
EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF THE PALAEOLITHIC CONTINUITY
REFUGIUM THEORY (PCRT):
HAMALAU AND ITS LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL RELATIVES

PART 2

Roslyn M. Frank
University of Iowa

1.0. *Timing of the performances*

In Europe, «good-luck» performances tended to take place during the period from the beginning of November to early January. In New World locations such as Newfoundland and Labrador, the practice continued to involve adults and persisted until quite recently. In contrast, in the United States the period in question contains only three days – separated in time – in which masquerading is accepted and commonplace, i.e., when disguised characters regularly walk about the streets, namely, All Hallow’s Eve, Christmas Eve and New Year’s Eve. Moreover, in most parts of the United States, the customary «good-luck visits» associated with Halloween are no longer carried out by adults wearing masks (Halpert and Story 1969). The same is not true, however, in the case of the Advent period when homes are regularly visited by an adult disguised as St. Nicholas or Santa Claus.

In the latter instance although it is an adult who dresses up as St. Nicholas or Santa Claus, children are the targets of the performance. Yet at the same time adults, in general, play a role by actively encouraging their offspring to believe in the reality of the «night visitor». Then at Halloween, the practice of conducting house visits has become generationally down-graded so that today in the United States, we find only children dressed up in outlandish costumes going door to door, repeating the saying «trick or treat».¹ Again, in the case of this type of generational down-grading there are often transitional periods in which at one geographical location adults are still the primary instigators while at other locations it is only children who take part in what is essentially the same ritual.

¹ In the United States even though Halloween parties for adults are commonplace, it is frowned upon for adults or even teenagers to go «treat-or-treating», i.e., to take part in the door-to-door house-visits. When adults do accompany children on these house visits, the adults do so only as chaperons not as active participants in the begging ritual.

Originally it would seem that these «good-luck visits» and attendant performances took place throughout the year, motivated by the specific needs of the patient, household or community in question. In this sense, the performers along with their flesh and blood dancing bear (or its human counterpart) would have functioned much in the same way as the members of the Society of False Faces of the Iroquois and the *heyoka* of the Sioux whose fierce masks were intended to frighten away the evil spirits that were causing the illness or misfortune. These Native American medicine men and women were the «contraries» or sacred clowns who performed when needed, in the homes of the afflicted (Speck 1945).

In the sections that follow we will examine the case of Europe (and the United States) where it appears that the prophylactic healing powers associated with the performers and their bear underwent a tripartite process of hybridization, marginalization and generational down-grading. This process of change came about gradually as the ursine symbolic order was repeatedly recontextualized, losing some elements while gaining others. At the same time, and perhaps most remarkably, we shall discover that certain core features have remained relatively stable across time. That said, what contributed, at least in part, to the stability of these features seems to be, quite ironically, the prolonged contacts between groups defending opposing symbolic orders, the recontextualizations that resulted and the subsequent embedding of the older animistic cosmology inside a Christian interpretive framework. In what follows we will trace the development of these «good-luck visits» and the way that the portrayal of the ursine main character has evolved over time. In doing so we shall examine the changes that have occurred using an approach grounded in the concepts of hybridization, marginalization and generational down-grading.

2.0. *Hybridization: The dancing bear Martin, «He who walks barefoot»*

As we noted, one of the fundamental structural elements of the ursine cosmology has been the phenomenon of «good luck visits», a social practice that has contributed directly to the cultural storage, preservation and stability as well as the transmission of the tenets of the earlier ursine cosmology, across generations, by bringing into play mechanisms, reiterative and redundant in their nature, typical of oral cultures. Nonetheless, in some parts of Europe under the influence of Christianity the central role of the bear was modified slightly and some of its functions reassigned by the Church to a specific saint

even though it appears that both the clergy and the general populace were often well aware of the adjustments that were taking place, at least initially.

In order to illustrate more clearly how this process of symbolic hybridization works, we will look at a concrete example: that of the transference of the functions of the bear to a particular saint, namely, St. Martin, while the role of his trainer was taken over by the figure of a bishop. As was usually the case with such hagiographically-based legends, the bishop chosen was one whose historical origins were remote, shrouded in the mists of time. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, was finally consecrated by the Church in the fifth century, and turned into the central character of a great Church festival, Martinmas, celebrated on November 11th. A curious story was propagated about this Martin. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the legend itself was a conscious attempt to link the saint's name and performances conducted in his honor directly to those of the dancing bears. In order to understand this process we need to recognize that in the Middle Ages across much of Europe a common nickname for any bear brought in to conduct a cleansing ceremony was Martin. In fact, this name was frequently modified by adding the phrase «he who walks barefoot» e.g., as in the expression *Mestre Martí au pès descaus*, literally, «Bare-Foot Martin» or «Martin, he who walks barefoot,» while the phrase «he who walks barefoot» was used to refer to bears in general (Calés 1990: 7; Dendaletche 1982: 92-93).

The Church spin-doctors concocted a series of pious legends that would seek to stitch the two belief systems together. Apparently the stories were an attempt, although quite an unsuccessful one, to counter the wide-spread belief in the efficacy of performances conducted by bear trainers and their dancing bears or at least to give them an air of legitimacy within the framework of Christian belief. The legend propagated by the Church with respect to St. Martin shows the ingeniousness of its authors, particularly with respect to the way in which they managed to elaborate such a truly convoluted plot for the story itself. It was one that told of the generosity of the Bishop of Tours, a man named Martin. When visited by his disciple and friend Valerius, a fifth-century bishop of Saint Lizier in the Pyrenees, Martin gave him an ass so that Valerius would no longer have to laboriously traverse the rugged mountainous terrain on foot and, consequently, would be better equipped to spread the good word. And Valerius, in turn, named his ass Martin. However, just when Valerius reached the path that would lead him to the Pyrenean town of Ustou, darkness overtook him.²

² Saint Lizier is located some 35 kilometers from Ustou.

The next morning much to his chagrin Valerius discovered an enormous bear standing next to the tree where he had had left his ass tied the night before. Realizing the beast was devouring the last remains of his pack animal, Valerius called out to him, «The Devil take you! No one will ever say that you have kept me from spreading the good word across these mountains. Since you have eaten my friend Martin, you will take his place and carry me about». The bear approaches Valerius and sweetly agrees to do what he has been asked. When they arrive in the village of Ustou, the inhabitants crowd around Valerius and his bear. And at this point after being given a bit of honey, in a sign of his appreciation the bear Martin takes the bishop's walking staff in his paw, raises himself up on two feet and begins to dance, according to the text, «the most graceful of dances ever executed by a bear» (Bégouën 1966: 138-139). But there is more. Because the villagers are so impressed by Valerius and his dancing bear Martin, they decide to set up their own school where little bears could be taught to dance. Moreover, the pious story could be understood equally to be one utilized to explain and legitimize the prestige, indeed, the European-wide reputation of the Bear Academy that was established in the Pyrenean village of Ustou (Praneuf 1989: 66-70).

Such pious legends need to be examined more closely in terms of their psychosocial intentions as well as their actual consequences. For instance, this legend, in all likelihood promoted by the Church and locals alike, also gave the clergy a Christian-coded explanation for why bears were called Martin.³ In addition, it sought to identify the bishop in question, Valerius, with the person of the bear trainer. Even the dancing bear's long pole, the standard prop of all bear trainers, was attended to narratively and reinterpreted as the bishop's walking stick, his staff of office.⁴ As a result of these symbolic reinterpretations, the legend ended up providing the populace with an ingenious justification for conducting «good luck visits»: the narrative became a means of justifying deeply ingrained patterns of belief while slightly modifying them. At the same time by associating the dancing bear with a given saint's day, those wishing to carry out «good luck visits» were given a green light. Indeed, in many locations the performances continued to be conducted with relatively little interference from the Church authorities.

³ For additional discussion of this legend and similar ones associated with other saints, cf. Lajoux (1996: 213-220), Pastoureau (2007: 53-69) and Lebeuf (1987).

⁴ From a comparative standpoint, the bishop's staff corresponds morphologically to the pole carried by bear trainers. The trainer would give the pole to the bear who was then better able to support himself in an upright position while he executed his dance steps (Dendaletche 1982: 89-91).

For example, today in many parts of Europe on the saint's day in question, November 11th, an actor appears in the guise of the bishop St. Martin. But, more importantly, when the individual dressed as a bishop does appear, he continues, as before, to be accompanied on his rounds by a bear-like creature, his pagan double. In short, these ursine administrators, in recent times merely ordinary human actors, perform their duties authorized by a kind of Christian dispensation that permits them to continue to preside, quite discreetly, over the festivities (Miles [1912] 1976: 208). In turn the bishop in question takes over the role and attributes of the bear trainer through this process of symbolic hybridization. Thus, the meaning of the bishop's companion, the masked figure representing the bear, is transparently obvious once one understands the mechanisms of hybridization involved in the renaming processes themselves.⁵ In short, any attempt to discover the identity of the furry, often frightening, masked figures associated with St. Martin's day must take these facts into account (*Figure 1*).



Figure 1. Names of the gift-bringers on St. Martin's Day (November 11). Adapted from Erich and Beitel (1955: 509).

⁵ In addition to the Pyrenean zone, across much of France and the rest of Western Europe the dancing bear is called Martin; in the Carpathian region of Romania among its nicknames are *Mos Martin* ('Old Martin'), *Mos Gavriła* ('Old Gabriel'), as well as *Frate Nicolae* ('Brother Nicholas'). In other parts of Europe the bear is often called *Blaise*. The name is linked to the date of February 3 and to the figure of St. Blaise, the patron saint of bears. In addition, this saint's day coincides neatly with the day after Candlemas Bear Day, the latter being celebrated on February 2. In the Balkans, however, it is St. Andrew who is presented as the patron of bears (Lebeuf 1987; Praneuf 1989: 32: 61-71).

Moreover, in case there were any doubts concerning the real identity of the bishop's companion, in Germanic speaking zones his side-kick was referred to not as Martin, but rather as *Pelzmärte*, a term that could be interpreted as «Furry Martin» or perhaps «Martin with a Fur Coat». In fact, the *Pelzmärte* frequently appears alone, without his bishop, on St. Martin's day as well as on Christmas Eve. With respect to the *Pelzmärte* we should recall that in some parts of Europe the «good luck visits» conducted on St. Martin's day (November 11th) eventually came to be transferred to the winter solstice (Miles [1912] 1976: 161-247; Rodríguez 1997: 97-105).

As has been noted previously, «Martin» was a common name for a «dancing bear» in France and Germany. However, the etymology given for the German expression *Pelzmärte*, one that interprets the second element of the compound *märte* as if it referred to a proper name, i.e., «Martin,» is probably nothing more than a folk-etymology. At the same time, the erroneous folk explanation for the meaning of *märte* – interpreting it as if it were a proper noun – was probably reinforced by the celebration of the «good-luck visits» on St. Martin's Day. As was shown in the narrative relating to how St. Martin acquired his bear and began to travel about with it, the introduction of a Christian saint served as a pretext for continuing the highly entrenched practice of «good-luck visits». In short, it was a Christianized rationalization – the result of hybridization – that served to legitimize the pre-existing tradition.

Given that the belief in the supernatural healing powers of the bear and its retinue harkens back to a pre-Christian cosmology, to expect an unconscious or inadvertent reanalysis of pre-existing terminology would not be unusual. For example, there are two terms in German for the furry visitor that include the same prefixing element: *pelz-* «fur, furry». We have the expression *Pelznickel*⁶ where

⁶ Similar examples of visitations by disguised inquisitors are found in the North American German customs of Nova Scotia, the state of Virginia and particularly the nineteenth-century Pennsylvania Dutch where it is called «belsnickling» (Halpert 1969: 43), obviously a verb derived from a phonological reinterpretation of the German expression *Pelznickel* (Bauman 1972; Cline 1958; Creighton 1950). Indeed, there is evidence of further attempts to make sense of the name given to these actors who were referred to as «belsnickles» and «bellschniggles», by reinterpreting the term as two separate words: «Bell Snickles» (Siefker 1997: esp. 17-26). Here the folk reinterpretation appears to have been motivated by the ox bells and other noise-makers employed by the mummers (Creighton 1950: 58-59): «It was the custom of young people [...] to organize Bell Schnickling parties in October and November of each year...» (cited in Halpert 1969: 40-41). By 1827, as Nissenbaum (1997: 100) points out, in the *Philadelphia Gazette* «the Belsnickle was being compared to Santa Claus» and we see that the Belsnickle described in this newspaper article was made up in blackface: «Mr. Bellschniggle is a visible personage. [...] He is the precursor of the jolly old elf 'Christkindle,' or 'St. Nicholas,' and makes his personal appearance, dressed in skins or old clothes, his face black, a bell, a whip, and a pocket full of cakes or nuts; and either the cakes or the whip are bestowed upon those around, as may seem meet to his sable majesty» (cited in Shoemaker 1959: 74). Cf. also Nissenbaum (1997: 99-107).

the second element *-nickel* is equated with a kind of «demon»; then, if we continue with the same semantic logic, we have the compound *Pelzmärte* where the second element would also refer to a «demon» or some other sort of supernatural creature. And as we noted earlier, the Germanic term *-märte* is linked the modern German word *mahr* «nightmare» while the latter is related to phonological variants in *mârt*, *mârte*, *mârten*, and consequently to the frightening «night visitor», discussed previously (Frank 2008). In addition to the term *Pelzmärte*, in Germany we also find other similar compounds for the «gift-bringer»: *Nufssmärte*, *Rollermärte*, *Schellenmärte* as well as *Märteberta* (Erich and Beitzl 1955: 509), while in the latter case, the second element *Berta* refers to an ominous pre-Christian female figure, also referred to as *Pertcha* (Weber-Kellermann 1978: 19-23).

2.1. St. Nicholas and his furry dark companion

In the case of St. Nicholas, said to be a fourth century bishop from Myra in Turkey, his saint's day was celebrated in the spring until the thirteenth century. From the thirteenth century to the time of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, the individuals who dressed up as this bishop made their house calls on the sixth of December (*Figure 2*).



Figure 2. Names of the gift-bringers on St. Nikolaus's Day (December 6). Adapted from Erich and Beitzl (1955: 564).

It wasn't until after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) that the figure of *Christkind* or, in its diminutive form, *das Christkindel*, the Christ child, was introduced.⁷ He, too, was supposed to distribute gifts, but on Christmas Day.⁸ That practice eventually led St. Nicholas to change the date of his «good luck visits» to December 25th, while, somewhat ironically, the expression *das Christkindel*, originally intended to designate little Jesus, evolved into Kris Kringle, one of the Germanic terms for Father Christmas (Rodríguez 1997: 99-103). In the Netherlands, the bishop in question is accompanied, nonetheless, by Black Peter (*Zwarte Piet*), his faithful servant, whose role included carrying off misbehaving children in his giant sack or a large straw basket, while today *Zwarte Piet* has been converted into an innocuous helper of a kindly child-loving *Sinterklaas* (*Figure 3*).⁹



Figure 3. *Dag, Sinterklaasje* (*Hello, Sinterklaas*). Source: Vriens (1983). Illustration by Dagmar Stam.

⁷ For a detailed and eminently erudite discussion of the various and sundry efforts, often frustrated, on the part of the Church to establish the date for celebrations associated with the birth of Christ, cf. Tille (1899: 119-137). Based on Tille's discussions, it should be noted that in Britain even into the sixth century there was significant confusion concerning whether the third of the three great Christian festivals, the first two being Easter and Pentecost, was Epiphany or Christmas. Indeed, for many centuries competing dates for Christ's birth were November 17 and March 28 (Tille 1899: 119).

⁸ Nonetheless, in the United States, as in many other European countries, even into the early nineteenth century, if presents were exchanged at this season it was usually done on New Year's Eve and they were exchanged between adults rather than being given to children. «In the 1840's there was an increasing emphasis on Christmas Day. This seems to have happened for several

In addition, we find that historically St. Nicholas himself has a semantic counterpart in the *Pelznickel*, an expression that could easily have been interpreted or justified, albeit erroneously, as either as «Furry Nicholas» or «Nicholas with a Fur Coat». The fierce *Pelznickel* goes by many other names, for example, in Austria the creature is known as the Krampus while in other parts of Germany two of the most popular names are Hans Trapp and Knecht Ruprecht (Miles [1912] 1976: 218-221, 231-232; Müller and Müller 1999; Rodríguez 1997: 103-104 (Figure 4)).¹⁰



Figure 4. St. Nikolaus Eve. Source: Weber-Kellermann (1978: 27).

reasons. The press – which now reached a far wider audience with its cheaper production costs and consequently wider circulation – stressed the fact that Christmas Day was the celebration of the birth of Jesus. Birthdays had always been a day for giving presents and it was a natural step to celebrate Jesus's birth by giving gifts on that day. [...] By the end of the century Christmas Day was firmly fixed – in England at least – as a children's festival and the day on which presents were given» (Chris 1992: 87-88). Similarly, in the United States, the gift-bringing aspect of the celebration of St. Nicholas' day (December 6th) was eventually reassigned to Christmas Eve.

⁹ For a particularly cogent analysis of the «bellsnickles» and Christmas mumming as well as the connections between the «bellsnickles», *Zwarte Piet* and the Caribbean counterparts of this furry figure, cf. Siefker (1997: 7-39), particularly her Chapter 3, «His Clothes Were All Tarnished With Ashes and Soot». Also there is the reproduction of a curious painting with the heading: «The Black Pete figure that accompanied Saint Nicholas on his Christmas expeditions also accompanied women saints on their gift-giving rounds, as shown above. Black Pete's role was to threaten misbehaving children and rattle his chain» (1997: 11). In short, Siefker suggests that Black Pete was an accepted companion for female saints, not just bishops like St. Nicholas. Unfortunately, no source is provided for the painting.

¹⁰ For further discussion of these characters as well as excellent illustrations of them, cf. Weber-Kellermann (1978: 24-42).

The Krampus is a rather scary creature who appears either alone or in the company of an individual dressed as a bishop. The latter wears a long flowing robe or coat trimmed with fur and carries a staff. In zones where the two characters appear together, the pair plays the role of «white and black inquisitors» (Halpert 1969: 43) (*Figures 5 & 6*).



Figure 5. Painting by Franz Xaver von Paumgarten: Christmas Eve and St. Nicholas with the Krampus. Vienna 1820. (Museen der Stadt Wien). Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 26).



Figure 6. Krampus. Austrian postcard from circa 1900.

Far from being a long forgotten tradition, the customary visits by the Krampus and his Bishop are alive and well, indeed, thriving in modern-day Austria, where Krampus troupes have sprung up across the land. For instance, in places like Salzburg, Krampus performers number, quite literally, in the hundreds (*Figures 7, 8 & 9*). Once again I would emphasize that the creature they call the Krampus, albeit furry and horned, is not viewed – at least not consciously – as a bear or bear-like being.



Figure 7. Krampus Group. Salzburg, December 2002.
Source: <http://www.krampusverein-anras.com/home.htm>



Figure 8. Nikolaus und Krampus. Pettneu am Arlberg, December 2003. © Karl C. Berger.¹¹

¹¹ For a remarkable contemporary enactment, cf. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSn4KBA_XPI.



Figure 9. A very large Krampus. December 2002.

Source: <http://www.luehrmann.at/BildderWoche/2002/02-12-04-krampus.jpg>.

In other instances, the fur-clad horned creature known as the Krampus takes on a somewhat more child-friendly appearance (Figures 10 & 11).



Figure 10. Waidhofen Station: Krampus performers preparing to catch a special steam locomotive that will take them to Ybbsitz, Austria. December 2, 2006.

Source: http://www.ybbstalbahn.at/nostalgie__alt.htm.



Figure 11. Entrance of Nikolaus and the Krampus in Dorplatz, Austria. December 2, 2006.
Source: http://www.ybbstalbahn.at/nostalgie__alt.htm.

In other contemporary European versions of this performance piece, for example, in Amsterdam, the Christian bishop Nicholas called *Sinterklaas*, dressed in white or red, enters first, followed by *Zwarte Piet* (Black Peter), his dark-faced companion (Chris 1992). The former would interrogate the children and in the case of a good report, distributes gifts. Meanwhile his black-faced counterpart would stand at the door, poised, if need be, to administer punishment, lashes, leaving whips, rods or chunks of coal behind for the misbehaving children. Or he would simply stuff them into the sack that he carried for that purpose.



Fig. 12. *St. Nicholas and his Servant – St. Nikolaas en zijn knecht* by J. Schenkman].
Amsterdam: J. Vlieger, [ca.1885].
Source: <http://www.kb.nl/uitgezicht/kinderboeken/sinterklaas/sinterklaas-ill.html>.

In the case of Hans Trapp he sometimes accompanied a female figure called Christkind, although his role was similar to that of the other dark intruders.



Figure 13. Christkind and Hans Trapp in Elsass 1850. Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 35).

It should be noted that when only one figure appears, e.g., the *Pelzmärte* or *Pelznickel*, Hans Trapp or Knecht Ruprecht,¹² he is in charge of distributing both punishments and rewards, although he too strikes fear into the hearts of children (Figures 13 & 14). In this sense, the characteristics associated with these figures correspond more closely with the older profile of this fearsome creature.



Figure 14. Franz von Pocci (1807-1876): *Der Pelzmärtel*, 1846. Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 32).

¹² For an interesting discussion of Knecht Ruprecht and his European counterparts, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Companions_of_Saint_Nicholas.

The menacing nature of the eighteenth and nineteenth century portrayals of the *Pelznickel* and Knecht Ruprecht provides us with a way to gauge, albeit indirectly, the kind of the discourse employed by adults at that point in time, as they explained to their offspring the dangers of misbehaving: failure to obey could result in a frightening punishment; the child might be stuffed into the sack (or basket) of this night visitor and carried off to meet a horrible fate (*Figure 15*).



Figure 15. Franz Regi Göz. *Knecht Ruprecht* 1784. Reproduced in Weber–Kellermann (1978: 32).

Moreover, there is every indication that the fur-clad horned creature was even more frightening in times past, as is suggested by representations of his Austrian counterpart, the Krampus.

2.2. Good-luck visits and ritual cleansings

In the Mittelmark the name of *de hêle Christ* («the Holy Christ») is given strangely to a skin- or straw-clad man, elsewhere called Knecht Ruprecht, Klas, or Joseph (*Figure 15*). In the Ruppín district the man dresses up in white, with ribbons, carries a large pouch, and is called *Christmann* or *Christpuppe*. He is accompanied by a *Schimmelreiter* and a troupe of *Feien* with blackened faces.¹³

¹³ The *Schimmelreiter* is a character associated with the rider on a white or dapple horse, while other masked celebrants called *Feien* appeared attired as women, similar to the Kalends maskers condemned by the early Church. This centaurus-like figure shows up in other parts of Europe and should be considered one of the characters who regularly take part in these «good-luck visits» (cf. Frank in press).

As the procession goes round from house to house, the *Schimmelreiter* enters first, followed by *Christpuppe* who makes the children repeat some verse of Scripture or a hymn; if they know it well, he rewards them with gingerbreads from his wallet; if not, he beats them with a bundle filled with ashes. Then both he and the *Schimmelreiter* dance and pass on. Only then are the *Feien* allowed to enter; they jump about and frighten the children (Miles [1912] 1976: 230-231 (Figures 16, 17, 18)). Indeed, the ritual of smearing ashes on the faces of those encountered, as well as the fact that ashes form an integral part of the make-up of the performers themselves, are recurrent features of the performances. As such, the use of ashes may have been a fundamental component of the «good-luck» healing ceremonies themselves. There are many examples of the old European belief in the «good luck» conferred by ashes, blackening one's face with them and black creatures in general (Alford 1930: 277 ff; Barandiaran 1973, II: 375; Creighton 1950: 20-21; Frank 2005).



Figure 16. St. Nikolaus with his companions in Berchtesgaden, Bavaria 1958.
Photo Wolf Lüking. Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 33).



Figure 17. St. Nikolaus with his companions in Bavaria 1958.
Photo Wolf Lüking. Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 29).



Figure 18. Oscar Gräf (1861-1902). Perchtenlaufen Festival in Salzburg 1892.
Reproduced in Weber-Kellermann (1978: 21).¹⁴

¹⁴ For more on the Krampus and Perchten runs, cf. the YouTube videos at <http://video.google.com/videosearch?hl=en&q=Krampus%20runs&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=N&tab=vw#> and for a recent video clip from Pongau, Salzburg, showing the variety of masks employed and the remarkable similarity between the Krampus performers and the Sardinian Mamuthones, cf. <http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.film.o/o189a>, the wide variety of videos at <http://www.brauchtumspflegeverein-anras.com/content/view/25/50/>, as well as these pictorial representations of the Krampus: <http://www.galavant.com/krampus/>. The regional variation of the costumes and masks is noteworthy, while performers dressed in straw with blackened faces also are commonplace, e. g., the St. Nikolaus day characters called *Perschtln* in the Austrian Tirol.

At the same time, while at first glance leaving behind chunks of black charcoal would appear to carry a purely negative connotation, Miles ([1912] 1976: 251-260) has demonstrated that charcoal was originally viewed in a positive light. Specifically, pieces of charcoal from the Yule Log were highly valued for their prophylactic characteristics as were the log's ashes which were carefully collected and utilized for a variety of healing purposes.¹⁵ Moreover, it has been argued that the ethical distinction between good children and bad children along with the consequent distribution of gifts or blows, «is of comparatively recent origin, an invention perhaps for children when the customs came to be performed solely for their benefit, and that the beatings and gifts were originally shared by all alike and were of a sacramental character» (Miles [1912] 1976: 207). Further evidence for structural inversions in gift-giving comes from the fact that in other parts of Europe it is a troupe of young adults along with their bear (or bears) who visits the households and expects, in return for their services, to receive, not give, «treats» of food and drink (Alford 1928, 1930, 1931, 1937; Praneuf 1989).¹⁶

In Europe the ritual cleansings that formed part of the «good luck visits» included fumigations, incensing by smoke, and flailing the person with aromatic branches. Such ceremonies recall similar healing techniques involving smudging with the sacred smoke of juniper branches, still performed today by Native American medicine men and women (Brunton 1993: 138). Hence, from a diachronic point of view the European whipping customs are perhaps better understood not as «punishments, but kindly services; their purpose is to drive away evil influences, and to bring to the flogged one the life-giving virtues of the tree from which the twigs or boughs are taken» (Miles [1912] 1976: 207). Indeed, wands were often constructed for this purpose from a birch-bough with all the leaves and twigs stripped off, except at the top, to which oak-leaves and twigs of juniper pine were attached along with their bright red berries. Devoid of decoration, these rods or switches became broom-like devices that were used

¹⁵ In zones where only one character clad in skins or straw examines children, distributing blows and gifts alike, e.g., in the case of the *Christpuppe* or *Knecht Ruprecht*, ashes play a major role. For example, in Mecklenburg where he is called *rû Klas* («rough Nicholas»), he sometimes wears bells and carries a staff with a bag of ashes at the end. Hence the name *Aschenklas* is occasionally given to him. One theory connects this aspect of him with the *Polaznik* «first footer» visitor of the Slavs. On Christmas Day in Crivoscian farms he goes to the hearth, takes up the ashes of the Yule log and dashes them against the cauldron-hook above so that sparks fly (Miles [1912] 1976: 231, 252).

¹⁶ In the United States, it is common for parents to have their children leave out a plate with cookies along with a glass of milk for Santa. Naturally, the next morning the food offering has disappeared and nothing but a few crumbs remain on the plate.

to sweep away unhealthy influences. Pig bladders attached to poles were also used in such prophylactic flagellations. In short, blows delivered by the switches and bladders were believed to insure good health, promote fertility in animals and humans alike as well as the fruitfulness of crops: they were intended to bring about prosperity in general.

3.0. *Marginalization: The transformation of the New World «good-luck» visitor*

In the United States a series of transformations would take place, altering the European template of these «good luck visits» and the cast of characters involved in them, transformations that would lead to the creation of the modern day consumer Santa, familiar to people around the world. In this process, the dark ursine companion would be increasingly marginalized. Although there were many forces at work which, acting in consonance, brought about this situation, a close examination of the facts allows us to recognize that many of the most familiar aspects of the American Santa Claus are products of the fertile imaginations of four remarkable individuals: Washington Irving, Clement C. Moore, Thomas Nast and Haddon Sundblom.

First, we have Washington Irving (1783-1859) who in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809) divested St. Nicholas of his bishop's garb and severe inquisitorial demeanor, took away his bear companion, leaving behind a quintessentially good-natured bourgeois Dutchman contentedly smoking his long clay pipe. Indeed, in a very short time Washington Irving's writings managed to turn the popular *Sinterklaas* or *Sinter Klaas* of Holland into the tutelary guardian of New York (Chris 1992: 37-41; Rodríguez 1997; Webster [1869] 1950).¹⁷

The next step in the metamorphosis of the European character was undertaken by Clement C. Moore, the biblical scholar who, in 1822, wrote his now famous poem «An Account of a Visit from St. Nicholas» in which Santa acquired a sled and reindeer.¹⁸ This poem, in turn, was illustrated by the political cartoonist Thomas Nast in a series of vignettes published in *Harper's Weekly* between 1863 and 1886 (Nast St. Hill 1971).

¹⁷ For a much finer grained cultural analysis of the evolution of the American Christmas holiday as well as evidence of European traditions subsisting, especially among the lower classes, cf. Nissenbaum (1997).

¹⁸ Composed for his own six children's diversion, Moore's poem first appeared in *The Troy Sentinel* of New York on December 23, 1823.

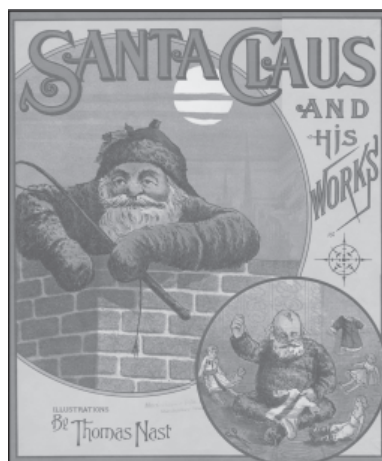


Figure 19. Brown furry-suited Santa. Source: Webster 1869 version of book cover ([1869] 1950).

However, the artist, born in Bavaria, brought with him to New York fond memories of the *Pelznickel* whose furry brown body and paws reappear quite clearly in his early drawings (Nast [1890] 1971: 53) (Figure 19).¹⁹ Nast's Santa has been categorized as «a direct descendent of *Pelz-Nicol* [sic], the counterpart of St. Nicholas [... and] the beaming, wholesome Santa Claus of today with his baggy costume gradually evolved from the more sinister appearing Santa with his furry skin tight costume» (Webster [1869] 1950).²⁰

Finally, in 1931, we find Haddon Sundblom, a publicist for Coca-Cola from Chicago. It is Sundblom who should be given credit for giving the American Santa his final form, for crafting that jovial consumer Santa so familiar to children and adults the world over.²¹ And in a stroke of genius, from 1931 forward the official colors of *Coca-Cola*®, red and white, would be identified year after year with the

¹⁹ In Nast's drawings frequently the creature is shown as elf-like, far smaller than a human being.

²⁰ First published about 1870, Webster's poem «Santa Claus and his Works», loosely based on Moore's poem, was also illustrated by Nast, while somewhat earlier, in 1863, in the Christmas edition of *Harper's Weekly* it was Nast's drawings that illustrated Moore's poem and showed Santa with his sleigh and reindeer much as Moore had described him (Nast [1890] 1971: 6-7).

²¹ According to Chris (1992: 57), although «most of the United States did not legally recognize Christmas until the latter half of the nineteenth century, by the 1840's it was already being seen very much as a children's festival...». For a more finely grained analysis of the socio-cultural and economic factors affecting the transformation of these European traditions into the American version of Christmas, cf. Nissenbaum (1997).

bright colors of Santa's suit (Chris 1992; Rodríguez 1997: 107-132). The Chicago artist reworked Nast's chubby bear-like Santa into a taller, ever smiling and more humanized version, the ideal grandfather, basing his paintings initially on the face of his friend Lou Prince and upon the death of the latter, on his own.

One of Nast's illustrations provides us with a particularly a good example of how entrenched customs can be modified, if not erased. That is, the way that (unconscious) beliefs and as well as other circumstances can come into play in order to make the past appear to conform more closely with the present. In this instance, we have the example of the original cover page from the 1869 edition where Nast's childhood memories of the furry *Pelznickels* are clearly evident in the brown tones of the creature's fuzzy costume and paws (*Figure 19*). However, when this book was reprinted, in 1950 (Webster [1869] 1950), a decision was taken with respect to the cover of the new edition to alter the colors of the earlier illustration, remove the *Pelznickel's* brown paws, and replace them with furry white mittens (*Figure 20*). That choice brought the color-coding of the book's cover into greater conformance with what was, by the 1950s, the conventional view of the colors associated with the Coca-Cola Santa, namely, red and white. Quite possibly those in charge of deciding on the packaging of the book were doing nothing more sinister than attempting to make it as visually marketable as possible. Luckily, those in charge of the reprint also decided to include a color reproduction of the original cover from the 1869 edition, in the 1950 edition of the book.

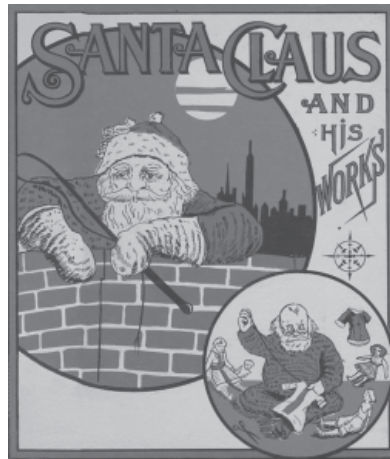


Figure 20. Red-colored cover of Webster's book of Nast's drawings. Source: Webster ([1869] 1950).

Almost every year from 1931 to 1964 Sundblom painted new illustrations for Coca-Cola and their annual Christmas advertising campaign. These advertisements appeared in *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *National Geographic*, *Life*, etc., as well as on billboards and point-of-purchase store displays. As Berryman (1995) has noted: «The Coca-Cola Company's large advertising budget ensured that Sundblom's distinctive vision of Santa received massive exposure across the country and around the world.» Unquestionably the jolly, fully human Santa figure popularized by Coca-Cola was a successful ambassador of feel-good consumerism and optimism and, like Moore's Santa, he was plump and grandfatherly with twinkling eyes and a hearty laugh.²²

In short, the massively successful publicity campaigns surrounding these illustrations, still used by Coca-Cola today, are undoubtedly one of the major reasons for the rapid diffusion of the image of the American Santa Claus throughout the world (Chris 1992: 108-132; Rodríguez 1997) and the consequent loss from our collective consciousness of the European bear ancestor. In the United States the sack is stuffed not with terrified children, but with candies and toys. By this point, we might argue that the conversion of the animal-like creature into an inoffensive, child-friendly bearer of consumer goods is nearly complete, while the «good-luck visits» have ended up having primarily children as their beneficiaries, rather than adults, at least in the United States. Yet this fact should not lead us to the naïve conclusion that the transformation has been uniform or that the only image left is that of the rosy-cheeked American Santa. Rather, for example, as has been indicated in this study, in Austria still today we discover the older horrific image of the Krampus, the creature who goes after innocent passersby, often striking fear in the hearts of misbehaving children, all of which is another sign of the continuing strength of this ancient and quite indigenous ursine tradition of Europe.

4.0. *Generational down-grading: A different perspective*

In the previous sections of this study we documented the fact that there has been a generational down-grading with respect these customs: those who believe in the reality of the furry creature and the importance of behaving properly in order to get a good report card are now primarily children. Yet, even in the case of Santa

²² For a large sampling of representations of Sundblom's Coca-Cola Santa as well as an analysis of the publicity campaign associated with them, cf. <http://www.angelfire.com/trek/hillmans/xmascoke.html>.

Claus which is the most recent manifestation of the older belief complex, every child goes through a phase of believing that Santa is omniscient and will judge them. These supernatural powers are inculcated in the child by means of parental collusion as well as by popular culture. For example, everyone in the United States knows the words to the song called «Santa Claus is Coming to Town», played endlessly during the Christmas holidays. Since 1934, the words of this song have impressed on children the magical powers attributed to this night visitor:

Oh! You better watch out,
You better not cry,
You better not pout,
I'm telling you why:
Santa Claus is coming to town!

He's making a list,
He's checking it twice,
He's gonna find out
who's naughty or nice.
Santa Claus is coming to town!

He sees you when you're sleeping,
He knows when you're awake.
He knows when you've been bad or good,
So be good for goodness sake!

Granted, the American version of the main character projects a more child-friendly and far less threatening personality than its European counterparts, the disturbingly ominous semi-bestial creatures who continue to form part of European performance art. Still, even the most recent version of the belief complex requires the assumption that the being in question is endowed with supernatural powers: that it is omniscient, capable of knowing exactly what the child has been doing throughout the year. Building on this assumption, adults have invoked the name of the character in question in order to get the child to behave. Thus, the generational down-grading makes children the target of the moral scrutiny of the character in question: young people are the ones interrogated and whose actions are watched over, so to speak, by this tutelary guardian being.

4.1. *Hamalau-Zaingo: Interlocking meanings*

Speaking of the process of generational down-grading, there is reason to believe that earlier the actions of adults were also subject to a similar type of scrutiny. This conclusion is based to the strong possibility that in times past there existed

a flesh and blood counterpart of this guardian figure, concretely, an official who was in charge of guarding the social norms of the entire community. Here we need to keep in mind the linkages holding between the term *hamalau* and the title that was conferred on the judicial official known as the *Hamalau-Zaingo*, whose duties included watching over the collective in question. In short, this individual appears to have been charged with keeping track of those members of the community who misbehaved in some way, violating the community's norms. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the duties that fell to the *Hamalau-Zaingo* included acting as a kind of judge, determining the seriousness of the infraction or crime; imposing the appropriate punishment as well as perhaps seeing that it was carried out properly. In the case of Zuberoa, the individual who held this office even had immunity from prosecution as indicated in the law codes from the same zone (Haristoy 1883-1884: 384-385. In other words, in Euskal Herria we find evidence pointing to the existence of a kind of judge, a guardian figure whose title included the term *hamalau*.

Likewise, Azkue (1969: I, 36) explains that the being known as the *amalauzaku* (*hamalauzaku*) is «el Bú, fantasma imaginario con que se asusta los niños» («the fantastic being, the imaginary phantom that is used to frighten children»). Then in the *Diccionario Retana de Autoridades de la Lengua Vasca* (Sota 1976: 251) under the variant of *amalau-zanko* we find a similar definition:

Bú, fantasma. «–Uraxe bai izugarri! Benetan, é! Espiritu bat ikusi nian. –Bai zea! Amalau zankoa?» [‘A fantastic being, phantom. «–That one is awful frightening! Really, don’t you agree? I saw a ghost. –Really!! Was it Amalau zankoa?’]]

Finally, another example of the same phonological variant, namely, (*h*)*amalauzanko*, is listed in Michelena (1987, I: 874):

Baita umiak izutzeko askotan aipatu oi diran izen. Amalauzanko, Prailemotxo, Ipixtiku eta beste orrelekorak, lehengoko deabru, gaizkiñ edo jainkoizunen oroipenak izan bear dute. [‘Also the names that are commonly used to frighten children. Amalauzanko, Prailemotxo, Ipixtiku and other similar ones must be recollections of devils, demons or gods of times past’.]

In short, these phonological variants of *Hamalau-Zaingo* refer to the guardian figure who is invoked today by adults to threaten children.

Furthermore, we find variants of the compound expression *hamalau-zaingo* showing up as (*h*)*amalauzanko* and (*h*)*amalauzaku* in the name given to a class of performers. In this case, the phonological reduction of the compound *hamalau-zaingo* has been accompanied by a reanalysis of the phonologically reduced form itself. Here I refer to what has happened in villages such as Lesaca where

there are colorful, albeit rather grotesquely proportioned, figures that go by the name of *azaku-zaharrak*, where the second element is the plural of *zahar* «old». ²³ The phonological erosion suffered by the expression might have developed as follows: *hamalau-zaingo-zaharrak* > **(hama)lau-za(in)ko-zaharrak* > **lauzaku-zaharrak* > *azaku-zaharrak*.

It was not until the 1970s that these characters were recuperated in Lesaca and their name re-introduced, after nearly a forty year hiatus, given that during the Franco period the characters were absent. ²⁴ Today the performers' appearance is manipulated so as to make them appear extremely bulky, larger than life, similar to *En Peirot* of Catalunya, a character we will examine in more detail shortly. In order to achieve this effect, the actors stuff their costumes with straw, while the costumes themselves are made out of gunny sacks. As a result, the expression *azaku-zaharrak* ([Ihauteriak] 1992) has undergone further phonological erosion and semantic reanalysis, being reduced, at least by some writers, to *zaku-zaharrak*, and interpreted, erroneously, as meaning «sacos viejos» («old sacks») as if the first element corresponded to the old gunny sacks used to make the costumes.



Fig. 21. Lesaca Zaku Zaharrak, 2007.

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dantzán/724934332/in/set-72157600656899313/>.

²³ Cf. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dantzán/724061073/>.

²⁴ Even earlier, there was no specific date for when the *zaku-zaharrak* were supposed to appear, rather from January 6th until the beginning of Carnival the various groups of performers would take turns coming out into the streets. Then on the Monday of Carnival all the groups of performers would come together, which could produce rivalries between the *zaku-zaharrak* of the various wards of the village ([diariodenavarra.es] n.d.).

In summary, in the case of the compound *hamalau-zaingo* we find three intertwined meanings that, in turn, reveal three distinct yet interlocking aspects or characteristics that are closely associated with the entity in question. First, the phonologically eroded variants of *hamalauzanko* and *hamalauzaku* appear to be reflexes of the name of the official who was in charge of watching over the community and insuring that its norms and rules of conduct were observed; second, we note that it is the name assigned to the fantastic being invoked to make children behave; and finally, it shows up in the name of a bizarre bear-like masked performer, the *hamalauzaku*. Stitching these clues together we discover a clear pattern, one that illuminates yet another dimension of the Hamalau cultural complex: that in all likelihood the individual who was in charge of watching over the community was also the individual who dressed in a particular fashion, not like the other members of the community, and was also expected to take an active part in public rituals, if not preside over them. Therefore, it would not have been illogical for adults to invoke the name of this official when telling their children that if they didn't behave they would be carried off and punished by him (or her). Yet at the same time, standing behind the official in question was a more terrifying creature of supernatural dimensions, the half-human, half-bear figure of Hamalau, the intermediary between humans and bears, identified as well with the ominous «night visitor» or «sensed presence».

In addition, keeping in mind the processes involved in generational downgrading, if we attempt to combine all of these characteristics into a single coherent narrative we are confronted once more with the strong possibility that the attribution of omniscience to this creature on the part of adults, i.e., when speaking to children, reflects an earlier belief held by adults themselves: a belief on their part in the supernatural powers of this being. In short, to assume that in times past the cultural conceptualization in question was equated with a particular notion of divinity would not be too far-fetched. This leads us back to Perurena's suggestion that Hamalau might be best understood as a kind of pre-Christian deity (*Hamalaua, gure Jaingo* «Fourteen, our god») (Perurena 1993: 265; 2000).

As is well recognized, Western concepts of divinity tend to be informed by the notion of transcendence and moral authority, that is, a conceptual framework that projects a distant, otiose high god, physically removed from the world of humans and nature, although judgmental, nevertheless. In contrast, the ursine cosmology embodies a more animistic framework, grounded much more in the here and now, in nature itself. Thus, the source of authority seems to more immediate, less remote and more accessible. Both humans and bears are implicated as is, by extension, the rest of nature. Thus, rather than projecting a lofty high

god, a transcendent being separate from humans and nature, the ursine cosmology seems to incarnate a radically different and more all encompassing vision of reality, self and other.

In conclusion, when analyzed from the perspective of generational downgrading, we see ample evidence of adults being fully complicit in terms of transmitting and promoting the belief in this supernatural being, actively endeavoring to inculcate the belief in the minds of their children. Yet adults themselves no longer actually share the belief. In other words, what we find are adults and children operating with different interpretive frameworks. However, as has been stated, there is every reason to assume that the belief system implicated by the actions of the adults represents a residual pattern of belief once held by the wider community.

Likewise, although adults are no longer the target of the modern day interrogations, e.g., as carried out by St. Nicholas and his furry companion, it would appear that in times past the adult members of the community were not exempt from moral scrutiny. For instance, we have the example of the comic critique which still forms part of the structure of «good-luck visits». That component clearly is directed at evaluating the behavior of those visited, albeit in a satiric fashion. This suggests that a similar component could have been present earlier and that it once formed an integral, even obligatory, part of the ritual.

Finally, we are left with two additional questions, neither of which has a clear answer. The questions concern the nature of the relationship holding between the individual performing the role of Hamalau-Zaingo and the figure of Hamalau. First, we might ask how we should characterize this relationship if we assign a supernatural dimension to Hamalau. And the second question that we might ask is how that relationship impacted the way that human animals viewed their ursine non-human brethren. Again, even by drawing on all the information collected to date neither of these questions has an easy answer.

5.0. Cross-cultural comparisons: Artifacts from the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium

When we compare the path taken by the various linguistic and cultural artifacts under analysis we find a curious pattern. On the one hand, in certain locations the «bear» character has essentially disappeared from view, being supplanted by St. Nicholas and/or his more modern counterpart Santa Claus. Undoubtedly, Christianity has played a role in these transformations. Yet, at the same time, in

Germanic-speaking zones we find the older figure standing, quite literally, alongside the modern Christianized character. In other words, the original figure has not been erased. Quite the contrary, the Austrian Krampus is still a very frightening creature.

In the case of the linguistic and cultural artifacts drawn from zones inside the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium and/or closely linked to it, e.g., the Sardinian materials, we find a different symbolic regime operating where the main character did not undergo the same sort of Christianization. Here I refer to the Basque figure of Hamalau itself and its variants (e.g., in Mamu, Marrau, Hamalauzango/Hamalauzaku, etc.) as well as the Sardinian conceptual equivalents (e.g., variants in *marragau*, *marragotti*, *mommotti*, *mamudinu*, *mamuthones*, etc.) on the one hand, and on the other the frightening creature encountered within the geographical reach of the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium, referred to generically as *L'Home del Sac* and, more specifically, embodied in figures such as the Catalan *Marraco*, as it was originally understood.²⁵

What is unusual is the fact that in this region of Europe the belief and associated performance art survived on the margins of Christianity. In all probability part of the reason for this lies in the fact that the Church managed to promote a different biblically-based Christianized identity for the gift-bringers, namely, the Three Kings who were in charge of bringing presents to well-behaved children on January 6th. That strategic choice on the part of the Catholic Church, whether fortuitous or deliberate, allowed the belief in the older more ambivalent guardian figure to continue to operate on the margins of the dominant cultural discourse. There the character went on fulfilling its role as an *asustaniños* even though with time adults would invoke its name less frequently. Nevertheless, as we shall soon discover, in locations such as Catalunya, just as in Germanic-speaking countries, the Christianization process was incomplete and in some locations the furry creature continued to appear along with its Christianized brethren into recent times.

5.1. Iberian «bogey-men»

Writing in 1950s, the renowned Catalan ethnographer Joan Amades prepared a series of studies exploring what he called «ogros infantiles». He uses this term to refer to the same class of monstrous beings invoked by adults to frighten their

²⁵ In this respect I would mention the Basque figure of *Olentzaro* who will be discussed in detail in the next chapter of this investigation.

offspring that we have been discussing throughout this chapter (Amades 1951, 1952, 1957). Among the most popular of these figures is *En Pelut* which translates as the «Hairy One» or the «Shaggy One» and which Amades describes as the «asustachicos catalán»:

En Bàsquera, Montagut, Tortellá y por otros lugarejos de la Garrotxa, en vísperas de Navidades intimidan a los chicos traviesos con el Pelut o Peludo, hombrón alto y fornido cual un roble, negro como el hollín y peludo cual un oso, que habla estentórea y bruscamente, el cual ronda en busca de chicos traviesos, que carga en un enorme saco que trae a cuestas para celebrar con ellos unas buenas Pascuas. [‘In Bàsquera, Montagut, Tortellá and other localities of Garrotxa, on the evenings preceding Christmas they intimidate mischievous children with the Pelut or Peludo, a very large man, tall and muscular as a oak tree, black as soot and shaggy as a bear, who speaks in a brusque stentorian fashion, and who goes about looking for mischievous children, who he carries off in an enormous sack that he has on his back in order to enjoy with them a sumptuous feast’.] (Amades 1957: 274)

Amades goes on to say:

A veces, para dar más efectividad a la farsa, un vecino bien alto y robusto, cubierto con pieles de carnero negro, que algún día debieron ser de oso, cargado con un saco repleto de paja al hombro, al anochecer visita los hogares donde hay chicos díscolos, vociferando que viene a por ellos para zampárselos en Nochebuena. Los ruegos de los mayores y las súplicas de los amenazados le convencen de que se vaya, lo cual hace muy a regañadientes. [‘Sometimes, in order to make the farce more effective, a tall and robust neighbor covered in the skins of a black ram, skins that earlier were probably those of a bear, bearing a sack filled with straw on his shoulder, visits around nightfall those households where there are disobedient children, crying out that he will be coming to get them, to swallow them up on Christmas Eve. The entreaties of the adults and the pleadings of those threatened convince him that he should leave, which he does very unwillingly’.] (Amades 1957: 274-275)

Supposedly, one of the other functions of *En Pelut* was to give a report to the Three Kings concerning the conduct of children. In contrast to the way this was set up in Germanic-speaking countries where St. Nicholas would often arrive accompanied by his dark furry companion, here we have a bear-like creature arriving alone, well ahead of the Three Kings, and operating autonomously. Also, we see that it is *En Pelut* who is in charge of determining whether the children have misbehaved and, supposedly, later transmitting that report to the Christianized three-some of «gift-bringers» (Mano Negra 2005). In this sequence of events there is a kind of discrepancy in that the date assigned for the definitive punishment – when the creature says he will return – is Christmas Eve, i.e., the Winter Solstice, not January 6th.

While there are significant parallels with respect to the way that the Catalan representation of the creature has evolved alongside Christianity, what is perhaps

most remarkable about this Catalan custom is the recognition on the part of Amades that in all likelihood in times past the person dressed up in a bear skin. Although Amades does not directly associate En Pelut with a bear, he does add these comments:

Por los valles altos pirenaicos de la región leridana se había acudido asimismo al oso, y en Andorra, a su hembra, la osa, mucho más temible aún que éste. La representación del oso danzarín había sido muy frecuente en Carnaval; y, cual En Peirot o el Marraco, los niños lo miraban con pavor, no como un fiero animal, sino en su condición de traganiños traviosos. [‘In the high Pyrenean valleys of the region of Lérida, they have also resorted to the bear, and in Andorra, to the female bear, which is even more fearsome than the former. The representation of a dancing bear is very common during Carnival; and, like En Peirot or the Marraco, children looked at it with terror, not because it was as a wild animal, but rather because of its condition as a devourer of disobedient children’.] (Amades 1957: 269-270)

In the example above, we find that the conflation of the two meanings is complete: the frightful being invoked by adults is identified precisely with the performer dressed as a «bear» (*Figure 22*).



Figure 22. «Mascarada del Oso». Xarallo. – L’Allars. Source: Amades (1957).²⁶

In the traditional festivals of the town of Solsona four «bears» took part, performers whose presence terrified of the children of Solsona, Vall del

²⁶ From a drawing made by Amades based on a work of J. Noé located in the Museo de Industrias y Artes Populares del Pueblo Español in Barcelona.

Hort and Ribera Salada, meanwhile their parents would repeatedly speak to their offspring about the «bears» to in order to make them obey (Amades 1957: 270). Based on the only photo I have found of them, today they look like harmless Disney-like characters, indeed, looking more like mice than bears. However, in times past there was a dearth of images other than those found in one's own everyday environment, no television, no magazines, no Internet. So any unfamiliar creature, especially a strange unnatural masked one, would have given any child goose-bumps. Also, we do not know how these four «bears» dressed centuries ago (*Fig. 23*).



Figure 23. «Los osos». Solsona-Solsonès. Source: Amades (1957).

In the passages cited above Amades mentions another performer known as *En Peirot*. According to Amades, the characteristics of this «ogre» appear to replicate those of the Sardinian *Marragau*, although its name, *En Peirot*, bears no resemblance to any of the phonological variants of *Hamalau* we have discussed so far. It is noteworthy that geographically speaking this performer also inhabits the region of Lérida where in a certain sense it must have competed (or co-habited) with performers dressed as «bears». Amades describes the participation of this actor as follows:

Por las altas comarcas leridanas, el terror de la chiquillería era el *Peirot*, que durante el Carnaval salía a danzar a la plaza al son de una canción dedicada a él [...]. Para dar la sensación de que estaba enormemente gordo, a causa del gran número de criaturas malas que se había tragado, el disfrazado escondía un par de almohadas debajo del vestido, con lo que adquiría un aspecto deforme y grotesco. La chiquillería quedaba aterrorizada al verle por sus propios ojos, dándoles una sensación de realidad que daba gran eficacia a la palabra de los mayores cuando le invocaban. [‘In the high districts of Lérida, what terrorized the crowds of small children was the *Peirot*, who during Carnival

would come out to dance in the plaza to the sound of a song dedicated to him [...]. In order to give the sensation that he was enormously fat, because of the large number of bad kids that he had swallowed up, the masked figure would hide a pair of pillows under his costume, with the result being that he took on a deformed and grotesque shape. The crowds of children were horrified upon seeing him with their own eyes, which gave them the impression that he was real, a sensation that made the words used by their elders when they invoked his name extremely effective'.] (Amades 1957: 275)²⁷

Amades (1957: 270) also points out that a figure called *Peirotu* appears in this capacity of a *tragachicos* on the French side of the Pyrenees. In spite of the fact that the names *Peirot* and *Peirotu* bear no resemblance to the phonological variants of Hamalau studied so far, the characteristics attributed to *Peirot* and *Peirotu* are remarkably similar in many respects.

In the town of Lérida we find a carnival performer called *Marraco*, quite comparable to *En Peirot*, whose body size was also exaggerated by stuffing pillows inside the actor's costume. This was the case before the townspeople decided to construct a new, highly elaborated version of the fearsome yet amorphous being called *Marraco* (Amades 1857: 275). Indeed, we discover that the ursine connections of the character were essentially eliminated when the decision was taken to give a concrete physical shape to the *Marraco*, the creature that devoured children. According to Amades (1957: 268-269), at one point the officialdom of Lérida decided that they wanted to construct an impressive animal-like figure of monstrous proportions in order to enhance the visual appeal of the local Carnival festivities. After some discussion, it occurred to them that the best choice would be to give plastic form to the fabulous *Marraco*. Apparently, as adults, those in charge of making this decision still remembered the fear they had experienced as children when their parents reprimanded them, in short, the abstract sense of terror that the *Marraco* had aroused in them.

However, by this point in time it is clear that the authorities in question were seeking to devise not some horrendously frightful creature, but rather something that would be an attractive addition to the local festivities, a source of entertainment for the community. In other words, the belief in the *Marraco* was losing its grip. As a result, they ordered the construction of an enormous animal and had it mounted on a chassis with wheels so that it could move through the streets. The antediluvian creature was equipped an enormous mouth. That way children could enter though

²⁷ Although Amades explains that the custom of stuffing the performer's costume with pillows to give it more bulk was explained by the wanting to give the impression that he was fat from eating so many children, this explanation might well be false. Instead, there is reason to believe that the bulky nature of the costume was, at least in part, a desire – in times past – to make the performer take on a bear-like appearance.

this aperture and by means of a special internal device, they were moved along gently inside the bowels of the creature so that upon emerging from it, they ended up being deposited, quite safely, on the ground (Amades 1957: 268-269).

The first Marraco, made of cardboard, fell apart and was substituted by another incredibly bigger one. While the new version was also mounted on wheels, it no longer was capable of swallowing up the little ones as its predecessor did. In short, the «child-eating» Marraco that previously had inhabited every child's imagination, albeit with an amorphous shape, was now given a concrete plastic representation and, consequently, deftly converted into an innocuous object of entertainment (*Figure 24*).



Figure 24. The Marraco of Lérida. Source: Amades (1957).

5.2. Another linguistic variant

Finally, in other zones still within the geographical limits of the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium or quite nearby we find that the menacing *asustachicos* goes by several names quite similar to each another, suggesting that they share a common etymology. For instance, we have the *Papu* which in Catalunya has been perhaps the most popular name for this character. Also, in many regions of Catalunya the word *papu* means «worm, insect or any little non-flying animal» (Amades 1957: 255). The latter meanings coincide closely with meanings found in Sardu for a number of words based on the stem of *mamu-*, e.g., *mamusu*; it also has parallels in Euskera in meanings associated with the terms *mamu*,

mamarro, *mamorru*, *mamurru*, *mamarrao* and *mamor*; namely, «worm, insect, very small animal» (Michelena 1987: XII, 37-38).

In Basque this definition may well be rooted in an animistic belief that attributed to these beings special transformative spiritual powers. The word field comprised by these terms also includes small beings, tiny magical semi-human creatures, often helpful to humans but of a rather indefinite shape. As such, they appear incarnate in the form of insects, as if the latter were capable of shape-shifting, undergoing metamorphosis, taking on a disguise, e.g., as a larva might be understood to shape-shift when it becomes a chrysalis and then magically turn into a butterfly. For example, in Euskera *mamutu* carries meanings related to «putting on a mask» or otherwise «disguising oneself»; to «becoming enchanted, astonished, astounded» or «put under a spell»; more literally it means «to become a *mamu*» while the verb *mamortu*, from the root *mamor-*, means both «to become enchanted» and «to form oneself into a chrysalis» or «to become an insect» (Michelena 1987, XII: 56-59). In some Spanish-speaking zones these magical beings are called *mamures* or *mamarros* (cf. Barandiaran 1994: 79; Gómez-Legos 1999; Guiral, Espinosa and Sempere 1991).

5.3. Exploring etymological origins of Romance terms

Amades (1957: 255) suggests that names like *Papu* and *Babau* (as well as *Papao* found in Portugal), *Bubota* and *Bubú* that we find the Balears, all of which are associated with the figure of *L'Home del Sac*, might be explained by their association with the verb *papar* «to suck, to swallow without chewing», that in turn is linked etymologically to Castilian *papo* and Catalan *pap* «throat, lower part of an animal's neck». In passing, we need to mention that as far west as Portugal we find *Papao* and at the same time there is *Babau* which is especially well known in the Pyrenean region of Roussillon, including Rivesaltes.²⁸

²⁸ In the case of the monstrous «child-eater» of Rivesaltes it, too, was eventually turned into a dragon-like animal. Its presence is justified by a charming yet highly elaborated local legend: an allegedly ancient account about how the Babau, «a monster, if not a dragon, [...] breached the defences of the town and devoured several infants» (cf. <http://www.perillos.com/babau.html>). What is perhaps most striking about the legend is the way it assigns to the tragic event the dates of February 2 and 3, namely, to Candlemas Bear Day and the day after whose patron saint is St. Blaise. And as is well recognized, in France traditionally the bear or bear-hunt has been associated with the feast of Candlemas and the day after, when the feast of St. Blaise is celebrated, while the latter saint is renowned both for his healing abilities and his role as the guardian saint of bears.

Finally, the latter term would appear to coincide with the *Babau* of the Italian Peninsula.

While Amades tentatively links the etymology of *Papu* and the others to *papar*, there is another way of approaching the problem. First, we need to return to our Sardinian linguistic evidence. Examining the dialectal variants of *momotti* «babau», we find *bobbotti* «babau»; similarly, we find that *mommoi* has a variant in *bobboi*, both words meaning «mangiabambini, mannaro, spauracchio, insecto» (Rubattu 2006). From this it is evident that we have an alternation in /m/ and /b/. Furthermore, since we have argued that the forms in /m/ are quite archaic, it would follow that the words with /b/ are phonological variants of the latter. Hence, we can apply this phonological shift to the examples cited above, e.g., *Papu*, *Babau*, etc.

However, before we do so, we need to look at one more dialectal variant of *Mamu*, namely, *Mahu* which in turn is regularly duplicated as *Mahu-Mahu* in the region of Valcarlos in Low Navarre. The latter is also a proper noun, the name of the «night visitor» and hence should be added to our list composed of *Mamu* and *Marrau* as well as *Hamalauzango/Hamalauzaku*. In the following saying which Basque-speaking parents used with their children, we find that the creature being addressed is called *mamu*, *marrau* as well as *mahumahu*. Satrustegui (1987: 17) points out that as the parent would say these words to the child, the adult would clench her fingers to form claws and gesture as if trying to seize the child. Consequently, this gesture served to further impress upon the child the kind of fate that awaited her as well as illustrate the fearsome nature of the creature being invoked by the parent.

Mahumahu! [Mahumahu!]
Jan zak haur hau [Eat this child.]
Bihar ala gaur? [Tomorrow or today?]
Gaur, gaur, gaur. [Today, today, today.] (Satrustegui 1987)

In sum, we see that in this Basque-speaking zone *mamu* developed a variant in *mahu*. Drawing on the alternation /m/ to /b/, it would not be difficult to imagine a developmental pattern where there was an initial alteration or competition between two forms, namely, *mamu* and *mahu* and/or between *mamu* and *babu*. This in turn could have led to a developmental path such as: *mamu* → *mahu* → *babu* → *papu*. Or one could imagine an even simpler developmental sequence: *mamu* → *babu* → *papu*. Consequently, it would follow that the expressions *papu*, *babu*, *papao*, and *babau* are nothing more than phonological variants based on the same etymological template and belonging to the same lineage.

Therefore, they should be viewed as deriving ultimately from *hamalau*. The logic of this reconstruction is reinforced by the fact that the referent evoked by these expressions is essentially identical: it is the same fearsome creature, instantiated socio-culturally in a very similar fashion across the entire geographical region. In short, there has been significant stability in the nature of the referent itself.

5.4. Exploring a final Basque variant: *Inguma*

Among the phonological variants of *hamalau*, e.g. *marrau* and *mamua*, Satrústegui also cites the following expressions encountered in Valcarlos, Low Navarre: *mahumahu*, *mahu-mahuma*, *mahoma*, *mahuma* and *inguma*. The terms *mamua*, *mahuma*, etc. are listed as synonyms of *inguma* (Lhande 1926: 512). The form *inguma* appears to represent a much later, more specialized phonological development of the term *hamalau* since it, too, is applied to the «sensed presence» or «night visitor» (Satrústegui 1981a, b, 1987). In the case of *inguma*, the word has no obvious root-stem in Basque. This fact suggests that there are two possible paths for its etymology: 1) it is a borrowed term from an unknown source or perhaps from Lat. *incubus*, as Trask (1999) once suggested; or 2) it is an indigenous term whose etymology has become obscured. Given that *inguma* is used to refer to the «sensed presence» or «night visitor» we have been discussing, its semantic referent and content is synonymous with that of *mamua*, *marrau*, etc.. Hence, perhaps the most logical etymological choice would be one based on the following set of phonological shifts: *hamalau* > **mamalau* > *mahumahu* > *mahuma* > **maguma* > *inguma*.

In discussing the various terms that exist in Euskara for «butterfly», Trask made the following comment:

Inguma (G) (1745). This curious word does not look like an expressive formation. But the same word is recorded from 1664 as 'incubus, succubus'. We may therefore surmise a possibly unattested Late Latin **incuba* 'female incubus, succubus', which, if borrowed into Basque, would regularly yield the attested *inguma*. The motivation is not obvious, but I have seen pictures of the night-demons portraying them as perched on top of the bodies of their sleeping victims, so maybe the butterfly's habit of perching is the motivation. (Trask 1999).

In contrast to Trask's proposed etymology, based on an unattested Late Latin form, I would argue that another argument in favor of preferring an indigenous etymology is the fact that *inguma* refers both to the «night visitor»

and to a «butterfly». That same semantic linkage is found between other phonological variants of *hamalau*, that is, connections between *hamalau* and insects, particularly shape-shifting insects, as has been pointed out previously in this investigation. Thus, that the same word has both of these meanings makes the case even stronger: that *inguma* belongs to the same lineage, the same word field as the other variants, and, therefore, that it derives ultimately from *hamalau*.

Viewed from this perspective, the replicated version *mahumahu* gave rise to a phonological variant in *mahuma* and then over time *mahuma* underwent further reanalysis, producing *inguma*. As noted, the latter expression also refers to a «butterfly», the «night visitor» as well as to the incubus-succubus phenomenon. Obviously, if all one had to work with was the final phonological shape of *inguma* it would not occur to a linguist to trace that word's etymology back to *hamalau*. Yet there is little doubt about the phonological track followed by the expression *inguma*, as one earlier variant form after another underwent phonological transformation, bringing about phonological and semantic reduction.

When I speak of «semantic reduction» I am referring to the loss of the original meaning of the term *hamalau*; the fact that it is a number: that it originally meant «fourteen». Indeed, it would appear that this meaning exists only at the head of the semantic chain, i.e., occupying the top node of the etymological lineage leading to the formation *inguma*, while the immediate ancestral forms of *inguma*, i.e., *mamu*, *mahuma*, etc. would have already lost that basic numeric meaning, leaving a more restricted semantic field in place here only the notions of the «night visitor» and «insects» were operating. It is also quite possible that these processes of change were influenced by dialectal variants repeatedly coming into contact with each other, a process that would have contributed to the loss of recognition of the underlying semantic contents of the expressions.

Finally, *inguma* was used not just a common noun, but also as a proper name, concretely, a form of address used when talking to the mysterious being itself. This fact further supports an indigenous evolution of the term and its original derivation from *hamalau*: it reinforces the assumption that *inguma* belongs to the same lineage. For example, this obviously ritualized bedtime prayer addressed to *Inguma* is found in the Labourdin dialect:

Inguma, enauk bildur, Jingoa ta Andre Maria artzen tiat lagun; zeruan izar, lurrean belar, kostan hare, hek guziak kondatu arte ehadiela nereganat ager ('Inguma, I'm not afraid of you, I take refuge in God and the Virgin Mary; stars in the sky, [blades of] grass on the ground, [grains of] sand on the beach, until you have counted all of these, don't present yourself to me'.) (Azkue 1969, vol. 1: 443).

As Satrústegui points out, in some cases these prayers and folk sayings insert the term *inguma* when addressing the being in question, while in other cases the same prayer or folk saying employs the term *marrau* or *mamua*. Thus, we can see that these three terms (*marrau*, *mamua* and *inguma*) are synonyms: phonological variants of each other. This line of evidence would also suggest that two sets of phonological variants of the term *hamalau* might have branched off from the original etymon of *hamalau* and then distanced themselves from each other: one set situated in more eastern dialects and another in more western ones.²⁹

At the same time we can see that once Christianity arrived, people came up with discursive ways to dissuade the frightening «night visitor» from paying them an unwanted visit. Thus, these formulaic sayings and prayers represent another example of the kind of hybridization that took place when the two belief systems came into direct contact with each other. One only wonders what this night-time prayer would have sounded like before the arrival of Christianity: were children instructed to talk to Hamalau before going to sleep, in order to tell the creature to keep busy with other things, like counting the stars, rather than paying them a visit? And, in the case of adults, were they, too, accustomed to addressing this being each night before falling asleep? As Satrústegui has observed, it is noteworthy that the prayers are not directed to God, Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary, seeking their intervention, but rather the discourse scenario has the individual speaking directly to Hamalau, albeit under the variant names of Marrau, Mamu, Mahumahu, Mahuma, Inguma, etc.

Also, according to reports by Donostia based on the fieldwork he carried out in the same region, his adult informants said that the creature was an animal: «Como una especie de animal sedoso que oprime al durmiente» [‘Like a kind of silky animal that presses down on the sleeper’], while the general opinion of the informants was the «el Ingume es una especie de animal, suave, de mucho peso, que se desliza por el pecho apretándolos» [‘the Ingume is a kind of animal, smooth, very heavy, that slides onto their chest, gripping them tightly’] (cited in Satrústegui 1987: 22).

Another clue concerning the nature of the creature comes from the verbal syntax encountered in the prayers and sayings. In Euskara there is a type of dialogic addressivity associated with certain verb forms which requires the speaker to mark the gender of the person being spoken to, i.e., the presence of

²⁹ For a much more detailed ethnographic discussion of the western variants cf. Satrústegui (1981a; 1981b: 365-375).

the addressee is integrated into the structure of the conjugated verb. Because of this fact, we can determine, based on the sampling of prayers and sayings collected, that the informants addressed the creature using the male gender marker, e.g., *ez niok hire beldurrez*; *enuk hire beldur*, etc. That said, it is also true that the collection of prayers and sayings is not extensive. Hence, the examples of dialogic addressivity which mark male gender might not be representative of the discursive style of all speakers. For example, in discussions of the collection of prayers and sayings, the gender of the informant is not indicated. Therefore, we do not know for sure whether men and women always addressed the being if it were male.³⁰ Also, we need to keep in mind the ambiguous, indeed, amorphous nature of the entity being addressed and the fact that it was often viewed as an animal.

In some cases the prayers addressed to the creature, seek protection for the daytime hours as well as at night, repeatedly indicating that the individual is not afraid of the fearsome being at anytime:

Mahuma, gaur enuk hire beldur ['Mahuma, today I do not fear you']
 Loan ez ihartzarrian. ['neither sleeping nor awake.']
 Jinkua diau aita, ['God is our father,']
 Anderedena Maria ama, ['Virgin Mary [our] mother,']
 Jandonahani gazaita, ['Saint John [our] godfather,']
 Jandone Petri kusi, ['Saint Peter [our] cousin,']
 Horiek denak ditiau askazi, ['they all are our relatives,']
 Loiten ahal diau ausarki. ['we can sleep abundantly.'] (Satrústegui 1987: 17)

³⁰ In passing I should mention that there is evidence for a female-oriented interpretation of the main character, a topic that is, however, outside the scope of this study. Briefly stated, this feminine orientation may be reflected in the figures of the pre-Christian Basque goddess *Mari* and her animal helpers, the Italian *Befana* and most particularly the Germanic *Percht(a)/Bercht(a)*. In the case of the latter figure we should keep in mind that the etymology of the term (and its phonological variants such as *precht* and *brecht*) takes us back to the etymon of Germanic words for «bear», namely, **bher-* «bright, brown» which also shows up in the name Hans Rupert/Ruprecht: «Das Wort *percht* entspricht althochdeutsch *perah/berah* und bedeutet strahlend, glänzend, und es ist in dieser Bedeutung in Eigennamen wie Berchthold, Albrecht, Ruprecht/Rupert bis heute erhalten. [...] Mit der Etymologie des Namens *Bercht(a)/Percht(a)* hat man sich seit dem frühen 18. Jahrhundert beschäftigt: Er wurde einerseits mit dem bereits erwähnten althochdeutschen Wort *perah/berah* in Verbindung gebracht; demgemäß würde er also entweder die Leuchtende, Strahlende meinen – oder aber die ‘Frau der Perchnacht’» [The word *percht* comes from Old High German *perah/berah* and means ‘bright, shiny’, and it survives in this meaning in names such as Berchthold, Albrecht, Ruprecht/Rupert. [...] The etymology of the name *Bercht(a)/Percht(a)*, has been studied since the early 18th century: It [the name] was being related, on the one hand, to the Old High German word *perah/berah* already mentioned; accordingly, it would mean either ‘the luminous, bright’ or the ‘Woman of the Perchnacht’] (Müller and Müller 1999: 450).

And this one which again emphasizes that creature's presence was sensed in some fashion throughout the day and night.

Mahuma, enuk hire beldur, ['Mahuma, I'm not fear you,']
 Etzaten nuk Jinkuaikin ['with God I go to sleep']
 Jiekitzen Andredena Mariaikin ['with the Virgin Mary I awake']
 Aingeru ona sabetsian ['with the good Angel at my side']
 Jesus ene bihotzian ['Jesus in my heart']
 janian, edanian, loan, ametsian. ['when eating, drinking, sleeping and dreaming.']
 (Satrustegui 1987: 17)

Then in reference to the daytime presence of the creature, writing in 1987, Satrustegui (1987: 20) recounts what was told to him by a woman from the district of Gainekoleta, a zone in which rock-slides were relatively common because of the mountain nearby. The woman said that when a rock-slide happened her mother would comment to her: «It's Mahuma». Similarly, when the informants spoke to Satrustegui about their experiences with the «night visitor» they did not doubt the reality of the creature's existence: that it had actually come to see them. Then there is the folk belief that any hematoma – the blue-black mark left on the skin that is associated with a bruise – was caused by Mahuma having pinched the person, i.e., *Mahumaren zimikoa* (Satrustegui 1987: 21). Granted, today that concept is understood as nothing more than a mere folk saying.

In sum, the replicated version *mahumahu* gave rise to a phonological variant in *mahuma* and then over time *mahuma* was reanalyzed, producing *inguma*. The latter expression found in Basque today refers to a «butterfly», the «night visitor» and is used as well as to refer to the incubus-succubus phenomenon. The latter association suggests the possibility that somewhere along the way the Catholic Church and/or Inquisitional authorities played a role in popularizing the variant of *inguma*. And as I have mentioned, quite obviously, if all one had to work with was the final phonological shape of *inguma*, it would not necessarily occur to a historical linguist that the word's etymology should be traced back to *hamalau*. Yet the path taken by the expression *inguma* is a relatively straight forward one, as one variant form after another underwent phonological transformation and was reshaped, each building on the shape of the previous form, with resulting phonological and semantic reduction being helped along the way by exchanges and criss-crossing of dialectal variants over a period of hundreds if not several thousand years.

6.0. *Conclusions*

At the beginning of this study I suggested that the linguistic and cultural artifacts under analysis could provide support for the PCRT approach to prehistory, that is, an approach that argues – primarily on the basis of genetic and archaeological evidence – that at the end of the last Ice Age there were a series of migrations out of the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium. Eventually, these population expansions would take the inhabitants of this zone and their descendants northward and eastward into other parts of Europe. Until now this version of events has been grounded in the findings of molecular genetics, archaeology, evolutionary and population biology and related fields of inquiry. As such, even though the evidence collected to date is compelling, in order to be totally convincing, the PCRT narrative is still in need of additional proofs. Moreover, until now the fields of historical linguistics and ethnography have not been forthcoming in terms of supplying data sets that could be marshaled convincingly in support of this narrative of European population dispersals.

In the course of this study I have proposed that the ursine cosmology is best understood as a symbolic order that reflects the world view of hunter-gatherers, although we cannot predict precisely what time-depth should be assigned to the individual linguistic and cultural artifacts under analysis. Certainly some features associated with them are quite modern, while others may be significantly older. The belief that humans descended from bears, however, would logically antedate the Neolithic world view, the latter being characterized generally by its emphasis on domestication and the control of nature rather than celebrating a spiritual reciprocity between human animals and non-human animals (Bird-David 1999; Ingold 1995).

Hunter-gatherers do not, as Westerners are inclined to do, draw a Rubicon separating human beings from all non-human agencies, ascribing personhood exclusively to the former whilst relegating the latter to an inclusive category of things. For them there are not two worlds, or persons (society) and things (nature), but just one world – one environment – saturated with personal powers and embracing [...] human beings, the animals and plants on which they depend, and the landscape in which they live and move. (Ingold 1992: 42)

With respect to the antiquity of the linguistic artifacts, during the course of this investigation I have kept in mind the commentary of Gamble et al. (2005: 209), namely, their argument that there could be a linguistic component to the PCRT narrative. If Western Europe was, to a large extent, repopulated from the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium, we could hypothesize that people in this source

region spoke languages related to Basque. Consequently, the obvious conclusion would seem to be that the expanding human groups would have been speaking languages related to ancestral forms of modern day Basque.

Earlier when discussing the methodology that would be applied in this study, I posed three questions. First, how do we go about determining the original location of the linguistic and cultural artifacts in question? At this stage we can reply that by tracing the linguistic and cultural artifacts associated with Hamalau we have been able to determine that it is in the Pyrenean-Cantabrian zone where the clearest understandings of the word's meaning(s) are found. Then there was the question concerning the evidence we have, if any, that would allow us to chart the pathways taken by these cultural artifacts as they moved out of the initial western refugium. Again, although in the course of this investigation only a small sampling of the phonological variants of *hamalau* has been treated, they have allowed us to follow a trail laid down by a set of linguistic and cultural artifacts that appear to derive ultimately from the same ursine cosmology. In other words, the linguistic artifacts dove-tail with the cultural data.

Finally, the third question I asked at the beginning of this study is the following: does the diffusion of the linguistic and cultural artifacts related to the ursine cosmology allow us to map the development of the cultural complex over time? At this juncture it would seem that, at a minimum, they permit us to formulate a series of hypotheses concerning the way that the various components belonging to the ursine cultural complex fit together as well as how they evolved along parallel paths. Likewise, the application of a broad cross-linguistic and cross-cultural approach to the data provided a basis for reconstructing a set of cultural conceptualizations pertaining to much earlier stages of the belief system, albeit in a highly tentative fashion.

In short, tracing these artifacts across space and time allowed us to explore the linguistic and cognitive pathways forged by them and to tease out features of the underlying interpretive framework, again, in a provisional fashion. In other words, the methodology employed has brought into view a relatively cohesive cluster of elements. Undersood as a cultural complex that evolved over time, the components making up the complex can be viewed as constituting a single lineage and hence could serve to illuminate the much earlier symbolic regime that was once present in the Pyrenean-Cantabrian refugium, as well as in adjoining zones such as Aragon and Catalunya, and beyond. In conclusion, the socio-cultural entrenchment of the artifacts analyzed appears to reinforce the plausibility of the PCRT hypothesis.

REFERENCES

- Alford, Violet. 1928. The Basque Masquerade. *Folklore* XXXIX: 67-90.
- Alford, Violet. 1930. The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees. *Folklore* XLI: 266-279.
- Alford, Violet. 1931. The Candlemas Bear. *National and English Review* (Feb.): 235-244.
- Alford, Violet. 1937. *Pyrenean Festivals: Calendar Customs, Music and Magic, Drama and Dance*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Amades, Joan. 1951. *Costumari català. Les Carnestoltes, la Quaresima, Setmana Santa, el cicle pasqual*. Barcelona.
- Amades, Joan. 1952. *Costumari català. El curs de l'any, III, Corpus, Primavera*. Barcelona.
- Amades, Joan. 1957. Los ogros infantiles. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 13: 254-285.
- Azkue, Maria Resurreccion. 1969. *El diccionario vasco-español-francés*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.
- Barandiaran, Jose Miguel. 1994. *Mitología vasca*. San Sebastián: Txertoa. Séptima edición aumentada y corregida.
- Barandiaran, José Miguel de. 1973. *Obras completas*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.
- Bauman, Richard. 1972. Belsnickling in a Nova Scotia Island Community. *Western Folklore* 31 (4): 229-243.
- Bégouën, Jacques. 1966. L'Ours Martin d'Ariège-Pyrénées. *Société Ariégeoise [des] Sciences, Lettres et Arts. Bulletin Annuel* XXII: 111-175.
- Berryman, Val R. 1995. Michigan's Coca-Cola Santa Claus: Haddon Hubbard Sundblom. *Michigan History* (November/December). Available online at: http://www.michiganhistorymagazine.com/extra/christmas/coca_cola.html.
- Bird-David, Nurit. 1999. Animism revisited: Personhood, environment, and relational epistemology. *Current Anthropology* 40: 67-91.
- Brunton, Bill B. 1993. Kootenai shamanism. In: Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard (eds.), *Shamans and Cultures*, 136-146. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado; International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research, Los Angeles.
- Calés, M. (ed.). 1990. *L'Ours des Pyrénées: Les Carnets de Terrain: Parc Nacional des Pyrénées*.
- Chris, Teresa. 1992. *The Story of Santa Claus*. Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books.
- Cline, Ruth H. 1958. Belsnickles and Shanghais. *Journal of American Folklore* 71: 164-165.
- Creighton, Helen. 1950. *Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia*. Ottawa: F. A. Ackland.
- Dendaletche, Claude. 1982. *L'Homme et la Nature dans les Pyrénées*. Paris: Berger-Levrault.
- [diariodenavarra.es]. n.d. Carnavales: Lesaka. Available online at: <http://www.diariodenavarra.es/especiales/carnavales/index.asp?sec=lesaka>.
- Erich, Oswald and Richard Beitzl. 1955. *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Volkskunde*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag.
- Frank, Roslyn M. 2005. Shifting identities: A comparative study of Basque and Western cultural conceptualizations. *Cahiers of the Association for French Language Studies* 11 (2): 1-54. Available online at: <http://www.afls.net/Cahiers/11.2/Frank.pdf>.
- Frank, Roslyn M. 2008. Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT): *Hamalau* and its linguistic and cultural relatives. Part 1. *Insula (Cagliari, Sardinia)* 4. Available online at: <http://www.sre.urv.es/irmu/alguer/>.
- Frank, Roslyn M. in press. Hunting the European Sky Bears: German «Straw-bears» and their Relatives as Transformers. In: Michael Rappenglück and Barbara Rappenglück (eds.), *Symbole der Wandlung - Wandel der Symbole. Proceedings of the Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Symbolforschung / Society for the Scientific Study of Symbols. May 21-23, 2004, Kassel, Germany*. Munich.
- Gamble, Clive, William Davies, Paul Pettitt, Lee Hazelwood and Martin Richards. 2005. The archaeological and genetic foundations of the European population during the Late Glacial: Implications for 'agricultural thinking'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 15 (2): 193-223.

- Gómez-Legos, Olga. 1999. Mamur. Available online at: <http://www.pantheon.org/articles/m/mamur.html>.
- Guiral, Toni, Pedro Espinosa and Jordi Sempere. 1991. *Los trotabosques. Sendero de fuentes mágicas*. Vitoria/Gasteiz: Ikusager Ediciones.
- Halpert, George. 1969. A typology of mumming. In: Herbert Halpert and George M. Story (eds.), *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History*, 34-61. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Halpert, Herbert and George M. Story (eds.). 1969. *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Haristoy, Pierre. 1883-1884. *Recherches historiques sur la Pays Basque*. Bayonne: E. Lasserre.
- [Ihauteriak]. 1992. Ihauteriak: Zer eta Non?: [Carnival Publicity Brochure].
- Ingold, Tim. 1992. Comments. *Current Anthropologist* 33 (1): 41-42.
- Ingold, Tim. 1995. From trust to domination: An alternative history of human-animal relations. In: Aubrey Manning (ed.), *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Lajoux, Jean-Dominique. 1996. *L'homme et l'ours*. Grenoble: Glénat.
- Lebeuf, Arnold. 1987. Des évêques et des ours: Études de quelques Chapiteaux du Cloître de Saint Lizier en Couserans. *Ethnologia Polona* 13: 257-280.
- Lhande, Pierre. 1926. *Dictionnaire Français-Basque (Dialects Labourdin, Bas-Navarre et Souletin)*. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, Editeur.
- Mano. 2005. Asustadores de la Península Ibérica. Available online at: <http://encina.pntic.mec.es/agonza59/peninsulares.htm>.
- Michelena, Luis. 1987. *Diccionario general vasco = Orotariko euskal hiztegia*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia ; Desclée de Brouwer.
- Miles, Clement A. [1912] 1976. *Christmas Customs and Traditions: Their History and Significance*. New York: Dover.
- Müller, Felix and Ulrich Müller. 1999. Percht und Krampus, Kramperl und Schiach-Perchten. In: Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich (eds.), *Mittelalter-Mythen 2. Dämonen-Monster-Fabelwesen*, 449-460. St. Gallen. Available online at: http://www.fmuller.net/krampus_de.html.
- Nast St. Hill, Thomas. 1971. *Thomas Nast's Christmas Drawings for the Human Race*. New York; Evanston; San Francisco; London: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Nast, Thomas. [1890] 1971. *Thomas Nast's Christmas Drawings for the Human Race*. With an Introduction and Epilogue by Thomas Nast St. Hill. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Nissenbaum, Stephen. 1997. *The Battle for Christmas: A Cultural History of America's Most Cherished Holiday*. New York: Vintage.
- Pastoureau, Michel. 2007. *L'ours. Histoire d'un roi déchu*. Paris: Ed. Seuil.
- Perurena, Patziku. 1993. *Euskarak Sorgindutako Numeroak*. Donostia: Kutxa Fundaxioa.
- Perurena, Patziku. 2000. Radio Interview on *Euskadi Irratia* (Aug. 8, 2000).
- Praneuf, Michel. 1989. *L'Ours et les Hommes dans les Traditions européennes*. Paris: Editions Imago.
- Rodríguez, Pepe. 1997. *Mitos y ritos de la Navidad: Origen y significado de las celebraciones navideñas*. Barcelona: Ediciones B, S. A.
- Rubattu, Antoninu. 2006. *Dizionario Universale Della Lingua Sarda*: 2 Edizione. Editrice Democratica Sarda. Available online at: <http://www.toninorubattu.it/ita/DULS-SARDO-ITALIANO.htm>.
- Satrústegui, José María. 1981a. Inguma o pesadillas en el medio rural. Presentation at the III Jornadas Nacionales de la Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría. November 1981. Madrid, Spain. (Published as part of «Sueños y pesadillas en el devocionario vasco», cf. Satrústegi, 1987).
- Satrústegui, José María. 1981b. Sueños y pesadillas en el folclore tradicional vasco. *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País* 37 (3-4): 359-375.

- Satrústegui, José María. 1987. Sueños y pesadillas en el devocionario popular vasco. *Cuadernos de etografía y etnografía de Navarra* 47: 5-33.
- Shoemaker, Alfred. 1959. *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklore Society.
- Siefker, Phyllis. 1997. *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.
- Sota, Manuel de la. 1976. *Diccionario Retana de Autoridades de la Lengua Vasca*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.
- Speck, Frank C. 1945. *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth: The Bear Ceremony of the Munsee-Mahican in Canada as Related by Nekatcit*. In collaboration with Jesse Moses, Delaware Nation. Ohsweken: Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery.
- Tille, Alexander. 1899. *Yule and Christmas: Their Place in the Germanic Year*. London: David Nutt.
- Trask, R. L. 1999. Basque butterflies. *The Indo-European Mailing List* <Indo-European@xkl.com (13 Dec. 1999). Available online at: <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind9912&L=indo-european&P=5923>.
- Vriens, Jacques. 1983. *Dag, Sinterklaasje*. Illustrations by Dagmar Stam. Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf.
- Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. 1978. *Das Weihnachtsfest: Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Weihnachtszeit*. Luzern und Frankfurt/M: Verlag C.J. Bucher.
- Webster, G. P. [1869] 1950. *Santa Claus and his Works*. With an epilogue «The History of this Book». Nevada City, CA: The Evergreen Press.