relation to the circumstances of each context.

Throughout the thesis, I have referred to the body in a broad sense, not only as defined by medical or anatomical knowledge, but also by many other discourses and practices that equally affected the construction of a significant experience of it. As I have tried to demonstrate, especially in the first two chapters, I have regarded it as essential to pay attention to the relationship between the concepts of the body and gender because this relationship directly affects the definition of human and social reality. As has been seen, visions of the body depended on the diverse and more or less developed or intuitive anthropologies that underpinned each mentality or worldview. At the same time, from a Butlerian perspective, it has been understood that ideas about gender itself also functioned as constructors of the sexual experience of the body in complex forms and with political content. Throughout the text, I have tried to underline this relationship between the construction of bodies, gender and politics.

The pessimism and fatalism of Catholic rigorism conceived the flesh, the non-spiritual side of existence, as an unbearable burden and designated spaces of extremely strict human virtue and perfection. That discourse on the subject and implementation of some corporal dispositions and attitudes that sought to make this human face invisible, proposed to keep passions and impulses on a short reign, including sexuality. Although

it is true that, as Michel Foucault explained, the proliferation of language about sex in religious discourse is palpable, and it is also true in the sources we have analysed, it is no less true that the objective of the Catholic clergy through this normalization of sexual practices was never the moral legitimation of these, but to reduce their practical experience to the minimum expression. The body, in itself, had to be denied. Therefore, despite the fact that the most rigorous version of the main authors of Catholicism varied over time, this extremely negative view of the body endured. This is not to suggest that it would not work as a significant feature in their discourse. On the contrary, as I have been pointing out, it was useful to provide negative content for the conception of the human and to be present in the world. This very negative view of the body made the defining space of human perfection another, different asset, the soul, and this affected both their conception of sexual difference and vision of the relationship between the sexes in the social and domestic spheres.

Following this same reasoning, it has been fundamental to bear in mind that this role granted to the body in human nature conferred upon biological sex a relative significant value in the definition of gender in relation to other issues. I would like to emphasize that with this I have not tried to establish a simple extrapolation of Thomas Laqueur's theories about the religious sources of the Basque Country in order to insert them into a general theory about sex and gender in the period. The present work has avoided simplifying visions in that sense. However, the images of femininity and masculinity projected by the sources, from their specificity, have certainly shed light on the possibility of their being read in these terms. I have observed that the evangelistic projects of the most rigorous Basque clergy formulated models of masculinity and femininity that did not correspond to the theories of complementarity between the sexes. At the same time, we have been able to observe that despite being texts and messages of a deeply rooted misogyny, the forms of perfection for both men and women responded to very similar criteria. The explanation for this question is based on the idea that the articulation of the relationship of inequality between women and men was based on extremely hierarchical criteria in which virtue, sanctity and piety were not values based on sex differences. Extreme holiness and piety, both in women and men, were constructed as superior to any earthly defect, including that referring to the defects attributed to sexual beings. By this, I have not tried to affirm that there were no differences between forms of feminine and masculine sanctity. However, religious

perfection and piety were presented in this mentality and in these societies as spaces in which sexual differences, understood as bodily traits, lost value, so that certain women and female characters acquired characteristically virile elements and vice versa. This did not imply that sex was not important in the discourse of Basque rigorist Catholicism, and much less that it did not influence the organization of society from its own parameters. However, my purpose has been to specify what their meaning and importance were. In this sense, the analysis of gender visions in the work of Manuel de Larramendi has been very illuminating, as it clearly exemplifies that the importance of gender was not absolute, but relative to other variables that came to be more relevant.

Inasmuch as such a phenomenon took place, placing the body at the centre of the definition of the human was a major change. One of the most relevant aspects of enlightened thinking in the Basque Country is, significantly, in the reflection on body well-being. This objective was pursued not only through medical discourse and the implementation of certain hygienist practices, as suggested by its contribution to the smallpox inoculation, for example, but through other discourses and practices also related to the configuration of the body and affective dispositions. In their reflections on the theatre, the advance of the civilizing process, dress, theories about luxury or comfort, theorizations on education, reflections on domestic architecture, or even in erotic literature, the body was constructed as a feature that should be experienced and felt from parameters that responded to its sentient nature, as opposed to forms which, as they argued in reference to religious rigorism, ignored this nature. All this, of course, had to do with the *Bascongada*'s reformist project, which was eminently practical in nature, and which, without abandoning features that appealed to tradition, such as the defence of a regional administrative organization for the Basque provinces, proposed some forms of social relationship in terms of innovation, especially if we address their theories about the relationship between the sexes. In this sense, the justification of their project from concepts such as "Public Happiness", physical well-being or health, constitute, in the discursive environment at the time in the Basque provinces, an authentic novelty. It was not just an amalgam of new conceptions, but also a new sensitivity towards the relationship, including the emotional, between subjects themselves and the world around them. In this sense, distancing in their formulations of the social from the fatalistic and pessimistic feeling imposed by Catholic eschatology was fundamental. The structure of feeling that the enlightened reformists promoted was

governed by a different temporality that emphasized the need to address physical urgencies, while bodily attributes were not contemplated as inevitably corrupting and corruptible, but as perfectible. The enlightened parish priests of Díaz de Valdés' discourse, published by *Bascongada*, with its emphasis on the need for them to be useful also in the "temporary happiness" of their parishioners, are a clear example of how enlightened feelings sought to introduce important changes, even from a Catholic worldview, in the ways of experiencing one's own life and the body.

In this new framework, the body emerged as a space in which to find the truth of what was human, a naturalized and neutralized space while the discourses from which it was defined did not necessarily link it to the dangers of sin. In this way, the body acquired a great capacity to define gender. In the arguments used by the Enlightenment Basques to justify different feminine and masculine capacities, corporal differences became fundamental, as correctly reflected by the text of José María Aguirre, Marqués de Montehermoso. It is from the establishment and fixation of these "generic" physical differences that the separation of a masculine and a feminine world was justified, establishing completely separate but complementary paths of virtue. As happened in other contexts, sexual binarism did not emerge from nothing, but the central dimension that enlightened thought had given to the body in the definition of the human and its social being contributed to the fact that this way of understanding the relationship between sexes had taken on great importance.

The sources of the *Bascongada* environment are enlightening of this productive process in a complete sense. It was an architecture of sex and gender in which gender found its foundation in a sexualized body, but in which sex was constructed and naturalized fundamentally from certain representations of femininity and masculinity. The documents relating to women's education, as well as the erotic literature of Felix Maria de Samaniego, clearly show, in my opinion, discursive processes and practices of naturalization of the body, sex and of sexuality itself. Educational texts, better than any other, exemplify the ritualization of practices based on the performance of representations of certain patterns of behaviour and affective dispositions attributed to one sex and another, within the framework of a specific conception of the social. These models were directed in this way to give meaning to bodies. It was logical that if noble young ladies and the upper bourgeoisie were to play the role of tender mothers, loving

wives, worthy managers of domestic life, and if they were to become a beautifying and cultivating component of society from their specific sensitivity, their nature was to be moulded for that purpose, without perverting it. In the same way, it was expected that men would get rid of the most brutalizing corporal ways and adapt to find in the warmth of the home forms of satisfaction that were not only moral, but also physical.

In this sense, I have consciously avoided talking about the “angel of the home”, understood as an image of angelic and desexualized femininity. This has been for several reasons. On the one hand, on a historiographical basis, because I believe that this image corresponds to later formulations that in addition were much more developed and abundant than that offered by members of the *Bascongada* and its circle. And, on the other hand, on an analytical basis. One of the features that I wanted to emphasize is that, despite using a rhetoric of delicacy and dignity that represented women as ethereal beings, women were defined as sexual objects and subjects, albeit subordinated. This is very evident in the erotic literature of Félix María de Samaniego, but also in other texts, especially in relation to the eroticization of modesty and criticisms of “prudery”. The body and sex of the Enlightenment were, of course, different from that of Catholic rigorism. It was precisely in the point referring to the body, especially the female, in its exteriority and in the intimate and sexual management of it, where the discrepancies between the enlightened statements and those of the Trentino clergy became more evident. One of the traits attributed to Catholic austerity was to be potentially denaturing of feminine and masculine essences; excessive religious zeal diverted women from their natural role and men from representing the moral authority of their homes.

Erotic poems display this type of divergence of the starkest form from a language and format that may not have been given the attention they deserve compared to other sources, when the enlightened meaning of sex and gender is analysed. The work of Samaniego has been relevant, in this sense, for the present study. The questions have been: What relationship existed between the feminine and masculine images parodied in these poems and the rest of the “serious” formulations created by the enlightened authors? What do erotic poems contribute to understand their approaches to sexual difference and gender? The satirized sexuality of priests, nuns, excessively pious women, tame men and young scoundrels, among others, had a comic objective, but it

did not stop being demonstrative of a way of understanding sexuality and the critical gender of other models. Religious discourse was depicted as unnatural and its sexual forms represented as ridiculous. I think that this criticism did not come so much to censure the female sexuality itself, much less masculine sexuality, but to question forms that were understood as unbalanced.

It is true that gender formulations analysed in the *Bascongada* context are in many respects comparable to those produced in other contexts; not in vain, their approaches were influenced directly by that cultural and political atmosphere of reforms. But it is no less true that their proposals for sexual difference point to the complexity of the development of approaches demonstrated by specific circumstances and contexts. The Basque case offers specific characteristics that deserve to be highlighted. This particular context has allowed us to contribute to the lines of research that affect the compatibility of enlightened approaches with religion, Catholicism in this case. The Basque reformers did not experience their criticism of Catholic rigorism and its effects on gender, and their acceptance of the Catholic faith in an active and devout manner. The introduction of changes and novelties in the enlightened vision of gender arose in part from the criticism of certain aspects of Catholic doctrine. However, this did not imply that the moral framework that Catholicism offered would have been cancelled. I understand that, precisely, this moral framework had been revised in a way that was compatible with the enlightened project and its new approaches to civility and human and social progress. In this sense, this analysis has proved critical with those approaches that have questioned the enlightened character of the *Bascongada* project, considering that its Catholicism, among other issues, was incompatible with the enlightened spirit. My intention has not been to necessarily converge these two aspects in a sort of search for a desirable middle term, which rests on an uncritical assumption of “the enlightened” as socially and politically more advanced. It has been the analysis of proposals on sexual difference that has shown that the Basque reformist project included approaches that did not imply rupture, but rather the critical coexistence of the Enlightenment with the profoundly Catholic framework in which they developed.

Throughout the third and fourth chapter, I have tried to give continuity to the analysis of the developments that these forms of understanding sexual difference experienced during the conjuncture period between centuries. In the third chapter, I analysed what were the transformations that took place in the ecclesiastical discourses of a rigorist

nature. It is true that at this time, religious discourse is also especially dense and immutable compared to previous and subsequent formulations. Therefore, in search of specific meanings, I have tried to situate the source in its context and in general historical discursive. It has been possible to establish differences between its conception of sexual difference from the beginning of the 18th century until the beginning of the 19th century. In this way, it has been observed that these alterations were not always undertaken in the same sense. It has been noted that the social upheaval that affected the Basque provinces after the French Revolution and during the War of the Pyrenees significantly affected the positions of the clergy on body and gender. It was a religious message that set its sights on a political and social situation that they perceived as adverse to their interests and ways of life. We see in religious texts an increase in anxiety and pessimism motivated by the perception of changes that affected the very foundations of Ancien régime society. To the concern for possible disaffection towards these fundamental pillars (the absolute monarchy, which had already been eroded in France, and especially the Church, the clergy and religious sentiment), should be added the uneasiness at the formation of identities that put the community at risk in terms of the integrity of its religious and community values and gender relations.

In this sense, some literary discourses of the time have been especially useful for analysis. In particular, the popular work of *Peru Abarca* by Juan Antonio Moguel represents, in my opinion, the defence of a community body that faced an individual and singular body that threatened to break it down. It is interesting to note that it was not a foreign body, but a degenerate Basque body which, influenced by harmful practices, began to forget what really granted it dignity: to be part of the provincial (*foral*) and Catholic community. *Peru Abarca* also demonstrated the way in which the most communitarian positions, in the nineteenth-century Basque case strongly rooted in Catholic sentiment, saw individuality not as the expression of a self needing to express itself, of an embodied self, but as the threat to a community that bestowed meaning upon each of its members. *Peru Abarca* contributed to rebuilding a community body whose values transcended any singularity that an individual body, attached to its ways of feeling, attached to feeling itself, could represent. Although it may seem like a rhetorical operation, it was really a community body that disembodied the individual because he or she did not tolerate that he or she put their body above that of the

community. That is why, as we have seen, Maisu Juan finally disappears under the clothes of Peru and merged with the community to atone for his sins.

The idea of community was not linked to that of equality within it. The defence of the community body did not imply a criticism of the distinction of rank, or hierarchy, but rather those ways of representing and experiencing it that exceeded or transgressed the visible and external limits of the community. For this reason, religious literature of the early nineteenth century displays a special concern for masculinity, together with what is seen in the analysis of *Peru Abarca*, with the patriarch, in a context in which the forms of sociability and patterns of action of the individual, especially the masculine one, tended more towards individualized forms. This is evident in texts such as that of Manuel Umerez, specifically addressed to a young marriage partner or in the sermons of Juan Bautista Aguirre, which, although intended for all of his parishioners, show a special concern for the religiosity of men. The changes that could occur in a man's manners, therefore, concerned the ecclesiastical sector in the same way, or more so in terms of what changes might occur in the manner of being a woman. In both cases, his response to this situation was to resort to the topics of Catholic doctrine, but reworking the very meaning of sexual difference.

One aspect of the analysis that I consider of particular interest has been to see how the radicalization of rigorist positions of this type of texts affected the visions of sexual difference in unpredictable ways, even from the same discursive positions. Juan Antonio Moguel reproduced a sexual difference and images of femininity and masculinity similar to those exhibited by Larramendi fifty years ago, in which the community element took on great significance, but did so from a different point of view, from a very deep pessimism about religiosity and the morality of his parish. Authors such as Umerez and Aguirre, however, provide a much more radical definition of sexual difference, in which the different functions of men and women are more strictly defined.

The interesting thing about this formulation is that the setting of the difference was made not through a biologization of the body, but through a radicalization of the misogyny that was alien to this type of naturalization. I understand that in the face of the gender disorders that they perceived in the post-revolutionary context, people like

Umerez and Aguirre regarded the reinforcing of gender hierarchy as necessary, to the extreme by closing the doors to the possibilities of exempting women present in other rigorist formulations, whether on the basis of displays of religious piety or through community identification. In this way, the association of women with the home was reinforced in this vision, but in a very different way to that proposed by enlightened approaches. This indicates that the classic association of women with the domestic dimension and men with a public dimension was not a trait that nineteenth-century formulations necessarily inherited from enlightened postulates, but also from other formulations of gender in relation to family life.

At the same time, as a sign of the plurality of ways in which rigorist Catholicism itself would reinforce its approaches to gender, the need to reinforce models of devout femininity that certain pastors perceived also resulted in the use of hagiographic literature and religious (auto)biographies. Contrary to the religious literature that came to reinforce the difference between the sexes, the discourse of feminine (and also to a lesser extent masculine) mysticism continued to contribute to the construction of pious and devout femininities and masculinities, ideals in which sex and gender became less important when defining virtue.

Finally, the fourth chapter addresses the study of changes and continuities in the meanings of the male and female categories throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century. The scenario of the beginning of the century shows discursive dynamics that came to consolidate previous conceptions, but it was at the same time a favourable period for the emergence of interesting tensions that suggest, in my opinion, that in the arena of definitions of gender and difference between the sexes, nothing was necessarily determined. Dialogue, encounters and disagreements between positions were displayed more clearly during this convulsive period in which different political cultures used gender to give meaning to their own political causes and discredit the opposing positions. That is, the categories of women and men were open spaces of meaning because the very scenario of belligerent exceptionalism and conflict generated tensions in gender relations.

The discourse of liberalism from the periods that comprise the confrontation against the Napoleonic troops and the Triennium was marked by the need to give form to a combative patriotism that would provide the constitutional option not just with reasons,

but feeling. The emotional dimension of the matter is not trivial, since it was precisely “bizarre youth” who would risk their lives on the battlefield. Gender constructions discussed by the at the time came to respond to this necessity. The first expressions of liberalism in the Basque provinces came to confirm interpretations that have seen on the patriotic side a space in which the presence of women and gender meanings become relevant. This is not only because the participation of women in this situation has been perfectly documented, but because patriotic discourse was nourished by the exaltation of a heroic femininity, whose actions could violate the limits imposed by the gender order of liberalism.

However, this inflamed liberal defence of the heroism of women, almost always linked to scenarios of bellicose exceptionality, coexisted with a vision of sexual difference that had clearly inherited enlightenment approaches. In liberal spaces of expression, such as *El Liberal Guipuzcoano*, unequivocal features of a radicalized essentialization of sexual difference were observed, as indicated by the naturalization of motherhood and the biologization of the mother-child bond, for example. In addition, judging by other types of sources analysed, the weight of this naturalizing facet of sex for the beginning of the century was important. As an expression of this, we have discussed the case of María Ángela Tellería, whose circumstances gave rise to very different interpretations that show precisely this multiple characterization of femininity in the period: that of the heroine full of patriotic love and the gullible young woman guided by purer and more natural instincts.

One might wonder to what extent the exaltation of female heroism necessarily contradicted a profoundly naturalized conception of sexual difference. I have argued that such a contradiction really did not exist, taking into account that the praise came from within parameters emanating from the discourse of the naturalization of sex. The exaltation of female patriotism was not equivalent to the extolling of traditional feminine excellence in which some women, associated with certain values marked in general by social hierarchical logics, transcended their gender condition. In other words, it was not a formulation in which gender lost its weight in relation to other power relations. In texts created from exalted liberalism, women patriots emerged from an essentialized femininity, sentimentalized, but taken to the extreme and (this is very

important) politicized. The point is that this politicization, this patriotization that was so necessary in that context, stressed a gender order that denied women's political participation. The women most committed to the cause experienced patriotism as a feeling through which they could demand their own dignity as patriots. The cause of the nation was understood by some women as a political space that they themselves should and wanted to occupy also. In the case of the sources consulted in the Basque Country, what has been found are not demands for legal or judicial equality, but the request for equalization or pairing that arose from the feeling of belonging to the same suffering nation, which they themselves experienced, as expressed by the speaker of the *Balandra* during the Triennium. If men were willing to sacrifice their lives for a constitutional homeland, women were willing to sacrifice their children and husbands, and their own lives. In short, they also participated in "Constitution or Death".

Liberal formulations were not the only ones or the majority of their kind in the Basque provinces at the beginning of the 19th century. At precisely the same time, the positions of clearly anti-liberal political content offered their own assessment of the moment, including the state of gender relations. In this sense, my intention with the approach to formulations such as those of Vicenta Moguel or Jose Paulo Ulibarri, of explicit anti-liberal content, direct followers and reproducers of the rigorist discourse elaborated by the tradition of clerics and other regionalist authors, has been precisely to make visible the great differences and the multiplicity of points of view that coexisted at that time. Their texts show us the perception of the decline of traditional forms of sociability that came, again, to degenerate the body of the community, all of which was experienced with deep anguish. The body of the community, the *euskaldun* body as Ulibarri called it, arose in these criticisms shielded by the discourse of austerity and mortification of Catholic doctrine, although politically resized in the new context.

The works of Vicenta Moguel and Ulibarri, as well as the religious texts of the former's brother that have not been analysed here, are a clear example of the popularity that models of femininity and devout masculinity continued to enjoy in certain sectors. It has been interesting to note that from these positions the crisis of traditional society was formulated as a crisis of the gender order as well. The hierarchy of the sexes was irremediably altered by new uses and attitudes that, in their eyes, were detached from tradition and decency. All this was manifested in the destabilization of family life. The

remedy was translated into calls to order that focused mainly, once more, on male responsibility. In Vicenta Moguel's formulations, traditionalist thinking shows its most misogynistic side, by placing all its hopes of social order on the strengthening of the patriarch's authority. But at the same time, it shows that the thought most attached to Catholic orthodoxy, at least at the discursive level, provided spaces to demand that there was no double standard and the mandate was equally restrictive for both sexes within its internal hierarchy. These devout masculinities and femininities, whose experience of the body was totally mediated by religious discourse, displayed on their own flesh the crossroads of the historical moment in the Basque Country. Ulibarri thus showed in his correspondence a model of masculinity strongly rooted in the religious values of meekness and the denial of the body, a model to which obedience was due, but which in turn was besieged by ways of feeling alien to that sensitivity. I think that this interweaving of ideas and feelings was able to generate in those subjects a great existential crisis.

Analysis from the gender point of view of the Carlist conflict, finally, provides a perspective that makes the vision of gender conceptions in liberalism and traditionalism more complex. I have argued that the issue of gender mediated the debates between contenders, as expected, but it did so with somewhat unexpected results. Gender meanings became another political weapon for both parties. In this sense, the terms of the opposition between order and the social disorder that each option sought to impose were rooted in profound differences on how the human being, society and, of course, religion were understood. Both the discredit thrown on Isabel II or Carlos María Isidro, and their legitimacy, originated in the use of arguments with a strong meaning from the point of view of gender. Both in the liberal and the Carlist positions, clear continuities can be seen with arguments that came both from the Enlightenment tradition and from the rigorist tradition. However, it has been particularly interesting to discover that the need to respond to circumstances led to the development of truly novel formulations, in which even arguments at first removed from the internal logic of the speeches were used.

I have argued that the issue of gender mediated the debates between contenders, as expected, but it did so with somewhat unexpected results. If the internal logics of the discourses had been developed we could have found in Carlism more permissiveness

with respect to the exception than in liberalism. Catholicism proved to be a worldview in which the weight of gender and body could not be determinant, opening potential but unrequired spaces to the exception. However, in the case of Carlism, the exacerbation of misogyny, which operated in that same Catholic discourse, resized the gender variable, giving it new arguments such as that of an organically determined body, which ruled out any possibility of exception. This does not imply that Carlism had modified its approach to the body, since, as we saw in its criticism of liberalism, it followed the path of rigorism in a more doctrinaire way if possible. At the same time, liberal discourse, which offered very naturalized visions of sex and gender, triggered arguments such as exceptionalism, more rarely used in this type of approach and which was far from the praises of a dignifying motherly kind that it also exploited. In my opinion, all this confirms once more that the gender categories themselves did not enjoy absolute stability and that each vision of sexual difference contained internal tensions that opened up potential opportunities for different political developments.

It is likely that if Ferdinand VII had had a son, the Carlist War would still have taken place, but this would have been another war. In other words, without establishing in any case a causal relationship between the sex of the pretenders and the development of the conflict, this detail was historically significant. There is no doubt that if the offspring had been male, arguments, debates and liberal and Carlist proposals would have been different. Different not only in terms of the meanings that gender contributed to the speeches and positions at stake, but also in relation to the terms in which the conflict itself was raised. It is, of course, difficult to inquire about this question in a discursive context such as that of war, in which emergencies focused on immediate issues of survival and response to the war. Its relevance seems undeniable if we refer to examples such as the townswomen of Eibar, who saw their fight for Queen Isabel II and the liberal option as a struggle for rights and the defence of women's abilities.

Throughout the thesis, I have tried to analyze the processes of change in gender visions, avoiding the understanding of this instability as an evolution in which new notions replace the old ones. I have wanted to put the emphasis on (more or less conflictive) the dialogue between different understandings of the sexual difference in each historical moment, concluding that, indeed, changes affect both the novelties and the recreations of previous visions and the relationship between both. The sources from the Basque

provinces, analysed as a whole and in relation to the multiple circumstances that shaped the period over centuries, have been evidence of this coexistence of discourses, sensitivities and conceptions of what it was or should have been to be a woman or a man. From this approach, I have also tried to shed light on already familiar debates such as the nature of Basque Enlightenment tendencies or the conflict between liberal and Carlist forces.

This research has paused at 1839, coinciding with the end of the First Carlist War. In that year, however, the questions related to the universe of issues that I have tried to address in my work do not cease; on the contrary, a broad horizon beckons for future lines of research. I consider that from 1839, one of several aspects that acquires greater relevance for the study of the construction of modern femininities and masculinities is the role of religion in these processes. In this sense, it is worth noting that the Catholic rigorist Basque authors analysed here focused their efforts on the definition, construction and control of male authority. This does not mean that they were not concerned about integrating in their moralizing and evangelizing discourses the creation of feminine roles to follow. But this facet of Catholic thought of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century invites us to broaden the questions regarding certain historiographical approaches: When, how and why would the change towards what has been called the "feminization of religion" have begun throughout the 19th century? Would there be some kind of specificity in the case of the Basque provinces and Navarre? It could be asked how or to what extent the different agents and discourses contributed, amongst them the doctors of the Church or the women themselves, but also anticlerical liberalism, in the creation of an image of femininity linked to religion.

On the other hand, it would be worthwhile to continue researching the construction of modern masculinities in the Basque Country. In this sense, it would be interesting to consider the analysis of the complex genealogies of the ideal of modern man insofar as the sources of the Basque Country show signs of important problematic cross-links between discursive traditions and different, jointly developed sensitivities. The interest in the "gentle man" that we find in the erotic poems of Samaniego is present in a more pressing way in texts such as *El Intruso* (1904) by Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, who places the action in Bizkaia at the beginning of the century. The concern for clerical control exercised in men through women seems to enjoy enviable health throughout the

century. What processes, or not, took place throughout the nineteenth century in the Basque provinces that explain that masculinity continued to be experienced by certain sectors as unauthorized, not sovereign, as emasculated by a deep feminine religiosity and finally a clerical control which was ultimately harmful? Would this have something to contribute to the understanding of the processes of construction of modernity in the Basque Country?

Another of the most evident lines of parallel research that continue to be interesting is the investigation into the evolution of the conceptions of sexual difference through the analysis of the recourse to a strong or virile femininity throughout the nineteenth century by different authors. What relationship could these images have, if such is the case, with the successful validity of Catholic thought? Would it continue to indicate the existence of a discourse on sexual difference not based on the biological or would this vision have been integrated into other forms? Which sectors would strive to criticize this image of femininity for another related to more bourgeois activities and roles and why? Last, but not least, we must ask ourselves what could the analysis of all these images of femininity and masculinity contribute to a better understanding of the construction of Basque identity/identities, throughout the nineteenth century until the arrival of the first formulations of Basque nationalism?

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