

***PERCHTEN AND KRAMPUSSE:***  
**LIVING MASK TRADITIONS**  
**IN AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA**

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PhD in Folklore and Cultural Tradition  
National Centre for English Cultural Tradition

February, 2016

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## DEDICATION

To my parents, Joseph and Nancy Carter, Garth Powell,  
and the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* of Austria and Bavaria.



## ABSTRACT

Two centuries-old mask traditions native to Austria and Bavaria enjoy ongoing popularity due to a creative mingling of old and new elements (heavy metal music and fireworks alongside hand-carved wooden masks and birch rod switches). The *Krampus* is the menacing companion of St. Nikolaus, who visits children on December 5 and 6, although nowadays groups of *Krampusse* may appear alone. The *Perchten*, who are associated with the magical female folk-figure Perchta, appear on January 5 and the week before. While the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* represent distinct traditions, their history has intersected at various points, and their contemporary manifestations share many elements, including a movement towards a “modern” aesthetic and the employment of such resources as tourist publicity and the internet to promote their appearances, educate the public, and network with each other.

While the house visit was formerly the primary setting for these masked figures (or mummers), today it is the public parade. These parades, while rooted in and resembling conventional display-custom performances marked by a static division between performer and spectator, actually consist of a kind of fluid, interactive ritual theater in which the partially improvised, partially scripted performances of masked figures and the responses of spectators shape one another. Contemporary manifestations of *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions will be explored in light of the ongoing cultural dialogue between performers and non-performers who seek to define and interpret the tradition, and the interplay of academic and popular discourses surrounding invented tradition, *Folklorismus* (folklorism) and *Rücklauf* (feedback), and the nature of authenticity. Questions of cultural heritage “ownership” surface in the debates over form and meaning, while in the hands of the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* themselves, tradition emerges as an active process and collaborative artwork rather than a fixed commodity with boundaries which can be defined and navigated by outside observers.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly grateful to the Overseas Research Committee, whose generous scholarship funded the first three years of my research and made it possible for me to complete this work; my advisors, Dr. Joan Beal and Dr. Malcolm Jones of the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition at the University of Sheffield; Garth Powell for support of all kinds, including help with editing and proofreading; Dr. Maria Darcy; Erika Strenski, Markus Lessmann, Sarina Stützer, and Cynthia Dyre-Moellenhof for advice regarding German translation issues; Silvia Lenglachner for acting as my interpreter for my initial interview with the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n; Joe Anzenberger for help with audio and visual materials; and Veronika Pichler of Institut St. Sebastian in Salzburg for rescuing my field recordings from loss in transit and for providing a home base in the field. Thanks also go to Emily Lyle and the members of the SIEF Working Group on the Ritual Year, whose comments on work in progress helped me to refine my ideas and shape a sprawling project into what I hope is a coherent whole.

Most importantly, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to all of the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* who generously gave of their time to help me come closer to seeing these traditions through their eyes and understand their motivations for carrying them forward into the twenty-first century, especially Günter Polanec of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n of Salzburg and Sonja Edlinger of the *Thomasnikolo* group of Gams bei Hieflau, Styria, whose friendship and generosity transformed this task into a true labor of love.





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(uploaded to White Rose Etheses Online)

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# GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND NOTES

## ON THE LANGUAGE

**Brauch:** custom, here folk custom specifically, although it can also mean “practice”, “rite”, or tradition”. This term is commonly used to describe *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming.

**Brauchtum:** a collective plural meaning “body of customs” or “tradition” (another collective plural).

**brav:** industrious, diligent, brave, hard-working: the qualities children are encouraged to display in St. Nikolaus’s presence.

**Christkind, alternately Christkindl:** literally, “Christ-child”, but in practice usually a folk-figure who brings children gifts on Christmas and is popularly envisioned as blonde female angel. Girls are elected to preside over the enormously popular Christmas markets (*Christkindlmärkte*, or *Christkindl* markets) in Nürnberg, Germany and the city of Salzburg.

**Doppelaspekt:** “dual aspect” or “double aspect”, a phrase commonly used to refer to the many opposing pairs in Perchta’s character, such as night/day, winter/spring, wrath/mercy, and death/life, which are reflected in the folklore attached to her and provide an important source of inspiration for visual representations of Perchta by contemporary *Perchten*, especially evident in the double-sided masks used to portray her in some groups. It is widely believed that the division of *Perchten* into *Schönperchten* and *Schiachperchten* is meant to represent Perchta’s dual aspect.

**Drei Könige:** the Holy Three Kings (the Magi). *Dreikönig* is also the popular name for Epiphany, which is a bank holiday in Austria.

**Einlegen:** literally, “laying in” or “placing in”, roughly equivalent to Christmas “stocking-stuffing”, referring to the insertion of gifts into shoes, stockings, or other receptacles on behalf of St. Nikolaus (and formerly Perchta, as well).

**Einkehr:** a house visit by mummers, which are usually to private homes, although this term can also be used to refer to in-person visits to schools, pubs, restaurants, or other indoor locations.

**Erziehung:** upbringing or child-rearing, consisting of socialization, breeding, education, and in some cases religious instruction, such as the learning of one’s catechism.

**Fastnacht (alternately Fasching):** the German name for Carnival in the Austro-Bavarian area.

**Folklorismus:** “folklorism”, defined by Regina Bendix as ‘second-hand folklore’<sup>1</sup> — the simulation of presumably genuine folklore.

**Freilauf:** “free run”, referring to unstructured outdoor movement by *Perchten* or *Krampusse*.

**gastrotoomy:** “belly-slitting”, the term scholars have settled on to describe Perchta’s most characteristic act in legends and verbal warnings.<sup>2</sup>

**Glühwein:** a hot spiced wine punch served throughout winter, especially in outdoor settings such as Christmas markets and *Perchten* and *Krampus* parades.

**Håbergoaß:** dialect spelling of *Habergeiß* (and the pronunciation invariably used by the mummers themselves, in my experience), a clacking-jaw (*Klappenmaul*) goat mask (in truth, more of a puppet) operated by either one man standing upright or two men, the rear operator bending over to make a flat back. The *Håbergoaß* is a traditional folk-figure found in both *Perchtenläufe* and the retinue of St. Nikolaus.

**Heimat:** variously homeland, motherland, or hometown, often used to convey a strong sense of emotional attachment and regional pride. I have followed Hermann Bausinger’s lead<sup>3</sup> in leaving it in the German, since it conveys a complex of associations not necessarily summoned up by the simpler English equivalents.

**Heischenbrauch:** “begging custom”, particularly in the context of a mumming house visit. The term is more or less interchangeable with *quête*.

**Hexe (plural Hexen):** witch, used here to denote the witch mummers who accompany the *Schiachperchten*.

**Kinderfresser:** child-gobbler; a type of *Kinderschreck*.

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<sup>1</sup> Regina Bendix, ‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’, *International Folklore Review: Folklore Studies from Overseas*, 6 (1988), 5-15 (p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Viktor Waschnitius, *Perht, Holda, und verwandte Gestalten. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Religionsgeschichte*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 174 (Wien: Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (Alfred Hölder), 1913), p. 155. Marianne Rumpf believes Waschnitius was the first to use the term “*Gastrotomie*” to describe Perchta’s belly-slitting (*Perchten: Populäre Glaubensgestalten zwischen Mythos und Katechese*, Quellen und Forschungen zur europäischen Ethnologie, 12 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991), p. 41).

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, trans. by Elke Dettmer (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 54. Originally published in German as *Volkskultur in der technischen Welt* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961).

***Kinderschreck***: child-frightener; roughly comparable to the English “bogey”.<sup>4</sup>

***Kinderseelenschar***: retinue comprised of the souls of children; specifically, the souls of unbaptized children who accompany Perchta in some legends.

***Klaubauf* (plural *Klaubaife*, alternately *Klaubaufs*)**: a masked figure, native to East Tyrol, who accompanies St. Nikolaus on house visits on his feast day, but also found running in packs in the streets. The *Klaubauf* is a close cousin to the *Krampus*, similar in form and function, with the difference that the *Klaubauf* has no horns and is exceedingly violent. Otto Koenig uses *Klaubaufs* as the plural form of *Klaubauf*.<sup>5</sup>

***Krampus* (plural *Krampusse*, alternately *Kramperl*)**: a mummer representing the folk-figure known as the *Krampus*.

***Krampuslauf* (plural *Krampusläufe*)**: “*Krampus* run”, referring to parades and processions, but occasionally used for unstructured outdoor appearances and house-visiting perambulations as well.

***Krampuskränzchen***: literally, *Krampus*-circle; loosely, “*Krampus*-gathering”. The *Krampuskränzchen* refers to the appearance of *Krampusse* in a pub, bar, nightclub (*Disko*), or restaurant setting, where those present may or may not have received advance notice of their coming.

***Krax* (plural *Kraxen*); also *Buckelkorb* (plural *Buckelkörbe*)**: a large basket worn strapped to the back like a rucksack, formerly used to transport goods to market, but large enough to accommodate the children abducted by the *Krampus* and Perchta (in her belly-slitting guise), as depicted in both visual art and mumming representations.

***Larve* (plural *Larven*)**: an archaic dialect word for “mask” in Austria, Bavaria, and German-speaking Switzerland.

***Lauf* (plural *Läufe*)**: “run”,<sup>6</sup> here an abbreviated form of *Perchtenlauf* or *Krampuslauf*, which in this study generally describes a formal parade or procession setting for *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances.

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<sup>4</sup> J. D. A. Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland*, Social and Economic Studies, 21 (St. Johns: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> Otto Koenig, *Klaubauf-Krampus-Nikolaus: Maskenbrauch in Tirol und Salzburg*, Reihe Kaleidoskop, 6 (Wien: Edition Tusch, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> I am following Carl Lindahl's example in using “run” as the English translation, as he does for the French “*courirs de mardi gras*” in ‘Bakhtin's Carnival Laughter and the Cajun Country Mardi Gras’,

**Lebkuchen:** a type of sweet, spiced bread or cookie, sometimes with nuts and candied fruit, eaten at Christmas and given as *Krampus*-shaped *Einlegen* gifts for Nikolaus Day.

**Mädel (singular and plural):** girl or girls, the dialect form of *Mädchen*.

**Märchen:** folktale or fairy tale.

**Nikolausspiel, alternately Nikolospiel:** Nikolaus play, a partially scripted folk play incorporating St. Nikolaus's catechism-interrogation, Luzifer, *Krampusse*, and other auxiliary characters.

**Ordner:** members of *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups who guide the mummers and regulate the pacing in parades, function as the backstage crew, and assist with props and security.

**Paß/Pass (plural Paßen/Passen):** an organized mumming group. The word *Paß* is sometimes incorporated into the group's name and equivalent to the more generic terms *Verein* (club) and *Gruppe* (group).

**Percht (plural Perchten):** a mummer representing the folk-figure Perchta or one of the various folk-figures associated with her, also sometimes used as a generic term for folk masks.

**Perchtmilch, alternately Perchtmilch:** milk set out as an offering to Perchta in the Styrian Enns valley region, used in *Perchten* mumming and divination customs.

**Perchtenlauf (plural Perchtenläufe):** "Perchten run", referring to parades and processions, but occasionally used for unstructured outdoor appearances and house-visiting perambulations as well.

**possierlich:** an adjective frequently used to describe *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks, it is somewhat difficult to translate, as it can mean "cute", "quirky", "charming", or "funny".

**quête:** "quest", a term for mummers visiting houses for the purpose of collecting food, drink or money in exchange for a performance or blessing. See also *Heischenbrauch*.

**Rauhnacht (plural Rauhnächte) ("Wild Nights" or "Rough Nights"):** the folk-term for a sequence of selected holy days spanning Advent to Epiphany when numinous power is at its height, a belief which has traditionally been reflected in a number of divination practices and protective magic (*Rauchen*, fumigating the house and farm with frankincense, is still practiced in rural areas) and legends describing the proximity of otherworldly visitors, including variations of the Wild Hunt. This is also "mumming season". In these respects,

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*Folklore*, 107 (1996), 57-70.

this liminal time has parallels in the folklore of the Twelve Nights of Christmas and other European traditions. The term *Rauhnacht* is difficult to translate precisely, since “*rauh*” can mean “wild”, “rough”, or “raw”, all of which add a shading of meaning. Therefore I have kept it in the German here. The variant *Rauchnacht* (“Smoke Night”) is also currently used, although far less common.

***Rücklauf***: “feedback” or “flowback”, the process whereby scholarly ideas (long since discredited in their original academic milieu in many cases) become absorbed into popular culture and widely circulated as received wisdom.

***Rute***: switch or rod. The classic *Rute* is made out of a cluster of birch twigs bundled together at one or both ends, but today most *Ruten* are splendid-looking horse tails (*Rossschweife*). Cow tails are occasionally used as well.

***Schiachpercht* (plural *Schiachperchten*)**: “ugly” or “hideous” *Percht*, the most common of which today is the horned, furry, wooden-masked variety which resembles the *Krampusse*.

***Schnabelpercht* (plural *Schnabelperchten*)**: “beak-*Percht*”, *Perchten* with beaks incorporated into their masks. The best-known extant examples are the *Schnabelperchten* of Rauris, Salzburg (Map 3).

***Schönpercht* (plural *Schönperchten*)**: “beautiful” *Perchten*, the most common of which are the *Tafelperchten* (so named for their towering, flat, elaborately-decorated headdresses) and the *Tresterer* dancers native to the Pongau and Pinzgau districts of Salzburg (Map 3), respectively.

**SMCA**: Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, which owns an important collection of *Perchten*, *Krampus*, and other folk masks. The SMCA is housed in the Monatsschlössl on the grounds of Schloss Hellbrunn on the outskirts of the city of Salzburg.

***Teufel*, alternately *Toifi* (singular and plural)**: devil or devils, often used interchangeably with *Krampus(se)*.

***Trachten***: traditional dress. It is men’s *Trachten* that will be referred to here: a dark-green loden-wool jacket, feathered fedora, knee-length *Lederhosen* (knee-length leather trousers with suspenders), and white cable-knit socks, typically worn by men accompanying rural processional *Perchtenläufe* as well as by the brass bands which are a ubiquitous feature of rural Alpine life.

**Tresterer:** a type of *Schönperchten* found in Zell am See, Unken, and Stuhlfelden in Salzburg's Pinzgau region. The *Tresterer* perform a percussive leaping dance said to simulate threshing, their faces concealed by colored ribbons hanging from their hat bands.

**Volkskunde:** the academic study of folklore. Due to the negative associations of the word *Volk* (folk) with the Nazi era and its abuse of folkloristics, it is not the consensus term today. In the field, people tended to steer me towards the word *Ethnologie* (ethnology) instead. Scholars of *Volkskunde* (equivalent to folklorists) are *Volkskundler*.

## Place Names

I have opted to anglicize place names in this text when leaving them in German would present grammatical problems. Since the name "Salzburg" can refer to either the Austrian state ("*Land Salzburg*" in German) or its capital city, I will distinguish them by denoting "Salzburg state" or "Salzburg city" when clarification is required. (Austria, of course, is Österreich, and Germany is Deutschland.) The correspondences are as follows:

Bavaria:	the German state of Bayern
Carinthia:	the Austrian state of Kärnten
Franconia:	Franken, now part of the German states of Bavaria, Thuringia, and Baden-Württemberg
Lower Austria:	the Austrian state of Niederösterreich
Munich:	the Bavarian city of München
Styria:	the Austrian state of Steiermark
Swabia:	Swaben, now part of the German states of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria
Upper Austria:	the Austrian state of Oberösterreich
Vienna:	the Austrian state and capital city of Wien

Some early literary sources refer to Perchta-related folklore in regions of southern Germany which have now been consolidated into Bavaria for the most part, namely Swabia and

Franconia, although one occasionally finds references from Hesse and Saxony. Therefore Bavaria is used here as the umbrella term for these regions as well as being the locus for contemporary German *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in its own right.

### **Words Commonly Used to Describe *Perchten* and *Krampusse***

**“*Sie treiben ihr unheimliches Wesen*”**: alternately, “They make trouble”, “They strike terror into people’s hearts”, “They are up to their sinister tricks”, or “They wreak their eerie havoc”; a commonly-used phrase in newspaper articles and tourist website descriptions. (The tongue-in-cheek tone of this description hints at the way these customs are currently perceived by most people.)

***umziehen***: alternately, “going around”, “gadding about”, or “making the rounds”, used to refer to mummers’ outdoor perambulations. I am grateful to Erika Strenski for pointing out that this word — particularly the root verb, *ziehen* — carries associations of travelling people like the *Roma* (as they have frequently been perceived in European societies, not as they actually are), vagabonds, beggars, and travelling players: troublesome, but often colorful and entertaining characters. She felt this was significant, as the use of this term conveys an association of mummers and their activities with such liminal and socially marginal people.

***Unfug treiben***: to fool around, engage in mischief or horseplay.

***Wesen***: “character”, “spirit”, “entity”, “creature”, or “essence”; commonly used to describe non-human folk-figures portrayed by mummers.

### **General Notes on Translation**

The reader will note that in German, the name “*Krampus*” is typically rendered with a definite or indefinite article (*der/ein Krampus*), whether referring to the folk-figure or a mummer portraying him, as exemplified by the phrase, “*Grüße vom Krampus*” (“Greetings from the *Krampus*”). Likewise, “*die/eine Percht*” can refer to either a mummer or the folk-figure herself, whereas the proper name “(Frau) *Perchta*” is used for the folk-figure only, except when the mummer is representing *Perchta* herself rather than a generic “*Percht*” (see, for example, the double-faced masks discussed in 7.2.3). I have sought to preserve the German usage here, rendering “*die Percht/Perchten*” and “*der Krampus/Krampusse*” in

italics for the mummers and referring to the folk-figures as “the *Krampus*” (italicized) and “(Frau) Perchta” (unitalicized).<sup>7</sup>

The names of *Perchten* and *Krampus* group names and place names will be left unitalicized to distinguish between the proper nouns and generic references; for instance, “Gasteiner Perchten” refers to the organized mumming group, whereas “Gastein *Perchten*” would refer to Gastein-area *Perchten* in general. In addition, regional variations yield numerous cognate forms of Perchta, such as Berchte or Perht, which appear in citations throughout. There are so many alternative spellings that it would be cumbersome to demarcate each as such with the [sic] indicator. However, they do not differ enough to cause confusion, so I have left them as they are. Finally, I have opted to leave certain terms in German (after providing the English translation) in cases where they represent complex concepts essential to the meaning of the present text, and also in cases where translating into English near-equivalents would confuse or dilute the meaning (for instance, *Heimat*, *Rauhnächte*, and *Kinderschreck*).

My thanks to Markus Lessmann, Erika Strenski, Cynthia Dyre-Moellenhof, Silvia Lenglachner, and Sarina Stützer for their help navigating the intricacies of the German language (particularly local dialects) and suggestions regarding translation issues. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted in the body of the text or the bibliography. Any remaining errors or awkwardness of translation are entirely my own.

## Mumming Defined

In British folklore, the terms “guiser” and “guising” are used to denote masked performance of the type discussed here, in contrast to mumming, which generally indicates mummers’ plays specifically. In *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area* (2007), Terry Gunnell chooses the use the word “mumming” rather than “guising” or “masking” in debt to Halpert and Story’s groundbreaking work in this area, *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland* (1969).<sup>8</sup> The terms “mumming” and “mummer” also emerged as the preferred English term

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<sup>7</sup> The fact that Perchta and the *Krampus* are not human people adds to their liminal status between “persons” and “things”, which is reflected in the grammatical ambiguity indicated by the use of the definite article when referring to the folk-figures. This ambiguity is further reinforced by much of the historical source material and academic literature, which does not always make it clear whether it is referring to the folk-figure (the Perchta or *Krampus* of folk belief and legend) or a mummer portraying that figure.

<sup>8</sup> Terry Gunnell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 631-642 (30) in Terry Gunnell, ed., *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007); Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story, eds., *Christmas*



in two important European conferences devoted to masks and mumming.<sup>9</sup> In keeping with these developments, I have chosen to use those terms as well. The more generic term “masking” is a tempting substitution, since it is perhaps more likely to be recognized internationally and outside of the academic circles dedicated to the study of the subject, but the term “mumming” has the important advantage of indicating not just the use of a mask, but specific modes and contexts of performance, as Gunnell describes:

It might be argued that mumming as an activity represents the second stage of theatre, following the mere donning of a mask. It is, in essence, the simplest form of theatre performance, a form of travelling “kitchen- or doorstep-theatre” which creates its own space wherever it manifests itself. As such, it immediately transforms the nature and rules of the day-to-day environment in which it occurs, instituting aspects of chaotic Bakhtinian “festival” and liminality into a “play” world that had previously been somewhat more stable.<sup>10</sup>

There does not appear to be a consensus in German academic writing on the subject. The verbs *sich ver mummen* (to cover one’s face, to wear a mask, to go mumming), *sich maskieren* (to mask oneself), and *sich verhüllen* (to cloak or veil oneself) are all used in this context, although the first of the three alludes not just to the act of disguising oneself, but the subsequent activities carried out in disguise. The nouns *Mummerei* and better yet, *Vermummung* are used for “mummery” or “mumming”. (One would also expect to encounter *Mummenschanz*, which means “masquerade” or “disguise”, but it has not surfaced in this context to my knowledge.)

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*Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969).

<sup>9</sup> These conferences both published their proceedings: *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell and based on the ‘Nordic Masks and Mumming’ conference held in Turku, Finland in 2002, and *Border-Crossing: Mumming in Cross-Border and Cross-Community Contexts: Proceedings of a Conference held at the Academy of Irish Cultural Heritages, University of Ulster, Derry, 9-13 June 2003* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 2007), ed. by Anthony D. Buckley et al, based on the corresponding conference held in Derry, Northern Ireland in 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Gunnell, ‘Introduction’, p. 30. To this we could add “travelling theatre”, the term used by Kristín Einarsdóttir to describe Icelandic Ash Wednesday mumming (‘Ash Bags in the Country, Costumes in Town: Ash Wednesday Traditions in Iceland Past and Present’ in *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 631-642 (641)).

## A Note on the Video Appendix

Enclosed is a video appendix on DVD, to which the reader can refer to see footage of seven of the performances discussed in the thesis:

- V1: the Salzburger Rupertiperchten and Salzburger Schiachpercht'n *Rauhnachtslauf* (*Perchten* play and *Freilauf* at the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*);
- V2: the Schärddinger *Perchtenlauf* with the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, Burghauer Burgperchten and Sigharter Schlossteufeln in Schärdding, Upper Austria;
- V3: *Perchtentreffen* (*Perchtenlauf*) with multiple groups at the Pullman City Wild West theme park in Eging am See near Passau in Bavaria;
- V4: the Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe's Nikolaus play and *Freilauf* in Bad Mitterndorf, Styria;
- V5: the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n's *Perchtenlauf* in Traun, Upper Austria;
- V6: the Broad Pass's *Perchten* dance at the Innsbruck Christmas market; and
- V7: the Pfarrwerfener *Perchtenlauf* with multiple groups in Pfarrwerfen, Salzburg.

Depicted therein are a variety of performance forms and settings, mask styles, and examples of performance choreography, which I hope will be especially useful in understanding the performance-encounter, described in depth in Chapter 11 and to a lesser extent in Chapter 10 in relation to age and gender.

Throughout, references to the video appendix will be indicated in parentheses with a number to indicate the performance depicted, corresponding to a DVD chapter: V1 for the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n *Rauhnachtslauf*, V6 for the Broad Pass *Perchten* dance, and so forth. In addition, time markers will be given to help the reader locate the specific example being referred to in the text. For example, (V1, 01:16-01:25) illustrates a common performance-encounter gesture, the playful snatching of a cap off of a spectator's head.

# 1. CONTEMPORARY *PERCHTEN* AND *KRAMPUSSE*: AN INTRODUCTION

Franz Grieshofer commented in 1992 that ‘*Erleben wir gerade die “Verperchtung” Österreichs. Kaum ein Ort im Land Salzburg ohne neue “Perchten(Krampus)paß”* [Right now we are experiencing the “*Verperchtung*” [“Perchtenization”] of Austria. [There is] hardly a place in the countryside of Salzburg without a new *Percht* (*Krampus*) group]’.<sup>11</sup> The past forty-odd years<sup>12</sup> have seen a tremendous increase in interest in two midwinter mumming traditions native to Austria and Bavaria: those of the *Perchten* and the *Krampusse* who accompany St. Nikolaus. These traditions consist of paradramatic folk performances using masks — in a word, mumming. This chapter will introduce the first of the research questions governing this work: What are the manifestations of *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions in evidence today? To answer that question, we will begin with some basic definitions and examine the similarities and differences between these two traditions, followed by an overview of key developments and shared characteristics, a list of common performance types and settings, and a summary of the chapters ahead. First, however, we shall look at the environment in which the *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions developed and continue to flourish.

## 1.1 Overview of the People and Place

*Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming can be categorized as Austro-Bavarian, as it is found today in all Austrian states but Vienna, where the nation’s capital is located, and throughout the southernmost German state of Bavaria, which borders the Austrian states of Upper Austria, Salzburg, and Tyrol as well as the Italian state of South Tyrol, which has been part

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<sup>11</sup> Franz Grieshofer, ‘Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinunformen in Österreich’ in *Der Weg als Ziel. Ausgewählte Schriften zur Volkskunde (1975-2005). Festgabe zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Margot Schindler with Dagmar Butterweck, Monika Habersohn, and Hermann Hummer (Wien: Verein für Volkskunde, 2006), pp. 227-243 (228-229).

<sup>12</sup> The contemporary era of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming as defined in this study refers to the renaissance of interest from 1970 to the present day, which began at the onset of the Digital Age and accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s. Harald Dengg, for instance, dates the proliferation of new masks in the hybridized “*Schiachteufelpercht*” style to the period from 1972 to 1992 (‘Die Salzburger Krampus- und Perchtengruppen in ihrem gegenwärtigen Erscheinungsbild’ in *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposium/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992*, ed. by Ernestine Hutter (Salzburg: [Landesverband] Salzburger Volkskultur, 1992), pp. 83-96 (83-84)).

of Italy (the northern half of the Trentino-Alto Adige region) since 1918, but still maintains a strong sense of Austrian cultural identity (Map 1). To this day, these traditions are largely embedded in the shared history and culture of the Austro-Bavarian Alps from whence they sprang. Gaining familiarity with this greater socio-cultural context will help to illuminate the contemporary manifestations of these traditions in the chapters ahead.

While contemporary organized groups (*Paßen*) occasionally include children and female members, most *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are (and historically have been) men in their mid-to-late teens, twenties, and thirties. Longer-established groups tend to include a fair number of older members, particularly the groups' leaders and founding members, many of whom are in their forties and fifties. The increasingly older demographic makes sense when one considers that many of the contemporary groups were founded in the 1970s, which, as Grieshofer notes above, saw an explosion of interest in these traditions, and picked up speed in the following decade, coinciding with the onset of the Information Age: the contemporary era of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, which is the focus of this study.

The geographical distribution of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* is considerable (see Map 1). Whereas *Perchten* have historically been a mostly rural phenomenon, *Krampusse* have always been urban as well as rural, found everywhere *Perchten* are as well as in Vienna (Map 1). (North of Bavaria, St. Nikolaus is either accompanied by the similar Knecht Ruprecht or appears alone (5.1).) Above all, these are Alpine traditions, shaped by the geography of their historical strongholds: Salzburg, Tyrol, Carinthia, and Bavaria. These are heavily forested Alpine and sub-Alpine areas, many of which were quite geographically isolated before the coming of the railroads, and some are still only accessible with difficulty in the winter months. Accordingly, they have historically depended on forestry and farming in the valleys for their sustenance, supplemented by a robust hunting culture. Consequently, they have been shaped by the skills required for living in those environments as well as commonly available materials, such as wood-carving, hide-tanning and taxidermy.

Bavaria's population is nearly 12.5 million people,<sup>13</sup> more than the whole of Austria, which is home to roughly 8.5 million as of 2013.<sup>14</sup> Today most of their combined wealth and industry is concentrated in the cities, whereas the rural areas where these

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<sup>13</sup> One World: Nations Online, 'Bayern', <<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/Germany/bayern.htm>>, 1998-2015, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Statistik Austria (Austrian Press & Information Service, Embassy of Austria, Washington), 'Facts & Figures: Population', <<http://www.austria.org/population/>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

traditions are embedded still rely on a predominantly agrarian economy.<sup>15</sup> Tourism (Alpine hiking in the summer and skiing in the winter) is the other main industry in the countryside, generating 10% of the nation's GDP and growing fast.<sup>16</sup> Historically, many *Perchten* and *Krampusse* were itinerant farm laborers who journeyed from farm to farm in search of seasonal work, requiring them to supplement their income with winter mumming *quêtes* (4.5.2). Today mummers are found in both urban and rural areas and work in a range of occupations, although they are primarily still working-class, having trained as apprentices in their vocations since the age of fourteen. (Middle-class participants in white-collar jobs are far more common than they were a century ago, although upper-middle class backgrounds and university education is still relatively rare.) They commonly speak a variety of Austro-Bavarian dialects, though they are more likely to write in the standard High German used in media, institutions, and education. Accompanying dialect use is a preference for the informal “*du*” form of address, which I was constantly encouraged to use; as a Styrian woman once told me, the formal “*Sie*” is reserved for the priest.

Germany and Austria are both parliamentary representative democracies. Their rural areas tend to be more politically and socially conservative than the cities, particularly their respective capitals, Vienna and Munich, and far more than northern Germany overall. Globalization and immigration are bones of contention. From 2003 to 2009, when I was conducting my fieldwork, the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria) and the center-right CSU (Christian Social Union of Bavaria) were in power. (Since then, right-wing political movements have been on the increase in Austria and Germany; for the ramifications of this for *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, see 8.5.) On the whole, Austria and Bavaria are at least nominally Roman Catholic, the result of the Counter-Reformation's success in those areas (1545-1563). Therefore, while most of our mummers, if not observant, might still be considered “cultural Catholics” insofar as Catholicism has historically been, and to a lesser extent continues to be, the majority religion and force shaping cultural life there, *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming certainly developed in a Catholic culture and should be understood in that context.

Bavaria and Austria have a long-intertwined history. Following its settlement by Celts c. 800 BCE and Romans at the end of the first century BCE, Austria became a dominant power in the Middle Ages under the Hapsburg monarchy established in 1278. The Hapsburg dynasty dominated Europe for over 500 years, eventually growing into the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, ‘Facts & Figures: Economy’, <[http://www.statistik.at/web\\_en/statistics/Economy/tourism/index.html](http://www.statistik.at/web_en/statistics/Economy/tourism/index.html)>, 2015, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Travel Information Center (Austrian Tourist Office), ‘Trade & Industry’, <<http://www.austria.info/us/basic-facts/about-austria/trade-industry>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

Austrian Empire (from 1804 to 1867) and then the Austro-Hungarian Empire (from 1867 until its demise in 1918). Bavaria was a powerful entity in its own right, one of many independent duchies and kingdoms making up what is now Germany. Over the centuries, Bavaria's borders fluctuated to include parts of Bohemia, Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Bavaria, Styria, and Carinthia, and shares a history as well as dialect and cultural identity with Salzburg in particular. Founded from the remains of the Roman city of Juvavum c. 700 by St. Rupert<sup>17</sup> under the authority of Theodo of Bavaria, Salzburg remained connected to Bavaria as a prince-bishopric of the Holy Roman Empire until the fourteenth century. The Protestant Reformation (1517-1521) spurred centuries of religious and political conflict, with the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) bringing devastation to these territories, especially the German countryside, and the Counter-Reformation (1545–1563) reclaiming Bavaria and Austria for Catholicism. Bavaria joined with Prussia in 1870 to form the German Empire, and the Hapsburg Empire dissolved in 1918 at the end of World War I. As part of the Third Reich's attempt to absorb all of "Teutonic" Europe, Austria was annexed in 1938, and remained under Nazi control until the Second World War ended in 1945. In the post-war division of Germany, Bavaria was claimed by the western-controlled Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to 1989 (Bavaria's eastern border separated East and West Germany). Post-war reconstruction brought an era of relative peace and prosperity, which accelerated amid the social reforms of Austria's 1970s Kriesky era, setting the stage for the renaissance of interest in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming.<sup>18</sup> Most recently, Germany has become a (if not the) dominant power in the European Union, which it co-founded in 1993, joined by Austria in 1995.

## 1.2 *Perchten* Defined

As noted in 1.1, the *Perchten* are masked folk-performers found today throughout most of Austria, Bavaria, and Italian South Tyrol. In previous centuries, *Perchten* and similar figures were spread throughout the territories of the former Hapsburg Empire: present-day Slovakia, Slovenia, Alsace, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.<sup>19</sup> It is still a predominantly rural Alpine tradition, though its presence has increased in cities such as Salzburg,

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<sup>17</sup> These regional associations surface in some group names, such as the Salzburger Rupertiperchten and Juvavum Pass, both based in the city of Salzburg, and the Bavarian Ruperti-Perchten e. V. Ainring, all discussed in this study.

<sup>18</sup> Dengg, pp. 83-84.

<sup>19</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, pp. 31, 33.

Innsbruck, and Munich. The first definite recorded references to *Perchten* mummers date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when their outdoor perambulations, dances, and house visits were considered nuisances and even criminalized.<sup>20</sup> The nineteenth century saw many accounts of more or less welcome house visits,<sup>21</sup> and today *Perchten* usually appear in public processions, sometimes culminating in a static performance such as a dance or play.

The *Perchten* are named after the otherworldly female folk-figure known as Frau Perchta,<sup>22</sup> or *die Percht* (the *Percht*), which is also the singular form of *Perchten*. Her folklore encompasses folktales, verbal warnings to children, and seasonally-based folk belief and practices, such as the leaving of food offerings. The Perchta of folktales and *Perchten* mummers both appear during the Twelve Nights of Christmas (*die Zwölften*), particularly on January 5, the eve of Epiphany, also known as *Perchttag* (*Percht* Day). Perchta emerged in the Middle Ages as a *Kinderschreck* (child-frightener) enforcing the work and fasting dictates with which the Church circumscribed the holy days of Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany, known in folk parlance as the *Rauhnächte* (the “Wild Nights”). She was also an instrument of socialization, instilling good behavior in children (obedience, diligence, piety) through the testing of character and consequent rewards or punishments, a function also served by the *Krampus* and Nikolaus, as we shall see in 1.3. The punishment of gastrotomy — slitting open victims’ bellies and stuffing the cavity with refuse — was enacted by house-visiting *Perchten* during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sometimes dramatically, the constellation of legends, folk belief, mumming, and other practices revolving around Perchta displays the interplay of opposites, commonly described as her *Doppelaspekt* (dual aspect): one face is bright, beautiful, and clement, while the other is dark, deadly, and terrifying. Today, *Perchten* are greatly inspired by Perchta’s *Doppelaspekt*, which is usually interpreted in terms of the cycles of nature: day and night, sun and moon, summer and winter, life and death. There are both “beautiful” (*Schönperchten*) and “ugly” *Perchten* (*Schiachperchten*), corresponding to her two faces, but the most common type are presently those *Schiachperchten* who are often indistinguishable from *Krampusse* in appearance and behavior. Like *Krampusse*, they wear suits of goatskins or sheep pelts, enormous bells strapped to their belts, and grotesque

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<sup>20</sup> Hans Schuhloden, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Grundlagen zur Analyse heutigen Traditionsverständnisses’ in *Bayerische Hefte für Volkskunde* (1983-1984), 1-29.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Friedrich Panzer, *Bayerische Sagen und Bräuche: Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, 2 vols (vols 1, 2) (München: Christian Kaiser, 1848).

<sup>22</sup> While she is sometimes referred to as Frau (Lady) Perchta, for the sake of simplicity I will refer to her here as Perchta or by cognate names such as Berchte, which are consistent with regional variations and cited sources.

wooden “devil” masks, elaborately carved and featuring horns, protruding tongues, and fangs. They carry switches (either horse tails, cow tails, or bundles of twigs) with which to whip spectators, singling out young women and boys for special attention. *Perchten* occasionally appear in the company of Frau Perchta herself, leading the way in her double-faced mask. While “*Perchten*” is sometimes used as a generic term for folk-masks, most often it refers to these figures, who, like *Krampusse*, tend to be organized in groups of young men who maintain a strong social bond with each other and their community, often displaying regional pride and “local flavor” in their group name, aesthetic and ethos.

### 1.3 *Krampusse* Defined

The popularity of the *Krampusse*, which today exceeds that of the *Perchten*, is likewise rooted in modern motivations and social contexts and its evergreen potential to thrill and inspire. Nikolaus and the *Krampusse* inhabit an even wider area than *Perchten* today, appearing all throughout rural and urban Austria and in the southernmost German state of Bavaria. *Krampusse* generally appear on and around December 5 and 6, the latter being the feast day of St. Nikolaus, although their performance dates can range from late November to late December. *Krampusse* is the plural form of the *Krampus*, the rough, dark, hairy devil figure who accompanies St. Nikolaus in processions (often at Christmas markets) and Nikolaus plays (*Nikolospiele*) as well as on visits to homes and schools, where they perform what I shall term here the catechism-interrogation, an instrument of socialization occupying a central position in children’s culture. In this paradrama, Nikolaus tests the character of children, traditionally their knowledge of the catechism, rewarding or punishing them accordingly. Rewards take the form of sweets distributed by Nikolaus or an accompanying figure, either a basket-carrier (the *Korblträger*, dressed as a bearded old man in *Trachten*) or an angel (*Engel*), a girl generally ranging from eight to eighteen.

Punishments for naughty children (historically consisting of a whipping with a birch switch) are delegated to one or more *Krampusse*. One *Krampus* will sometimes wear a large basket strapped to his back, implying abduction and a one-way trip to Hell. During the catechism-interrogation (10.2.1), the *Krampusse*, clad in fur and bells and sporting grotesque, horned wooden masks, punctuate the saint’s stern questioning by roaring and brandishing their switches, restless and ready to make good on their threats once Nikolaus gives the word, seemingly barely constrained by his authority.

While this paradrama of rewards and punishments is focused on children, an adult equivalent may be found in the Nikolaus play (5.6). The play incorporates comic elements with a strain of serious moral instruction, combining Nikolaus’s admonishments to live



piously with capering devils illustrating the wages of sin. Performed in inns and private homes in Tyrol, Bavaria, and Styria, the Nikolaus play rose to popularity during the Baroque era, and is still performed in the Styrian Ausserland region.<sup>23</sup>

Nikolaus and *Krampusse* continue to be extremely popular despite some concerns about violence towards children. While the ritualized exchange of the catechism-interrogation still takes place in the form of house visits, Nikolaus and *Krampusse* are most often encountered in public settings today, processing through town squares and Christmas markets. Nikolaus himself is not always present, having been somewhat eclipsed in popularity by his far more entertaining subordinate. Even if one manages to avoid them in person, both Nikolaus and *Krampus* are inescapable this time of year, appearing in political cartoons, supermarkets (which sell chocolates mass-produced in their image), and shop window displays selling everything from luggage to lingerie.

#### **1.4 Distinctions between *Perchten* and *Krampusse***

This study explores the contemporary manifestations of both *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, as these traditions are intertwined historically and currently in many ways (enumerated in 1.5). Despite their shared characteristics, however, they remain distinct traditions, and the frequent blurring of the lines between them in evidence today is a source of chagrin for many *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, who maintain that despite similar or even identical appearances, these traditions derive from entirely different sources and perform different functions.

Although in practice there is some overlap, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are associated with different calendar dates. *Krampusse* appear in early Advent, accompanying St. Nikolaus on his feast day (December 6) and its eve. *Perchten*, on the other hand, are especially associated with Epiphany (January 6), popularly known as *Dreikönig* (Three Kings) in Austria and Bavaria and formerly referred to as *Perchttag* (*Percht* Day), though they may appear all throughout the *Rauhnächte* (“Wild Nights” or “Rough Nights”), a series of spiritually potent Catholic feast days spanning Advent, Christmas and Epiphany.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*.

<sup>24</sup> The *Rauhnächte* are a liminal, delicate, period when dangerous otherworldly forces overlap with the human, Christian world, thus requiring precise, morally circumspect behavior in order to attract and preserve good fortune. Definitions vary as to which dates are included in the *Rauhnächte*. They always encompass the *Zwölften* (the Twelve Nights of Christmas), the most important of which are the eve and day of Christmas (*Heilige Abend* and *Weihnacht*), the feast days of saints Stefan (December 26) and Silvester (January 1), and Epiphany, but they may also include some Advent feast days, namely those of St. Barbara (December 4), St. Thomas (December 21, the winter solstice), and occasionally St. Lucia (December 13). The *Rauhnächte* are observed to this day by

Different motivations and interpretations for their seemingly identical appearance and behavior are ascribed to these respective dates. Both *Perchten* and *Krampusse* assail people with *Ruten* (switches) made of birch twigs or the tails of horses or cows, for instance, but the whippings are accorded a different significance: punishments for moral failure when performed by *Krampusse* and the blessing of fertility and protection when performed by *Perchten*.

This follows from the fact that the nature and origins of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are popularly assumed to be different; they are interpreted as essentially pagan and Christian, respectively. The Christian origins of St. Nikolaus (his folk accretions notwithstanding, he is understood to be the fourth-century bishop of Myra, whose feast day is December 6) and the *Krampusse* (Christian devils roped into service by the powerful saint) are not difficult to discern. The paradramatic play of the catechism-interrogation revolves around human morality as navigated on an individual basis — the small virtues and foibles of everyday life, particularly those of children. Taking responsibility for small concerns like not saying one's prayers before bed are practice, as it were, for the greater moral challenges of adult life.

In contrast, *Perchten* are thought to be concerned with the welfare of the earth on a greater, more impersonal scale. Thanks to the lingering popularity of interpretations advanced by scholars from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries (3.1), *Perchten* are commonly regarded as personifications of the forces of nature or representations of good and evil, although the latter alludes to a more impersonal, abstract moral battle than that found in the Nikolaus and *Krampus* tradition on the individual level. Where *Perchten* are regarded as personifications of nature, itself amoral and implacable, Perchta's dual nature asserts itself in the form of an implied or enacted combat between the *schön*, representing springtime, warmth, fertility and good fortune, and the *schiach*, representing winter, cold, and blight, often described as *Winterdämonen* (winter demons). (Already we see how readily a supposedly impersonal model based on natural forces assumes a quasi-moral character.) In these cases, the aim is cosmic balance rather than moral judgement, a critical distinction between *Perchten* and *Krampusse*.

Perchta and the *Krampus*/Nikolaus dyad share this binary quality. The polarities of reward and punishment, order and chaos, piety and savagery are embodied by the pairing of saintly Nikolaus and devilish *Krampus* as well as by the dual nature of Perchta, who reveals one face or the other depending on the conduct of those who encounter her. As mentioned

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censing houses and barns with *Weihrauch* (frankincense) and inscribing front doors with the initials of the Three Kings (C+M+B for Caspar, Melchior and Balthazar) in chalk.

in 1.1, *Perchten* are divided into two main categories: *schlach* (an Austrian slang adjective for dreadful, ugly, hideous) and *schön* (beautiful). This binary division of *schlach* and *schön* corresponds to what *Perchten* commonly refer to as Perchta's *Doppelaspekt*. In the extensive body of folklore associated with her, it is reflected in the interplay of such oppositions as life/death, clement/wrathful, rewarding/punishing, and bright/dark in the natural world, particularly in the human life cycle and seasonal round.

Nikolaus and *Krampus* also represent opposite ends of a spectrum; as saint and devil, they embody order and chaos, piety and sin, Heaven and Hell respectively. They differ from Perchta in that they essentially divide the labor, splitting the contrasting characteristics and duties into two figures, polar opposites who nonetheless work together to achieve a single goal. Today, however, *Krampusse* and *Perchten* tend to resemble each other in both appearance and behavior, a matter of some controversy for the mummers themselves as well as society at large.

## 1.5 Shared Characteristics

While the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are distinct traditions (or rather, bodies of tradition with numerous regional variants), they will be examined in tandem in this thesis, as they are intertwined both historically and currently and share many elements. Indeed, the fact of these many commonalities constitutes a central point of focus in itself. These shared characteristics include the following:

### 1.5.1 Testing Grounds for Notions of Continuity, Tradition, and Authenticity

Contemporary manifestations of these traditions reveal many intersections between “popular” and “folk” culture as well as the interplay of academic and popular discourses surrounding the nature of continuity, authenticity and tradition. These intersecting issues stem from the second half of the nineteenth century, when *Perchten* mumming was recast in the form of display customs and revivals (or invented traditions,<sup>25</sup> as the case may be). In this period, folk customs were regarded as ancient cultural relics surviving in fragmented form, which could be salvaged, reassembled like puzzle pieces, and brought back from extinction via *Wiederbelebungen* (revivals). Where such traditions were construed as being part of an unbroken line stretching back into antiquity (the notion of continuity), they were regarded as being authentic; where claims of continuity were deemed false, the traditions

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<sup>25</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

were devaluated as being inauthentic. Moser introduced the concept of *Folklorismus* (folklorism) into the discourse in 1964<sup>26</sup> to describe the latter, stressing the importance of distinguishing between established, authentic tradition and inauthentic simulations of it (see Appendix H2). The products of folklorism (or “fakelore”, to use Richard Dorson’s term)<sup>27</sup> are misrepresented as authentic folklore, due to either ignorance or fraudulence in pursuit of profit (to generate tourism revenue, for instance). Bendix defines folklorism as ‘folklore [...] out of context, folklore which has been altered or even invented for specific purposes’,<sup>28</sup> and Bausinger summarizes it tartly: ‘Characteristic of folklorism are the do-just-as-if, the conjuring up of new expressions for ancient forms, the stamp of tradition even among regressive forms, the artificial patina, and the presumption of wholeness and originality’.<sup>29</sup>

Continuity-based interpretations of the origins and meaning of folk customs advanced in academic and popular publications became accepted as common knowledge as they were recycled and continued to circulate within the culture, the phenomenon Moser describes as *Rücklauf* (“flowback” or “feedback”).<sup>30</sup> Some of these interpretations, such as Perchta’s *Doppelaspekt*, are widely accepted by performers, embellished upon and incorporated into their own creative process, providing the impetus for the genesis of new folklore in turn. While such adaptations and inventions are often criticized as signs of corruption and inauthenticity, they offer critical insights into the nature of tradition as adaptive, syncretic, and constantly in flux rather than fixed like a fly trapped in amber. Examination of mummers’ creative process and their views on revival and innovation (see Chapters 6 and 7) reveals tradition to be a process of constant regeneration, like a snake shedding its skin.

### **1.5.2 The Juxtaposition of Antiquity and Modernity**

In accordance with their liminal nature, both *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions reflect various juxtapositions of apparent opposites, such as ancient/modern, traditional/non-traditional, private/public, and insider/outsider. As exemplified by their use of the internet, contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* tend to embrace these juxtapositions rather than

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<sup>26</sup> Moser, ‘Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde’.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

<sup>28</sup> Bendix, ‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Bausinger, ‘Towards a Critique of Folklorism Criticism’, pp. 121-122.

<sup>30</sup> Moser, ‘Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde’.

seeing them as mutually exclusive. With some exceptions, these apparent paradoxes are not necessarily viewed as indicative of corruption, exploitation, or a misreading of Alpine culture by outsiders. Performers express both respect for the antiquity of the tradition with its conventional forms and functions (the mask-carver's art and the importance of introducing children to their cultural heritage) and an appreciation of modern technology and aesthetic sensibilities, which they fuse with creative vitality and ingenuity. Indeed, new methods and materials are often pressed into the service of the old. Incorporating a juxtaposition of elements regarded by participants and spectators as ancient and modern (heavy metal music and fireworks alongside animal pelts and birch switches), their performances provide a rich arena in which many intersections between "popular" and "folk" culture are in evidence and cultural conceptions of continuity, tradition and authenticity are debated and explored.

### **1.5.3 Stewardship of Cultural Heritage and Issues of Authority**

The question of who can claim ownership of cultural heritage surfaces in debates over authenticity and orthodoxy, and what constitutes the correct interpretations and representations of these traditions. They were reshaped as display customs, professionalized, and curated by interested outsiders in the nineteenth century<sup>31</sup> and still show the influence of those pedagogues, researchers, tourism offices and mask collectors, but one would be mistaken to assume this means that the presentation of these traditions is out of the performers' hands. While still bearing the hallmarks of their display custom history, *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances are markedly self-directed by their performers, who promote, document, and define them on their own terms. In the hands of the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* themselves, tradition emerges as an active process and collaborative artwork rather than a fixed commodity with boundaries which can be defined and navigated by outside observers.

### **1.5.4 Continuing Cultural Relevance**

Both *Krampusse* (with and without Nikolaus) and *Perchten* can attract crowds numbering in the thousands, which is especially striking considering how many similar mumming traditions across Europe have died out or diminished greatly in distribution and popularity. By contrast, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* attract Austrians and Bavarians of all ages, genders, and social classes, tourists and locals alike, particularly in smaller cities and villages, where

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<sup>31</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' in *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposion/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992*, ed. by Ernestine Hutter (Salzburg: [Landesverband] Salzburger Volkskultur, 1992), pp. 22-48 (27-31).

attendance may express community spirit as much or more than interest in the mumming per se.

The enduring and seemingly increasing socio-cultural relevance of these traditions to Austrians and Bavarians is thus borne out by the crowds, but also by the number of mumming groups proliferating in the past forty-odd years and continuing to be formed today. Furthermore, examination of these traditions suggests that they have persevered for centuries precisely because of their ability to change with the times. Their capacity to absorb and reflect socio-cultural changes is evident, for example, in the evolving personality of *Krampus*, whose representations have shifted from sour to sweet in order to stay relevant and child-friendly in keeping with changing attitudes towards *Erziehung*, the proper raising of children (10.2.4).

Finally, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* have remained relevant to people of all ages by collectively reimagining the traditions of their elders and making them their own. In addition to the unprecedented level of communication between groups from different regions, performers have benefitted in other ways from embracing modernity, making clever (and realistic) use of resources now available to them, such as the promotional and educational opportunities afforded by collaboration with the tourist industry and internet technology.

### **1.5.5 The Incorporation of New Technologies**

The incorporation of digital technology, particularly the internet, into performance, education, communication, and self-promotion is a ubiquitous feature of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming today. The internet is probably the development with the most overarching importance, as it touches nearly every facet of these traditions, facilitating collaborations between performers, the tourist industry, and the community at large. Online forums, group websites, and Facebook pages allow *Perchten* and *Krampusse* to contribute to the circulation of influences, interpretations, and values, using these resources to arrange large-scale performances with other groups, buy and sell used equipment, and publicize their upcoming appearances. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* adhering to the modern aesthetic employ special effects such as dry ice, pyrotechnics, and blinking laser eyes affixed to masks. Group websites and Facebook pages also serve as public chronicles of the group's history, to publicize upcoming performances, network in Facebook timelines and guest book comments, offer interpretations of the tradition, and express their group ethos and aesthetic by way of evocative photo galleries, video clips, and animated gifs of flames and devils.

### 1.5.6 Popularity, Tourism, and Self-Promotion

Active self-promotion and publicity efforts, which primarily utilize the internet, are coordinated jointly between mumming groups as well as with the tourist industry. Tourism plays a central role for both “modern” and “traditional” groups alike, and has been wedded to them since the late nineteenth century, which saw the general revaluation of folk culture and its material artifacts (such as masks) as aesthetically and monetarily valuable. The rise of Alpine tourism was a concurrent development, and the arrival of relatively well-to-do urbanites seeking entertainment fostered the reshaping of mumming customs into formalized displays, spectacles performed for large audiences.

While some passive tradition-bearers<sup>32</sup> regard the perceived accommodation of tourists’ demands and other commercial concerns as an unwelcome intrusion into the cultural purity of folklife, a sign of encroaching corruption, the views of the performers themselves tend to be more nuanced. Tourism revolving around skiing and other winter sports as well as the spas that have long attracted visitors is at the core of the local economies of many villages known for their showy traditions, such as the grand *Perchten* processions in Salzburg’s Pongau region (Map 3), and the strands are not easy to separate. Most significantly, many *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are creatively galvanized by touristic opportunities and welcome the exposure they bring; like the inhabitants of Interlaken, Switzerland discussed by Regina Bendix,<sup>33</sup> locals find ways to keep their traditions their own and reinforce their strong sense of regional pride and solidarity under the touristic gaze.

### 1.5.7 Aesthetic Evolution

These traditions are undergoing an ongoing aesthetic evolution characterized by the fusion of new and old imagery and technologies, particularly the fusion of “ancient” and “modern” elements in mask design, and fed by the influence of commercial mass culture (7.1) and recycled scholarly interpretations via the process of *Rücklauf* (7.2). *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks, still typically hand-carved from wood, painted, and inset with animal horns, fur, and fangs in the traditional style exemplified by the baroque folk masks in museum

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<sup>32</sup> The term “tradition-bearer” comes from Carl W. von Sydow, *Selected Papers on Folklore* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948), p. 12. Dan Ben-Amos points out that intrinsic to the notion of tradition-bearers is the centering of individuals rather than an anonymous, collective mass (the “folk”) as the authors of tradition (‘The Seven Strands of Tradition: Varieties in its Meaning in American Folklore Studies’, *Journal of Folklore Research*, 21:2 (May-Dec. 1984), 97-131 (p. 118)), a perspective shared by this study.

<sup>33</sup> Regina Bendix, ‘Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 102:404 (April-June 1989), 131-146.

collections,<sup>34</sup> now often appear to be influenced by a “pop-satanic” aesthetic — conventional devil imagery re-imagined through the lens of contemporary heavy metal culture, science-fiction/fantasy and horror films, and video games.

As we shall see in 7.1, this aesthetic is vigorously debated, both within the *Perchten* and *Krampus* communities and within the populace at large, generating questions about the nature of authenticity and tradition. Also controversial is the apparent “*Verschmelzen*” (melting together) of *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten* into a single “furry devil” mask and costume style, making it difficult to distinguish between them, a development which Harald Dengg dates to the late 1960s, when the renaissance of interest in these traditions led to the creation of new masks modelled on the Pongau *Schiachperchten* template.<sup>35</sup>

### **1.5.8 The Redefinition of Boundaries and Identity**

As political and socio-cultural boundaries shift, performers’ sense of identity (particularly their distinctions between insiders and outsiders) is being redefined, partly due to the internet, which facilitates an unprecedented level of communication between groups from different regions and has engendered a trend towards expansion and the apparent homogenization of these traditions in some respects. It would appear that for many mummers, identity rooted in local pride and interest in cross-border collaboration are not mutually exclusive in practice. As will be shown in 8.2, groups maintain a strong social bond with each other and their home communities, often reflected in their group name, aesthetic and ethos. The age of globalization has seen the expansion and dissolution of borders of all kinds — regional, socio-economic, and cultural — which defined communities in the past. Consequently, identity for *Perchten* and *Krampusse* initially appears to be something of a paradoxical construction, as it is forged in the space between regional identity and the growing popularity of these customs across regional and even national borders, engendered by tourism and internet exposure.

### **1.5.9 Rewards and Punishments**

As noted in 1.2 and 1.3, both traditions involve the dispensing of rewards and punishments by folk-figures embodying moral polarities, combined in one person in the case of Perchta and split into two in the case of Nikolaus and *Krampus*. This combination of rewards and

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<sup>34</sup> An excellent example is the SMCA’s collection, curated by Ernestine Hutter and described in her *Masken: Brauch und Mythos. Die Maskensammlung der Volkskundlichen Abteilung des SMCA*, Schriftenreihe zu Kunstgewerbe und Volkskunde, 13 (Salzburg: Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Dengg, pp. 83-84.



punishments is one of the paradoxes found in these traditions, exemplified by the gastrotoomy paradrama for *Perchten* (4.5.2) and the catechism-interrogation for Nikolaus and *Krampus* (10.2.1), both of which have historically served socialization aims.

#### **1.5.10 The Performance-Encounter**

While partly rooted in conventional display customs marked by a static division between performer and audience, most *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances consist of a kind of fluid, interactive ritual theater in which the partially improvised, partially scripted performances of masked figures and the responses of spectators shape one another. This stylized, semi-improvised dance of resistance and capitulation involves the fluid use of space and triggers a transition from passive to interactive experience as well as from scripted to improvised behavior. This type of paradramatic play-performance will be referred to henceforth as the performance-encounter (discussed in depth in Chapter 11) and characterizes some of the performance forms described in the following section, namely, the procession, the *Freilauf*, the *Krampuskränzchen*, the house visit, and the catechism-interrogation.

### **1.6 Performance Forms and Settings**

Contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances take a number of forms, including parades, the *Freilauf*, the house visit (*Einkehrbrauch*), the Nikolaus speech and catechism-interrogation, plays, dances, *Hellshows*, and *Krampuskränzchen* (*Krampus*-gathering). Mask exhibitions and group websites may be considered types of performance as well. These forms can overlap with one another and may occur in more than one type of setting. Settings consist of a range of public and private environments, some indoors and some outdoors, including private homes, town centers, Christmas markets, schools, rented halls, pubs, bars, nightclubs and restaurants. They vary in the degree of audience participation as well as in their choreography and staging, which may be stationary or processional.

Of the four categories of ‘encounter customs’<sup>36</sup> in customary drama outlined by Thomas Pettitt (exaction, interaction, demonstration and intervention), three are in evidence

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<sup>36</sup> Tom Pettitt, ‘Customary Drama: Social and Spatial Patterning in Traditional Encounters’, *Folk Music Journal*, 7:1 (1995), 27-42 (pp. 31-32). Pettitt uses the term “encounter customs” for a range of customs that can be classified loosely as forms of folk drama with an interactive aspect. Of encounter customs, he writes that ‘performance is [...] a deliberate, articulated encounter between two distinct and identifiable groups’ (ibid). He classes ‘the group initiating the encounter’ as ‘the “active” group’ and the recipients of the action as the “reactive” group’ (ibid). (For an application of the principle of active/reactive interaction to the performance-encounter, see 12.1.)

in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming. In Golling and the Pongau, for example, *Perchten* receive refreshments at the houses they visit, but this is not their *motivation per se*. Like many other *Perchten* groups, they interpret the custom as a luck-visit, which places them in Pettitt's intervention category, though it is important to point out that *Perchten* house visits were originally transactional; they offered a performance (conferring luck or blessing) in exchange for food, drink, or money, introducing 'exaction, to elicit money, provisions or refreshment' as well as 'intervention, for good or ill, beneficent or maleficent, in the condition of the hosts' as motivating factors. Both historically and today, *Perchten* and *Krampus* house visits also involve 'interaction, of a convivial or mischievous nature, with the persons or property of the hosts'.<sup>37</sup> Here Pettitt uses the terms "active" and "reactive" to refer to the performers and their hosts/spectators, respectively.<sup>38</sup>

A brief summary will now be given of these performance forms and settings, indicating their correspondence to the types of mumming outlined by Herbert Halpert<sup>39</sup> where appropriate.

### 1.6.1 The Procession

Processions known as *Perchtenläufe* (*Perchten*-runs) and *Krampusläufe* (*Krampus*-runs) have emerged as the dominant contemporary performance type, corresponding to Halpert's type 4b ('the Formal Outdoor Movement: the dance-procession or "running"'). While in most parades the *Perchten* jog or move theatrically, in others, such as those in Salzburg's Pongau valley, they process sedately, in which case they may be classed as 4c. ('the Formal Outdoor Movement: the formal procession').<sup>40</sup> These parades adhere to Pettitt's definition, except that the reactive group goes out of its way to be encountered by the active group.

Parades are generally staged in town centers (the *Dorfplatz*), the site of the old market square and church, but also in Christmas markets, which themselves tend to be situated in or around the town center. The prototypes for these are the formal, large-scale

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Pettitt identifies four spatial patterns in which encounter customs manifest, two of which pertain to the variants discussed here: 'The parade, in which the active group encounters the reactive by processing through its territory and, conversely [...] The house-visit, in which the active group approaches the residence of the reactive group' (ibid, p. 35).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 34. Italics his.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>39</sup> Herbert Halpert, 'A Typology of Mumming' in *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History*, ed. by Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969), pp. 34-61.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 36.

processions of the villages of Bischofshofen, St. Johann im Pongau, Gastein, and Altenmarkt in Salzburg (Figs. 14-23), which include various types of *Schiachperchten* (especially the horned, furry variety) and *Schönperchten* (these primarily consisting of men in towering, elaborately-adorned headdresses). Accompanying them are many auxiliary figures drawn from *Fastnacht*, such as the Hanswurst fool, and other seasonal traditions, such as the chimney sweeps who bring luck on New Year's Day (Fig. 21).

However, most of the processions in Austria and Bavaria today are described by passive and active tradition-bearers as “modern”, as they are structured like other contemporary parades and dominated by younger groups featuring the controversial pop-satanic aesthetic (7.1). These tend to involve three or more groups (a bigger procession to provide a bigger, better spectacle), and feature such trappings as heavy metal soundtracks, fireworks, and flames spitting from cauldrons dragged on chains along the ground. Both kinds are temporally and spatially circumscribed by planned pacing (groups wait their turn to enter to allow time for those before them) and a designated parade route, usually a central portion of the main street cordoned off by temporary fencing or ropes.

### **1.6.2 The Free Run (*Freilauf*)**

“*Freilauf*” is the term mummers sometimes use to describe a type of performance that involves unstructured (or relatively unstructured) movement, pacing, and use of space, exemplified by the *Klaubaife* of East Tyrol.<sup>41</sup> The *Freilauf*, which corresponds to Halpert's mumming type 3a (‘The Informal Outdoor Behavior: undirected wandering’),<sup>42</sup> is often an extension of the parade, which it typically follows, but could also refer to any unstructured, free-form outdoor movement. Found among both *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in the same settings as the parade, which it usually follows, the *Freilauf* is a departure from the temporal and spatial structure determined by the parade's pacing and route respectively. Mummers move freely around the space, mingling with the crowd, making use of environmental features to improvise, such as leaping off low walls and sneaking up behind people. They make the most of the opportunity to return to favorite victims, known and unknown, noted and perhaps engaged with fleetingly during the parade, initiating or developing the performance-encounter with them. Acting as individuals and free from the time and space constraints of more structured performance settings (such as parades and plays), mummers are thus able to further personalize and elaborate upon their performance ideas.

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<sup>41</sup> Koenig. For a recent account, see 11.2.2 and field notes, Appendix I4.

<sup>42</sup> Halpert, p. 36.

### 1.6.3 The House Visit (*Einkehrbrauch*)

The house visit, also called the *Einkehrbrauch* (literally, “stop custom” in the sense of “making a stop” or “stopping in” somewhere), is found among both *Perchten* and *Krampusse* historically, although today it is primarily the province of Nikolaus and one or more *Krampusse* or their cousins, the *Klaubaife* and *Buttnmandl* of East Tyrol and Bavaria, respectively. The house visit is the other encounter custom type represented here, and corresponds to Halpert’s type 1a (‘The Informal Visit: the house-visit’)<sup>43</sup> and typically takes place in the dining area adjacent to the kitchen in family hogastrmes (see Appendix E). In the case of Nikolaus and *Krampusse*, house visits usually consist of the catechism-interrogation, blessings, distribution of presents, sometimes with the aid of auxiliary figures such as the basket-carrier (*Korbelträger* or *Kraxenträger*) and one or more angels (*Engel*), switchings (usually cursory) from the *Krampusse* and other mischief, such as flirtation with female inhabitants, roaring, and minor tussling with the householders.

Up until roughly a century ago, house visits by *Perchten* mummers were widespread with many regional variants. These *Perchten* portrayed the folk-figure Perchta as she was known in the folktales and legends extant at the time: a terrifying *Kinderschreck*<sup>44</sup> who, like Nikolaus and *Krampus*, inspected households at midwinter, tested moral character, and dispensed rewards or punishments accordingly. Today only a few examples of this type of *Perchten* mumming survive: most famously, the *Schnabelperchten* of Rauris, Pinzgau in the state of Salzburg (close to the border between Salzburg and Tyrol; see Map 3) and the Styrian *Berigeln*. While a handful of *Perchten* groups (namely, the Pongau valley *Perchten*, the *Glöckler* of St. Gilgen and St. Wolfgang am See in the Salzburg Salzkammergut region, the Perschtenbund Soj of Kirchseeon, Bavaria, and the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana of Golling, Salzburg) still process door to door in their home communities, the number of figures, like the bulkiness of their costumes, does not permit them to enter for the most part, so their hosts typically come to the door to witness their performance and exchange blessings for the New Year.

### 1.6.4 The Leaving of Gifts (*Einlegenbrauch*)

While not a performance form in itself, a chief component of the Nikolaus and *Krampus* tradition incorporated into the catechism-interrogation is the practice of parents leaving gifts in children’s shoes on behalf of St. Nikolaus on his night (the *Einlegenbrauch*, analogous to the stocking-stuffing of Santa Claus). This custom constitutes a performance

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Widdowson, p. 1. He explores the use of such ‘figures of fear’ to spook children into the right behavior (ibid, pp. 4-5).

in that the gifts are symbolic, indicative of the judgment passed by Nikolaus on the recipients' behavior, just as Nikolaus and the *Krampus* reward children appropriately when they appear in person. Formerly, good behavior warranted nuts and fruits, whereas naughtiness might earn a lump of coal or a potato. Today, the gifts given represent both *Krampus* and Nikolaus, but typically all are sweet. *Lebkuchen* (a sweet, spiced bread or cookie), chocolate, and sweet, currant-studded bread in the shape of *Krampus* and Nikolaus are still popular, given to adults as well as children along with other seasonal ephemera, such as *Krampus*-themed greeting cards (which today may take the form of text messages) and miniature birch switches. The nineteenth-century custom of exchanging “*Grüße vom Krampus*” greeting cards on Nikolaus Day (5.7) continues in the form of SMS (text) messages sent by mobile phone, using devil-themed graphics (Fig. 9) and special ringtones downloaded from the internet (Figs. 101-102).<sup>45</sup>

### 1.6.5 The Catechism-Interrogation (*Katechese*)

The classic form of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* custom is the catechism-interrogation, which can be separated into three main parts: the Nikolaus speech (*Nikolauspredigt*), the catechism-interrogation (*Katechese*), and the administration of rewards or punishments. A form of Halpert's type 1b ('The Informal Visit: the visit by inquisitors'),<sup>46</sup> versions of this tripartite custom can be found in both private and public settings ranging from homes and schools<sup>47</sup> to outdoor Christmas markets.

It begins with a formal speech by Nikolaus in which he greets the hosts or assembled crowd, introduces himself, and describes his powers and legendary deeds, explaining the purpose and import of his visit and imparting a general blessing (V4, 07:23-07:50). This lays the groundwork for the catechism-interrogation, in which several elements may be combined. Nikolaus asks children questions drawn from their catechism and general religious education (saints' lore, for instance), asks them to recite a prayer or sing a hymn, and conducts a personalized, largely one-sided conversation with children about their behavior, citing examples from his Golden Book (provided beforehand by the parents) and

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<sup>45</sup> The Teling website offers *Krampus*-themed ringtones as apps (sms.at, 'Teling: Handyfun by SMS', <<http://teling.sms.at/klingeltoene-fun-sounds/various/schiache-gruesse-vom-krampus-i78721/>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 3, 2015). Greetings can be also be sent in the form of *Krampus*-themed animated gifs, such as those available at meingruess.at, 'Meingruess.at', <<http://www.meingruess.at/gruss41kramp.htm>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 3, 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Halpert, p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> For the school setting, see Karin Norman, 'Celebrating Nikolaus Day: Ideology and Emotion in a German Children's Ritual', *Ethnology: An International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology*, 32:4 (Fall 1993), 325-338. For the house visit form, see John J. Honigmann, 'The Masked Face', *Ethos*, 5:3 (Autumn 1977), 263-280.

chiding or complementing them as necessary on progress made or the lack thereof. The threatening presence of the *Krampus* or *Krampusse* pressures the children to stay focused and well-behaved throughout the interrogation. This phase concludes with the administration of rewards (bags of sweets) or punishments, which historically consisted of a switching, but today are usually stern verbal warnings, perhaps accompanied by the thwack of a switch on the table.

Versions modified for public and semi-public settings can also be found at Advent and Christmas markets in town centers, where people bring their children to meet Nikolaus, whose coming is publicized in advance. Nikolaus typically makes his speech from an elevated stage in front of the crowd, using a microphone for larger venues. Depending on the size of the crowd, the saint may question children individually or in small groups as to their behavior over the past year. The degree of familiarity mummies and children have with one another varies within and between these settings, which naturally determines the extent to which the encounter can be personalized. The saint's apparent knowledge of the child's misdeeds and foibles may be conveyed by parents having secretly passed him that information beforehand to put in his Golden Book, endowing him with eerie insight into the child's behavior over the past year. Gifts are dispensed to one and all in these public settings, while more personalized gifts, warnings, and the threat (if not actual administration) of punishments tend to be relegated to more intimate and leisurely house visits.

#### **1.6.6 The *Krampuskränzchen* (“*Krampus-Gathering*”)**

The *Krampuskränzchen* is, as the name suggests, a performance form employed by *Krampusse* (with or without Nikolaus) rather than *Perchten*, and is a public form of type 3a, the house-visit.<sup>48</sup> Situated in pubs, bars, cafes, restaurants, or nightclubs, where the management agrees to the visit but patrons may or may not be apprised in advance of their coming, the *Krampuskränzchen* resembles the *Freilauf* in that it requires a higher degree of improvisation than more structured performance forms as well as adaptation to the unique spatial configurations of these environments (see 11.3.2 and Figs. 46-54). These factors, combined with the patrons' widely varying foreknowledge and desire to participate, make the *Krampuskränzchen* a wonderfully rich, tense, demanding performance form for all involved. *Krampuskränzchen* may occur during the day and be attended by children, although most of them are nocturnal events in adult-only or at least adult-dominated environments.

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<sup>48</sup> Halpert, p. 36.

### 1.6.7 Dances and *Hellshows*

Dances (*Perchtentänze*) are the special province of *Perchten*, though relatively few groups perform them today. Several types of *Schönperchten*, who have existed in rural Salzburg in more or less the same form since the late nineteenth century, employ dance. The first of these is the *Tafelperchten* (“panel-*Perchten*”) of the Pongau *Perchtenläufe*, who periodically perform a brief dance during the procession, thus giving it its shape and pacing, and the second is the *Tresterer* of Pinzgau, Salzburg, another type of *Schönperchten*, who perform a “threshing” dance in broad-brimmed hats festooned with ribbons covering their faces. Dance is occasionally incorporated into the performances of more recently founded groups as well, such as the *Schiachperchten* of Tyrol, who are distinguished from other *Schiachperchten* by their enormous straw costumes and the incorporation of live music (xylophones, horns, and drums they wear around their necks). In Innsbruck in 2006, the Broad Pass stood in a ring playing their instruments while a hooded *Hexenmeister* (“witch master”) capered in the middle of the circle (V6, 24:45-24:58). Likewise, the *Perschtenbund* Soj of Kirchseeon, Bavaria also choreograph their own dances and write their own music.

Such performances are akin to the stationary performances sometimes seen among modern *Perchten* and *Krampusse* (particularly the latter), sometimes referred to as *Hellshows*, although they may not be designated with a particular name at all. Situated in a cleared, usually circular space in a central area where spectators can encircle the performers on most or all sides, the *Hellshow* format is essentially a stationary setting of the performances found in the parades, here oriented more towards display than interaction. The choreography typically involves extensive vamping, staggering around, gesturing to the crowd, play-fighting, and setting off pyrotechnics, also incorporated into parades. This stationary setting makes it possible for groups to showcase special effects and details of masks and costuming that can be difficult to see in the often dark, chaotic, and relatively fast-moving parade setting, where visibility is often compromised for performers and spectators alike, and provides an excellent alternative in environments like the Innsbruck Christmas market, where (unlike in Salzburg) the adjacent squares commandeered for the market are not made available for a procession or *Freilauf*.

### 1.6.8 The Nikolaus Play

While other performance forms contain paradramatic elements, there are also short scripted plays (Halpert’s type 2c, ‘The Visit with the Formal Performance: the folk play’),<sup>49</sup> chief among them the Nikolaus plays popularized during the Counter-Reformation in Styria,

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 36.

Bavaria, and Tyrol and still performed in the Styrian Ausseerland, particularly in Bad Mitterndorf and Tauplitz.<sup>50</sup> The test of character, judgment, and dispensing of rewards and punishments constituting the central paradramatic element of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* catechism-interrogation is also at the heart of the Nikolaus plays, in which the words of the saint are underscored by stamping, jangling devils. Rather than emphasizing the moral trajectory of the individual child, Nikolaus admonishes adults to repent before it is too late. These have inspired the creation of new plays by *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups formed over the past thirty to forty years, which may proceed more or less along the same lines as the older Nikolaus plays, such as the play performed by Juvavum Pass at *Tanz & Teufel* in Salzburg, 2006, which was followed by a *Freilauf*, as in Bad Mitterndorf. Likewise, there are new *Perchten* plays (*Perchtenspiele*), dramatizations of Perchta folklore centering around her *Doppelaspekt* as manifested in the cycle of seasons, life and death. These include the plays performed by the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n in Traun, Upper Austria in 2007 (see field notes, Appendix I9) and the Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana, whose *Perchten* play involves a combat between Winter (in furs and bells) and Spring (in ribbons and flowers).<sup>51</sup>

Finally, while my fieldwork subjects did not describe them as such, the following three categories may be counted as performance spaces as well: mask exhibitions, *Krampus* petting zoos, and group websites.

#### **1.6.9 Mask Exhibitions (*Maskenaustellungen*) and *Kinderkrampusstreichelzoos* (Children's *Krampus* Petting Zoos)**

Some *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups (typically those formed during the past thirty to forty years) schedule mask exhibitions, which may start as early as the last week of November. Several groups may collaborate on an exhibition, for which a hall is typically rented for a weekend. These family-friendly daytime exhibitions have proven to be an excellent way to publicize upcoming performances, educate the public about these traditions (mask-carving demonstrations are sometimes featured), and provide adults and children with the opportunity to examine the safely disembodied costumes and masks at their leisure. The display often incorporates staging reminiscent of that used in other settings: masks, costumes, and props are displayed on mannequins, hung from wooden trellises, or mounted on tree stumps and often adorned with evergreen boughs. Banners from sponsors and signs

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<sup>50</sup> See Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes* and Anton Schlossar, 'Ein St. Nikolausspiel aus Steiermark', *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 1 (1889), 349-354.

<sup>51</sup> Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana (Anni and Robert Faller, Elisabeth Rainer), personal interview, Golling, Salzburg, Jan. 3, 2007.



bearing the groups' names are displayed alongside their gear, and members are generally available to answer questions and socialize.

Similar to the mask exhibitions are the *Kinderkrampusstreichelzoos* (children's *Krampus* petting zoos),<sup>52</sup> daytime events designed to alleviate children's fears and prepare them for nighttime performances by allowing them to examine *Krampus* masks in safe surroundings and see that there are human beings underneath them. There children and their parents may get close enough to touch the *Krampusse*, as the name suggests.

#### 1.6.10 *Perchten* and *Krampus* Group Websites

Contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* maintain a massive and thriving internet culture. While most groups maintain their own websites and Facebook pages, some of the older ones have a web page on municipal websites linked to tourist information, as is the case with the *Nikologruppe* of Bad Mitterndorf, Styria and the *Schnabelperchten* of Rauris, Salzburg.<sup>53</sup> Today the expansive *Krampusmania* Web portal provides a number of resources for *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, including a page where they can buy and sell used masks and equipment, announcements of upcoming performances, and a forum for the discussion of multiple topics.<sup>54</sup> At the start of my research and before the mass-migration to Facebook, the now-defunct *Perchten Österreich*<sup>55</sup> facilitated networking by providing a listing of groups by state as well as relevant news.

The internet's usefulness for promotion, communication, and education is immediately evident, but the wealth of multimedia material facilitated by newly accessible and affordable digital technology also creates numerous opportunities for the further exposition of groups' philosophy, ethos and aesthetic, ranging from video (sometimes

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<sup>52</sup> For video of a television feature on a *Kinderkrampusstreichelzoo*, see rtsRegionalTV, 'Krampus Streichelzoo in Salzburg [www.rts-slzburg.at](http://www.rts-slzburg.at)', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8BkQuRbZUBw>>, Dec. 12, 2012, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

<sup>53</sup> Ortsmarketing Bad Mitterndorf, 'Traditionelles Nikolospiele Bad Mitterndorf', <<http://www.bad-mitterndorf.at/tourismus/globale-seiten/kultur-brauchtum/kultur-brauchtum-in-bad-mitterndorf/traditionelle-nikolospiele/>>, 2012, accessed Nov. 27, 2015; Tourismusverband Rauris, 'Traditions & Folk Customs: Rauriser Schnabelperchten', <<http://www.raurisertal.at/en/region/traditions-folk-customs/schnabelperchten/>>, 2015, accessed Nov. 27, 2015.

<sup>54</sup> Hannes Aitenbichler, 'Krampusmania: Dashboard', <<http://www.krampusmania.at>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 3, 2015.

<sup>55</sup> The *Perchten Österreich* website was formerly found at <<http://www.perchten.at>> (last accessed Feb. 2, 2010) and run by René Michael Patschok, member of the Cernunnos Chirchpach *Perchten* of Kirchbach, Styria and author of *Der Wandel von traditionellen Brauchtumsgruppen zu modernen Entertainern: am Beispiel der österreichischen Perchtenszene*, Mag. Diploma, Universität Wien (2005).

artfully choreographed and edited) and photo galleries to animated graphics and music, effectively creating new performance spaces in cyberspace.

These performance forms may be combined, and their relationship to various settings is fluid; for example, the *Tanz & Teufel* event hosted by the Juvavum Pass in 2005 incorporated a version of the Nikolaus play, a *Freilauf*, and a pastiche of the catechism-interrogation (see 11.2.3 and Figs. 70-76). Various aspects of these performance types and settings will be explored in the following chapters, which will be outlined next.

## 1.7 Thesis Overview

Having established the background to this study, a glimpse of the subject matter treated in the following chapters is in order. A further introduction to the research itself is provided in Chapter 2, which examines methodological issues dealing with my largely fieldwork-based research, noting the advantages and disadvantages of an outsider perspective. Chapter 3 consists of an overview of the scholarship on the folk-figures of Perchta, Nikolaus, and the *Krampus* and their related mumming traditions, touching on theoretical concerns relevant to this study, such as definitions of tradition, authenticity, and continuity.

This introductory material is followed by a descriptive overview of the folk-figures of Perchta (Chapter 4) and the *Krampus* (Chapter 5) and the historical roots of the mumming traditions attached to them, presented in chronological order. Here questions of origins and identity will be addressed. The following section brings us to the present, exploring recent and current developments in these traditions. Chapter 6 begins with the confluence of mask-collecting, revivals, and Alpine tourism in the nineteenth century and proceeds to historical and contemporary aspects of mask construction, exploring the materials and techniques used as well as the principles guiding the creative process.

Chapter 7 will examine several common sources of inspiration in contemporary mask and performance design, namely, Perchta's *Doppelaspekt* as conceptualized in the early scholarship (centered around interpretation) and the controversial influence of commercial mass culture emanating from Hollywood (primarily about aesthetics). These developments will be discussed in relation to the theoretical and ethical questions surrounding originality and the nature of tradition itself.

Chapter 8 delves into issues of identity and performers' relationship to landscape and community as well as their group structure and use of the internet to network with each other, collaborate, and promote themselves. Examination of these topics reveals the importance of place and the perceived categories of "insiders" and "outsiders" in shaping

identity, representation, and performance. Chapter 9 examines the role of tourism in these traditions and the ways in which *Perchten* and *Krampusse* and tourist bureaux seek to educate the public, as well as delving into other aspects of commercialism and perceptions of value.

In Chapter 10 we shall see how Nikolaus and *Krampus* mumming can be understood as play with social roles based on gender and age. Because the performance-encounter is partly improvised by spectators and masked performers based on common knowledge of a cultural-semantic code, it facilitates interplay between participants' everyday identities and the tropes of these traditions, particularly with regards to children and women. Chapter 11 deconstructs the elements of the performance-encounter, many of which revolve around liminality and the tension between real and mock-transgression, and examines them in terms of play and performance theory.

Finally, Chapter 12 addresses the outcome of this study, provides a discussion of my findings, and suggests new avenues for further research. Prominent among the issues to be discussed here are the mummers' curatorship of their traditions, a role which brings together ethical and aesthetic considerations regarding the stewardship of cultural heritage and questions of authority: who may legitimately claim, represent, and perform tradition.

In order to lay the groundwork for an exploration of these issues, we shall turn next to a discussion of the research questions and methodological issues (strategies, problems, and theoretical directions) underpinning this study and informing its design.

## 2. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The primary source material for this study is derived from fieldwork conducted in Germany and Austria over the course of seven years, from 2003 to 2009, and was shaped by a number of factors. Issues to do with cross-cultural fieldwork (which in my case meant navigating a language barrier) and the role of gender arose from the outset, and my methodological choices yielded both problems and insights. My methodological approach to the performance-encounter in particular evolved over time as I was drawn into the frame and my original conception of participant-observation gave way to a less compartmentalized and predictable experience, one which ultimately served me well in my understanding of these traditions. Before delving into those issues, however, I will outline how this research project was originally conceived and designed.

### 2.1 Defining the Subject

I first became aware of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* online while making my way through the websites dedicated to English Morris dance and mummers' plays included in the Morris Ring.<sup>56</sup> On one site (the name and address of which I did not think to record at the time) I came upon a single, mysterious photograph of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, whose elaborately and imaginatively carved masks intrigued me enough to seek out English-language descriptions of Alpine mumming traditions in books on European calendar customs and mumming, such as E. C. Cawte's *Ritual Animal Disguise* (1978).<sup>57</sup> In the *Perchten*, I saw a semiotically dense and socially robust example of a midwinter mumming calendar custom, a convergence of my two primary research interests: seasonal folklore and masked folk performance.

Next I made an initial exploratory foray into the field to see some *Perchten* performances and gauge the feasibility of the project. Upon seeing my first *Perchtenlauf* on January 1, 2003 in Mühlbach am Hochkönig, Salzburg, I was struck by the intriguing juxtaposition of "ancient" and "modern" elements as well as similarities and differences to other European midwinter mumming traditions. *Perchten* were obviously still very popular,

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<sup>56</sup> The current incarnation of the homepage for the Morris Ring can be found at the following link: The Morris Ring, 'The Morris Ring: the National Association of Men's Morris and Sword Dance Clubs', <[www.themorrisring.org](http://www.themorrisring.org)>, 2011-2015, accessed Dec. 17, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> E. C. Cawte, *Ritual Animal Disguise* (London: DS Brewer, 1978).

whereas many similar European customs have died out, and differed from them by incorporating aesthetic and technological elements drawn from modern mass culture, such as heavy metal music. These surprising juxtapositions and the popularity these traditions enjoyed promised a fascinating and demanding research project.

Once I had decided on the subject, it remained to delineate the parameters of the project, which required contextualizing these traditions and problematizing my working definitions. First of all, I decided to limit my scope to *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming in their contemporary manifestations — a broad overview emphasising their shared elements rather than a monograph of either or both. To this end, I have focused on description and analysis of current developments rather than attempting to add to the substantial body of knowledge of their historical roots, which has in any case been handled splendidly in recent decades by Marianne Rumpf in *Perchten: Populäre Glaubengestalten zwischen Mythos und Katechese* (1991)<sup>58</sup> and Werner Mezger in *Sankt Nikolaus: Zwischen Kult und Klamauk: zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Veränderung der Brauchformen um einen populären Heiligen* (1993).<sup>59</sup> (The historical development of these traditions will be treated in Chapters 4 and 5.)

One of the most difficult decisions I had to make was whether to pursue only *Perchten* (my initial interest) or include the *Krampusse* with whom they were apparently so intertwined. While *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming are two distinct traditions (or rather, constellations of tradition) with separate, though periodically intersecting histories and functions, they have, as Dengg points out, ‘*sich in einander verschmelzen* [melted into one another]’ in various respects.<sup>60</sup> As a result, the designation of masks as either “*Krampusse*” or “*Perchten*” is highly contestable in the current cultural climate. While no one would debate the claim of such long-established groups as the Gasteiner Schiachperchten to be just that, there are many mummers who call themselves *Perchten* but would actually be considered *Krampusse* according to prevalent criteria circulated among mummers as well as in academic circles. I was anxious not to contribute to the confusion, and knew that avoiding misrepresentation or imposing mistaken “centers of gravity” would be more difficult as a cultural outsider.

Nevertheless, the advantages of presenting them together seemed to outweigh those of choosing only one or the other, largely because it quickly became apparent in the course

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<sup>58</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*.

<sup>59</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*.

<sup>60</sup> Dengg, pp. 83-84.

of my fieldwork that in order to paint a picture of the contemporary manifestations of the *Perchten* tradition, I would have to take the *Krampusse* into account. Their interrelatedness, for good or for ill, is the single most striking feature of their contemporary presence in the Austro-Bavarian cultural landscape. Furthermore, many of the important elements which have emerged in the past forty years and continue to affect public perception as well as performers' personal motivations and creative expression are shared between both traditions (1.5).

In this study I have attempted to render the perspectives of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in their own words as much as possible. Since this requires preserving the distinctions as well as the elisions they put forth, I have chosen to refer to them by the names with which they refer to themselves. Of course, the appointing of some groups as *Perchten* and the casting of others from the throne is not my prerogative; my ethical responsibility to my subjects precludes me from taking it on myself to rename or otherwise correct them. Doing so would interfere with accurate representation in any case, since the lines between these traditions are currently in flux and subjectively determined in practice.

Determining the scope and shape of my research also required considering these traditions in their greater socio-cultural context. They are, to borrow Olga Nájera-Ramírez's characterization of festivals, 'multivocal and polysemic'<sup>61</sup> in that there are not only are there many *Perchten* and *Krampusse* who collectively represent these traditions, but many other parties whose voices, reactions, and values factor into them in various ways. The *Perchtenlauf* in Mühlbach am Hochkönig revealed the present-day social context of these large-scale public performances: they were spectacles for a large crowd, but the informal, convivial atmosphere (how the spectators conducted themselves, socializing with each other, drinking and laughing) revealed them to be a highly social phenomenon. At least in this setting, this custom seemed to be performed in an interpersonal, relational context rather than for its own sake.

Furthermore, the size of the audiences these events attracted and their mix of tourists and locals indicated an inclusive, expansive and fluid quality to the current manifestations of these traditions. As a foreigner using tourist resources to plan my travel, I noticed winter tourism in Salzburg state included "*Brauchtum*" (tradition) as well as skiing and Christmas markets in its marketing materials. As my fieldwork progressed, consideration of this social context led me to wonder who all these interested parties were,

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<sup>61</sup> Olga Nájera-Ramírez, 'Of Fieldwork, Folklore, and Festival: Personal Encounters', *Journal of American Folklore*, 112:444 (Spring 1999), 183-199 (p. 186).

which led in turn to questions of insider identity (Chapter 8), conscious self-representation, and the pedagogical current implicit in folklore-based tourism (Chapter 9). Accordingly, I have chosen to include the perspectives of passive tradition-bearers (the audiences) as well as active tradition-bearers (the mummers) in this study in the hopes of providing greater context.<sup>62</sup>

## 2.2 Research Questions and Objectives

Achieving these objectives necessitated conducting primary research in the form of fieldwork, which in turn required the isolating of key questions (or rather, clusters of questions) with which to structure my inquiry:

1. What are the manifestations of the *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions in evidence today?
2. How do the current forms of these traditions relate to those of past centuries? What changes in, and continuities of, form and function are in evidence?
3. How do these two traditions relate to one another, both historically and today? What is behind the apparent formal and functional similarity between them? How (if at all) do performers conceptualize the differences between these traditions?
4. How do performers define the nature of authenticity, tradition, and continuity in the eyes of active tradition-bearers? What light can theory on those subjects shed on them?
5. How do performers view innovation, adaptation, and revival, and how do those processes shape performance and mask design? To what extent can orthodoxy be imposed on a tradition, and who has the authority to do so? Who are the proper heirs of a tradition and therefore authorized to revive, alter, or contribute new material to it? To what extent and in what respects may those reviving traditions

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<sup>62</sup> Dan Ben-Amos, “Context” in Context’, *Western Folklore*, 52:2 (April-Oct. 1993), 209-226 (p. 215).

claim continuity with previous generations of tradition-bearers?

6. What influences lie behind the controversial aesthetic developments discernable in mask and costume design over the past thirty-odd years, and how do performers regard them? Where do they get their inspiration? What goes into the making of a mask and the fashioning of a group's look, ethos, and identity?
7. What is the nature of the interactive dynamics referred to here as the performance-encounter? How do performers articulate their experiences of being behind the mask? To what extent do participants both improvise and otherwise shape the interaction, and under which circumstances?
8. How do performers today view the juxtaposition of elements commonly viewed as "modern" and "ancient" in their traditions, and how do they make use of them? What roles do tourism and digital technology play in particular?
9. What does participation in these traditions signify with regards to identity (expressing regional pride and reinforcing community bonds, for instance)? How does this relate to the shifting conceptions of "insiders" and "outsiders" evident in these traditions?
10. What factors are involved in these traditions' continued cultural relevance? What about them is of especial value to active tradition-bearers? What motivates them to participate in and perpetuate them?

These questions formed the basis for my interview questions and informal discussions with informants, during which they were sometimes adapted to account for variations in specific groups' individual situations. As the interviews were fairly free-form and open-ended<sup>63</sup> (I relied on in-person interviews rather than questionnaires for my research), new questions inevitably arose in response to the informants' answers to the scripted ones. As fieldwork

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<sup>63</sup> Harold G. Levine, Ronald Gallimore, Thomas S. Weisner and Jim L. Turner use the term 'jawnboning' to describe this interviewing technique, in which 'No formal constraints are made either on the questions or on the answers' ('Teaching Participant-Observation Research Methods: A Skills-Building Approach', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 11:1 (Spring 1980), 38-54 (p. 43)).



continued, new aspects of the original research questions presented themselves. In such qualitative research situations, as I was to learn and as Liora Bresler points out, both parties are responsible for shaping the process as they go along; 'Roles are flexible and evolving, their negotiation requiring constant sensitivity to other perspectives'.<sup>64</sup>

This project consisted of two main parts: a preparatory stage and fieldwork to collect my primary source material. The next step was to design a research plan.

## 2.3 Research Design and Preparation

My preparation began with library research on these traditions, primarily to cover their historical incarnations, but also to familiarize myself with more recent scholarship on the subject and relevant theory, which can be grouped into two categories: issues of continuity, tradition, and authenticity and theory about play and performance. Libraries consulted over the course of my research included the British Library and Warburg Institute in London as well as the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library) and the Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde (Austrian Museum for Volkskunde) in Vienna. Once in the field, I visited other *Volkskunde* and *Heimat* museums, including the *Volkskunde* museums at the Monatsschlössl Hellbrunn in the city of Salzburg (part of the Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, or SMCA), the Universalmuseum Joanneum (Graz, Styria), and the Museum Berchtesgaden at the Schloss Adelsheim (Berchtesgaden, Bavaria). German lessons were ongoing, culminating in an intensive language course in advance of my most intensive period of fieldwork, November 2005 through January 2006.

Other preparations involved scouting out fieldwork opportunities and prospective interview subjects as well as the planning of logistical details. To this end, I consulted relevant internet sources, principally municipal and tourism websites such as the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*<sup>65</sup> and websites maintained by the mummers themselves, particularly the now-defunct Perchten Österreich portal.<sup>66</sup> These resources were invaluable in mapping out my fieldwork itinerary, as they helped determine which regional variants of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming were still actively practiced. Furthermore, they helped with the planning of logistical details, such as exactly when and where a given group was scheduled

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<sup>64</sup> Liora Bresler, 'Ethical Issues in Qualitative Research Methodology', *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 126 (Fall 1995), 29-41 (p. 29).

<sup>65</sup> Verein Salzburger Christkindlmarkt, 'Christkindlmarkt', <<http://www.christkindlmarkt.co.at/>>, 2016, accessed Jan. 15, 2016.

<sup>66</sup> Patschok, 'Perchten Österreich'.

to perform (if indeed their appearances were scheduled or publicized in advance at all), what kind of access I would have, how to get there via public transportation, and so forth. There are hundreds of *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups afoot today, and there was no way to see them all; nevertheless, I attempted to see performances in as many places as possible. This was especially challenging, as being calendar customs, they tended to be grouped on the same days (see Appendix A for a partial list of performances attended).

Most important were the websites of individual *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups, a number of which were listed on the Perchten Österreich portal at the time, where they were grouped by state. Group websites provided details about their upcoming appearances as well as contact information, which I used to introduce myself, explain my research project and request an interview. Moreover, I came to regard group websites as important primary source material in themselves, as they had much to teach me about mummies' self-presentation and agency as well as their incorporation of the "modern" in the form of digital technology.

Finally, determining which fieldwork methodologies would best suit my objectives factored into the design of my research plan.

## **2.4 Fieldwork Methodologies**

Methodologies used in the field were predominantly qualitative and included participant-observation of performances documented with field notes (Appendix I), photographs and video recordings taken concurrently (see Illustrations and Video Appendix), and interviews recorded as audio files, which were subsequently transcribed and translated (Appendices L-N). Lastly I collected and photographed seasonal ephemera, mostly connected with Nikolaus and the *Krampus* (for examples, see Figs. 1-5).

### **2.4.1 Participant-Observation**

Exploring the performance-encounter required a fieldwork plan centered around participant-observation.<sup>67</sup> Whether viewing others engaged in it or experiencing it myself,

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<sup>67</sup> As defined by Levine, Gallimore, Weisner and Turner:

The term "participant observation" refers to naturalistic, qualitative research in which the investigator obtains information through relatively intense, prolonged interaction with those being studied [...] The primary data are typically narrative descriptions (i.e., field notes) based on direct observation, informal conversational interviews, and personal experience, although quantitative and more formal, structured data can also be collected through participant observation ('Teaching Participant-Observation Research Methods', p. 38).

the performance-encounter was not a phenomenon I felt I could effectively observe from a distance, since it seemed to be visceral, spontaneous, and often physically demanding, stimulating the senses and emotions and demanding quick reactions. I concluded that truly understanding the performance-encounter would require that I personally engage in it. This meant becoming my own field subject and including my subjective experiences and perceptions in the data being collected and analyzed. Once drawn into the encounter, my perspective became part of the text itself, not just the self-reflexive ‘observation of [my] participation’.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, my own reactions, improvisations, sensory perceptions, and the questions they generated appear in my field notes alongside more objective descriptive details about such matters as the setting, sequence of events, and mask design.

My field notes are thus ‘narrative impressions infused with the subjectivity of the researcher’,<sup>69</sup> employing what Clifford Geertz calls ‘thick description’ after Gilbert Ryle.<sup>70</sup> According to Geertz, thick description is a technique for identifying and interpreting the semiotic layers of the subject of an ethnographic investigation;<sup>71</sup> by expanding the depth and breadth of one’s observations, one can gather more contextual information and explore the subject from multiple perspectives.<sup>72</sup> I determined that thick description was the best way to capture the multi-sensory experience of the performance-encounter, which involved extremes of physical sensation: the sting of a birch switch, the softness or coarseness of animal pelts, the odors of beer and sweat, the din of jangling bells and exploding fireworks, the burning taste of schnaps, grotesque and fanciful faces, and dreamlike juxtapositions of plant, animal and human body parts, some deliberate (grotesque, but recognizably human faces sprouting goat horns) and some incidental (human hands reaching out for spectators from bundles of evergreen boughs or sheepskins).

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<sup>68</sup> Barbara Tedlock, ‘From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography’, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 47:1 (Spring 1991), 69-94 (p. 69). Instead of choosing either ‘emotionally engaged’ or ‘dispassionate’ participant-observation and ‘writing an ethnographic memoir centering on the Self or a standard monograph centering on the Other’, writes Tedlock, both may be ‘represented together within a single narrative ethnography, used in the character and process of the ethnographic dialogue’ (ibid).

<sup>69</sup> David Trigger, Martin Forsey, and Carla Meurk, ‘Revelatory Moments in Fieldwork’, *Qualitative Research*, 12:5 (Oct. 2012), 513-527 (p. 517).

<sup>70</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Chicago, IL: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 6-7, 8.

<sup>71</sup> These can include metacommunications such as Gregory Bateson’s ‘nips and bites’, discussed in 11.2.1 (*Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology* (London: Jason Aronson, 1972), p. 188), and Erving Goffman’s parodic quotations, discussed in 10.5 (*Gender Advertisements* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), p. 3).

<sup>72</sup> See Ben-Amos, ‘“Context” in Context’, pp. 212, 215-226.

Personal experience (mine and the mummers') was prioritized outside of the performance context as well. In conversations, mummers often emphasized the experiential nature of these customs for both themselves and those with whom they interacted, and expressed that the maelstrom of heightened emotions and sensory stimulation to which they give rise cannot be put into words. This stressed for me the importance of using qualitative methodology and the necessity of including my own perspective in the research. This subjective approach, however conscious, was potentially problematic, of course, and necessitated extra care be taken. As Elaine Lawless explains, the purpose of an ethnographer including herself in the narrative is not to privilege her perspective as more authoritative than that of her field subjects, but rather to practice greater reflexivity:

A reflexive stance should illuminate the biases and preconceptions that inform our interpretations (where *we* are) and move us forward, then, in the direction of collectivity in interpretation and a new authentication of a multivocal kind of ethnography, which includes, as well, where *others* are, but which does not privilege one interpretation over another.<sup>73</sup>

Just as the performance-encounter itself collapses the so-called fourth wall,<sup>74</sup> making the spectator visible to the performer and drawing the former into the action, so did the participant-observation of the performance-encounter force me, the fieldworker to see myself as an active participant in the drama, shaping the action along with the masked performers, and therefore to acknowledge the extent and value of my subjectivity. In this sense, my developing understanding of the performance-encounter over the course of my fieldwork echoed the reflexive process of conducting, constantly reevaluating, and adapting the fieldwork itself.

#### **2.4.2 Conducting Interviews**

My objective with the interviews I conducted was much the same as that concerning the observation of performances: to obtain as comprehensive an overview of contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming as possible, ideally encompassing all of the regions

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<sup>73</sup> Elaine J. Lawless, "I Was Afraid Someone like You... an Outsider... Would Misunderstand": Negotiating Interpretive Differences between Ethnographers and Subjects', *Journal of American Folklore*, 105:417 (Summer 1992), 302-314 (p. 302).

<sup>74</sup> The fourth wall refers to 'the invisible wall which is imagined to exist across the front of the stage', separating audience and actors. It acts like a one-way mirror 'through which the audience can see but the actors cannot' (Michael Mangan, *The Drama, Theatre and Performance Companion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 172).

where it is currently found. To this end I emailed interview requests to a number of groups I had discovered in my explorations of *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites before beginning formal fieldwork, and continued to make inquiries and request interviews (in person and via email) once in Austria and Germany. (*In situ* requests after performances sometimes yielded better results than advance requests by email.) Whom I interviewed in the end, and consequently which regional variations are represented in this study by primary research, was ultimately dependent upon which groups chose to respond to my interview request. Consequently, parts of Tyrol, Upper Austria, Bavaria between Munich and the Austrian border, and Styria and Salzburg in particular emerged as my fieldwork areas, while South Tyrol and the Austrian states of Carinthia, Vorarlberg, Burgenland, and Lower Austria are not represented in this study. As it became apparent that I would not be able to secure interviews with groups in each state, I realized a comprehensive quantitative overview would not be possible, another factor leading me to take a more open-ended, qualitative approach, qualitative research being predicated, according to Bresler, on the assumption that ‘truth and reality are perspectival, contextual, and multiple’.<sup>75</sup>

Interview questions were scripted based on my research questions (2.2), tailored for each group to include details specific to them. In the moment, of course, informants’ responses pointed to significant issues I had not anticipated and generated new questions in turn. This was quite welcome, as I had attempted to phrase the questions in such a way as to foster tangents and elaboration and thereby a wide range of data, since my research was to be largely descriptive in nature. Interviews with several members of each of the responding groups ranged from roughly one and a half to two hours long and were recorded on a MiniDisc recorder (and in one case using a digital camera to record audio only), at their homes or favorite pubs, as they desired, and were paired with observation of performances by those groups, some of which were large-scale public events and others of which were private, by invitation. In the case of the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n, I was fortunate enough to conduct a second formal recorded interview and was invited to film performances and join in informal conversations on a number of occasions. In addition to these formal recorded interviews, I held a number of unrecorded conversations with other groups as well as passive tradition-bearers interested in various aspects of these customs. Some mummers did not have the time or inclination to give a full interview, but were willing to answer a few questions after or even during a performance.

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<sup>75</sup> Bresler, pp. 30-31.

### 2.4.3 Collecting Ephemera

Lastly I collected and photographed seasonal ephemera in order to learn about the greater seasonal and socio-cultural context of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming and gain a sense of the “*terroir*” (cultural and physical context) in which it is embedded.<sup>76</sup> In addition, this approach paralleled my participant-observation of the performance-encounter, an even more intuitive and multi-sensory experience. Some materials were collected during and immediately after performances, such as scraps of *Krampus* fur and wet straw strewn on the cobblestones and a birch switch retrieved from the train tracks. Others were found outside of performance contexts from Advent to Epiphany, examples of the material culture associated with these traditions, such as the *Krampus*-themed lingerie displays in shop windows (Figs. 8a-8b) and edible *Einlegen* gifts (Figs. 1-5), which were subsequently photographed and eaten.

Throughout, I made use of what Fujii and Trigger, Forsey and Meurk call “accidental ethnography”, the utilizing of chance encounters, experiences, and observations as a fieldwork methodology in itself. Thus ‘fieldwork encounters of relatively small pieces of social interaction can influence considerably the fieldworker’s emergent understanding’<sup>77</sup> and lead to ‘finding revelation in the mundane’.<sup>78</sup> This approach takes advantage of the contingency-dependent nature of fieldwork<sup>79</sup> and incorporates the researcher’s ‘subjectivity or auto-ethnographic insight’<sup>80</sup> in the process.

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<sup>76</sup> See Ben-Amos, “Context” in Context’, p. 215.

<sup>77</sup> Trigger, Forsey, and Meurk, p. 517.

<sup>78</sup> Lee Ann Fujii, ‘Five Stories of Accidental Ethnography: Turning Unplanned Moments in the Field into Data’, *Qualitative Research*, 15:4 (2014), 525-539 (p. 526). Fujii calls attention to ‘the productive potential of “accidental moments” — those instances when the researcher is not engaged in an interview or archive, but in the mundane tasks not often specified in the research design’ (ibid, p. 527). Like her, I found that ‘By paying attention to the conversations and scenes that play out in these moments, the researcher can deepen her understanding of the research context and gain local knowledge that can be vital to the larger project’ (ibid).

<sup>79</sup> Vincent Crapazano, ‘At the Heart of the Discipline’: Critical Reflections on Fieldwork’ in *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. by Antonius C. G. M. Robben and Jeffrey A. Sluka, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 547-562 (550).

<sup>80</sup> Trigger, Forsey, and Meurk point out the value of this reflexive focus, noting, ‘By elevating the status of *feeling* in a revelatory fieldwork moment, we re-articulate the importance of a fieldworker’s subjectivity and/or auto-ethnographic insight as analytically important’ (p. 517).

## 2.5 Outsider Identity: Challenges and Opportunities

This is a work of outsider ethnography, marked by my etic perspective (defined by Janette Young as ‘the perspective of a person who has not had a personal or “lived” experience of a particular culture/society’).<sup>81</sup> Fieldwork presented me with a number of challenges, all of which stemmed from my identity as an outsider, not only to the *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, but to the passive tradition-bearers who have grown up with them. My outsider status factored into issues of access, perspective and communication with my field subjects, both in and out of performance contexts. Being confronted with my outsider status — realizing what and when I did not understand, having to consider what context I might be missing and why — confirmed for me the importance of reflexive self-awareness. As a consequence, I had to tread carefully to maintain the balancing act between the relatively subjective and objective perspectives implicit in qualitative and quantitative methodologies, respectively.

There are three chief respects in which I differed from my subjects: culture, language, and gender. These differences were evident both in the microcosm of the performance-encounter itself (mostly non-verbal, diminishing the importance of language and foregrounding the role of gender; see Chapters 10 and 11, respectively) and outside of that liminal space, in interviews and informal conversations with active and passive tradition-bearers. Each of these outsider identities factored into my fieldwork in various ways, and presented both challenges and opportunities.

### 2.5.1 Culture

My status as a cultural and linguistic outsider — to be more specific, an American doing research in Austria and Germany by way of England — was of course a prominent reality in my fieldwork, and is especially evident in my lack of familiarity with the cultural-semantic landscape in which these traditions are embedded,<sup>82</sup> and therefore how to improvise during the performance-encounter. Not having grown up in the culture, I had no foreknowledge of *Perchten* and *Krampus* performance scripts<sup>83</sup> and the customary behavior expected of their spectators/hosts/victims, which included the tropes often incorporated into

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<sup>81</sup> Janette Young, ‘On insiders (emic) and outsiders (etic): Views of self, and othering’, *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 18 (2005), 151-162 (p. 152).

<sup>82</sup> Ben-Amos, ‘“Context” in Context’, p. 213.

<sup>83</sup> By Richard Schechner’s definition, a script is ‘something that pre-exists any given enactment, which persists from enactment to enactment’ (*Performance Theory*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 70. Originally pub. 1977).

performance-encounter improvisations, such as the shrieking and recoiling of women grabbed by *Krampusse*.

This lack of cultural fluency is exemplified by a choice I made while following the *Schnabelperchten* around Rauris (Appendix I15). Like the belly-slitting Perchta of folktales (Appendices C1-C3), whom they resemble in appearance and behavior, the *Schnabelperchten* inspect houses for cleanliness and slice at householders and tourists with their giant wooden scissors (Figs. 10-13), a faint vestige of the more elaborate gastrotoomy paradramas commonly enacted by *Perchten* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Appendix D). Householders' reactions to these scenes are not generally recorded in the literature, and with no previous experience to inform my improvisations, I reacted instinctively when approached with the scissors, leaning forward and baring my throat gamely, which was, as I was yet to learn, not at all the customary response.<sup>84</sup> While sometimes mortifying and confusing in the moment, such misguided experimentation allowed me to gradually learn how to chart the structure of the performance-encounter and to a lesser extent (being limited by not having grown up in the culture) to navigate the cultural-semantic landscape in which it is embedded.

### 2.5.2 Language

Not being a native or even a fluent German speaker going into the field naturally created a greater potential for miscommunication and instantly marked me as a foreigner. An additional layer of linguistic distance was created by the fact that while *Hochdeutsch* (High German) is the "official" form of German used in the media and taught in schools, most *Perchten* and *Krampusse* actually speak a group of Austro-Bavarian dialects native to Bavaria and all Austrian states except Vorarlberg and parts of Styria, Carinthia, and Burgenland. In informal settings, they sometimes write in it as well, such as on Web forums like Krampusmania.<sup>85</sup> Their use of dialect controlled my degree of access as well. During conversations, they would slow down and speak *Hochdeutsch* to accommodate me if they wished to, but might switch into dialect when speaking to each other in my presence, which I usually interpreted as a signal that my participation in the conversation was over.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> See field notes, Appendix I15.

<sup>85</sup> Aitenbichler, 'Krampusmania: Dashboard'.

<sup>86</sup> Américo Paredes discusses the role of the language barrier in discerning context and nuance in fieldwork ('On Ethnographic Work among Minorities: A Folklorist's Perspective', *New Scholar*, 6 (1977), 1-32 (p. 10)).



For my first interview with the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, I brought along an interpreter, who was a welcome support for me launching into my first interview. At the end of it, however, the group's leader told me he thought we were able to communicate well enough and that I would not need an interpreter for future conversations, and I subsequently tried to incorporate the practice of checking in with my informants to confirm I had understood them correctly into my fieldwork. In any case, the accuracy of the interviews was ensured by being recorded as an objective document rather than written up later in field notes dependent upon my faulty memory.

My lack of fluency in itself was not usually a problem during the performance-encounter, as interactions between mummers and spectators are usually non-verbal, consisting largely of growls and roars from the former and laughter and shrieks from the latter (for an exception, see my encounter with a chimney sweep in 11.1).

### **2.5.3 Gender**

One could argue that gender does not belong in this list, as many passive and some active tradition-bearers are female. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are male, and male/female gender dynamics play an important role in the performance-encounter, as will be explored in depth in Chapters 10 and 11. The modality of participant-observation — or rather, the more direct, experiential form that Tedlock calls 'narrative ethnography'<sup>87</sup> — drew me into the central drama of the performance-encounter by virtue of my gender. Although I was pulled into playing the role of the generic "*Mädel*" (girl) by default, I did not yet understand the rules of engagement, and discovered them only in the process of experiencing them firsthand. In a sense, playing that role rendered me an insider to the performance-encounter, insomuch as the phenomenon I was now personally experiencing *was* the subject of my observation and analysis (see 10.5.3). I was prepared to approach my own experience as context, documenting my thoughts and actions as a reflexive fieldwork practice, but not for them to become integrated with the text itself.

Although my etic perspective hampered my understanding of certain elements of these traditions and the behavior that was expected from me at first, in a sense it benefitted me in the long run, as my initial disorientation and lack of familiarity with the cultural semantics involved forced me to discover and articulate the centers of gravity and critical elements and patterns in the performance by myself.

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<sup>87</sup> Tedlock, p. 69.

## 2.6 The Ethnographer/Field Subject Relationship

To the three outsider identities listed above, we might add that of outsiderethnographer. Of course, conducting ethnographic fieldwork creates a degree of distance and objectification and can introduce a power differential which must be carefully navigated.<sup>88</sup> The interplay of perceptions, projections and reactions between both parties is not set in stone, but constantly in flux.<sup>89</sup> Navigating it reflexively to ensure accurate representation of one's field subjects requires constantly reevaluating the accuracy of the communication between both parties and examining one's own assumptions and interpretations, which according to Lawless is an ethical responsibility of the fieldworker.<sup>90</sup>

I was surprised to learn that my ethnographic activity (specifically photographing and video-recording) played a role in the performance-encounter beyond documenting it. Unlike in formal interview situations, mummings mid-performance were typically unaware I was conducting fieldwork and likely assumed I was another tourist, insofar as they were aware of me at all (see 9.2). The tension between “participating” and “observing”, which is implicit in the participant-observation to some extent,<sup>91</sup> was brought into sharp relief during the performance-encounter. I frequently photographed and filmed parades and thus experienced them through the camera's eye, which worked better for unobserved observation than it did for the more direct experience of my own performance-encounters. (Sometimes I opted to drop the camera for this reason.) Thus I framed my perceptions through the frame of the lens, just the lens frames the shot. I realized I could not always simultaneously observe and participate when the observation included a form of documentation that required the use of my hands: writing field notes, sketching, or holding a camera-mask over my face.

The visible or audible documentation of performances can, like ethnographers,<sup>92</sup> be both intrusive and detached, objective and subjective, natural (honest?) and artificial. The camera functions as the ethnographer's intrusive, yet detached “eye” in several senses (discussed further in 9.2.2 and 11.3.3). First of all, it is physically held before one's face,

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<sup>88</sup> Nájera-Ramírez, pp. 184-85; Geertz, p. 452.

<sup>89</sup> Bresler, p. 29.

<sup>90</sup> Lawless, p. 302.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Jackson, ‘Principles and Problems of Participant Observation’, *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 65:1 (1983), 39-46 (p. 41).

<sup>92</sup> Robert A. Georges and Michael A. Jones, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), p. 54.

thus functioning as a kind of mask in itself. Secondly, it watches through filters and frames; in this sense the camera's lens and settings affecting light and focus parallel the ethnographer's objectives, biases, and priorities. Thirdly, it creates a more or less objective record on film, tape, or in the form of digital data which is more reliable than human memory (when writing up field notes after the fact, for instance), but arguably just as selectively, since the fieldworker chooses when to turn on and off the recording equipment and how to frame it by aiming the camera. In this sense, the camera-mask functions as a technological extension of the fieldworker's own filters and perceptions.

Although I was aware of these issues, I was unprepared for the ways in which the fieldwork equipment itself would factor into my participant-observation beyond its obvious purpose of creating a visual record of *Perchtenläufe* and *Krampusläufe*, affecting my own participation in the performance-encounter and by extension forming part of the data being collected. Mummers' reactions to cameras during parades tend to take two forms, both of which involve breaking the fourth wall by acknowledging spectators: posing for photographs and drawing the photographer into a more direct interaction (11.3.3). *Perchten* and *Krampusse* welcome photography at their performances and play to the camera in various ways. They peer directly into the lens like curious animals, beckon and pose, roar and mug, sometimes briefly holding their hands over the lens, which is more a playful, mischievous gesture than an attempt to keep people from filming.

At the 2006 Schärding *Perchtenlauf*, one *Percht* saw me filming and grabbed me close (after I hastily stuffed the video camera into my coat, much to his amusement), mussing my hair and exclaiming, '*Paparazzia!*' The resulting video (V2, 04:16-04:32) marks the point where my participation shifted from more distanced observation through the camera lens to more intimate face-to-face interaction. Reviewing the footage of this and other occasions, I noticed that the camera dropped away into darkness, either because there was a scuffle nearby and it had been knocked out of my hands, or because I was trying to protect it as a *Percht* or *Krampus* was pulling me into a bear hug. This forced me to realize that I was not observing unobserved, and I could not sink back into my presumed objectivity, detached and invisible. Indeed, in such cases I could not both participate directly and observe and record, so the participant-observation model gave way to what Tedlock calls 'narrative ethnology'.<sup>93</sup> In both cases, mummers' stuffing it inside playing to or with the camera illuminates the role-play between "Self" and "Other" implicit in the performance-encounter.

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<sup>93</sup> Tedlock.

In conclusion, these learning experiences informed my conversations and interviews with passive and active tradition-bearers alike, alerting me to new issues to consider and helping me to hone my interview questions. This compelled me to seek further illumination and depth of field with regards to these topics — all of which can be seen as part of the ongoing adaptive process of the ethnographer/field subject relationship.<sup>94</sup> Therefore I came to feel that, while my outsider status did limit my access and understanding in various respects, in others it gave rise to serendipitous moments of insight and opportunity, underscoring for me the possibilities of the qualitative methodological approach I had undertaken.

I believe this study constitutes the first in-depth work on these traditionUAs written in English and on this scale. While I have endeavored to present modern-day *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming in a way that honors their imagination and determination and brings these traditions to life for a foreign readership — in a sense enabling them, if I am not being too presumptuous, to perform for a new audience — I am aware that the present work represents only a fragment of the whole, and that there is much more work to be done. It is my hope that this introduction to the contemporary manifestations of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* mumming will enrich understanding of these traditions and suggest new avenues for further research.

Before going further into the subject, however, some historical context is needed. The following chapter will provide an overview of the academic literature about *Perchta* and *Perchten*, *Krampus* and *Krampusse*, which reveals a succession of theoretical perspectives dovetailing into questions of continuity and authenticity, origins and meaning. As we shall see, the scholarship itself produced interpretive tropes and imagery which helped shape these traditions and are still reflected in them today.

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<sup>94</sup> Bresler, p. 29.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Perchta, the *Krampus*, and their associated mumming traditions have been the subjects of scholarly interest since the inception of *Volkskunde*, “the study of the folk” in the German-speaking countries. Developments in the scholarship can be grouped in thematic clusters showing the progression of such key concepts as Perchta’s *Doppelaspekt*, some of which have shaped current manifestations of these mumming traditions significantly, as we shall see in Chapter 7. The threads of continuity, authenticity, and revival run throughout these three successive waves of *Volkskunde* scholarship, from its inception to the present day.

#### 3.1 Early *Volkskunde* and the Continuity Problem

Hermann Bausinger traces *Volkskunde*’s origin to a fusion of ethnology and philology rooted in comparative methodology. Like its counterparts in the UK,<sup>95</sup> *Volkskunde* was founded on the assumption that rural folk culture represented fragments of pan-European “cultic” religion and mythology which had survived from antiquity due to the fixed, timeless nature of the peasant class.<sup>96</sup> Using the interpretive skeleton key of comparative methodology, one could trace the historical origins and meaning of otherwise incomprehensible folklore, and, in Bausinger’s words, ‘Following the Brothers Grimm, hundreds of Germanists tried to trace the stream of tradition back to the fount of German mythology.’<sup>97</sup> In *Volkskunde*, this mission to establish origins in antiquity is described as the *Kontinuitätsproblem* (continuity problem), which Bausinger defines as ‘*das Bild einer zusammenhängenden, durch Kulturkonstanz bestimmten Übergangszeit vom Altertum zum Mittelalter* [the picture of a cohesive transitional period from antiquity to the Middle Ages,

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<sup>95</sup> Prominent among these influences are James George Frazer’s seminal work, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 12 vols (vol. 9) (London: Macmillan, 1913), originally pub. 1890) and the Cambridge Ritualists, who analyzed classical Greek drama and mythology in terms of ritual (Gunnell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 37, note 21). See, for example, Tom Pettitt, ‘When the Golden Bough Breaks: Folk Drama and the Theatre Historian’, *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 4:2 (2005), 1-40, which touches on Frazer (p. 3) and the Cambridge ritual school (pp. 6-7), and Gunnell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 35-37 for the influence of the fertility-based theories of Wilhelm Mannhardt, Frazer, and the Cambridge School on Nordic folkloristics.

<sup>96</sup> Bausinger, ‘Nazi Folk Ideology and Folk Research’ in *The Nazification of an Academic Discipline*, pp. 11-33 (11); Hannjost Lixfeld, *Folklore and Fascism: The Reich Institute for German Volkskunde*, ed. and trans. by James R. Dow (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1994), p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

determined by cultural consistency]’.<sup>98</sup> Continuity theory stems from Romanticism, where ‘there was a premise of unbroken tradition which allowed inferences about the past; here the assumption was a faith in cultural constancy which allowed one to construe from the traits of the past the image of the future’.<sup>99</sup> *Volkskundler* used comparative methodology to analyze the materials they collected, which were amassed with a selective focus, seeking evidence to support their continuity-based theories.

The field of *Volkskunde* arose in a cultural and intellectual climate defined by German Romanticism, rooted in Herder’s *Naturpoesie* (nature poetry),<sup>100</sup> the rise of folk-nationalism<sup>101</sup> (which informed the development of a bourgeois-nationalist *Volkskunde* in turn),<sup>102</sup> and Darwin’s discoveries, which introduced the concept of evolution into scholarly discourse and inspired the application of evolution-based paradigms to *Volkskunde*. Nineteenth-century *Volkskundler* concerned themselves with what they considered the collection of cultural artifacts to be retrieved, cleaned up, and preserved for study, the cultural analogue of archaeology and geology (the recovery of fossils). The scouring of the Alps for folk masks discussed in 6.2 exemplifies such efforts.

Jacob Grimm was a founding father of *Volkskunde*, and his *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835) traced the origins of Perchta to antiquity, conflating her with the German folk-figures Holle and Holda based on their shared bright and dark characteristics, which in Perchta’s case stemmed from her *Kinderschreck* aspects and association with Epiphany.<sup>103</sup> According to Grimm, Perchta held sway in Switzerland, Alsace, Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria, where Frau Berchte (or Perahta, in old High German) was:

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, ‘Zur Algebra der Kontinuität’, pp. 9-46 in *Kontinuität? Geschichtlichkeit und Dauer als volkskundliches Problem*, ed. by Hermann Bausinger and Wolfgang Brückner (Berlin: Erich Schmidt & Verlag, 1969), pp. 9-46 (10).

<sup>99</sup> Bausinger, ‘Nazi Folk Ideology and Folk Research’, p. 18.

<sup>100</sup> Bausinger writes of Johann Gottfried Herder (‘who was the most important discoverer of folksongs, and thus of oral traditions’) that ‘His concept of the folk spirit [...] is associated with national efforts by Romantics who wanted to use the folk tradition to help call forth a “new, holy age”’ (ibid, p. 11).

<sup>101</sup> Beverly J. Stoeltje, Christie L. Fox, and Stephen Olbrys, ‘The Self in “Fieldwork”: A Methodological Concern’, *Journal of American Folklore*, 112:444 (Spring 1999), 158-182 (p. 166).

<sup>102</sup> Early key figures pointed *Volkskunde* in a right-wing nationalist direction. According to Bausinger, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl presented it as ‘a conservative social teaching’ (‘Nazi Folk Ideology and Folk Research’, p. 11), and Lixfeld writes of the bourgeois-nationalist orientation of John Meier that ‘Modern life and foreign influence [...] are declared to be the enemies of the folk and folk goods’ (p. 8).

<sup>103</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1835), pp. 169, 174. (This is the first edition, published in one volume.) Grimm feels that Holda and Perchta are essentially the same figure, with the former representing her fair side and the latter her *Kinderschreck* side (ibid, p. 169).

*Die leuchtende, glänzende, hehre; schon dem sinn des wortes nach eine gütige, freudebringende, aber nur selten wird sie noch so vorgestellt, gewöhnlich ist die grauenhafte seite hervorgehoben, sie tritt als ein fürchterliches, kinderschreckendes scheusal auf.*

The bright, luminous, glorious; by the very meaning of the word a benign and gladdening influence, yet she is now rarely represented as such; as a rule, the awe-inspiring side is brought into prominence, and she appears as a grim bugbear to frighten children with.<sup>104</sup>

In so doing, he forged the path that would eventually lead to the conception of Perchta's *Doppelaspekt*, which can be considered a collective scholarly construction, eventually becoming the main inspiration for *Perchten* today (7.2). Grimm draws upon his vast comparative scope to relate the diverse aspects of Perchta/Perahta/Berthe to a multitude of figures, including Hecate and Artemis, thus linking her to hunting hounds and the Wild Hunt (see Appendix C4).<sup>105</sup> In another example, he asserts that she is also the queen of the elves, like Titania and Holda.<sup>106</sup>

The first *Volkskunde* work dealing specifically with Perchta and *Perchten* was Marie Andree-Eysn's *Volkskundliches aus dem bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet* (1910),<sup>107</sup> where she describes Perchta's combination of bright and dark aspects as central to her character:

*Der zweifachen Eigenschaft der Percht entsprechend, gibt es schöne und schiache (häßliche) Perchten, und das Gebiet, in dem sie auftreten, ist dasselbe, in welchem noch heute das Volk die lebhaften Vorstellungen von der Frau Percht hat [...].*

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid. Italics and capital usage his. The English translation used here is from the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. by J. S. Stallybrass, 4 vols (vol. 4) (London: George Bell & Sons, 1882), p. 274.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), pp. 1368-1369.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, p. 1367.

<sup>107</sup> Marie Andree-Eysn, *Volkskundliches aus dem bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1910), p. 170.

Corresponding to the twofold quality of Percht, there are beautiful and hideous *Perchten*, and they crop up in the same the area, where even today the folk have lively conceptions of Frau Percht [...].<sup>108</sup>

James Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough* (1890), met Andree-Eysn in 1910, the year of her publication, and follows her interpretation of the leaping and dancing of *Perchten* as a magical means of increasing fertility, particularly the success of the harvest.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, he supports her claim that their bells performed an apotropaic function, ‘banishing demons who might otherwise blight the crops’.<sup>111</sup> Other scholars from the nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries embraced the notion that Perchta was a degraded survival of goddesses from the ancient world, particularly attached to fertility or death cults. For instance, Friedrich Panzer (1848) compares Perahta with the Egyptian goddesses Nerthus and Isis, adding of an Eisenberta (Iron Berta) mummer that:

*[Sie] erscheint hier ganz als die grosse Erdmutter, wie sie, in eine Kuhhaut mit Stierhörnern gehüllt, aus ihrer Eiche hervortritt, und Umzug unter den Menschen hält. Die Kuh, das gemeinfasslichste Bild der Fruchtbarkeit, war sicher schon in frühester Zeit dieser Gottheit gewidmet.*

[She] absolutely appears here as the great Earth Mother, as she, enveloped in a cow hide with steer horns, emerges from her oak tree, and holds a procession with human beings. The cow, the most commonly understood image of fertility, was surely already dedicated to this divinity from the earliest times.<sup>112</sup>

Following Andree-Eysn’s work was Viktor Waschnitius’s *Perht, Holda, und verwandte Gestalten* (1913),<sup>113</sup> a compendium of folklore from different genres which attempts to distill down the essence of Perchta from the wealth of folktales (and to a lesser extent folk

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<sup>108</sup> Andree-Eysn, pp. 161-162.

<sup>110</sup> Frazer, vol. 9, p. 243. Pp. 238-252 deal with the *Perchten*.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid; Andree-Eysn, p. 179.

<sup>112</sup> Panzer, vol. 2, p. 464.

<sup>113</sup> Waschnitius.



belief and customs like mumming) amassed during the previous century. As with Grimm, this distillation process involved comparisons with Holle and Holda on the basis of their striking similarities, if not necessarily proving shared identity. Although he mentions Perchta's role as a "vegetation spirit" in reference to her fertility-bringing function, Waschnitius regards her primarily as a "*Seelendämon*" (leader of the souls of the dead) due to her ties to Wild Hunt folklore and her retinue of child souls who died unbaptized (her *Kinderseelenschar*). He compares Perchta and similar figures, presenting their respective bodies of folklore region by region, thereby establishing the breadth of these traditions as well as their most essential elements. In so doing, he exceeds the reductionism usually associated with such explanations by discussing relevant bodies of folklore in a wider context. Perchta's *Kinderseelenschar*, for example, appears in conjunction with similar Tyrolean legends associated with Herodias, who is connected to the Holy Innocents and the theme of baptism by way of her part in the New Testament narrative. For this reason, Waschnitius's work remains a valuable resource for contemporary research into Perchta and *Perchten*.

### 3.2 The Second Wave: National Socialist *Volkskunde*

Much has been written about the special place *Volkskunde* came to occupy during the Third Reich and the ways in which it was coopted and reshaped to serve the regime. While World War II lasted from 1939 to 1945, its impact on *Volkskunde* lasted decades longer; hence we can date this period of *Volkskunde* and its legacy from 1930 to 1970. The Nazis revived the principles of continuity and revival from the first wave of *Volkskunde*<sup>114</sup> as well as its reductionistic comparative methodology, and pressed them into the service of their own political and social-engineering agendas.<sup>115</sup> The nineteenth-century focus on ancient "cultic" origins and the romantic objectification of rural people (*das Volk*) was appropriated and twisted by the Third Reich. The guiding values behind early *Volkskunde* remained, except that now nationalism was made an explicit social good and the search for continuity fed into the folk-nationalistic project of reconstructing a "pure" German society.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Bausinger writes,

The call to free the "rubble-filled fountains of German life" appears repeatedly in National Socialist writings. It is a romantic metaphor, similar forms of which can also be found in the writings of Jacob Grimm. But where the latter's goal was to reestablish the mythos of the past, here the goal was to pump the mythos of the twentieth century from its oldest sources ('Nazi Folk Ideology and Folk Research', p. 17).

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, pp. 17, 18.

Two National Socialist bureaux with *Volkskunde* departments emerged to collect, sift and deploy this raw material: the Rosenberg *Amt*, the bureau led by Alfred Rosenberg, and the *Ahnenerbe* (Bureau of Ancestral Inheritance), led by Heinrich Himmler.<sup>117</sup> The former was distinguished by a focus on applied *Volkskunde* (through consciousness-raising youth groups, for example). More relevant to our subjects is the *Ahnenerbe*, which was more academically oriented. Its luminaries included the students of Rudolf Much known as the Vienna Ritualists: Richard Wolfram, Otto Höfler, and Robert Stumpfl, all of whom contributed important work relevant to masked folk performance. The Vienna Ritualists believed such customs as the *Perchtenlauf* were the survivals of men's ancient secret societies called *Männerbünde*. According to James Dow and Olaf Bockhorn, 'The term *Männerbund* represented an attempt to provide conceptually for what was conceived to be a widespread social form in primitive societies':<sup>118</sup> a secret society of male warriors, vestiges of whose rituals survived in the form of wild masked processions like the *Perchtenlauf*. For the Vienna Ritualists, '*Kontinuität ist eine Kennmarke für lange, ungebrochene Traditionen überhaupt* [continuity is a signifier for long, unbroken traditions, above all]'.<sup>119</sup> Stumpfl saw ancient Germanic cultic roots in medieval religious drama and Carnival celebrations,<sup>120</sup> Höfler related the body of Wild Hunt folklore and mumming traditions to the *Männerbund*,<sup>121</sup> and Wolfram saw the vestiges of an ancient fertility ritual in the stomping dances of the *Tresterer* (*Schönperchten* found in Salzburg's Pinzgau region).<sup>122</sup>

Wolfram also oversaw the creation of the *Österreichisches Volkskundeatlas* (Austrian Folklore Atlas),<sup>123</sup> which was compiled between 1959 and 1981. The ÖVA, as it shall be referred to henceforth, was considered a salvage operation to retrieve cultural relics

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<sup>117</sup> Lixfeld, pp. xx-xxx.

<sup>118</sup> James R. Dow and Olaf Bockhorn, *The Study of European Ethnology in Austria* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), p. 56.

<sup>119</sup> Bausinger, 'Zur Algebra der Kontinuität', p. 11.

<sup>120</sup> Robert Stumpfl, *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas* (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1936).

<sup>121</sup> Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt am Main: M. Diesterweg, 1934).

<sup>122</sup> Richard Wolfram, 'Der Pinzgauer Tresterertanz', *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 41 (1936), 1-20.

<sup>123</sup> Ernst Burgstaller and Adolf Helbok, eds., *Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas. Unter dem Patronat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Auftrage der Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas. Kommentar*, 6 vols (Linz: Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas, 1959-1981 (vols 2-6, ed. by Richard Wolfram (Wien: 1979)).

which could then be preserved and returned to the *Volk* from whence they sprang.<sup>124</sup> It is based on a massive collection of field data and surveys on various folklore topics distributed throughout Austria, and consists of geographical distribution maps and commentary. Wolfram also wrote the ÖVA's entry on 'Percht und Perchtengestalten',<sup>125</sup> in which he links the *Schiachperchten* to the Wild Hunt.<sup>126</sup> (His interpretive bias notwithstanding, the variants of Perchta folklore reported by the project's informants, ranging from memories of early *Perchten* mumming to legends about both Perchta and *Perchten*, are numerous and illuminating, and should not be dismissed as a resource.)

After the war, *Volkskundler* with Nazi affiliations by and large quietly slipped back into academia, and their theoretical orientation and underlying assumptions about the nature of *das Volk*, continuity and authenticity continued to define *Volkskunde* research on these topics for about twenty-five years, minus the overt political agenda. During this period, for example, Josef Hanika argues in "'Bercht schlitzt den Bauch auf' — Rest eines Initiationsritus?" (1951) that traces of circumcision and initiation rites dating back to the Stone Age can be detected in Perchta's belly-slitting activities.<sup>127</sup>

In his 'Berchtenbräuche im steirischen Ennsbereich' (1965),<sup>128</sup> Karl Haiding, formerly associated with the Rosenberg *Amt*, presents the copious results of his fieldwork conducted in the Enns region of Styria in the 1960s. The personal reminiscences and family stories of informants who were quite elderly at the time indicate that the forms and conventions of *Berchten* mumming current at that time had not changed significantly for a hundred years. Most of the mummers there have been women and girls, in contrast to the majority of *Perchten* elsewhere, and while they enact Perchta's house inspections, they are content to sweep on her behalf rather than miming belly-slitting, as many *Perchten* in other areas did throughout the nineteenth century.

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<sup>124</sup> Lixfeld, p. 2.

<sup>125</sup> Wolfram, 'Percht und Perchtengestalten' in *Österreichisches Volkskundeatlas: Unter dem Patronat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Auftrage der Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas*, ed. by Ernst Burgstaller and Adolf Helbok, 6 vols (*Kommentar zu den Karten* 112-114, vol. 6:2) (Lin: Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas, 1959-1981 (vols 2-6 ed. by Richard Wolfram, pub. Wien: 1979)), pp. 2-122.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Josef Hanika, "'Bercht schlitzt den Bauch auf' — Rest eines Initiationsritus?" in *Stifter-Jahrbuch* 2, ed. by Helmut Preidel (Gräfeling bei München: Gans Verlag, 1951), 39-54 (p. 32).

<sup>128</sup> Karl Haiding, 'Berchtenbräuche im steirischen Ennsbereich' in *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 95 (1965), pp. 322-338.

### 3.3 The Third Wave: Restoring Historicity

The third wave of *Volkskunde* scholarship began as a revolt within the discipline, staged by Bausinger and his students at the University of Tübingen, Germany over the course of several meetings of the German Folklore Society, from 1967 to 1970,<sup>129</sup> anticipated by Moser's critiques of *Folklorismus* (folklorism) in the early 1960s.<sup>130</sup> This major sea change came about as the result of confronting the long-overdue question of how to critically dismantle the errors and prejudices of Nazi *Volkskunde*, such as the continuity problem and emphasis on a timeless folk essence. During the third wave, there were two main concurrent developments: one in *Volkskunde*, which was concerned with shaking loose the erroneous conceits which had defined it since the Nazi era, and the other outside of academia, a renewed interest in folk culture that saw many Austrians and Germans rediscovering *Perchten* and *Krampusse* and founding their own mumming groups.<sup>131</sup>

Two seminal articles by Hans Moser, 'Vom Folklorismus in unserer Zeit' (1962) and 'Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde' (1964),<sup>132</sup> were emblematic of the new *Volkskunde*. Interpretations from folklore scholarship of the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries have become ensconced in popular understanding of the origins and meaning of these customs, circulated within the culture long after scholarship has moved on. This is the phenomenon Moser describes as *Rücklauf*,<sup>133</sup> which may be translated as "flowback" or "feedback". Some of these interpretations are widely accepted by performers and embellished upon, providing the impetus for the creation of new folklore

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<sup>129</sup> James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld, 'Introduction' in *German Volkskunde: A Decade of Theoretical Confrontation, Debate, and Reorientation* (1967-1977), ed. and trans. by James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 1-25 (2). Dow and Lixfeld, explain that twentieth-century *Volkskunde* had continued 'to assume that the *Volk* was a repository of ancient truths', adding that:

The primary goal of the romantic gospel thus became *collecting* and *preserving* these folk traditions before they disappeared forever. The *lore* of the Volk was to be categorized and later analyzed as *eo ipso* valuable evidence of a folk spirit [*Volksgeist*]. This *Volksgeist* was assumed a priori, and those survivals which were being collected were there to be used for historical reconstructions of those traditions' (p. 5. Italics theirs).

<sup>130</sup> Hans Moser, 'Vom Folklorismus in unserer Zeit', *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 58 (1962), 177-209 (pp. 9-57).

<sup>131</sup> Degg, pp. 83-85.

<sup>132</sup> Moser, 'Vom Folklorismus in unserer Zeit' and 'Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde', *Blätter für Volkskunde* 55 (1964), 9-57.

<sup>133</sup> Moser, 'Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde', p. 9.

in turn (folklorism), thus bearing out Bausinger's assertion that folklore and folklorism are ultimately intertwined.<sup>134</sup>

While often bemoaned by active and passive tradition-bearers as indicators of corruption and inauthenticity, these developments offer critical insights into the process of the continuous collaborative process of creating tradition. The notions of *Folklorismus* and *Rücklauf* were meant to dissect and define "authenticity" as it is construed in the context of *Volkskunde* and distinguish it from the inauthentic. This laid the groundwork for decades of general discussion about the nature of authenticity, continuity and tradition as well as elaborations on the concepts of *Folklorismus* and *Rücklauf*. These theoretical developments continue to be relevant to understanding the evolution of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, and will therefore be referred to throughout the thesis.

The resulting shift away from continuity-based theories of origins brought a new emphasis on other aspects of *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, including their masks and mask-makers, who were at the heart of their traditions then as they are now. The masks themselves are the primary focus of *Perchtenmasken in Österreich/Carved Custom Masks of the Austrian Alps* (1972) by Leopold Schmidt,<sup>135</sup> former curator of the Vienna Volkskunde Museum. This book, which is in both German and English, features Dorothea Broessler's collection of 59 photographs of *Perchten* masks found throughout Austria. Most of these masks come from the Salzburg area and date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although some from as early as the mid-seventeenth century and as late as the mid-twentieth century are included. Each photo is accompanied by brief details of the mask's construction, estimated age and place of origin, and what the mask is supposed to represent: devils (most of which Schmidt thinks to have been used in Counter-Reformation folk plays and Carnival contexts), witches, animals, monsters, and human figures both beautiful and grotesque.

In a fieldwork-based study of Nikolaus Day as celebrated in the rural community of Altirdning, Styria in 1975 ('The Masked Face', 1977),<sup>136</sup> John J. Honigmann describes the

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<sup>134</sup> Bausinger, 'Toward a Critique of Folklorism Criticism' in *German Volkskunde: A Decade of Theoretical Confrontation, Debate, and Reorientation (1967-1977)*, ed. and trans. by James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 113-123 (123). Originally pub. in German as 'Zur Kritik der Folklorismuskritik' in *Populus Revisus*, ed. by Hermann Bausinger, Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde (Magstadt: Verlag Horst Bissinger, 1966), pp. 61-75.

<sup>135</sup> Leopold Schmidt and Dorothea Broessler, *Perchtenmasken in Österreich/Carved Custom Masks of the Austrian Alps* (Wien-Köln-Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1972).

<sup>136</sup> Honigmann, pp. 263-280.

role of the *Krampus*, Nikolaus's companion, in detail. More popular than Nikolaus, the *Krampus*'s coming is anticipated by greeting cards and schoolboys making *Krampus* masks and costumes 'to be worn while impersonating Krampuses [sic] in the Saint Nicholas morality play'.<sup>137</sup> His analysis of the catechism-interrogation and its effect on children of different ages is particularly illuminating,<sup>138</sup> as are his insights into the way age factors into the mumming groups themselves; Honigmann describes the 'tradition within the tradition' of the young *Krampusse* 'going wild' and how the older men playing Nicholas are responsible for restraining them should their behavior exceed the bounds of acceptable role-playing.<sup>139</sup>

Edith Hörandner's entry in the *ÖVA*, 'Nikolausbrauchtum I und II',<sup>140</sup> provides a useful summary of regional names for Nikolaus and the *Krampus* as well as the auxiliary figures sometimes included in their retinue. Hörandner casts light on the mumming custom's extended seasonal context by pointing out the *Kinderschreck* function of both Nikolaus and *Krampus*, who are invoked in verbal warnings made to children in the days leading up to their visit.<sup>141</sup>

Cousins to the *Krampusse* are the *Klaubaife*, indigenous to parts of East Tyrol, who perform the same functions as *Krampusse* (accompanying Nikolaus and wreaking havoc) and resemble them, save for one feature: the lack of horns. Otto Koenig's monograph on the *Klaubaife* (*Klaubauf-Krampus-Nikolaus: Maskenbrauch in Tirol und Salzburg*, 1983)<sup>142</sup> explains the genesis of the unique hornless style of the *Klaubauf* masks and remains the best source available on the subject. Its particular strength is its charting of changes in materials used and aesthetic developments among area mask-makers as well as its incorporation of Koenig's sketches among the illustrations.

More valuable work on *Perchten* and *Krampusse* came out the 1980s and 1990s, emphasizing careful historical analysis in light of the medieval liturgical year (the cycle of feast and fast days) instead of continuity-based interpretations. Karin Norman's article

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid, p. 263

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p. 264.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p. 268.

<sup>140</sup> Edith Hörandner, 'Nikolausbrauchtum I und II' in *Österreichisches Volkskundeatlas: Unter dem Patronat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Auftrage der Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas*, ed. by Ernst Burgstaller and Adolf Helbok, 6 vols (vol. 6:2) (Linz: Kommission für den Volkskundeatlas, 1959-1981 (vols 2-6 ed. by Richard Wolfram, pub. Wien: 1979)), pp. 2-26 (20).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> Koenig.

‘Celebrating Nikolaus Day: Ideology and Emotion in a German Children’s Ritual’ (1993),<sup>143</sup> like Honigmann’s article, examines the socialization function of the catechism-interrogation. Norman discusses St. Nikolaus’s house visits on his feast day in Bavaria, where she conducted her fieldwork from 1977 to 1980. She introduces the phrase *Erziehung* (upbringing) in the context of ‘learning to be a person’ and the social structures and devices whereby this is achieved.<sup>144</sup> She analyzes the fruits of *Erziehung* and the role of the Nikolaus custom in enforcing these expectations for German children.<sup>145</sup>

Hans Schuhladen investigates another aspect of the body of Nikolaus-related traditions in *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes: ein Beitrag zur Volksschauspielforschung* (1984),<sup>146</sup> which deals with the Nikolaus plays which were popular during the Baroque, especially in the regions of Tyrol, Bavaria, and Styria. Schuhladen identifies different types of indoor and outdoor performance setting (for example, plays embedded in processions, pub environments, and house visits) and stresses their rise and fall in popularity in these regions as well as the transference of elements between them. Like Mezger, Schuhladen concludes that the act of mumming itself led to mischief-making bordering on public nuisance, and was criticized by church writers and municipal authorities,<sup>147</sup> a far cry from the order-enforcing Nikolaus described by Norman.<sup>148</sup> According to Schuhladen, the baroque Nikolaus play is likely to have drawn upon Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visits which were already extant.<sup>149</sup>

The Nikolaus play is only one of the traditions explored in Mezger’s *Sankt Nikolaus: zwischen Kult und Klamauk: zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Veränderung der Brauchformen um einen populären Heiligen* (1993),<sup>150</sup> which is dedicated to the folk-figure of the sainted bishop. Mezger builds the foundation of Nikolaus folklore brick by brick, from popular hagiography, which generated a handful of Nikolaus legends, to medieval religious drama and the festivals of inversion in the cloister schools, including the Church-sanctioned misrule of the Boy Bishops. From here, the capering devils, processions and

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<sup>143</sup> Norman, pp. 325-338.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, p. 325.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 326-8.

<sup>146</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, p. 219. In Mezger’s *Sankt Nikolaus: zwischen Kult und Klamauk*, see pp. 124-125 for one example.

<sup>148</sup> Norman.

<sup>149</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 213.

<sup>150</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*.

*quêtes*, raucous and comical elements growing out of these medieval traditions made their way into the *Fastnacht* (Carnival) revels of the fifteenth century, which, as Mezger points out, were dominated by devils before they were supplanted by fools. In many folkloric manifestations, Nikolaus's unruly servant is depicted as dark, rough and wild — a “devil”, literally or figuratively — and in light of this long history, the *Krampus*'s otherwise incomprehensible presence begins to make sense. Thus Mezger places the origins of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* dyad as we know it today in its proper historical context, shedding light on its sometimes volatile mixture of mischief and pedagogy, which seems to instill order and discipline while simultaneously subverting it.

Rumpf's *Perchten: Populäre Glaubensgestalten zwischen Mythos und Katechese* (1991)<sup>151</sup> is the single most important resource for research on Perchta and *Perchten* to date. It serves as an invaluable introduction to the subjects of *Perchten* and Perchta, particularly for its comprehensive, detailed examination of early sources. Galvanized in part by the need to reevaluate the various interpretive positions taken by scholars over the years, she identifies and challenges the continuity-based interpretations which to a large extent dominate study of the subject to this day. Rumpf meticulously traces the roots of Perchta from a variety of early sources, suggesting medieval to baroque origins for various elements in *Perchten* traditions which had hitherto been assumed to be ancient, uncovering their roots in popular interpretations of Catholic doctrine and observance of the liturgical calendar. In the pattern that emerges from her historical analysis, the *Kinderschreck* function emerges as the dominant, overarching theme in Perchta folklore and *Perchten* mumming.

This book contains research into Perchta's various personas, developed earlier in a series of articles exploring early modern folktale motifs associated with her. ‘*Perchta in der Sage und der mittelalterlichen Quellen*’ (1973)<sup>152</sup> provides an overview of these motifs, while other articles Rumpf's ‘*Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta*’ (1990),<sup>153</sup> Rumpf demonstrates that Perchta's *Kinderschreck* identity can be traced to some of the earliest references to her, and explores her use in medieval *exempla* delivered from the pulpit, which functioned as cautionary tales. Here Domina Perchta was equated with Luxuria,<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, ‘*Perchta in der Sage und der mittelalterlichen Quellen*’ in *Probleme der Sagenforschung: Verhandlungen der Tagung veranstaltet von der Kommission für Erzählforschung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde e. V. vom 27 September bis 1 Oktober 1972 in Freiburg in Breisgau*, ed. by Lutz Röhrich (Freiburg in Breisgau: Forschungsstelle Sage, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1973), pp. 122-138.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, ‘*Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta*’, *Fabula* 31 (1990): 97-120.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.



the allegorical personification of the worldly vices of vanity and indolence and further conflated with Frau Welt. At the heart of the article is the “*Teufel auf der Schleppe*” (“Devil on the Train”) motif found in medieval literary and pictorial sources, in which an elegantly-attired lady drags her train through the muck, weighted down by a laughing devil.<sup>155</sup>

In her ‘*Spinnstubenfrauen, Kinderschreckgestalten und Frau Perchta*’ (1976),<sup>156</sup> Rumpf shows how the motifs of spinning, fasting, and gastrotomy are intertwined and sometimes found in the same verbal warnings and folktales about the *Spinnstubenfrau* (mistress of the spinning chamber) and Frau Faste (Lady Fast, “*Faste*” also being the German word for Lent). As she shows, these tales relate to the socialization of children (particularly girls) in both domestic and religious spheres, a theme which extends to another of Perchta’s *Kinderschreck* personas, that of the *Butzenbercht*. Rumpf’s ‘*Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser: Beziehungen und Beeinflussungen*’ (1980)<sup>157</sup> is an examination of two early modern *Kinderschreck* figures related to Perchta and similar folk-figures. One of the most important early sources for the study of Perchta folklore is a pair of woodcuts entitled “*Butzen-Bercht und Kinderfresser*” published in Augsburg, Germany in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (see 4.3). The depiction of the belly-slitting *Butzenbercht* and the accompanying verses contain elements common to Perchta folklore, including threats of gastrotomy (disembowelment and stuffing the stomach with refuse) as punishment for naughty behavior.<sup>158</sup>

The *Butzenbercht*’s male counterpart, the *Kinderfresser* (child-gobbler), mirrors her threats in the companion woodcut. Shared elements between these two figures, such as the cannibalism implied by the large baskets on their backs for carrying off children and underscored by the *Butzenbercht*’s oven fork and the *Kinderfresser*’s sharp teeth, seem to prefigure the appearance and behavior of nineteenth-century *Perchten* and *Krampusse* (see 4.5.2 and 5.7), although the *Kinderfresser* is less obviously connected to the *Krampus* than the *Butzenbercht* is to Perchta. (Due to their similar names, Mezger sees the *Butzenbercht* as more of a predecessor to Knecht Ruprecht than the *Kinderfresser* as a predecessor to Knecht Ruprecht.<sup>159</sup>) The *Kinderfresser* was a popular motif in visual art from the sixteenth

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p. 101.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, ‘*Spinnstubenfrauen, Kinderschreckgestalten und Frau Perchta*’, *Fabula* 17 (1976): 215-242.

<sup>157</sup> Rumpf, ‘*Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser: Beziehungen und Beeinflussungen*’, *Beiträge zur deutschen Volks- und Altertumskunde* 19 (1980): 57-76.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>159</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 169.

through the eighteenth centuries;<sup>160</sup> like Nikolaus, he was represented in *Lebkuchen* molds during this period, as attested to in references to *Einlegen* gifts (5.5).<sup>161</sup>

Further reexamination of Nikolaus, the *Krampus* and Perchta followed on the heels of Mezger's and Rumpf's work, drawing more carefully on historical sources than the continuity-based scholarship of preceding generations. John B. Smith took up the torch from Rumpf in 'Perchta the Belly-Slitter and Her Kin: A View of Some Traditional Threatening Figures, Threats and Punishments' (2004),<sup>162</sup> where he focuses on the reasons for the drastic and bizarre punishments meted out by Frau Perchta and other 'traditional threatening figures' in folk belief and folktales.<sup>163</sup> Such acts, he argues, symbolically reflect the nature of the infraction; hence spooling up one's guts as punishment for spinning or fasting violations.<sup>164</sup> Like Grimm and Rumpf, Smith makes a compelling case for the etymological connection of the name "Perchta" with both Epiphany and personifications of fasting (Frau Faste), and argues for links between Frau Perchta and *Fasching*-related customs. Smith derives her name from a medieval German word for Epiphany, concluding with Rumpf that Perchta is of medieval rather than prehistoric origin.<sup>165</sup>

Schuhladen also turned his attention to the history of *Perchten* during the Baroque in 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Grundlagen zur Analyse heutigen Traditionsverständnisses' (1983-84).<sup>166</sup> Drawing upon archival sources that had hitherto remained largely uninvestigated, such as court records and correspondence between governing bodies, he details a rash of decrees forbidding *Perchten* mumming on religious and civil grounds, issued in Bavaria, Salzburg, and Tyrol from the late sixteenth through the early seventeenth centuries. Court records attest that *Perchten* included a surprisingly wide

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<sup>160</sup> Marina Warner, *No Go the Bogeyman: Scaring, Lulling, and Making Mock* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), p. 30.

<sup>161</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*; Edith Hörandner, *Model: Geschnitzte Formen für Lebkuchen, Spekulatius und Springerle* (München: Callweg Verlag, 1982); Albert Walzer, *Liebeskutsche, Reitersmann, Nikolaus und Kinderbringer: volkstümlicher Bilderschatz auf Gebäckmodellen, in der Graphic und Keramik*, ed. by Städtischen Sparkasse und der Städtischen Girokasse (Stuttgart: Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1963).

<sup>162</sup> John B. Smith, 'Perchta the Belly-Slitter and Her Kin: A View of Some Traditional Threatening Figures, Threats and Punishments', *Folklore*, 115 (2004), 167-186.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*, p. 174.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 168-9.

<sup>166</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Grundlagen zur Analyse heutigen Traditionsverständnisses' in *Bayerische Hefte für Volkskunde* (1983-84): 1-29.

range of ages and both sexes during this period and overwhelmingly destitute, evidence that their house visits provided an important means of obtaining food. Out of ostensible concern that *Perchten* mumming contained the potential for violence and sorcery, *Perchten* were punished with imprisonment, public humiliation, military conscription, and hard labor. Branding their house visits as *Heischengehen* (going begging) — even when hosts protested that they had given gladly — facilitated the criminalization of their activities.<sup>167</sup>

Schuhladen extended this investigation to the development of *Perchten* mumming in Gastein (in Salzburg's Pongau region) at the dawn of the twentieth century in 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts',<sup>168</sup> which was published in the proceedings of an ambitious symposium on *Perchten* masks held in Salzburg in 1992. This conference attracted the foremost *Perchten* scholars as well as a number of *Perchten* mummers and other people deeply invested in this complex of traditions, and the published proceedings, *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposion/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992*,<sup>169</sup> edited by Ernestine Hutter, contain contributions on a variety of *Perchten*-related topics ranging from historical influences to current aesthetic developments and social context. One of the strengths of this publication is the inclusion of the discussions following each paper, in which the voices of mummers are heard, often questioning or challenging views put forth by the presenters or bringing up critical issues not considered in the papers given, thereby permitting the reader a valuable glimpse into the actual current motivations and priorities of the mummers themselves.

Among the essays on historical and contemporary *Perchten* mumming included are several treating the various facets of the contemporary display custom format of many Salzburg *Perchtenläufe*. Particularly notable is Franz Grieshofer's 'Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinungsformen in Österreich',<sup>170</sup> in which he discusses the evolution of the folk-figure of Perchta and various manifestations of *Perchten* mumming. Harald Dengg ('Die Salzburger Krampus- und Perchtengruppen in ihrem gegenwärtigen

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p. 89.

<sup>168</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' in *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposion/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992*, ed. by Ernestine Hutter (Salzburg: [Landesverband] Salzburger Volkskultur, 1992), pp. 22-48.

<sup>169</sup> Hutter, ed., *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposion/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992* (Salzburg: [Landesverband] Salzburger Volkskultur, 1992).

<sup>170</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinungsformen in Österreich', pp. 227-243.

Erscheinungsbild')<sup>171</sup> sees these developments as a lamentable source of confusion, arguing that the merging of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in the latter half of the twentieth century and the commercialism of folk culture (rooted in tourist economies) have diminished their authenticity and meaning. Ernestine Hutter also writes of a shift in (if not a degradation of) meaning in *Perchten* mumming, emphasizing the current status of *Perchten* masks as 'prestige objects' which are widely held to be impressive artworks of financial, cultural, and personal value (and thus perfectly suited to their central role in the *Perchtenlauf* as display custom), but essentially divested of the magical potency she assumes they formerly possessed ('Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt').<sup>172</sup>

Following this, Hutter published *Masken: Brauch und Mythos: Die Maskensammlung des volkskundlichen Abteilung des SMCA* (2004),<sup>173</sup> a book of essays and photographs accompanying the remarkable collection of folk masks at the SMCA (which she curates) and an excellent companion to Schmidt's *Perchtenmasken in Österreich*. Hutter puts the early Baroque to mid-nineteenth century masks held by the SMCA and the Vienna Volkskunde Museum in their proper historical context by describing the origins of the Salzburg collection, which arose from the awakening of interest in *Perchten* and other folk customs among scholars, art dealers, and antiques collectors (6.2). The sudden demand for these old masks led to forgeries, thus setting the stage for the debates about folklorism and the nature of authenticity (rooted in claims of historical continuity) which remain a central part of the scholarly and popular discourses surrounding both *Perchten* and *Krampusse* to this day.<sup>174</sup>

### 3.4 Mummers in their Own Words

One of the developments following the Tübingen conference (though it cannot be attributed to it) is a new focus on the masks and mummers themselves. This is in marked contrast to

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<sup>171</sup> Degg, pp. 83-96.

<sup>172</sup> Hutter, 'Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt' in *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch. Tagungsband zum Salzburger Perchten-Symposium/Maske, Mystik, Brauch/Burg Hohenwerfen, 13. bis 15. November 1992*, ed. by Ernestine Hutter (Salzburg: [Landesverband] Salzburger Volkskultur, 1992), pp. 137-147.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, *Masken: Brauch und Mythos: Die Maskensammlung des volkskundlichen Abteilung des SMCA*, Schriftenreihe zu Kunstgewerbe und Volkskunde, 13 (Salzburg: Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, 2004).

<sup>174</sup> These debates and related subjects are discussed extensively in Regina Bendix's *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1997), which examines the development of folklore studies in the English and German-speaking countries.

the first two waves of *Volkskunde*, which focused almost exclusively on questions of origins and meaning (that is to say, their presumed original function) and which assumed the *Volkskundler* themselves were the ultimate authorities, *Volkskunde* being a matter of collection, classification, and analysis.

Broadening the field of research to include social and cultural context and recognition of the autonomy and individuality of active tradition-bearers made room for *Perchten* and *Krampusse* themselves to represent themselves on their own terms in books, articles, and essays on their websites. Notable among these is Salzburg *Krampus* Felix Müller's mumming account, rendered in a first-person narrative as the second part of an article co-written with his father, 'Percht und *Krampus*, Kramperl und Schiach-Perchten' (1999)<sup>175</sup>. This approach to the experience of being behind the mask and mummers' interaction with spectators factors into the dissertation of René Michael Patschok, titled *Der Wandel von traditionellen Brauchtumsgruppen zu modernen Entertainern: am Beispiel der österreichischen Perchtenszene* (2005).<sup>176</sup> Patschok, himself a member of a Styrian *Perchten* group, offers an overview of *Perchten* mumming in terms of interpersonal communication and incorporates Erving Goffman's dramaturgical sociology, discussing the importance of reading of the face in human communication.<sup>177</sup>

Finally, the internet provides an excellent platform for self-publication. The website of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n contains an essay written by its founder, Günter Polanec, about the *Hexen* mummers who run with some *Perchten* groups, offering a feminist analysis of their significance in modern-day contexts.<sup>178</sup> Such examples of self-representation are in keeping with *Perchten* and *Krampus* mummers' exercise of agency, evident in their entrepreneurial orientation and pedagogical approach to sharing and promoting their traditions.

It appears to be an irony (and a function of *Rücklauf*) that when mummers put forth their own interpretations of Perchta in particular, they seem to have come from the first wave of *Volkskunde*, alluding to Perchta's *Doppelaspekt* and *Perchten*'s fertility-bringing

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<sup>175</sup> Felix Müller and Ulrich Müller, 'Percht und Krampus, Kramperl und Schiach-Perchten' in *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, ed. by Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich, *Mittelalter-Mythen*, 2 (St. Gallen: UVK-Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1999), pp. 449-460.

<sup>176</sup> Patschok, *Der Wandel von traditionellen Brauchtumsgruppen zu modernen Entertainern*.

<sup>177</sup> Patschok cites a German edition of Erving Goffman's seminal book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Mayflower, 1959). Goffman's theories have much to offer in the analysis of masks and mumming. For 10.5.1, I have drawn on Goffman's *Gender Advertisements*.

<sup>178</sup> Günter Polanec, Salzburger Schiachperchten und Krampusse, '*Hexen*', <<http://www.krampusse.eu/krampusse/content/view/21/40/>>, 2010, accessed Dec. 12, 2015.

and apotropaic functions, as advanced by Andree-Eysn in 1910.<sup>179</sup> In Chapters 6 and 7, I will endeavor to show that these ideas, which provide personal significance and creative inspiration for mummers, are actually something new in the guise of something old, the authentic and real in the guise of something obsolete; folklore in the guise of folklorism.<sup>180</sup> In this sense, these new developments in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming reflect and expand upon ideas advanced through the previous two waves of *Volkskunde* scholarship. In order to understand the genesis of these ideas, we must consider the source material in its historical context, which will be the subject of the next two chapters.

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<sup>179</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 179.

<sup>180</sup> Bausinger, 'Toward a Critique of Folklorism Criticism', p. 23.

## 4. PERCHTA AND *PERCHTEN*: ORIGINS AND IDENTITY

Perchta, the folk-figure for whom the *Perchten* are named, is a complex and multi-faceted figure. Considering that written references to Perchta span centuries, it is not surprising that this figure should encompass such a wide spectrum of sometimes contradictory characteristics, often conceptualized in terms of her *Doppelaspekt*, and that the body of myth and folklore surrounding her has been put to a variety of uses, from socializing children and enforcing orthodox Catholic belief to seasonal ritual, entertainment, and touristic promotion.

The earliest recorded references to Perchta are found in ecclesiastical writings ranging from the instructional *fabulae* (fables) and *exempla* (“examples”, Bible stories used in homilies) to penitentials and decretals. In some, she appears as an allegorical figure personifying the vices of vanity and luxury,<sup>181</sup> while other sources condemn women who believe in Perchta and her wild night rides in the company of Diana and Herodias.<sup>182</sup> This cautionary function in itself was not limited to religious proscriptions, but found in secular contexts as well, as other early references describe her as a bogey figure used to threaten naughty children.<sup>183</sup> In this capacity, she enforced fasting and feasting prohibitions as well as seasonal bans on work, particularly spinning, gastrotoomy being her favored punishment. In the early modern period, folktales incorporating various elements from these sources emerged,<sup>184</sup> generally featuring Perchta in her *Kinderschreck* capacity.

The first certain recorded instances of *Perchten* mumming date to the Baroque, when they were persecuted by civil and Church authorities for begging, practicing sorcery, and instigating violence.<sup>185</sup> *Perchten* fared better in the nineteenth century, when the emergence of *Volkskunde* gave rise to a flurry of fieldwork and publications documenting the gastrotoomy paradrama and Perchta folktales, which now featured her roaming the

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<sup>181</sup> Rumpf, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’.

<sup>182</sup> In John Shinnars, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500: A Reader*, 2nd edn, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, 2 (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2007), p. 462. Burchard of Worms’s *Corrector et Medicus* is reproduced on pp. 459-472.

<sup>183</sup> Rumpf, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’, p. 98.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, ‘Perchta in der Sage und der mittelälterlichen Quellen’.

<sup>185</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’.

forests with her *Kinderseelenschar* (retinue of unbaptized child souls) during the *Rauhnächte*.<sup>186</sup> By the end of the century, *Perchten* mumming had acquired a new social value which it maintains to this day: that of regional display custom, a source of community pride and annual economic revitalization via tourism. Throughout it all, Perchta has become more enigmatic and complex than ever. Investigation into the origins and meaning of the word *Percht* takes us to the beginning of this story.

#### 4.1 The Meaning of the Name “*Percht*” and Name Variations

The earliest known allusion to Perchta is a reference to the day associated with her. From the eleventh-century *Monseer Glossen*, a collection of polemical commentaries, comes the first reference to *Giperchtemnacht* or *Perch-Tag* (Perch-Day), which is explicitly identified as Epiphany.<sup>187</sup> According to Grimm, ‘*giperahta naht, die leuchtende nacht [giperahta naht, the luminous night]*’ is derived from translations of the Greek word for Epiphany, *theophania*.<sup>188</sup> For Smith<sup>189</sup> and Rumpf,<sup>190</sup> like Grimm before them, the antiquity of Perchta’s association with Epiphany and etymological evidence suggesting her name is a derivation or translation of words meaning Epiphany establish her origins as a personification of that date, much like the Italian Befana, who is a similar folk-figure.<sup>191</sup> Following Grimm, Smith argues that the meaning of “bright” also found in Perchta’s name supports this interpretation, since Epiphany is the “bright’ day”.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Johann Nepomuk Ritter von Alpenburg, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols* (Zürich: Verlag von Meyer und Zeller, 1857), p. 46.

<sup>187</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbräuchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts’, p. 24.

<sup>188</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 173. See also Andreas Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (vol. 1) (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1872), p. 269.

<sup>189</sup> John B. Smith, especially pp. 169-170 (Epiphany) and 174-176 (gastrotoomy).

<sup>190</sup> Rumpf, ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’, p. 124.

<sup>191</sup> Stanley Gee, ‘Some Notes on Italian Folk Customs’, *Folklore*, 93:1 (1982), 93-97.

<sup>192</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 173; John B. Smith, pp. 169-170. Schmeller also sees Perchta as the personification of Epiphany, writing that ‘*Frau Bercht oder Berchtel, deren Cultus vielleicht in die vorchristlichen Zeiten unseres Volkes zurückgreift, diesen ihren christlichen Namen wohl von jenen veralteten des heil. Dreykönigstags erhalten haben [Frau Bercht oder Berchtel, whose cult probably reaches back into the pre-Christian age of our folk, likely obtained her Christian names from [...] the Holy Three Kings Day]*’ (vol. 1, p. 27).

For more on this etymological development, which also led to the English word “bright”, see the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s entry for the latter, which explains that ‘The metathesis of *breht* for *berht* occurs already in Lindisf. Gloss’ (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, entry: “bright, a. and n”,



As we saw in 3.1, many scholars tracing Perchta's identity and origins have followed Grimm's lead in using etymological analysis of her name in combination with a comparative mythological approach, which they believed yielded evidence of her identification with similar female figures, primarily Holda and Frau Holle.<sup>193</sup> Legends and mumming traditions related to Perchta or apparent analogues are indeed scattered across a wide geographical expanse, from Alsace and Switzerland to Slovenia and Bohemia in addition to her Alpine strongholds of Austria and Bavaria. Consequently there are a multitude of names for Perchta and similar figures.<sup>194</sup> It is sometimes difficult to discern from literary sources whether a given figure was identified with Perchta by the person recording the custom or its practitioners. Insofar as the latter were unaware of other regional variants, they were in no position to consider whether or not, for instance, the Perchtl of Carinthia and the Lutzl of Burgenland were the same figure with different names. (The geographical barrier of the Alps would have increased the likeliness of this and thereby fostered a variety of regional variations.) As for the writers of these documents, they may have been conflating them via the process of *interpretatio romana*.

Other researchers have argued for different origins of Perchta's name. Friederike Prodinger claims the old German verb *pergan*, which carries the meaning of concealment or covering up with a mask, has roots in antiquity,<sup>195</sup> and Friedrich Vogt believes the name Bercht is derived from *bergan*, which means "to protect" or "ward off". In his view, this indicates masking as protective magic, an ancient function confirming Bercht's prehistoric roots.<sup>196</sup> Although, as she points out, the verb *verbergen* simply means "to mask or conceal" in modern German, Rumpf ultimately rejects the possibility that the name *Percht* derives from this handful of old German verbs carrying that meaning.<sup>197</sup> While the claim of these etymological arguments to establish prehistoric origins for Perchta is indeed tenuous, a derivation from words meaning "masking" still seems worth considering, especially in light

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<[http://dictionary.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/cgi/entry/50027541?query\\_type=word&query\\_word=bright&first=1&max\\_to\\_show=10&sort\\_type=alpha&result\\_place=1&search\\_id=5IYc-Pi9fMI-5130&hilite=50027541](http://dictionary.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/cgi/entry/50027541?query_type=word&query_word=bright&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=5IYc-Pi9fMI-5130&hilite=50027541)>, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (1989), 2010, accessed Dec. 23, 2015.

<sup>192</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 66.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33.

<sup>195</sup> Friederike Prodinger, 'Beiträge zur Perchtenforschung' in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 100 (1960), 545-563 (p. 559).

<sup>196</sup> Friedrich Vogt, *Die schlesischen Weihnachtsspiele* (B. G. Leubner: Leipzig: 1901), p. 103.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

of the fact that the word “*Perchten*” has not only been used for centuries to mean *Perchten* masks, but as a general term for mummers themselves.<sup>198</sup> Whatever the origins and meaning of the name Percht(a), it is primarily by this name and its variants that she is known, usually preceded by the respectful title *Frau* (Lady), or the Latin *Domina* in medieval sources, sometimes employed ironically.

## 4.2 A Typology of Perchta References

Taking the abundance of medieval and early modern references as a whole, Rumpf has identified two main types of Perchta, each containing subtypes: the bogey figure who inspects the spinning room and threatens disobedient children<sup>199</sup> and the leader of the Wild Hunt, who accompanies the souls of the dead (usually the souls of unbaptized babies) in nocturnal processions. Expanding upon Rumpf’s two types to include subtypes and other representations and interpretations of Perchta, it is possible to extrapolate from the historical material a kind of typology, presented below in rough chronological order. The first two are featured in ecclesiastical writings including sermons,<sup>200</sup> lists of superstitions,<sup>201</sup> and the allegorical media of *fabulae* and *exempla*. The third appears in mumming form as well as in engravings, verbal warnings and folktales, and the fourth is found in folktales and associated customs, such as the setting out of *Perchtmilch*.<sup>202</sup> These types and subtypes may be categorized as follows:

1. Member or leader of a night-faring supernatural host
2. Allegorical representations of sinful luxury and worldliness
3. Belly-slitting

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid. This may be due to the fact that the name *Perchten* has been used to describe masks used on various occasions throughout the extended winter season, including *Fastnacht* in Tyrol (see Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts’, pp. 26, 28-30).

<sup>199</sup> Rumpf, ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’, p. 112.

<sup>200</sup> In Shinnars, p. 462.

<sup>201</sup> Hans Vintler, *Die Pluemen der Tugent*, ed. by Ignaz Zingerle, *Ältere tirolische Dichter*, 1 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1874), originally pub. Innsbruck: n. pub., 1411.

<sup>202</sup> Haiding, pp. 322-33.

- 3a. Frau Faste
- 3b. The *Spinnstubenfrau*
- 3c. The *Butzenbercht*
- 4. Leader of a nocturnal supernatural host, echoing Type 1
  - 4a. Leader of the Wild Hunt
  - 4b. Leader of a *Kinderseelenschar*

To these types we might add two more which are essentially scholarly constructions: Perchta's *Doppelaspekt* and Perchta as embodiment of Epiphany. As we saw in 3.1, the former emerged as a retrospective analytical category in the nineteenth century, and the latter interpretation has enjoyed a long history stretching from Grimm to Smith.<sup>203</sup> Of these types and subtypes, only 3 and, to a much more limited extent, 4a are directly reflected in both historical and contemporary *Perchten* mumming (their incorporation into the latter is discussed in 7.2). For examples of the written references pertaining to the other types and subtypes, see Appendix C.

For now, we shall turn to an exploration of type 3 (Perchta as belly-slitter), which is was formerly the most common aspect clearly portrayed by *Perchten* during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

### **4.3 *Butzenbercht* and *Kinderfresser*: Early Mumming Evidence?**

This *Kinderschreck* persona continued to dominate well into the early modern period, not just in variants of Perchta and the *Krampus* or their predecessors, but in a plethora of similar folk-figures surfacing in verbal warnings, pictorial and written sources, and masked performance. The use of *Kinderschreck* figures to frighten children into good behavior was being criticized as early as 1572, when Loys Lavater, a Swiss pastor, declared that it was better to beat children than to threaten them with ravenous bogeys,<sup>204</sup> and in 1634, a similar critique appeared in Lutheran satirist Johann Michael Moscherosch's *Christlichen*

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<sup>203</sup> Grimm, vol. 4, p. 281; John B. Smith, pp. 16.

<sup>204</sup> Loys Lavater, c. 1572 from the autobiography of Isabella de Moerloose, in Warner, p. 30.

*Vermächtnis eines treuen Vaters*, which called on readers not to ‘mit unnöthigen Dingen schrecken noch sich fürchten Machen, wie etliche unverständige Aeltern und loses Gesinde thun [frighten children with unnecessary things, like a number of misunderstanding parents and the loose rabble do]’, enumerating various *Kinderschreck* figures currently afoot and adding intriguingly that ‘Solche Butzenlarven und vorgemalte Gesichter erschrecken die Jugend oft also [...] eine Magd, die den Kindern sage: “es wäre der Butzenmummel, der böse Mann, der einen frisst” [Such *Butzen* masks and painted faces often frighten the youth as well [...] a maidservant who says to the children: “it would be the *Butzenmummel*, the evil man, who feeds on you”].<sup>205</sup>

Important historical evidence for a correlation between the “*Butzen*” prefix, verbal allusions to *Kinderschreck* figures, bogey behavior, and frightening masks (though the latter is contestable) comes in the form of an unforgettable pair of woodcuts published in Augsburg, Bavaria. Titled “*Die Butzen-Bercht*” and “*Der Kinderfresser*” and attributed to Albrecht Schmidt, they were likely first published in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and mass-produced in the seventeenth.<sup>206</sup> Examined side by side, it is evident they were meant to be viewed as a single composition in which the *Kinderfresser* advances from the left towards a cluster of terrified children fleeing towards a maternal figure in an open doorway, while the *Butzenbercht* closes in from the right.

The *Butzenbercht* is a humpbacked, tattered old woman advancing with snot (*Butze*) dripping from her nose, a deadly-looking oven fork in one hand and a distaff wound with flax in the other (Fig. 120).<sup>207</sup> Like the fifteenth-century Perchta in the *Pluemen der Tugent (Flowers of Virtue)*<sup>208</sup> and the *Kinderfresser*, the *Butzenbercht* is possessed of huge,

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<sup>205</sup> Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Christliches Vermächtnis oder schuldige Vorsorg eines treuen Vaters* (Straßbourg: 1643). Cited in Rumpf, ‘Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser’, p. 69.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, pp. 57-58.

<sup>207</sup> Rumpf, ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’, p. 113. The double meaning of “*Butze*” may be a visual pun in the Frankfurt dialect:

Ein “*Butzel*, eine “*Butze*” oder ein “*Butzmann*” ist [...] die verdickte und verhärtete Flüssigkeit in der Nase und in den Augen. Diese Bedeutung für *Butze* erinnert an die auf den Augsburger Bilderbogen dargestellte *Butzen-Bercht*, der der Rotz aus der Nase fließt und an die *Bercht*, die in den Sagen die nicht abgesponnenen Spinnrocken mit Rotz besudelt. Im Text der Bilderbogens wird den artigen Kindern Rotz als Speise vorgesetzt.

A “*Butzel*”, a “*Butze*” or a “*Butzmann*” is [...] the thickened and hardened fluid in the nose and eyes. This meaning for *Butze* is reminiscent of the *Butzenbercht* portrayed in the Augsburg sheet of pictures, from whose nose snot streams, and of the *Bercht* who soils the distaffs that have not been spun off with snot. In the text of the sheet of pictures the naughty children are served snot as their dish (Rumpf, ‘Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser’, p. 66).

<sup>208</sup> Illustration in Vintler, p. 261, lines 7761-7762.

glassy, seemingly unseeing eyes, suggesting (although not necessarily providing historical evidence for) a masked face. Strapped to her back is a large basket filled with squalling children. Disobedient and lazy girls could expect to receive the terrible attentions of the *Butzenbercht*, related with unseemly relish in the verses that follow:

*Mum, mum, mum*

*Wo seyd ihr Kinder, wo?*

*Warum versteckt ihr euch, was fliehet ihr mich so?*

Mum mum mum

Where are you, children, where?

Why do you hide yourselves, why flee from me so?<sup>209</sup>

She proceeds to issue a number of imaginatively sadistic threats:

*Wollt ihr auch böse seyn, faullingen und nichts thun,  
Grumpfig und muffia seyn, als wie ein pfiffigs Huhn,  
Nichts lernen in der Schul, nichts nähen oder spinnen,  
Nichts betten und aufstehn, so sollt ihr nicht entrinnen  
Meinem alten Besenstiel, der Peitschen und der Ruth,  
Womit ich schlagen will euch bis aufs rothe Blut.*

Do you, too, want to be bad, lazy, and do nothing,  
Be grumpy and out-of-sorts, like a silly goose,  
Learn nothing in school, neither sew nor spin,  
Neither go to bed, nor get up, so shall you not escape  
My old broomstick, the whip and the switch,  
With which I will beat you until you are red with blood.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser', p. 58. Woodcut reproduced in Rumpf, *Perchten*, Fig. no. 2, p. 218. Translation by Cynthia Dyre-Moellenhof (see Appendix B for full text and translation).

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

As if that were not enough, she threatens to take away their toys, set their pigtails on fire, and cut off their noses. Most significantly, the *Butzenbercht* promises to inflict the act for which Perchta is most notorious in her *Kinderschreck* guise, slicing open her victims and stuffing them with refuse:

*so will ich haspeln  
die Därme aus dem Bauch und ihn hernach mit Raspeln  
Und Hecheln füllen ein.*

so will I spool  
your intestines up out of your belly and then with rasping  
And panting let it be filled.<sup>211</sup>

In the final verse girls are advised to be docile and obedient, lest they ‘*in* [sic; = *in der*] *Korb der Butzen-Berchte kommen* [come into the basket of the *Butzen-Berchte*]’.<sup>212</sup> While the *Korb* worn by the *Butzenbercht* in this woodcut — and past generations of *Perchten* mummers — is clearly a large, child-sized basket, the word “*Korb*” can also mean “cage”, a double-meaning that would have enhanced the terror of the threat considerably. Children were thus given to understand that if their behavior did not warrant rewards of fruit and sweets, they themselves would be abducted, even eaten. (As we shall see in 5.5, the cannibalism is more explicit in the case of the *Kinderfresser*, whose name means “child-gobbler”.)

Here we return to the question of possible links between the *Butzenbercht* woodcut and mumming mentioned at the start of this section. As noted in 4.1, etymological analysis deriving the word stem “*percht*” and its variants from old German verbs meaning “masking” and “concealment” are problematic. More compelling are the linguistic links between the *Butzenbercht* and masking. We have seen how the various meanings of the

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid. This imagery is reminiscent of the “Intestinal Crank” used on suspected witches (Bavaria was a major site of witchcraft persecution during the Thirty Years War (1524-1648), with mass-executions in Bamberg and Würzburg from 1626 to 1631; see also notes 221 and 245). Likewise, the *Butzenbercht*’s threat to drool phlegm into her victims’ bellies suggests the “*Schwedentrunk*” (“Swedish Drink”), a form of water torture inflicted on southern Germans during that war, which overlapped with the dates of the woodcut’s publication and dissemination. It might be productive to explore the possibility that the *Butzenbercht*’s threats reflected a popular awareness of these torture techniques, which were practiced in the same region and time period. See 4.4 for the residual impact of the Thirty Years War on *Perchten* mumming during the Baroque.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

“butz” word stem — snot (which drips from her nose and with which she soils unfinished spinning),<sup>213</sup> masking and concealment (that of bogey figures waiting in hiding for their victims?), and *Kinderschreck* figures — relate to these depictions of Perchta as *Butzenbercht*. The nouns *Butze* and *Butz* and the verb *butzen* also refer to masking in thirteenth-century sources.<sup>214</sup> ‘*Der Murmler oder “bucz”, mit dem die Mütter den Kindern drohen, ist ein Mann, der die Kinder beißt* [The Murmler or bucz, with whom mothers threaten children, is a man who bites children]’, Rumpf explains, adding that ‘*ein Butz eine Larve und eine Person, ein Fastnachtsbutz eine “larva baccanalis”, ein Butzengesicht, ein “facies larvata” und ein Butzmann, ein “homo larvatus”* [a *Butz* is a *Larve* [mask] and a person, a *Fastnachtsbutz* a “*larva baccanalis*”, a *Butzen*-face, a “*facies larvata*” and a *Butzmann*, a “*homo larvatus*”]. Johann Georg Estor’s *Versuch eines hessischen Wörterbuches* (1767) also makes this connection: “*Butz, ein Schreckbild, womit man die Kinder zu schrecken pflegt, oder schüchtern machet. du! Der Butz kimmt!* [*Butz*, a picture of fear, with which one frightens children, or makes them wary. ‘Hey, you! The *Butz* is coming!]’ Estor relates the word “*Butz*” to the verbs *butzeln*, *zubutzeln*, and *bozzeln*, which carry the same general meaning as the common verb *verhüllen*: to “cloak”, “muffle”, or “veil”.<sup>215</sup>

In 1896, Richard Andree described the similarly-named *Buffemann* or *Buffeklaus*, a regional variant of St. Nikolaus from Braunschweig, Lower Saxony, who, like Nikolaus, was accompanied by chain-wielding companions:

*Weihnachtszeit wird eingeleitet durch den Buffeklaus, oder Bôklaus, wie er wechselnd nach der Gegend heißt, eine Figur, die sich eigentlich auf den heiligen Nikolaus, den Schutzpatron der Schuljugend, bezieht, dessen Kalendertag der 6 Dezember ist. Seine ver mummt e Gestalt tritt aber erst kurz vor den Feiertagen auf und sein Erscheinen wird durch allerlei Lärm angekündigt, indem die Beteiligten mit Wagenketten [...] durch das Dorf jagen, um die Kinder gehörig vorzubereiten. Unkenntlich eingehüllt in verschiedene Kleidungsstücke, gewöhnlich mit einem langen Flachsbar te, mit einer Rute oder einem Sack voll Sand und Asche erscheint der Buffeklaus da, wo Kinder find und fragt, ob sie beten können. Sage sie ihren Spruch gut auf, so erhalten sie Äpfel und Nüsse aus einem Sack, sonst einen Streich mit der Rute oder dem Aschensack.*

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid, p 166.

<sup>214</sup> Schmidt and Broessler, p. 29.

<sup>215</sup> Rumpf, ‘Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser’, p. 166.

Christmas time is set in motion through the *Buffeklaus*, or *Bôt Klaus*, as he is variably called throughout the region, a figure who actually corresponds to the Holy Nikolaus, the protective patron of school youth, whose calendar day is December 6. His masked figure first appears shortly before the holidays, however, and there is all kinds of noise with which his appearance is announced, at which the participants chase through the town with wagon chains [...] in order to prepare the children appropriately. Unrecognizable covered up in different pieces of clothing, usually with a long flaxen beard, with his rod or a sack full of sand and ash, the *Buffeklaus* appears wherever he finds children and asks whether they can recite their prayers. If they make their speech well, they receive apples and nuts from a sack; otherwise, a stroke with the rod or the ash bag.<sup>216</sup>

While none of this proves the Augsburg woodcut depicts a mask, its dates are roughly concurrent with the earliest archival sources for *Perchten* mumming identified by Schuhladen<sup>217</sup> and discussed in the following section, and would link Perchta (Bercht) to the masked, biting (cannibalistic?) *Kinderschreck* connoted by the “*butz*” stem.<sup>218</sup>

#### 4.4 *Perchten* Mumming from 1550 to 1900

While it is possible that variants of the folk-figure Perchta such as the *Butzenbercht* were portrayed by masked actors, the first unambiguous references to *Perchten* mummers date to the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>219</sup> recorded in civil and church documents and set

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<sup>216</sup> Richard Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde* (Braunschweig: Verlag Friedrich Vieweg, 1896), p. 230. See V7, 34:56-35:05 for a similar use of flour during a *Perchtenlauf*.

<sup>217</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’.

<sup>218</sup> Furthermore, Widdowson points out that:

Certain speech sounds, by their very nature, tend to be associated with frightening or unpleasant concepts, especially when uttered in a threatening context. In English, labial sounds, and more specifically the bilabial plosives /p/ and /b/, frequently occur in initial position in words which, for children at least, have unpleasant or frightening connotations (p. 33).

Warner summarizes Widdowson’s argument, alluding to the ‘predominant b-stem in the semantic family of words that evoke fear’ and adding that this sound ‘is one of the earliest to be pronounced by babies’. She feels that this sound, which serves as an audible sign for ‘bogyman terrors’, marks communications between children and adults (pp. 42-43). If this theory is correct, the placement of the “b” or “p” plosive at the beginning of such names as *Buffeklaus*, *Butzenbercht*, *Pudelmua*, and *Percht* may contribute in part to their effectiveness as *Kinderschreck* figures. Widdowson’s insights indicate that an investigation into possible similar socio-linguistic associations in German might be fruitful, although one cannot assume that these conceptual-phonetic links exist in the varieties of German in use here.

<sup>219</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’.



against the backdrop of the Wars of Religion, which ensued from the Protestant Reformation of 1517 and lasted from 1524 until 1648, when the Thirty Years War concluded with the Peace of Westphalia. As the socio-political climate changed, so did the treatment of *Perchten*. Nineteenth-century *Perchten* visiting households engaged in similar antics to those of the *Butzenbercht*, paradramatically enacting the belly-slitting of naughty children and inspecting the home for cleanliness and order. Finally, the new valuation of folk culture by the educated urban classes and its adoption as a gentlemanly pursuit — enshrined in the academic discipline of *Volkskunde* — gave rise to the collection of folk masks as well as the study, revival, and gentrification of *Perchten* mumming performances (6.2).

These nineteenth and twentieth-century treatments reflected the cultural conversation between scholars, mummers, and other interested parties, and favored ornamental public displays over the gruesome paradramas conducted in private households. Numerous *Perchten* house visits (particularly those featuring a pantomime of Perchta's belly-slitting threats) and outdoor perambulations (the *Perchtenjagd*, or “*Perchten* hunt”) were well documented during this period. By the late nineteenth century, what might be considered the gentrification of folk culture had set in and its influence was felt in the famous Pongau *Perchten* processions, which had formalized more or less into the form we know today. The development of *Perchtenläufe* into major spectacles, a source of pride for locals of all social classes and edifying fascination for urban tourists, had begun about a century earlier, according to Grieshofer.<sup>220</sup> The story begins, however, at a time when the perception of *Perchten* mumming by the power structure could not have been more different.

#### **4.4.1 The Criminalization of the *Perchtenlauf***

As noted in 4.3, the first certain mentions of *Perchten* mumming in archival sources coincide with the years following the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which was meant to resolve the warring of Catholic and Lutheran forces in Germany and divide the spoils between them. But the peace was only temporary, and the Thirty Years War, which ran from 1618 to 1648, initiated a roughly two hundred-year period during which *Perchten* were under siege from civil and church authorities. The spiritual and social threat the mummers were felt to represent reflected the paranoid climate caused by endless war, which generated the atrocities of disease, famine and torture by marauding soldiers as well as massive dislocation and depopulation. The chaos of the Thirty Years War also gave rise

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<sup>220</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung’, pp. 247-248.

to the witch hunts, which peaked between 1580 and 1630 with a series of major trials in Bavaria, claiming thousands of lives.<sup>221</sup>

The Apollonian cultural accomplishments of baroque architecture and music characterizing the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while enjoyed by the Habsburg court and other aristocratic patrons, could not have been further from the experience of many people in Austria and Germany, especially those in the countryside, who had to share their meager resources with the many starving and dispossessed people who came begging.<sup>222</sup> Some of these beggars were *Perchten*, illuminating why the house visit performance is described in *Volkskunde* as a *Heischenbrauch* (begging custom).<sup>223</sup> These developments added another dimension to the dramatized tension between the poles of reward and punishment, insider and outsider, giving and receiving embodied in Perchta folklore.

Numerous decrees banning the *Perchtenlauf* and court records of their trial, imprisonment, and other punishments were documented in Bavaria, Tyrol, and Salzburg from the late sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries.<sup>224</sup> Many rural communities were hit by a battery of repeated bans, seven between 1721 and 1777 in Salzburg and four between 1743 and 1804 in East Tyrol alone.<sup>225</sup> Nevertheless, the *Perchtenlauf* continued unabated, carried on largely by unmarried young men working on farms, farmer's sons, farmhands, and tradesmen (or rather, their apprentices),<sup>226</sup> but they also included boys, men in late middle-age, and women (elderly widows or mothers with sons in tow).<sup>227</sup> Gastein, then as now, was a stronghold of *Perchten* mumming, and a number of the men

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<sup>221</sup> Charles W. Ingrao, *The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 49-52. See also notes 211 and 245.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> As Wolfram notes in 'Percht und Perchtengestalten', *Heischegang* (going begging) was an umbrella term encompassing numerous mask customs (p. 55).

<sup>224</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung', p. 3.

<sup>225</sup> Wolfram, 'Percht und Perchtengestalten', pp. 87, 89.

<sup>226</sup> Pettitt notes that young Englishmen 'received least from the parish, and were likely to be forced into the most degrading and useless kinds of parish labour' and adds that this social group 'has always been the dominant force in the more complex and aggressive forms of seasonal festivity' ('"Here Comes I, Jack Straw:" English Folk Drama and Social Revolt', *Folklore*, 95: 1 (1984), 3-20 (p. 7)). Pettitt's observations might be applied to the unmarried and largely poor young men — mostly farm laborers in the countryside — who constituted most of the *Perchten* and other mummers during this period, just as their urban counterparts, the apprentices, are said to have popularized devil masking in the cities (Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 119).

<sup>227</sup> Schuhladen, p. 9.

apprehended there had been at it for a long time. Punishments for the apprehended ranged from financial penalties to imprisonment (in 1768, *Perchten* imprisoned in Kitzbühel, East Tyrol subsisted on bread and water),<sup>228</sup> public humiliation such as a day in the stocks,<sup>229</sup> up to one month of *Schanzarbeit* (hard labor, like digging trenches), and military conscription, to which one fifty-year-old repeat offender was sentenced for an unspecified time.<sup>230</sup> Some accounts include descriptions of the costumes of the imprisoned, allowing us to date some elements of contemporary *Perchten* masks and costumes to that time. In 1708, a pair of brothers in their early twenties — one of whom wore women’s clothes and the other of whom wore bells over clothes turned inside-out — were among the Berchtesgaden *Perchten* apprehended and put in irons on a diet of bread and water; three of the company were trotted out to the marketplace to be publicly humiliated.<sup>231</sup> A report from Kitzbühel in 1735 reveals that the devil masks and bells associated with *Schiachperchten* today were present in that period, mentioning thirty to fifty young men “*verkleidet wie abscheuliche Gespenster mit Teufelslarven [...] mit großen Glocken behängt* [dressed as revolting apparitions with devil masks [...] hung with big bells]”<sup>232</sup>

Sometimes the nature of the offense is unclear, leaving us to conclude that *Perchten* were accused of a wide variety of anti-social behavior. Anton Dörrer provides archival evidence of such prosecution in the counties of Lienz and Kitzbühel in Tyrol dating back to January of 1668, when two people were apprehended because they ‘*perchtlweis Ungebühr verübten* [carried out improprieties *perchtl*-wise]’.<sup>233</sup> Some of this apparent impropriety seems to have been rooted in the seasonal context of *Perchten* mumming, which occurred midway through a dense cluster winter festivities ranging from St. Martin’s Day (November 11) through *Fastnacht*, thus ensuring that masked men roaming the streets in high spirits

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<sup>228</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, pp. 87-88.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, p. 88.

<sup>230</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’, p. 6.

<sup>231</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, p. 88.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, p. 89. The image of a great company of young men in devil masks and oversized bells suggests that they resembled the currently dominant Pongau-style *Schiachperchten*. Grieshofer remarks that during this period an important transformation occurred which continues to define the concept of *Perchten* to this day: ‘*die Bezeichnung Percht wird nun auf alle Mitwirkenden ausgeweitet, insbesondere auf die zahlenmäßig dominierenden wilden Teufelsmasken* [The term *Percht* is extended to all participating figures, especially to the numerous, dominant wild devil masks]’ (‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftliche Deutung’, p. 247). He dates the early witch, animal, and devil masks in the Vienna Volkskunde Museum’s collection to this period.

<sup>233</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, pp. 88-89.

were a more or less continuous presence from autumn until spring.<sup>234</sup> (This development will be discussed in depth in 5.4.) In a missionary's report from Lienz und Windisch-Matrei c. 1744, *Fastnacht* mumming is conflated and condemned with that occurring on nights associated with *Perchten*-running, implying that the rambunctious energy and wild behavior of *Fasching* had spread backwards through the calendar to infect the more solemn occasions of Christmas, New Year's and Three Kings Day.<sup>235</sup>

*Fasching*'s influence notwithstanding, the nature of the perceived wrong-doing was generally more specific, falling into one of three categories: the anti-social act of begging, the threat of physical violence, and the spiritual dangers of sorcery. Although the bans came in large part from ecclesiastical authorities who suspected that *Perchten* were invoking demonic powers with their dancing, they were levied overall more on social than religious grounds. Fear of violence from large groups of strong young men, roaming the streets in high spirits armed with various menacing implements, was the principal motivator. It seems that the act of begging, as authorities construed mumming, was the other chief offense, despite testimony from the mummers' hosts that they had not been pestered, but rather gave gladly.<sup>236</sup> This was considered collusion, and hosts were penalized as well.

Critical parties often mention that the *Perchten* were armed, which no doubt contributed to their unease. A Salzburg source from 1796, for example, states, “*Diese (Perchten) tanzen bey hellem Tag emit den possierlichsten Masken, mit aller Art von Gewehren bewaffnet, einher; ihre Anzahl ist beträchtlich und besonders im Pinzgau beläuft sie sich manches Mahl auf 100-300 Köpfe*” [These (*Perchten*) dance along on fair days with the funniest [*possierlichste*] masks, **armed with all kind of guns**; their number is considerable and especially in the Pinzgau they added up to [...] 100-300 heads.<sup>237</sup> This appears to have been unusual; in most reports, the *Perchten* are said to have carried implements which might be mistaken for weapons: long sticks which were used for a kind of pole-vaulting (*Perchtenspringen*) and the accoutrements used for enacting gastrotoomy (oven forks, scissors, brooms).<sup>238</sup> Nonetheless, other records from this period show that

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<sup>234</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 118.

<sup>235</sup> Koenig, p. 14.

<sup>236</sup> Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’, p. 8.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 88, 86-87 (bolded text his). The use of the adjective *possierlich* — indicating that the writer found the masks charming or amusing rather than simply repellent — may also be seen as a sign of things to come.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 87, 88.

mock-violence did sometimes descend into the real thing. In 1721 Dürrenberg, the *Berchten* were linked to ‘*tötliche Rauferei* [deadly brawling]’,<sup>239</sup> and in Hüttschlag in 1777, real weapons were carried alongside springing poles. Legends arose from their deadly encounters, as we shall see in the following.

#### 4.4.2 *Perchten* Legends

Three types of legend from ranging from the eighteenth through the nineteenth century (treated extensively in the *ÖVA*, based on Wolfram’s conversations with informants in the 1940s and 1950s) deal with the *Perchten* themselves, and reflect fears that *Perchten* mumming invites presents real spiritual and physical dangers: those involving *Perchten* crosses (*Perchtenkreuze*), *Perchten*-springing or leaping (*Perchtenspringen*), or encounters with “the One Too Many” (*die Überzählige*). All three types warned that *Perchten* put their souls in jeopardy by masking and leaping about in honor of (and inspired and empowered by) the old Percht herself, and the first of them stresses the deadly nature of *Perchten* combat as well.

Throughout Salzburg and East Tyrol (and particularly in the Pinzgau, which lies just to the east of the Hohentauern mountain range which straddles those two states), a number of stone crosses called *Perchtenkreuze* or *Perchtengraben* (*Perchten* graves) are said to mark the place where a *Percht* was buried.<sup>240</sup> When rival groups from adjacent communities met on the road, they sometimes came to blows in a deadly display of regional pride, sometimes resulting in burial on the spot,<sup>241</sup> an outcome which reflected contemporary anxieties about the potential violence of *Perchten* mummers. Those who died with a “devil” mask on were forbidden burial in consecrated ground, and were therefore conscripted to these roadside burial sites.<sup>242</sup>

As the burial in unconsecrated ground shows, to don the mask was to venture outside the safe bounds of the Christian (and human) world into a liminal state rife with danger. Due to what Wolfram calls ‘*Das Bewußtsein, sich mit dem Maskenlauf in das Außerchristliche zu wagen* [The awareness that through the masked procession they had drifted into the extra-Christian]’, *Perchten* placed something blessed in their shoes.<sup>243</sup> This

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid, p. 88.

<sup>240</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 101; also see Andree-Eysn, p. 164.

<sup>241</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, pp. 89-90.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, p. 89.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid, pp. 94-95.

protection was provided by receiving Communion beforehand in Oberlienz.<sup>244</sup> While *Perchten* cross legends describe *Perchten* dying of wounds sustained at human hands (each other's), in others, the death brought about by *Perchten* mumming is magical in nature, caused by the unwitting invocation of the Wild Percht herself, who might be summoned by the wearing of the mask, illustrating how such careless and unskilled traffic with the spirit world may result in death for the foolish human who attempts it.<sup>245</sup>

Other legends concern *Perchten*-springing and “*die wilde Percht*” (the Wild Percht). Eighteenth-century accounts describe *Perchtenspringen*, done with or without the aid of the vaulting pole, in terms that show that the leaping (along the shimmering din of bells and the masks themselves) was popularly regarded as an ecstatic, trance-inducing activity that drew the attention of the spirits, especially the Wild Percht herself, whether deliberately or coincidentally.<sup>246</sup> An account from 1948 described a *Percht* in Rauris, where there is a *Perchten* cross, who upon removing his scapular found he could leap quite high. He was brought to ground by spritzing him with holy water, and lay motionless until the scapular was put over him again.<sup>247</sup>

Andree-Eysn also assures us that the legend of the “One Too Many” (as related by one of her late nineteenth-century Salzburg informants) was indeed acted out from time to time within groups of *Perchten*, when:

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid, p. 95.

<sup>245</sup> This fear that *Perchten* might unleash dangerous forces they cannot control is best understood in light of the fact that the wide-ranging persecution of *Perchten* had overlapped with the rash of witch-burnings which took place in Bavaria in 1589. As Schuhladen points out, this concurrence accounts for the increased emphasis on superstition in the archival sources documenting *Perchten* prosecutions in the last years of the sixteenth century. In 1662, for instance, a Carinthian court recorded the witchcraft trial of a woman named Regina Paumann, who was accused of weather-working and participating in the witches' sabbat and subsequently put to death. According to the trial records, the chief devil was named “*die alte Perchtl* [the old Percht]”. At one point during the sabbat, the skies darkened and she appeared amid thunder and lightning, at which the assembled people scattered in terror and fell upon the ground (Schuhladen, ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’, p. 5). See also notes 211 and 221.

<sup>246</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, p. 94.

<sup>247</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 102. Also see Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, pp. 71, 88, 90. The leaping *Perchten* referred to here seem to have been the kind pictured in the late eighteenth-century watercolor illustration of a ‘*schöne Bercht*’ from St. Johann (reproduced in Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 218), although none of the *Perchten* in St. Johann or anywhere else in the Pongau leap in the manner described by Wolfram (the rhythmic dances of the *Tresterer*, a type of *Schönperchten*, involve jumping similar to that of *Schuhplattler* slap-dancing, but no *Perchten* perform anything comparable to pole-vaulting today).

*Ein nicht zu ihnen gehöriger, aber mit ihnen gleichartig verummter Bursche einmischte. Mit Schreck erkannten die Perchten ihre Zahl um einen vermehrt, den abergläubischer Furcht wurde der fremde Ankömmling für den leibhaftigen Teufel gehalten.*

A young man who did not belong to them, but was disguised in the same manner, mingled among them. The *Perchten* recognized that their number was one greater with terror, for in superstitious fear the foreign newcomer was taken for the Devil incarnate.<sup>248</sup>

In these first certain references to *Perchten* mumming, then, we find a number of common elements: so-called devil masks, bells, leaping and springing (now found only in the *Tresterer* dance), Perchta either as a figure portrayed by one of the mummers or accompanying them in spirit, outdoor perambulations and house visits seeking victuals (the *Heischegang*), the distribution of rewards and punishments, the aversion to Christian prayers familiar from Perchta legends (Appendix C4) and, perhaps even prefiguring modern groups' proud regional and group identity (8.2), a sense of something like pack mentality that resulted in rival groups meeting on the road coming to blows. In the new century, as we shall see, *Perchten* mumming continued to flourish in both ornamental, formalized forms and as wild outdoor perambulations, a division which to this day reflects the *Schönperchten/Schiachperchten* binary.

## 4.5 Nineteenth-Century Developments

In the nineteenth century, three forms of *Perchten* mumming prevailed: house visits, outdoor *Perchten*-running (also known as *Perchtenjagen*, or “*Perchten*-hunting”), and finally, organized display customs consisting of dances and processions.

### 4.5.1 The *Schiachperchten*'s Animal Features

As we have seen thus far, several elements characteristic of *Schiachperchten* in particular were in evidence by the start of the century, namely bells on leather belts and fearsome “devil” masks. While many nineteenth-century *Perchten* clearly resembled the house-inspecting, belly-slitting Perchta of folktales in both appearance and behavior (Appendix C), those *Perchten* who seem to be progenitors of the “furry devil” *Schiachperchten* type are

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid, pp. 163-164.

harder to relate to Perchta herself. As Andree-Eysn observed in 1910, there was no apparent connection between Perchta as represented in folktales and the masked and bell-clad *Perchten* mummers, who by then could be divided into the categories of *schön* and *schlach* and had acquired many of the characteristics with which we are familiar today. Although *Berchten* mummers and folklore about a double-aspected Perchta are found in the same areas, she finds no indication that ‘*die Maskenträger, welche den Berchtemnamen führen, einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit der Namensgeberin haben* [the mask-wearers, who carry the name *Berchten*, have an immediate connection with the giver of their name]’.<sup>249</sup>

Writing at the end of the century, Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld describes a scene in Salzburg’s Pinzgau and Gastein in the Pongau that recalls the Baroque-era references, though these *Perchten* were no longer in danger of draconian punishments:

*Bei dem Berchten- oder Perchtenlaufen dagegen, welches zwischen Weihnachten und Dreikönigstage geschieht, ziehen gegen hundert bis dreihundert Bursche an hellem Tage in den possierlichsten Masken mit Kuhglocken und knallenden Peitschen versehen und mit allen Arten von Gewehren bewaffnet einher.*

With the *Berchten* or *Perchten*-running, on the other hand, which goes on between Christmas and Three Kings Day, from a hundred to three hundred young men trek about on fair days in the funniest masks, furnished with cowbells and cracking whips and armed with all kinds of guns besides.<sup>250</sup>

The “One Too Many” legend motif surfaces in another description c. 1848, in which the youth of Holzenberndorf, Middle Franconia went mumming in the company of the Eisenberta (Iron Berta), a title recalling Perchta’s medieval iron features (Appendix C3.1). On one occasion, they were said to have encountered her in person:

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<sup>249</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 163.

<sup>250</sup> Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das festliche Jahr: In Sitten, Gebräuchen, Aberglauben und Festen der germanischen Völker* (Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1898), p. 13. It should also be noted that, baroque officials’ fears of violence notwithstanding, shooting guns and cracking whips are both *Larmbräuche* (noise-making customs) practiced at the New Year and during the *Rauhnächte*, frequently found in seasonal proximity to *Perchtenläufe* and sometimes incorporated into them (in St. Johann im Pongau, for instance). It seems likely that they would have been then as well.



*Einer steckte sich in eine kuhhaut mit den hörnern, hatte äpfel, birnen und nüsse bei sich und in der hand einen halben besen als ruthen-büschel. dieser war die Eisenberta, welche nachts mit noch andern jungen leuten von haus zu haus zog, fleissige gute kinder mit früchten belohnte, faule unartige aber mit ihren ruthen strafte. mal, als die Eisenberta mit ihrem gefolg von 10 jungen leuten in Holzberndorf umgezogen war, wollte sie ihren umzug auch in Wasserberndorf halten. auf dem wege dahin kamen sie an einer eiche vorüber, und, als einer abzählte, um zu erfahren, ob alle beisammen seien, waren ihrer nicht 11, sondern 12. wie sie einander recht ansahen, hatte sich ihnen bei der eiche die wirkliche Eisenberta, auch in einer kuhhaut mit den hörnern und einen ruthen-büschel in der hand, beigesellt. der zug stob auseinander; von nun an zogen sie nicht mehr nach Wasserberndorf.*

One stuck himself *into a cow skin with horns*, had apples, pears, and nuts with him, and a birch-cluster as half-broom in the hand. This was the Eisenberta, who went with yet more people from house to house, rewarded good, industrious children with fruits, but punished the lazy, naughty ones with their switches. Time was when the Eisenberta with her retinue of 10 young people went around in Holzberndorf; she wanted to hold her procession in Wasserberndorf as well. On the way there they came over to an oak tree, and, as one counted them off in order to determine whether they were all together, there were not 11, but 12 of them [...] they had been joined at the oak *by the real Eisenberta, also in a cow skin with horns* and a birch-cluster in her hand. The [members of the] company flew from one another [...] they went no more to Wasserberndorf.<sup>251</sup>

This Eisenberta has features common to *Perchten* mumming today: an animal disguise (a cow skin with horns), a retinue going house to house to administer rewards and punishments, the “birch-cluster”, and gifts: fruits and nuts for the good children and switches for the unworthy. This, if anything, indicates a link between the belly-slitting Perchta of folktales and the horned and hairy mummers known today as the *Schiachperchten*, since in Panzer’s example both sets of traits seem to have been combined in one person.

#### **4.5.2 House-Visiting *Perchten*: Rewards and Punishments**

The Eisenberta reflects a pattern which was widespread in the mid-1800s: *Perchten* portraying Perchta and performing her *Kinderschreck* duties, visiting households to inspect, pass judgement, and deal out justice accordingly. Most often, it was Perchta’s belly-slitting

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<sup>251</sup> Panzer, p. 117. Capital usage his.

paradrama that formed the centerpiece of the *Perchten* house visit. Like the Perchta of legend, she inspects the household for cleanliness, and the spinning (the work of girls) for indications of productivity and skill, interrogating children to learn whether they have properly fasted and listened to their parents (Appendix D). These duties are parental in nature, but her threatened punishments far exceed the worst a parent would ever do (perhaps this was the lesson; there are worse things than a spanking!), setting her in the realm of the supernatural, where the rules of everyday life no longer apply. A child in a *Märchen* cannot barter for his life with an ogress the way he can try to evade punishment from his mother; the former is an exaggerated and distorted mirror of the latter, wherein lies the point.

Most *Perchten* mumming from the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries took the form of house visits, of which there were many regional variants. The *Perchten* would come to the door and demand admittance to the house. Once inside, their performance would consist of some combination of the following elements: enacting the gastrotomy paradrama, house inspection and sweeping, and dispensing rewards or punishments, as the householders' conduct dictated. Many of these house visits were *quêtes* as well. The severe and terrifying gastrotomy mumming of these house-visiting *Perchten* evoked horror (the idea of being conscious during disembowelment) and disgust (being stuffed with filth), alluding to conceptions of Perchta familiar from folktales and verbal warnings given to children (Appendix C3).

The belly-slitting motif was sometimes overt and at other times simplified and abstracted into rowdy, threatening (or mock-threatening) behavior with allusions to child abduction. While the *Schiachperchten* of today usually only carry horse-tail whisks or wooden switches with which to whip their victims, the gastrotomy-performing *Perchten* of past generations carried a variety of tools with which to perform more elaborate tasks — at once less vague and more horrible than the relatively simple punishments of Nikolaus and the *Krampus*. Their equipment included, in various combinations, scissors or knives to slice open the belly, pea straw whisks to sweep out the cavity, basins to catch the blood, and brooms with which to inspect the house for dirt, as well as spoons and pitchforks, the purpose of which is not mentioned, but can easily be imagined. Most ubiquitous, however, were the large baskets strapped to their backs (the *Buckelkörbe* or *Kraxen*), like those worn today by the Rauriser Schnabelperchten (Figs. 10-13), one of the last surviving examples of this type of *Perchten*.

As we saw in 4.3, Rumpf argues convincingly that the Augsburg woodcuts may have represented the precursors to these nineteenth-century *Perchten*, noting that ‘The

pictorial representation corresponds to the descriptions of the *Percht* or the *Berschil* in legends and in descriptions of folk customs.<sup>252</sup> Widely distributed in the late seventeenth century, the *Butzenbercht* woodcut mirrors gastrotomy mumming so closely in structure and in spirit that it could indeed have served as a template for mummers' portrayals of Perchta the belly-slitter. Thus there is not much difference between the *Butzenbercht*'s threats (Appendix B):

*Ich schlagen will euch bis aufs rothe Blut:  
Ich will euch Händ und Füß kreuzweiß zusammenbinden,  
Und werfen in den Koth, [...]  
so will ich haspeln  
die Därme aus dem Bauch.*

I will beat you until you are red with blood:  
I will bind you together crosswise, hand and foot,  
And throw you in the dung, [...]  
so will I spool  
your intestines up out of your belly.<sup>253</sup>

and those of the Peruchta clad in a butcher's apron and smeared with fake blood documented in Hrdle, Bohemia c. 1907, who sharpened her knife while chanting before terrified children, “*Also meldet euch, die ihr einen überfüllten Magen habt, es wird euch abgenommen, daß euch nicht schlecht wird!* [Hereby be informed, those of you who have overstuffed bellies, that they will be removed from you, so it won't be so bad for you!]”<sup>254</sup>

Panzer describes a *Butzenbercht* mummer c. 1848 in the area where the Augsburg woodcut was published:

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<sup>252</sup> Rumpf, ‘Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser’, p. 65; also see p. 73.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, *Perchten*, p. 42. Now the Czech Republic, Bohemia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1907. This is the most elaborate example of the gastrotomy paradrama (see Appendix D).

*Die Buzəbercht, eine vermumte frau, die haare verwirrt und herabhängend, das gesicht geschwärzt, und mit schwarzen lumpen angezogen [...] rührte mit dem kocklöffel, und bestrich den beegnenden das gesicht [...]*

The *Buzəbercht*, a woman in disguise, hair tangled and hanging down, the face blackened, and with black rags on [...] stirred with the cooking spoon, and daubed the face of those she encountered [...]<sup>255</sup>

Panzer also recorded a verbal warning — “*heut komt də ‘Klās, morgə<sup>z</sup> de Buzəbercht* [“Today comes the *Klas*, tomorrow the *Buzenbercht*”]<sup>256</sup> — which suggests that Perchta (as the *Butzenbercht*) and a Nikolaus and/or *Krampus*-like figure named *Klas*<sup>257</sup> were thought of as functionally similar, just as the *Butzenbercht* and *Kinderfresser* were (see 4.3 and 5.5). It seems that their seasonal proximity to one another served to reinforce their potency as threatening figures. That the name “*Butzenbercht*” is used here as it is in the Augsburg woodcuts suggests that it was a common folk-name for this figure in this area, but there are two reasons to attribute slightly less significance to their shared location than one otherwise might. Over two centuries had elapsed before Panzer recorded this saying, and in any case, these woodcuts would have been published in Augsburg regardless of their provenance because it was a major center for printing and publication at that time.

Other house visits deemphasized the gastrotomy paradrama and served primarily as *quêtes*. In the Carinthian Mölltal of the late 1800s, where the house-visiting custom was called *Berchteljagen* (*Berchtel*-hunting), the *Berchtel* delivered a pithy ultimatum:

*Sie hat gewöhnlich einen Pelz um, eine fürchterliche hölzerne Larve vor dem Gesicht und eine Kuhglocke oder große Schelle auf dem Rücken, hüpfet mit wilden, mutwilligen Geberden im Hause herum, verfolgt die Leute, frägt nach dem Fleiße, der Artigkeit der Kinder und sammelt Gaben ein, indem sie spricht:*

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<sup>255</sup> Ibid, p. 187. The substance used is not mentioned. Perhaps it was whatever she used to blacken her face, like the chimney sweeps in the Pongau *Perchtenläufe* who smear their soot on people.

<sup>256</sup> Panzer, p. 118. Italics and phonetics his.

<sup>257</sup> The *Klas* in this case may have been either Nikolaus in the punitive role or a *Krampus*-like figure, as such variants of Nikolaus’s name are sometimes used as generic terms for a class or “species” of masked figure, like the *Chläuse* of Appenzell, Switzerland (Bendix, *Progress and Nostalgia: Silvesterklausen in Urnäsch, Switzerland*, *Folklore and Mythology Studies*, 33 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985) and the *Buffeklaus* (Andree, p. 230).

*Kinder oder Speck!*  
*Derweil geh 'ich nit weg.*

She usually has a fur [wrapped] around [her], a fearsome wooden mask over the face and a cowbell or big *Schelle* on the back, hopping around the house with wild, wanton gestures, pursuing the people, inquiring after the diligence, the good behavior of the children and collects gifts as she says:

Children or bacon!  
I'm not going anywhere in the meantime.<sup>258</sup>

In the Mölltal, the *Berchtel* might also be outfitted with a basket and an oven fork hung with sausages, and another might carry a saw and a hoe. She enters crying out, “‘A *Wurst oder an Buabn* [A sausage or a boy]’”, strewing dried pears, plums, and nuts on the floor for the good children (naughty ones receive the punishment-gifts of turnips and potatoes).<sup>259</sup> Allusions to gastrotomy and cannibalism aside, it may be helpful to consider the symbolism and common use of these accoutrements in light of the tradition of house-visiting mummers demanding food. It makes sense for mummers to enter calling out, ‘A sausage or a boy!’ By this mock-threat hosts understood they were meant to fill their sack with victuals — of one kind or another.

As we have seen here, nineteenth-century house-visiting *Perchten* were generally neighbors to their hosts or at least from an adjacent valley and similar community. Although they were often separated by social class, both parties shared a familiarity with the ‘symbolic lexicon’ of the custom, to use Victor Turner’s phrase,<sup>260</sup> and the rules and reasons for the custom. While the house-visiting form of *Perchten* mumming was still widespread in the 1800s, enmeshed as it was in a still-lively network of social ties between neighbors in village communities, this century also saw the rise of a different kind of *Perchten* mumming: the *Schaubrauch*, or display custom.

Whereas the relatively intimate house visit took place among family and neighbors and revolved around the performance scripts of the gastrotomy paradrama and/or a ritualized exchange of hospitality and blessing between mummers and hosts, the new

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<sup>258</sup> Waschnitius, pp. 23-24. Also cited in Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, p. 13.

<sup>259</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 40.

<sup>260</sup> Turner, p. 38.

display custom form was public, formalized, and directed towards an audience comprised largely of strangers, typically tourists. In the process, the expressive culture of rural Alpine Austria and Bavaria was subjected to waves of appropriation, reinterpretation, sanitization, and commodification by community outsiders: people not previously identified as either active or passive tradition-bearers. Since most *Perchten* mumming today has integrated the influence of this development to some extent, examination of the genesis of the display custom can provide needed historical context for the still-vital issues of cultural identity, ownership of tradition, creative freedom, revival, authenticity and continuity which continue to shape *Perchten* mumming today.

#### 4.5.3 The Rise of the Display Custom

The *Perchtenlauf* was reborn as a large-scale display custom in Salzburg's Pongau valley during the late nineteenth century, where the neighboring towns of St. Johann, Bischofshofen, Altenmarkt, and Bad Gastein take turns presenting it. These processions continue to be tremendously popular for locals and tourists alike, and by 1892, crowds were flocking to St. Johann im Pongau to see their grand *Perchtenlauf*.<sup>261</sup> Several paintings dated 1892<sup>262</sup> show that they had already taken on the features for which they are known today, especially the towering headdresses of the *Schönperchten*. The impetus for these developments was twofold: the overlapping influence of *Fastnacht* (particularly in Tyrol and in Pinzgau, the Salzburg region bordering Tyrol) and the gentrifying influence created by the fledgling Alpine tourist industry coinciding with the rise of *Volkskunde*, which attracted many amateur culture-collectors (6.2).

Schuhladen draws on archival references to *Perchten* performing during *Fastnacht* and around Christmas as well as during *Perchten*-season proper,<sup>263</sup> indicating a diffuse, continuous midwinter mumming season of the kind recorded in previous centuries (see 5.5). Schuhladen cites a letter by a cathedral canon dated 1798 which mentions packs of young men *Perchten*-running with a variety of masks, cowbells, whips, and spiked sticks, recalling the apprehension with which the armed *Perchten* were viewed in the baroque sources.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung', p. 248; Rumpf, *Perchten*, pp. 173-174. Rumpf adds that it was postponed due to inclement weather until February 21, incidentally illuminating the link between the display-custom format and calendrical flexibility (p. 174).

<sup>262</sup> Reproduced in Rumpf, *Perchten*, Fig. 15, p. 279.

<sup>263</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbräuchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', pp. 27-28.

<sup>264</sup> Wolfram, 'Percht und Perchtengestalten', pp. 86-97.

These masks, which included devils and cows, were also used at *Fastnacht*. The *Perchten*'s activities included a wild running through the town, dancing in front of favored houses, sword-dancing, and creating a human pyramid,<sup>265</sup> acrobatics consistent with the pole-vaulting that *Perchten* shared with *Fastnacht* mummers, who are depicted in a watercolor illustration from the same period.<sup>266</sup>

Performer/audience dynamics shifted in accordance with the movement towards display. While regional variants continued in the form of *Freiläufe* and house visits, there were also parades and dances in the village square. Strangers were often the audience, and these customs were aestheticized and presented as education and entertainment rather than being a shared participatory activity familiar to the whole community. As we shall see in 6.2, tourism attracted these new outside audiences, shaped *Perchten* mumming and contributed to mummers' self-conscious representation of the tradition and themselves as well as the culture and community in which they were embedded. The intertwining of these different historical strands collectively helped crystallize *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming as we know it today. As noted in 1.5, these traditions share many elements, including "devil" masks, whips, and bells, narrative aspects of interrogation, punishment and reward, and a combination of public and private performance forms and settings. But the figure of the *Krampus* (always in concert with St. Nikolaus) developed along different lines, blossoming into the Nikolaus plays which became popular during the Counter-Reformation and then intertwining again with *Perchten*, as Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visits became customary in the nineteenth century, paralleling the then-extant *Perchten* house visits in that both generally consisted of paradramas of reward and punishment. In the next chapter, the evolution of the *Krampus* and *Krampusse* will be explored in depth.

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<sup>265</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', p. 27.

<sup>266</sup> Reproduced in Rumpf, *Perchten*, Fig. 14, p. 278.

## 5. KRAMPUS AND KRAMPUSSE: ORIGINS AND IDENTITY

*Krampus* groups often refer to themselves as *Teufel* (devils), and *Krampus* is indeed a Christian devil. He is the companion and servant of St. Nikolaus, and is best understood in relation to him. In order to determine the identity and origins of the *Krampus*, we must delve into the history of Nikolaus-related folk customs, which have included dramatic manifestations since the Middle Ages. A number of folk-performance customs related to Nikolaus and his feast day developed in the cloister schools, fusing unruly, festive elements of comical carnivalesque inversion with the trappings of Church authority,<sup>267</sup> a combination endemic to the Nikolaus mumming which was to eventually follow. The *Krampus* is not strictly speaking an outgrowth of Nikolaus folklore and hagiography; where devils figure into it, the stories and themes do not necessarily mirror those in either the catechism-interrogation or the secular Nikolaus plays which became popular in Styria, Tyrol, and Bavaria during the Baroque.<sup>268</sup> By the nineteenth century, house visits featuring the familiar catechism-interrogation form had crystallized. Though still centered around religion instruction and obedience to Christian morality, the catechism-interrogation's socialization aims were rooted now in the family and general social mores.

### 5.1 The Derivation of the Name “*Krampus*”

“*Krampus*” is just one name for the wild, rough, hairy character who accompanies St. Nikolaus and does his dirty work, menacing and meting out punishment. He is part of a family of similar figures found in a number of European countries, including Swarte Piet (Black Peter) in the Netherlands, Schmutzli in Switzerland and Hans Trapp in Alsace, France. The name *Krampus* is Austro-Bavarian; he is Knecht Ruprecht throughout much of Germany.<sup>269</sup> It is Knecht Ruprecht who warrants entries in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, where he is described as essentially identical to the English Robin Goodfellow.<sup>270</sup> Grimm

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<sup>267</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 116, 119.

<sup>268</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*.

<sup>269</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 4; Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 51, 49, 159, 162, 170.

<sup>270</sup> Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. 1. His italics. In vol. 4, p. 1432, Grimm does indeed list Knecht Ruprecht among the house-wights.



does not include a section for the *Krampus*, but does discuss the ‘so-called *Rupperten*, who dress themselves [to be] [...] “gaudy and wild” or [in] “a hairy pelt”’. He gives “*Krampus*” and “*Klaubauf*” as alternate names for the same figure, who corresponds to ‘old Grumbus with the rod’.<sup>271</sup>

While the *Krampus* is by far the dominant name for this figure in Austria and Bavaria today, the name “Bartl” and variants such as “Spitzbartl”, “Höllbartl”, and “Kletzenbartl” are found throughout Carinthia, Burgenland, and in northern Styria along the border with Lower Austria.<sup>272</sup> *Bart* is the German word for beard,<sup>273</sup> and beards feature prominently in depictions of Nikolaus’s rough companion, as does hairiness in general. In 1784, Joseph Franz Goez produced an engraving of the *Kinderschreck* Knecht Ruprecht pursuing several children, grabbing one by the hair.<sup>274</sup> If this Knecht Ruprecht is a rough, bearded man like the *Kinderfresser*, he is at once more animalistic and less cannibalistic; he (or his fur cap) is horned. On his back is a basket filled with both gifts and instruments of punishment: branches for switching and a small Nikolaus figure.

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm’s *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1854) does not include an entry for “*Krampus*” per se, but it does include one for the adjective “*grampig*” (rough, scratchy), which is related to the word “*Krampus*” (and less common variants, such as “*grampus*”), which they believe to be probably Austrian in origin and gloss as “*popanz* [bugbear], *poltergeist*”.<sup>275</sup> According to Hörandner, the relevant word stem is “*Kramp-*”, which acquired the Latin “-us” suffix.<sup>276</sup> In Vienna, “*Kramperl*” is a synonym for “*Krallen*” (“claws” or “talons”), and in much of Austria, it is an affectionate diminutive for “*Krampus*”.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 4; Hartmut Prash, *Masken und Maskenbrauchtum in Oberkärnten und Osttirol* (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1987), p. 61.

<sup>273</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, pp. 3-5.

<sup>274</sup> Reproduced in Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, Fig. 61, p. 160. See also Rumpf, ‘Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser’, p. 69.

<sup>275</sup> Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. 2, p. 505.

<sup>276</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 3. Although Hörandner does not elaborate as to the meaning of the “*Kramp-*” stem, various etymological dictionaries yield various meanings dealing with squeezing and pinching of one kind or another. There is an old Teutonic word “*Kramp*” meaning “to squeeze” or “to draw together or in”; hence the modern German word “*Krampf*”, which means “(muscle) cramp”. The noun “*Krampe*” and the corresponding verb “*krampen*” means to staple or pinch, not unlike the English “crimp”, so perhaps his name has to do with his grabbing activity.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid. Gerhard Köbler’s *Etymologisches Rechtswörterbuch*, Uni-Taschenbücher, 2297 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) yields different results (p. 235). For the word “*Kram*” (which

Otto Koenig suggests a derivation from the Greek “*krampos*”, which means “dried out”.<sup>278</sup> This would seem irrelevant were it not for the longstanding tradition of edible *Krampus* figures made of dried fruit, especially the tart black plums known in Austria as *Zwetschken* (Fig. 5); nonetheless, it is perhaps too great of a leap. Koenig’s proposed origins for “*Klaubauf*” (he links it to Gothic and old Icelandic equivalents to the German “*laufen*” (to run), “*hlaupan*” and “*hlauf*”, respectively) seem closer to the mark.<sup>279</sup> Horändner, on the other hand, argues convincingly that it comes from the verb *aufklauben* (to scoop up), which she glosses (apparently in a figurative sense) as “to steal”: ‘*Der “Klaubauf” ist also derjenige, der (die kleinen Kinder) “aufklaubt” (also mitnimmt, stiehlt)* [The “*Klaubauf*” is therefore one who “*aufklaubt*” (thus takes away with [him], steals) (the little children)].’ She adds that “*Klaubauf*” is also used as a *Kinderschreck* name.<sup>280</sup>

## 5.2 Roots in Medieval Religious Drama

As noted in the introduction, to understand the *Krampus* and discern his origins one must be familiar with the folk-figure manifestations of St. Nikolaus, with whose traditions he is intertwined. Three elements characterizing the appearances of St. Nikolaus in folkloric contexts — a concern with the education of children (be it religious, social, academic, or all three), the giving of gifts, and the presence of one or more devils — stem from this early period. Several widespread medieval legends associated with the miracles of St. Nikolaus link him variously to children, gift-giving, and devils — all elements found later in Nikolaus/*Krampus* mumming.

St. Nikolaus and devils, if not yet *Krampusse* per se, were integrated into the festive culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in various ways. Examined together, they reveal a combination of serious religious themes with often raucous and bawdy secularized entertainment around Christmas. According to Glynne Wickham, elements of gift-giving and masked processions can be traced to the Roman festival of inversions, Saturnalia,

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today is a synonym for *Zeug*, meaning “stuff” or “odds and ends”), this dictionary reaches back to Old High German for links to the word *Fell*, meaning hide, skin, or fur. The association with *Fell* is intriguing, considering that the *Krampus* and related figures are virtually defined by their fur dress (or bodies), but the lack of a “p” to bridge the gap between the stem and the “-us” ending excludes it from consideration.

<sup>278</sup> Koenig, *Klaubauf-Krampus-Nikolaus*, p. 11.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>280</sup> Hörändner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 7.

which took place on the Kalends (January 5, or December 25 in the Julian calendar).<sup>281</sup> These folk customs and dramatic traditions were all forms of *ludus*, a Roman concept encompassing the meanings of “play”, “game”, and “recreation”,<sup>282</sup> though the modern categories of “secular” and “religious” cannot easily be applied to the ludic forms of the Middle Ages, when, as Johan Huizinga notes, nearly every aspect of everyday life was performative and semantically weighted.<sup>283</sup> While these developments were not direct antecedents of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* mumming of today, they contributed to the cultural-semantic reservoir from which it draws and provide centuries of historical and cultural context. As such, they are worth investigating.

As Karl Young notes, the first medieval drama was rooted in the Mass and the cycle of feast days, including those dedicated to Nikolaus and other saints.<sup>284</sup> According to Young, ‘The only saint, in fact, whose legends are treated in church plays that are extant and complete is Nicholas; and of the numerous occurrences narrated in his *vita* we have dramatizations of only four.’<sup>285</sup> These plays, which likely date to twelfth-century France, include two based on the *Tres Filiae* (Three Virgins) and the *Tres Clerici* (Three Students), both of which contain themes echoed in the baroque Nikolaus plays and catechism-interrogation. They were set to music and chanted during the liturgy on Nikolaus’s feast day, examples of what Glynne Wickham calls ‘liturgical music-drama’.<sup>286</sup>

The *Tres Clerici* legend is especially gruesome and dramatic. Three young students travelling together stop at an inn for the night, a scenario to which cloister students could relate. The innkeeper (in some variants, a butcher), eyeing their valuables and overcome with greed, conspires to kill and dismember them, in one version hiding the parts in a salt barrel. Nikolaus appears disguised as a beggar and asks the innkeeper to serve him freshly butchered meat (implying that the boys had been prepared for the soup pot), whereby he

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<sup>281</sup> Glynne Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), p. 128.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>283</sup> Johan H. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Benediction Books, 2009) pp. 1-2; Wickham, pp. 4-6.

<sup>284</sup> Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (vol. 2) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951): p. 308.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*. The other two legends from Nikolaus’s *vita* include ‘the miracle of the images, or *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*, and the rescue of the son of Getron, or *Filius Getronis*’ (p. 308). According to Wickham, these were the first saints’ plays (p. 96).

<sup>286</sup> Wickham, p. 104.

tricks the murderer into revealing his crime. Nikolaus restores the boys to life, thus becoming the patron saint of children and schoolboys in particular.<sup>287</sup>

The legend of the *Tres Filiae* deals with three sisters about to be forced into a life of prostitution because their father is too poor to pay for their dowries. St. Nikolaus visits the house on three consecutive nights and tosses gold pieces wrapped in cloth onto their beds while they are sleeping, valuable enough to make them marriageable and save them from a life of shame. When their father learns their benefactor's identity, the saint makes him promise to keep it secret.<sup>288</sup> As we shall see in 5.5, some early modern decorative molds for *Lebkuchen* depicted Nikolaus setting baskets of gifts on the maidens' windowsill,<sup>289</sup> and the *Einglegen* custom, in which Nikolaus brings children *Lebkuchen* and other gifts while they sleep, does seem to mirror that aspect of the Three Virgins legend. As we shall see, these two Nikolaus legends were the subject of some of the earliest medieval drama.

The accompanying dramatization may have been minimal, as no stage directions appear to have been included in the text Young cites,<sup>290</sup> and beyond the shared themes of Nikolaus's gift-giving and protection of children, nothing resembling the later Nikolaus plays (5.6) or catechism-interrogation (5.7, 10.2.1) is present. Nevertheless, the singing of these legends provides a link between the body of Nikolaus lore stemming from the veneration of this popular saint and the more developed dramatizations of Nikolaus-based narratives developed later.

While the miracle plays which flourished from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries were based on the legends of the saints, morality plays, or moralities, popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, dealt with the internal spiritual trajectory of the individual and the consequences of his life choices. In the *Everyman* play,<sup>291</sup> for example,

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<sup>287</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 95 (also see pp. 96-102). Mezger stresses the significance of the fact that the emergence of butchering and meat-preserving themes in Nikolaus-related folklore (which of course is temporally located on and around his feast day) was rooted in the sanctioned slaughter of livestock preceding the Advent fasting period, thus explaining the transition of the innkeeper into a butcher (ibid, pp. 104-108).

<sup>288</sup> Shinnars, pp. 194-195; also see Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 62-67.

<sup>289</sup> A sixteenth-century example is reproduced in Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, Fig. 48b, p. 134.

<sup>290</sup> Karl Young, vol. 2, pp. 307-360.

<sup>291</sup> According to Wickham, the *Everyman* (in German, *Jedermann*) play, like other moralities, enjoyed great popularity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (pp. 112-113). As Wickham explains, 'The idea of the fall from grace, regardless of a man's position in society, came to be associated with moral weakness of character [...] so in Morality Plays the seven deadly Sins are given ample opportunity to batten upon the frailties of "Mankind" or "everyman" to bring about this

the protagonist is warned he is close to death and will be called to account for his deeds, and must choose for his companions either Virtues or Vices (allegorical figures portrayed by actors). The catechism-interrogation and baroque Nikolaus plays bear strong echoes of the *Everyman* morality, insofar as they provide a dramatized treatment of the themes of personal accountability for one's actions and the importance of choosing virtue over vice while there is still time.

### 5.3 Boy Bishops

The Boy Bishop custom, which took place on both Holy Innocents' Day (December 28) and St. Nikolaus's Day, depending on the region and era,<sup>292</sup> enjoyed widespread popularity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and continued into the eighteenth. As one of the cloister-based 'festivals of inversion',<sup>293</sup> this custom exemplified carnivalesque inversion of hierarchy par excellence and permitted the Biblical injunction to exalt the lowly<sup>294</sup> to be fulfilled in the most entertaining manner possible. As Biblical justification for the comical inversions of the Boy Bishop festivities, which would have been seen as sacrilegious in another context, part of the *Magnificat* (a Cantic taken from Luke 1:46-55) was cited: 'He hath put down the mighty from their seat, | and hath exalted the humble'; in Latin, '*deposuit potentes de sede | et exaltavit humiles.*'<sup>295</sup> This custom involved cloister students electing a young choirboy as bishop, robed with mitre and crozier,<sup>296</sup> and a

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fall from grace' (p. 113). Furthermore:

Despite the essential seriousness of the themes which gave Morality Plays their name, their usefulness to quasi-professional groups of actors depended very largely upon their acceptability to the audiences of the banquet hall and the fairground who paid for them; and the nature of these environments, in both of which alcohol was readily accessible, made humour a desirable commodity (p. 119).

<sup>292</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 116.

<sup>293</sup> According to William Tydeman, there were four celebrations 'involving the upsetting of ecclesiastical hierarchy that follow directly after Christmas', each of which was dedicated to a different status group within the cloister community. The feast of St. Stephen (Dec. 26) was taken over by the deacons; St. John the Evangelist (Dec. 27) by the priests; the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28) by the choirboys; and the subdeacons claimed the Circumcision (January 1), or alternatively, either Epiphany (January 6) or the octave of Epiphany (January 13). 'Only those of the boys and the subdeacons are distinguished by their own titles, *festum puerorum* etc. and *festum stultorum* (Feast of Fools)' (*The Medieval European Stage, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 107).

<sup>294</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 116.

<sup>295</sup> *King James Bible*, p. 72.

<sup>296</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 115. As we have seen, the legend of Nikolaus and the murdered schoolboys reflected his role as the patron and protector of students. According to Mezger, the

procession with his retinue, which in time expanded into the community beyond the cloisters. Students were exempted from lessons for the day, fed a special meal, and generally indulged by the older clerics, within reason.<sup>297</sup> The bishop was not meant to represent Nikolaus;<sup>298</sup> rather, the significance was that small choirboys and bishops were at opposite ends of the cloister hierarchy and therefore a Boy Bishop was the perfect embodiment of the carnivalesque theme of inversion. Since this day was given over to the students, it was appropriate that it coincide with a feast day associated with children: either Holy Innocents or St. Nikolaus, patron of children.

Fourteenth-century sources show that the transgressive behavior extended beyond the sanctioned inversion of Church hierarchy. In 1336 Lübeck, mumming activities began on Nikolaus Day and continued for three weeks unabated,<sup>299</sup> thus linking the two feast days associated with Boy Bishops, and in 1307, the people of Worms ‘*beklagte sich die Bürgerschaft 1307 beim Bischof über die schlimme Ausgelassenheit der Schüler während ihres adventlichen Bischofspiels* [complained to the bishop about the wicked high spirits of the schoolboys during their Advent bishop play]’.<sup>300</sup> The mischief that accrued to the custom during their outdoor perambulations is shown by the Council of Basel’s 1435 prohibition on the public appearances of the *ersatz* bishop and his followers because “‘*die Bischoff den Segen geben, Täntz, Zechen und andere Gaukelspiel anrichteten* [give blessings, dance, carouse and perpetrate other jugglery]’”.<sup>301</sup>

The Boy Bishop festivities were moved c. 1300 from the feast of the Holy Innocents to Nikolaus Day in an effort by Church authorities to purge it of the excesses with which it had become associated. Shifting the focus to the patron saint of students, they felt, would result in milder and more orderly celebrations,<sup>302</sup> but it only served to prolong

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cloister schools of the Middle Ages contained male students ranging in age from nine to eighteen or even twenty (p. 103), not only living together but educated together, as instruction levels were not determined by age. This fact goes some way towards explaining how the organizational and practical complexities of mounting Boy Bishop festivities could have been accomplished.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid, pp. 117-118.

<sup>298</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, pp. 216-217.

<sup>299</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 119.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 216.

the festivities. The Nikolaus Day procession of the Boy Bishop and his masked retinue<sup>303</sup> realized its potential as a public nuisance when it evolved into a *quête*, which met with grumbling among the populace and was criticized on social grounds as begging.<sup>304</sup> Sebastian Franck's 1534 translation of Johannes Boemus (1520) gives an account of the *quête* which grew out of the procession:

*An Sanct Niclaus woelen die schuler vnder yn ein Bischoff zwen Diacon | die sitzen in yhren ornaten mit einer procession in die Kirch geleyttet biß das ampt für ist | als dan gehet der Niclaus Bischoff mit all seinem hoffgesind zu singen für die heüßer | vn das heyßt nit gebetlet | sunder dem Bischoff ein steür gesamelt.*

On Saint Niclaus the students elect from among themselves a bishop and two deacons | who sit in their finery with a procession in the church led to the municipal office | the Niclaus bishop goes with all his court servants to sing for the houses | that is to say, not to pray | but the bishop collects a tax.<sup>305</sup>

These raucous processions were not an isolated cultural phenomenon. While not associated with the Boy Bishops, masked devils were rampant in the public spaces of medieval towns. According to Honigmann, 'Masked devils acting boisterously and making nuisances of themselves are known in Germany since at least the sixteenth century while animal masked devils combining scary-funny [*schauriglustig*] antics appeared in Medieval church

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid; Karl Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande: eine kultgeographisch-volkskundliche Untersuchung*, *Forschungen zur Volkskunde*, 9-12, repr. 1981 (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1931), pp. 325, 329.

<sup>305</sup> Johannes Boemus (1520), trans. by Sebastian Franck (1534). Cited in Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, pp. 217-218 and Tydeman, p. 631. Karl Young gives an excerpt from a c. 1420 Swabian Boy Bishop play text consisting of a Nativity play in abbreviated form, which appears to have been performed at each house they visited. Interestingly, the group's request that their hosts give generously (the *quête* portion at the end of the play) is phrased in terms of the Holy Family seeking shelter and contains an implicit blessing/threat:

Therefore Joseph the loyal man asks you  
that you will freely aid him,  
with a contribution to the glorious God;  
For that he thanks you in all seriousness.  
Whoever has not hotcakes or cookies,  
Let him give us money, and God will still reward him (p. 628).

plays.<sup>306</sup> Overlapping with the Boy Bishop processions were *Fastnacht* celebrations, where devil masks were widely worn.<sup>307</sup>

## 5.4 Carnival Devils: Mummers as Troublemakers

The devils who had proliferated in the numerous miracle plays and moralities did not quietly go away at the dawn of the Renaissance. Rather, they continued to be an important part of the way feast days were celebrated in public spaces, a development which did not inspire confidence in civil and church authorities. In Braunschweig c. 1418, it was the custom for young people to ‘raise a company in order to “*lopen shoduwel* [run as show-devils]”’ on the holy days before Christmas.<sup>308</sup> That same year, the Council of Basel, mirroring concurrent developments in Austria and southern Germany,<sup>309</sup> denounced the practice of drunken house-visiting ‘*Bökenwise*’ (as a billy goat) in Advent. Two years later Basel renewed its ban as it did periodically throughout the fifteenth century,<sup>310</sup> clarifying their references over the past two Christmases to schoolboys and declaring:

*“Denen zu dienst tüfel louffent, heissent üch unser herren sagen, daz sy nit wellent, dz yemant in tüfels wise louffen solle in den kilchen [=Kirchen] noch in der stadt, wand dadurch gotz dienst gehindert und gewirret wird”.*

“To those among them who run in service as devils, our lords mean to say to you that they do not want that anyone should run devil-wise into the churches or in the city, whereby God’s service becomes hindered and confused”.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> Honigmann, p.264.

<sup>307</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 119; Hans Moser, ‘Städtische Fastnacht des Mittelalters’ in *Masken zwischen Spiel und Ernst*, ed. by Hermann Bausinger, Volksleben, 18 (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1967).

<sup>308</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 125.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.



It was ultimately *Fastnacht* that was to account for most of the increase in devil masking. According to Mezger, who has tracked the development of Carnival (known as *Fastnacht* or *Fasching*) in the German-speaking countries extensively,<sup>312</sup> *Fastnacht* revelry, which grew rapidly in popularity from around 1400, belonged to the Devil before it belonged to the Fool. Throughout the fifteenth century, devil masks were not only ubiquitous at *Fastnacht*, but used in religious plays and processions and during Advent as well.<sup>313</sup> By 1500, masked young people running around in the streets throughout Advent were a common sight, and masked revelry might begin as early as St. Martin's Day (November 11) and last through *Fastnacht*.<sup>314</sup>

This leads Mezger to conclude that, due to the popularity of devil figures in year-round religious drama and processions as well as at *Fastnacht*, it was only a matter of time before the Devil was absorbed into the dramatized appearances of St. Nikolaus. In any case, this expansion of variety and interest in Advent masking — out the cloisters and into the streets, as it were — was due to the many young, unmarried apprentices and craftsmen swelling the ranks.<sup>315</sup> Like the older cloister students, the apprentices were well positioned to spread the custom as they went from town to town seeking work,<sup>316</sup> and as travelling people, both groups enjoyed the patronage of St. Nikolaus.

By the dawn of the sixteenth century, the role of the bishop had diminished in relation to the devils, and the whole had descended into farce,<sup>317</sup> perhaps due to the *Fastnacht* influence. While Martin Luther accepted the practice of *Einlegen* (the practice of putting gifts in shoes and other receptacles on behalf of Nikolaus), he was less forgiving of the mummers' horseplay, and fretted in 1527 that '*viel kindisch ding und [...] auch lügen* [many childish things and [...] also lies]' had become embedded in the St. Nikolaus Day celebrations of his day.<sup>318</sup> As we shall see in 5.7, such criticism was to carry over into the

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<sup>312</sup> Mezger's *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch: Studien zum Fortleben des Mittelalters in der europäischen Festkultur*, Konstanzer Bibliothek, 15 (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1991) and *Sankt Nikolaus* provide the best point of entry into the historical relationships between the Carnival complex, the body of European religious drama traditions, and the mumming traditions discussed here.

<sup>313</sup> Moser, 'Städtische Fastnacht des Mittelalters'.

<sup>314</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 124-125, 119.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 65 vols (vol. 17:2) (Weimar:

Baroque era, when Nikolaus and *Krampus* performances in the form of plays and house visits dipped deeply into farce and mischief at least as often as they reinforced orthodox religious practice.

*Fastnacht*, of course, continued to be a public communal festival, celebrated outdoors by masses of adult revelers, not unlike the large-scale *Krampusläufe* seen today. But this period also saw the introduction of a more private, child-focused custom into the body of Nikolaus folklore, one which took place in the family sphere and revolved around the evaluation of the child's character, setting the stage for the catechism-interrogation to develop in time.

### **5.5 Eating the *Kinderfresser*: Edible Nikolaus Day Gifts**

The role of Nikolaus as gift-bringer has taken shape over many centuries. As we saw in 5.2, the legend of the Three Virgins reinforced the image of Nikolaus as a patron of the young and bringer of gifts. In this sense, his gift of gold coins while they lay sleeping may be seen as a legendary antecedent to *Einlegen*, the practice of laying gifts inside shoes or other receptacles on his behalf. For example, gifts were set in little paper boats (*Schiffelein*) in southern Germany and Austria on the night before St. Nikolaus's Day (he is also the patron of seafarers), which he supposedly delivered in person. A reference to *Schiffelein* comes from a children's prayer cited in a fifteenth-century manuscript from the Kloster Tegernsee in Bavaria:

*Heiliger sankt Nikolaus  
In meiner Not mich nit verlas,  
kombt heint zu mir und legt mir ein  
in mein kleines Schiffelein;  
darbey ich Ewer gedenken kann,  
das yr seit ein frommer Mann.*

Holy St. Nikolaus,  
Do not forget me in my need,  
come to me and lay [something] for me  
in my little ship,

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Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883), p. 270; Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 141.

so that I can ever think upon  
how you are a godly man.<sup>319</sup>

Meisen believes the custom of Nikolaus giving gifts to children originated in the cloisters and cites a 1507 reference to a lady who had St. Nikolaus bring dolls to children,<sup>320</sup> although, as Schuhladen points out, it is not clear whether the gifts were given by Nikolaus in person or simply on his behalf,<sup>321</sup> as they are in the *Einlegenbrauch*. In any case, Boemus's 1520 account of the Boy Bishop processions also mentions that '*Etlich Kinder fasten Sanct Niclaus abend so fest | das man sy etwa zu essen noeten muß* [A number of children fast so well on Saint Niclaus | that one needs must give them something to eat]'.<sup>322</sup> Boemus elaborates that in private households, children find gifts from St. Nikolaus left in their shoes, which have been set out underneath the table by their parents, suggesting that the edible gifts may have been rewards for children who had obediently fasted. The edible *Einlegen* gift was most elaborately developed in the form of decorative *Lebkuchen*. Several surviving sixteenth-century clay molds for *Lebkuchen* depict Nikolaus visiting the three virgins, as we saw in 5.2, climbing a ladder with a basket of gifts to an upper-storey window from which stockings, baskets, and pouches hang.<sup>323</sup> As Albert Walzer shows, the figure of the *Kinderfresser* was another popular subject for these molds. Like the *Butzenbercht* (4.3), the *Kinderfresser* in one wears a large basket stuffed with children strapped to his back and bites off the head of a child, just as his own head will surely soon be bitten off by another child; just desserts, both literally and figuratively.<sup>324</sup>

Such figures were popular from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries<sup>325</sup> in Germany and neighboring states, appearing in the form of fountains,<sup>326</sup> *Lebkuchen*<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Meisen, p. 406.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 406.

<sup>321</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 217.

<sup>322</sup> Meisen, p. 406. Also cited in Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 218.

<sup>323</sup> These Nikolaus cookie molds are discussed and reproduced in Mezger's *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 133-134. Albert Walzer also discusses one of these molds as well as a late eighteenth-century example on pp. 125-128 of his *Liebeskutsche, Reitersmann, Nikolaus und Kinderbringer*.

<sup>324</sup> Walzer reproduces several southern German *Kinderfresser* cookie molds (apparently modelled on seventeenth-century woodcuts) on pp. 129-134.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>326</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 164-165.

(discussed in 5.5), and Carnival broadsheets.<sup>328</sup> The *Kinderfresser* in the Augsburg woodcut, a wild-eyed giant with a long, unkempt beard, resembles depictions of the German folk-figure Knecht Ruprecht, who accompanies St. Nikolaus and is functionally identical to the *Krampus*.<sup>329</sup> The *Kinderfresser*'s shoulder bag and the pockets on his long coat are stuffed with children, showing that even if he is not exactly a devil like the *Krampus*, he, too is a monster who preys upon children. As if to allay any doubt as to their fate, the artist has shown the *Kinderfresser* lifting a headless child to his mouth for a second bite. A calendar verse from 1764 Augsburg mentions Percht and Ruprecht together as *Kinderschreck* figures,<sup>330</sup> and the *Kinderfresser* text resembles that of the *Butzenbercht* in content and spirit down to the final couplet, which warns children to tend to their devotions, lest they end up in the belly of the *Kindleinfresser*.<sup>331</sup>

Hörandner shows that there were also *Krampus* molds in this style.<sup>332</sup> Although their dates are not given, their popularity at the close of the Enlightenment establishes a link between the baroque *Kinderfresser* molds and the *Krampus*-shaped breads, marzipan and chocolates still given as Nikolaus Day gifts (Figs. 1-4). By virtue of his representation in *Einlegen Lebkuchen*, the *Kinderfresser* is tied, like the *Krampus*, to the binary of rewards and punishments implicit in the catechism-interrogation, Nikolaus's *Einlegen* gifts, and the Nikolaus plays of the Baroque.

## 5.6 Counter-Reformation Nikolaus Plays

Beginning with the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Counter-Reformation saw the reinforcement of various cultural expressions of Catholic faith, including the veneration of saints. As part of this development, an echo of the medieval religious drama of saints and devils was found in the popular plays about St. Nikolaus which established strongholds in

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<sup>327</sup> Walzer, pp. 125-134.

<sup>328</sup> Warner, p. 30.

<sup>329</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 45.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>331</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 168; Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser', p. 66.

<sup>332</sup> Hörandner discusses *Krampus* and Nikolaus cookie molds on pp. 19-20 of *Model: Geschnitzte Formen für Lebkuchen, Spekulatius und Springerle* and reproduces them on pp. 70-71. She mentions that an alternate name for the *Krampus* figure was *Leutfresser*, or "People-Gobbler" (p. 20), indicating an explicit link between the *Kinderfresser* motif and the *Krampus*.

Bavaria, Styria, and North and South Tyrol. In contrast to the medieval miracle plays discussed in 5.2, the baroque Nikolaus plays did not revolve around the legends attached to the saint,<sup>333</sup> but rather incorporated elements familiar from the Everyman morality plays, presenting the lessons of personal accountability for one's deeds and the importance of choosing virtue over vice in what might be considered an adult counterpart to the catechism-interrogation.

The Nikolaus plays were folk plays popular in North and South Tyrol, Bavaria, and Styria from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, dating from the mid to late-sixteenth century, although those early texts have not survived.<sup>334</sup> They were performed in pubs and on stages, their indoor setting a contrast to the miracle plays which continued to be performed during this period.<sup>335</sup> Indeed, the Nikolaus plays reflected the themes, structure, and 'farical character' of the morality plays<sup>336</sup> more than the liturgical music-drama based on Nikolaus's legends. Play texts dating from the mid-eighteenth century in Tyrol and roughly a century later in Styria<sup>337</sup> have survived to the present day (while the plays emerged in the mid to late-sixteenth century, those early texts have not).<sup>338</sup> The earliest mention of a Styrian play dates to 1861,<sup>339</sup> and in the inaugural issue of the journal *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1889), Anton Schlossar included the full text of a Nikolaus play from the Styrian country of Liezen, where Nikolaus plays still flourish in Bad Mitterndorf and Tauplitz.<sup>340</sup> Schlossar notes that the text, said to be old at the time of collection c. 1885, had been difficult to maintain over the years since it had been banned, having degenerated in the hands of its vigorous young actors into rough-housing and even a fatality in one instance.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, pp. 20, 228.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>336</sup> Wickham, p. 119.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.* Koenig states that a Nikolaus play was performed in East Tyrol during the Baroque, but is now extinct. In this version, the angel rescued the soul of the woodsman after his death; in Bad Mitterndorf, by contrast, the angel (portrayed by a young girl) does not intercede. The figure of Death, however, is a holdover from the East Tyrolean Nikolaus plays, and became a popular type of *Klaubauf* mask in the twentieth century (pp. 19, 20).

<sup>339</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, pp. 47, 231.

<sup>340</sup> Schlossar, pp. 349-354.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.

Schlossar's version adheres to the template for the Styrian Nikolaus plays outlined by Schuhladen: Nikolaus enters and makes his speech, followed by a *Jedermannszene* (Everyman scene) during which the hard-drinking country man (a comical figure) is cut down by Death, and Luzifer's speech (in which he derides parents for their failure to discipline their children, ending with a *Freilauf* initiated by the devils leaping out into the audience, described as the '*Treiben der Rauhen, das sich von der Stube auf die Straße hinauszieht* [rough ones' chase, which leads out of the pub into the street]'.<sup>342</sup> This structure provides a way to advance the action to the next stationary location where the play will be performed, getting the actors back on the road and on their way to the next pub.<sup>343</sup>

The cast of characters includes, in addition to Nikolaus, the priest, an angel, Luzifer and several devils, Death, and a poor woodsman, who introduces himself as Nikolaus's *Jägersmann* (hunting man). The *Jägersmann* asks whether Nikolaus and his companions may enter, followed by the angel, who asks parents to bring their children to the saint so that they can say their prayers before him. Nikolaus reprimands parents for failing to raise their children to be good Christians:

*Nun, ihr Hausväter und Hausmütter,  
Bringet eure Kinder hervor.  
Auf dass sie mir was beten vor.  
Ich will die Guten belohnen und die Bösen bestrafen.  
Hier ist ist derjenige, den Gott gesandt hat,  
Der wird die Kleinen belehren und die Grossen erinnern.*

Now, you fathers and mothers,  
Bring your children over here.  
So that they can say a prayer for me.  
I wish to reward the good ones and punish the bad ones.

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<sup>342</sup> Schuhladen, pp. 28-29.

<sup>343</sup> In Bad Mitterndorf in 2006 and 2007, audience members increasingly joined the procession between pubs as the night progressed. This change in spatial relations between actors and audience — the former mobile (processing from one point to another to perform the play) and the latter stationary and attendant, in the case of parade settings and house or pub visits — is an interesting development in itself, and deserving of further study.

Here is he whom God has sent forth,  
Who will instruct the little ones and admonish the big ones.<sup>344</sup>

(This distinction is interesting with regards to age-based participation in the catechism-interrogation because it shows that older children may be threatened, as they already know what is expected of them and know better than to misbehave, whereas the very young are initiated into the tradition with gentle instruction.)

Stage directions indicate for Nikolaus and the priest to put their questions to the children and hand out gifts.<sup>345</sup> Here, as in Bad Mitterndorf today, Luzifer exhorts adults to behave themselves, the children's behavior having been attended to by the gentler Nikolaus.<sup>346</sup> He explains his role in the service of Nikolaus and thus ultimately in the service of God, thus indicating that the *Krampus* (of whom this is also true) is functionally akin to this figure. That this play is for the benefit of adults as well as children is shown by the fact that Luzifer chides them for bad parenting, namely failures of socialization:

*Dafür lässt ihr sie auf der Gassen herumlaufen,  
Aber zum Essen laufen sie wie die Rinder.  
Ist das eine Zucht für eure Kinder?*

You let them run around in the lanes,  
But they run like cows to the feed.  
Is that discipline for your children?

Luzifer's subsequent threats reflect the symbolic congruity familiar from the verses accompanying the Augsburg woodcuts<sup>347</sup> as well as Perchta's punishments for eating infractions (4.3, Appendices B and C3):

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<sup>344</sup> Schlossar, p. 351.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid, pp. 351-352.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, p. 351. For video of the Nikolaus play in Bad Mitterndorf, which shows the priest and Nikolaus subjecting local children to the catechism-interrogation, see V4, 07:51-08:25.

<sup>347</sup> Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser'.

*Da mach' ich euch eine heisse Feuerflammen,  
Dass's über eurem Kopf geht zusammen.  
Und die überflüssig haben getrunken und gegessen,  
Die thut man binden an Händen und Füßen  
Und thut sie braten an den Spiessen.*

I [will] make a hot-flaming fire for you, so  
That [the flames should] meet over your head.  
And those who have drunk and eaten too much,  
They will be bound hand and foot  
And thus put to roast on the spits.<sup>348</sup>

Luzifer ends his speech with a couplet recalling the final threats of the *Kinderfresser* and *Butzenbercht*:

*So könnt ihr noch werden glückselige Kinder.  
Und wollt ihr euren Lebenslauf nicht wenden,  
So kommt ihr in des Teufels Händen.*

Thus you can still be blissful children,  
And want to not go through life  
Such that you come into the Devil's hands.<sup>349</sup>

Luzifer's admonishes children to repent, followed by an unscripted scene in which the poor woodsman is shown suffering from acute hunger, at which point Death appears as the great equalizer:

*Ich geh' hinaus  
In die weite Welt.  
Und such' mir aus,*

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<sup>348</sup> Ibid, p. 353.

<sup>349</sup> Schlossar, p. 353.



*Was mir gefällt,  
Hoch und nieder,  
Gross und klein,  
Alles muss gestorben sein!*

I go down out  
Into the wide world.  
And seek out for myself,  
What I like.  
High and low,  
Great and small,  
All must die!<sup>350</sup>

Death strikes the woodsman down with his scythe, and several of the devils drag him out by the legs, thus concluding the play.<sup>351</sup> Schlossar's version may have ended with angels, but in Bad Mitterndorf today, this juncture is used as a jumping-off point — literally — for the *Freilauf*, at which Luzifer's devils (there called *Krampusse*) leap off of the stage in the town center into the crowd and begin whipping as many people as they can catch (V4, 10:10-11:40).

The Bad Mitterndorf Nikolaus play also incorporates a catechism-interrogation segment (V4, 07:51-08:25) following Nikolaus's speech, which is unusual in that it is done onstage with a group of children as part of a public performance. The roots of the catechism-interrogation are found in the family home, however, as it is a very personal microdrama, meant to facilitate the child's progress towards maturity through ritualized annual tests of character. The next two developments take us into the nineteenth century and continue to the present day, although to some extent they have both given way to public *Krampusläufe*: house visits featuring the catechism-interrogation, and the exchange of Valentine-like cards wishing the recipient '*Grüße vom Krampus*' ('Greetings from the *Krampus*').

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid, p. 354.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid. The Death and the Woodsman scene was integrated into plays performed by the Juvavum Pass (at *Tanz & Teufel*, 2005) and Salzburger Schiachpercht'n (in Traun, 2006), although in the latter case it was adapted for Perchta's appearance, rather than that of Death (see field notes, Appendix I9).

## 5.7 “Grüße vom Krampus”: House Visit and Catechism-Interrogation

Here we come to the question of the relationship between the catechism-interrogation, house visits, Nikolaus plays, and *Einlegenbrauch*. Meisen argues that the Nikolaus play and house-visiting custom with its catechism-interrogation component are closely related to one another,<sup>352</sup> and the Nikolaus play does indeed function like a structured and scripted version of the catechism-interrogation, aimed at adults instead of children, as Schuhladen observes.<sup>353</sup> According to him, house visits with a catechism-interrogation element are a more recent phenomenon than the Nikolaus plays,<sup>354</sup> with the earliest archival evidence dating from the late seventeenth century.<sup>355</sup> References to house visits increased from that point on and overlapped with Nikolaus plays throughout the Baroque. Mezger argues that the house-visiting custom grew out of the *Einlegenbrauch* in the early sixteenth century, as Nikolaus’s in-the-flesh appearance provided a natural elaboration and dramatization of the *Einlegenbrauch* and underscored its pedagogical impact. The catechism-interrogation was an effective way to dramatize Nikolaus’s judgment and subsequent distribution of rewards or punishments, as the child’s behavior had warranted.<sup>356</sup>

Despite the Council of Trent’s mission to bolster Catholicism through such cultural forms as the Nikolaus plays, they were never purely instruments of socio-religious instruction. Rather, the devils lent them an inherently festive and anti-authoritarian character which bubbled up from within, just as it had in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when church leaders decried *Fastnacht*’s apparent influence on what they hoped would otherwise have been the sober, pious observance of winter feast days. The trend towards farce and general silliness continued into the Baroque, when civil and Church authorities complained that Nikolaus customs had become overly secularized and thus not only drained of its original religious significance, but a social problem as well. Schuhladen notes the importance of a late seventeenth-century reference by Martin von Amberg, which shows that some were already complaining about the degradation and meaninglessness of

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<sup>352</sup> Meisen, pp. 486, 488-9.

<sup>353</sup> Schuhladen refers to the Nikolaus play as an ‘*Erwachsenenkatechese* [adult catechism]’ (*Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 215).

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid*, p. 217.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid*, p. 219; Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 147.

<sup>356</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 147.

the *Einlegen* and possibly his mumming manifestations, as the allusion to mocking his gray beard implies:

*Was ist dann die Ursache, daß S. Niclas heut zu Tag [...] nichts solle wollen einlegen? Mir fällt keine andere Ursach bey, als dise. Die ihn kennen, treiben nur das Gspött über seine graue Haar und Bart: schätzen sein Gutthätigkeit nit; sagen ihm nit danck; lachen ihn nur auß; drumb gibt er ihnen auch nichts.*

What is the reason that nowadays S. Niclas [...] should not want to lay anything [in shoes or other receptacles]? I favor no other reason than this. Those who know him, make fun of his gray hair and beard: do not treasure his good deeds; do not thank him, only laugh at him; therefore he gives them nothing.<sup>357</sup>

By the eighteenth century, the Nikolaus house visit was starting to overtake the *Einlegen* custom in popularity.<sup>358</sup> Bourgeois families who received house calls from this doctor of the spirit, however, were not always amused by his antics. Abraham a Sancta Clara observed towards the end of the seventeenth century (in an account republished in 1729) that from time to time, ‘*der Nicola einen Rausch hat, und die Stiegen herunter fället* [the Nicola is drunk and falls down the stairs]’, adding that ‘*werden bey sothanen Nicolai-Possen gar oft silberne Messer und Löffel veloren, daß man nicht wissen kan ob er verstellte Nicola, oder die Engel und Teuffel die größte Dieb sey* [with such Nicolai *Paßen*, silver knives and spoons often went missing, so that one cannot be sure whether the out-of-control Nicola or the angel(s) and devil(s) are the greatest thieves]’.<sup>359</sup> In addition to keeping an eye on their valuables, householders would have presumably been aghast at the example set for the children; it would have been hard for the mummers to teach them to be good and upstanding when they themselves had trouble standing up.

Whereas Nikolaus’s Catholic credentials ensured that the tradition enjoyed support during the Counter-Reformation, Enlightenment-era reformers took its association with the Church (as tenuous as it was) as evidence of its corruptive influence. As Hörandner writes:

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<sup>357</sup> Martin von Amberg, cited in Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 219.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid*, p. 220.

<sup>359</sup> Abraham a Sancta Clara, *Abrahamisches Gehab dich wohl* (Nürnberg: Verlegts Georg Lehmann, 1729), also *ibid*, pp. 149, 217. Mezger believes this to be the earliest reference to the house visit with catechism-interrogation and devil companion (*Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 148, 151).

*In der Zeit der Aufklärung gerieten Nikolaus und noch mehr sein Begleiter, der Krampus, ins Kreuzfeuer [...]. Die "Mummereyen" wurden als Volksverdummung (Aberglauben, aber auch Glauben statt Wissen) von den Aufklärern vehement bekämpft und auszurotten getrachtet) angeprangert, der durch die Umzugsmasken angerichtete Schrecken als Große Gefährdung der seelischen und geistigen Gesundheit der Kinder hingestellt. Im Zuge der Polemik wurden die Umzugsgestalten auch als Gesindel, Diebe und Säuffer diffamiert, die sich — vor allem in der Stadt — durch den Brauch nicht nur einen Verdienst schufen, sondern auch Einblick und Zugang in wohlhabende Häuser erhielten.*

In the Age of Enlightenment, Nikolaus, and even more his companion, the *Krampus*, were caught in the crossfire. [...] The "masquerade" was denounced as a dumbing-down of the people ([critics] vehemently fought against and strove to root out superstition, but also faith in lieu of knowledge) [...] the terrors served up by the processional masks [were decried] as a great danger to the mental and spiritual health of children. In the course of the polemics the processional figures were also defamed as scallywags, thieves, and drunks, who — mainly in the city — did not even manage [to make] a living through the custom, but did get a glimpse into, and access to, well-to-do households.<sup>360</sup>

Hörandner's comment reveals how critical Enlightenment attitudes exerted an influence on Nikolaus/*Krampus* mumming, reshaping it to reflect current developments, namely the secularization of moral and social concerns and the assignment of those responsibilities to the private family sphere, particularly the concern with children's psychic well-being, which continues to be a formative element in the tradition (10.2.4). Despite having frequently slipped the shackles of the Counter-Reformation agenda in favor of comedy and subversion, Nikolaus and his devil companions were beset with a new self-conscious morality imposed upon the house visit. Nikolaus was once again pressed into service as a tool for socializing children, this time under the control of the newly-minted middle class instead of the Church. Concern with *Erziehung* — the proper upbringing of children and molding them into decent social beings — now shaped the *Einkehrbrauch* and *Einlegenbrauch* forms of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* tradition. Rather than dramatizing the testing of the soul and the choice between Heaven and Hell in the manner of the *Jedermann* play, the catechism-interrogation served to dramatize and define the child's accountability to his immediate family and responsibilities within the domestic sphere as well as his Christian duties (his catechism).

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<sup>360</sup> Hörandner, 'Nikolausbrauchtum I und II', p. 11.

According to Schuhladen, house visits started as an urban phenomenon fostered by the upper classes and only later spread to rural areas, where they were regarded as long-standing traditions by the early nineteenth century.<sup>361</sup> Some Tyrolean localities with a living tradition of Nikolaus plays did not see house visits until the twentieth century,<sup>362</sup> indicating that the play, with its catechism element, was functionally equivalent to the house visit in this sense. In the following nineteenth-century accounts, we can see that in both appearance and behavior, Nikolaus and the *Krampus* were already crystallizing into the forms we recognize today. In the vicinity of Bregenz in Vorarlberg comes the 1816 account of a mumming group which included:

*Es zieht sich da, wo sie bestehen ein Mann, der den heiligen Niklaus vorstellen soll, gewöhnlich in priesterlicher Kleidung, und so ein paar Knaben als Kirchendiener an. Ein 2ter kleidet sich in die Maske eines Fauns und so besuchen dieße am Niklaus-Abend die Häuser ihrer Gemeinde, um in ersterer Persohn die Kinder zum guten zu erinnern, und durch letztere Persohn, wenn sie dem heiligen Niklaus nicht Folge zu leisten, zusichern, zu shrecken.*

A man who is supposed to represent St. Niklaus, usually in priestly dress, and [...] a pair of boys as alcolytes. A 2nd is dressed in the mask of a faun, and thus they visit the houses of their community on the evening of Nikolaus [Day], in order to remind children through the first person of [doing] good, and through the latter to be certain to frighten [them] when they do not obey St. Niklaus.<sup>363</sup>

In Panzer's 1848 account from Oberhausen bei Augsburg, Bavaria, the dual character of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* custom (in which the dichotomies of order/disorder, rewards/punishments, indoors/outdoors are embedded) is evident. These *Klās* mummies apparently meted out both rewards and punishments, thus unifying the functions typically divided between Nikolaus and *Krampus*:

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<sup>361</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 221, cited from a survey taken in Vorarlberg and Tyrol in 1816.

<sup>362</sup> Hörandner, 'Nikolausbrauchtum I und II', p. 11.

<sup>363</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 220. The reference to the 'mask of a faun' is intriguing, suggesting a randy bearded man with horns rather than a Christian devil per se.

*Der Klàs (Nicolaus) kam am klàsenabend. junge leute vermummten sich, zogen mit kettengerassel, peitschenknall u. dgl. vor die häuser und schlugen ungestümm mit den ketten an thüren und fensterstöcke. diesen wurden nirgends die thüren geöffnet. auf verabredung der ältern kam aber auch der Klàs in die häuser, belobte und beschenkte die fleissigen kinder, brachte auch eine rute mit, und bestrafte die bösen.*

The *Klàs (Nicolaus)* came on *Klàsenabend*. Young people disguised themselves, went before the houses with chain-rattling, whip-cracking and the like and beat furiously on doors and windows with the chains. [...] The doors were never opened to them. By arrangement of the elders, however, the *Klàs* came into the houses, encouraged and gifted the diligent children, [but] also brought a switch along and punished the bad ones.<sup>364</sup>

Nineteenth-century mummers began to incorporate other elements into their appearances which distinguished them from Nikolaus play performances, which, whether performed in pubs or houses, seems to have maintained a clearer boundary between actors and spectators. The threat of compulsory audience participation, ever present in improvisational theater, was realized in the city of Lienz, East Tyrol c. 1816, when a child was actually stuffed in a *Klaubauf*'s back-basket and carried off, screaming and kicking.<sup>365</sup>

Concurrent with these late nineteenth-century house visits was the practice of exchanging something like *Krampus*-themed Valentines, an addition to the *Einlegen* custom of giving gifts on Nikolaus Day. Like the house visits, this was originally an urban phenomenon, originating in Vienna.<sup>366</sup> Bearing the message, “*Grüße vom Krampus*”, these ornamental, tongue-in-cheek cards depict the *Krampus* pursuing young women and children, just as he does in the performance-encounter today. In the child-focused versions, children flee from him or flail about in his basket while in the mildly eroticized adult versions, women shrink from the *Krampus*, who is sometimes portrayed as an over-aggressive suitor with a dapper moustache.<sup>367</sup> Gockerell notes that ‘*Die Darstellung deftiger*

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<sup>364</sup> Panzer, vol. 2, p. 119. Italics his.

<sup>365</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 221, cited from a survey taken in Vorarlberg and Tyrol in 1816. For a recent account of *Klaubauf* mumming in nearby Matri in Osttirol, see 11.2.2.

<sup>366</sup> Nina Gockerell, ed., *Weihnachtszeit: Feste zwischen Advent und Neujahr in Süddeutschland und Österreich, 1840-1940, Sammlung Ursula Kloiber* (München: Prestel Verlag/Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 2000), pp. 66-77 (67).

<sup>367</sup> One postcard depicts a *Krampus* carrying three young women in lingerie on his back with the words, ‘*Ich bin der Krampus, | Hol’ schlimme Kinder — | Mit Grossen thu’s ich’s auch nicht minder* [I am the *Krampus*, | I fetch bad children — | With the big ones, too, I do it no less]’ (ibid, p. 71, Fig.

*Erotik war ein besonders beliebtes Thema auf zahlreichen Krampuskarten* [The representation of hearty eroticism was an especially popular theme in numerous Krampus cards]'.<sup>368</sup>

The fact that this practice was so common may reflect the normalization of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visit and catechism-interrogation into the domestic sphere; certainly engravings from this period show them entering bourgeois homes.<sup>369</sup> They may also represent the seeds of a growing focus on the *Krampus* in his own right, as Nikolaus is not shown, and the custom's growing secularization seems to be reflected in the playful, comical, sometimes flirtatious tone of many of these illustrations (the *Krampus* pursues women in many of them).<sup>370</sup> All of these developments are in evidence in *Krampus* mumming today, and will be discussed in more depth in 10.2.1, 10.2.4, and 10.5.2.

In the next section, we shall explore various contemporary manifestations of *Perchten* and *Krampus*/Nikolaus mumming, which are marked by a number of shared elements. Contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are driven to expose people (especially children) to these customs and educate them about their correct forms and meaning, and tourism and regional identity both relate to this pedagogical aspect. As we saw in 1.1, a plethora of revived variants of these traditions have come into existence since a resurgence of interest in the 1970s, but the nineteenth century saw the first wave of revivals (3.3), which were accompanied by an interest in masks as valuable art objects and the rise of Alpine tourism. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* today are motivated by a number of factors, principal among which is the desire to perpetuate their traditions well into the future. Fieldwork revealed multiple and varied sources of inspiration, aesthetic visions for mask design, and interpretations of what these customs "mean", both to them as individuals and to the greater community. It is hoped that an investigation into these key elements and the commonalities between *Perchten* and *Krampusse* will provide an overview of these traditions in their current incarnations: what they are in essence and form, and why they continue to be so important to people today.

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72).

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> See Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, Figs. 56 (p. 149), 58 (p. 154) and 208 (p. 209).

<sup>370</sup> Gockerell, pp. 71-72.

## 6. THE EVOLUTION OF *PERCHTEN* AND *KRAMPUS* MASK DESIGN

### 6.1 The Historical Development of *Perchten* and *Krampus* Masks

Transgressive liminoid behavior by masked figures incorporating bawdy and comical elements has accompanied midwinter festivals since the Roman Saturnalia. In particular, animal disguise and cross-dressing (both hallmarks of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming) have bedeviled Church fathers since the early Middle Ages. In the early sixth century, for instance, Caesarius of Arles lamented that on the Kalends of January, ‘There are some people who come to the birthday festivals of the martyrs for this sole purpose, that they may destroy themselves and ruin others by intoxication, dancing, singing shameful songs, leading the choral dance, and pantomiming in a devilish fashion.’<sup>371</sup> In another sermon, he writes:

For what wise man can believe that men are found to be of sound mind, if they are willing to make themselves a small stag or to be changed into the condition of wild beasts? Some are clothed in the skins of sheep, and others take the heads of wild beasts, rejoicing and exulting if they have transformed themselves into the appearance of animals in such a way that they do not seem to be men.<sup>372</sup>

The matter was still irksome five centuries later, driving Burchard of Worms to ask, ‘Hast thou done anything like what the pagans did, and still do, on the first of January in [the guise of] a stag or a calf?’ and prescribe a month on bread and water as penance for answering in the affirmative.<sup>373</sup>

Exactly what those frolicking mummers looked like is unknown, but there is evidence of masks with animal features in what is now Austria and Germany dating back to

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<sup>371</sup> Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 55, c.1010 cited in William Tydeman, ed., *The Medieval European Stage, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 622.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid*, *Sermo* 192, cited in Tydeman, p. 622.

<sup>373</sup> Burchard of Worms, *Decretal*, book xix, ‘Corrector et medicus’, ch. V, no. 99, cited in Tydeman, p. 623.



the Celtic migrations of the Bronze Age. According to Leopold Schmidt, the Romans left metal masks with animal and human features along the Danube. Of these Schmidt writes, ‘*Diese Kalbs- und Schweinsgesichter, diese zungenbleckenden Menschenangesichter sind offenbar für den tatsächlichen Maskenbrauch bestimmt gewesen* [These cow and pig faces, these human faces with tongues sticking out, were apparently appropriated for actual mask customs].’<sup>374</sup> The Roman soldiers who settled in Austria around the start of the first century BCE, medieval cloister culture (which generated the forms of religious drama discussed in 5.2), and travelling merchants all left their mark, disseminating masks and mask customs over a wide swathe of territory.<sup>375</sup> During the Renaissance, devil masks and costumes were produced in great quantities and kept by churches and cloisters, where they were lent out for use in *Fastnacht* as well as for religious plays and processions. Eventually, however, as we saw in 5.4, the desire to be a *Fastnacht* devil became so widespread that a significant number of people began making their own masks and costumes.<sup>376</sup> Late-medieval sources show that devil costumes were used interchangeably on multiple occasions, both sacred and secular in nature; following the explosion of interest in *Fastnacht* mumming in the 1500s, the Church sanctioned the making of costumes at one’s own expense so long as they were made available for religious processions as well<sup>377</sup> — an echo of the juxtaposition of sacred and secular in the body of Nikolaus/*Krampus* traditions.

What, then, became of these numerous collections of devil masks in cloisters and churches? Mezger offers the likely explanation that they were used again and again until they fell to pieces; they were usually made from wood, horns, cloth and fur, materials predisposed to breakage with repeated rough use. Half of a devil mask discovered in Ulm, Baden-Württemberg is made from one of the unlikeliest materials to have survived from the fifteenth century — clay.<sup>378</sup> At first glance, this mask, which seems to have been made by an untrained artist, resembles an ancient helmet rather than a conventional devil face; its horns are overshadowed by its moustache. By contrast, one remarkably well-preserved devil mask from Sterzing, Tyrol appears to have been made by skilled hands. This mask, which Mezger dates to the sixteenth century due to the preponderance of religious drama in

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<sup>374</sup> Schmidt and Broessler, p. 14.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid, pp. 14-15.

<sup>376</sup> Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 120.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid, p. 121.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid, p. 122-123. This mask is in the collection of the Archäologisches Landesmuseum of Konstanz, Switzerland.

that area at the onset of the early modern period, came into the collection of the Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum (Tyrol Folk Art Museum) in Innsbruck in 1888, at a time when the country was being combed for masks and other folkloric artifacts to supply museum collections and art and antique dealers (a development dealt with in 6.2).<sup>379</sup> Like many other early devil masks in German and Austrian museum collections, it only covers the face, although it is possible that a head-covering of cloth or animal hide might have originally been attached. Two impressive goat's horns, pointed fangs, and bat-like ears are set into the wooden mask, which is painted black and red. The face is carved into a dramatic upturned snout revealing a gaping mouth, the ridges of which are rendered in realistic detail. The wearer looked out through holes carved into the pupils of the oversized eyes and breathed and talked through a hole in the mouth. In both of these early examples, the characteristic traits of the modern *Krampusse* are in evidence: two horns, sharp teeth, bulging eyes, and lolling red tongue.

Most of the oldest surviving masks used in *Krampus* and *Perchten* traditions as well as in Nikolaus plays and *Fastnacht* date from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, with some from the seventeenth, and can be found in a handful of collections in museums across Austria and Bavaria.<sup>380</sup> According to Grieshofer, the use of the term "*Perchten*" to describe a variety of hideous masks stems from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>381</sup> including animals, witches, and devils.<sup>382</sup> Considerable variety in technique, design and construction is in evidence in these early masks. A variety of materials are used, from leather, linen, and wood, which was often painted (traces of red, white and black may still be seen on some devil masks in the SMCA collection;<sup>383</sup> see Figs. 103-107 for sketches of some representative examples), to different kinds of fur and even iron, which Rumpf believes inspired medieval references to Perchta's iron nose (Appendix C3.1).<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Reproduced in Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 120.

<sup>380</sup> The Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum has an excellent collection housed in the Monatschloß at Hellbrunn palace in Salzburg, curated by Ernestine Hutter. For the SMCA's collection, see Hutter's *Masken: Brauch und Mythos* or *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch*. For masks from the Vienna Volkskunde Museum's collection (formerly curated by Leopold Schmidt), see Schmidt and Broessler.

<sup>381</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert'.

<sup>382</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung', p. 247.

<sup>383</sup> See, for example, Hutter, *Masken: Brauch und Mythos*, pp. 53-54, 59.

<sup>384</sup> Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser', p. 64, end note 8.

Some masks feature eye holes for the wearer to see through, while others include carved eyes in addition to smaller, inconspicuous eye holes. Many of the devils have long red tongues attached, made of a soft material like leather, while other tongues are carved of the same block of wood as the rest of the mask. Likewise, fangs may be either wood or real animal teeth set into the mask. Some jaws (called *Klappenmaul*, “clacking muzzle”) are hinged so that they can snap open and shut (Figs. 66-69). The features of these masks are distorted, surreal, grotesque, but neither horrifying nor repellently ugly from a contemporary perspective; rather, they read as *possierlich* (imaginative, quirky, even charming) and are esteemed as art objects and museum pieces.

Much of the look of these masks and costumes, like those in the nineteenth-century accounts cited in 4.5, derived from the living environments and humble financial circumstances of their wearers. Mummers tended to employ materials that were to hand, and there was no shortage of fur, horns, and wood in rural Alpine communities, which depended on hunting and farming for their subsistence. Koenig points out the likelihood that ordinary peasant clothing was adapted for use as *Klaubauf* costumes, particularly furs, which provided essential protection during Alpine winters. In addition, he writes, ‘*Der Pelz soll primäre Wildheit betonen, kann aber auch irgendeine Tierformen vorschützen* [The fur is supposed to emphasize primal wildness, but can also simulate any kind of animal form].’<sup>385</sup> The woodworking skills needed in the course of everyday life equipped mummers to fashion their own wooden masks as well as hood-style masks made from the fur and hides of livestock (hence the prevalence of goat and sheep pelts for costumes and the tails of cows and horses used as switches).

As we saw in 4.5.1, the *Berchtel* roamed the Carinthian Mölltal in bells, fur, and a fearsome wooden mask.<sup>386</sup> Likewise, while Panzer’s 1848 reference to the Eisenberta<sup>387</sup> (also in 4.5.1) is principally a rendering of the “One Too Many” legend, it contains enough regionally specific detail to suggest that *Perchten* mummers in this place and time may well have dressed like the Eisenberta, ‘*in eine kuhhaut mit den hörnern [...] und in der hand einen halben besen als ruthen-büschel* [a cow skin with horns [...] and a half-broom as birch-cluster as in the hand]’.<sup>388</sup> Furthermore, the date of a concurrent account from Irrsee, Swabia seems to describe a *Krampus* adorned along the same lines, pointing to a confluence of appearance and behavior between *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten* during this period:

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<sup>385</sup> Koenig, p.15.

<sup>386</sup> Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, p. 13.

<sup>387</sup> Panzer, vol. 2, p. 464.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid*, p. 117. Capital usage his.

*Am klausenabend haben sie sonst allerlei unfug getrieben, die kinder zu schrecken: einer zog eine kuhhaut mit den hörnern und kuhglocken an, sah fürchterlich aus, und klopfte an die thüren. aber sie nahmen und warfen ihn in's wasser, dass er beihnahe um's leben gekommen wäre.*

On *Klausen* Eve they carried out all manner of mischief in order to frighten the children: one put on a cow-skin with horns and cowbells, looked terrifying, and knocked on the doors. But they took and threw him in the water so that he came within an inch of his life.<sup>389</sup>

Shared features are also seen in Andree-Eysn's description of an assembly of *Perchten* in the Pongau c. 1890, including sheepskin costumes, bells, fur hoods,<sup>390</sup> and carved wooden masks with a mixture of animal and human features and lolling red tongues:

*50 bis 60 Burschen aus den Nachbarorten, als Lend, Goldeck, St. Veit, Schwarzach, verabredeten bei Beginn des Advents (im Dezember) einen Sammelplatz, wo sie sich treffen und welche Dorfer, Weiler und Gehöfte sie an den drei Donnerstagen (im Advent) beim Perchtenlaufen berühren wollten. Am Abend der Ausführung hatten alle sich Leinwandsetzen, in denen Löcher für Augen und Mund geschnitten waren, vor das Gesicht gebunden. Sie trugen über ihrer gewöhnlichen Kleidung ein groß leinenes Hemd ("a rupfane Pfoad"), das von einem breiten Ledergurt zusammengehalten wurde. Zwölf Burschen aber, die eigentlichen Perchten, waren in schwarze Schaffelle gehüllt, hatten zu Hauben genähte Dachsfelle auf dem Köpfe (die Perchtenhaube) und holzgeschnitzte Masken mit großen menschlichen Gesichtszügen, langen Zähnen, Hörnern oder solche von fabelhaften Tieren mit Schnabeln und Borsten oder beweglichen Kiefern vor dem Gesichte. Alle aber trugen an ihren breiten ledernen Gürteln kleine und größere Schellen ("Rollen"), ofte zeigen diese einen Durchmesser von 20 bis 24 cm oder viele kleine gegosseene Glocken.*

50 to 60 young men from the neighboring communities [...] all had bound linen rags over the face in which holes for eyes and mouth were cut. They wore over their usual clothing a coarse linen shirt [...] which was held together with a wide leather belt. Twelve young men, however, who were actual *Perchten* were covered in black sheepskins, had hoods [of]

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid. Italics and capital usage his.

<sup>390</sup> This type of fur-hood mask is worn by Berchtesgaden *Krampusse* today; see Figs. 26-27 and 33-35.

stitched-together badger pelts on their heads [...] and carved wooden masks of fabulous animals with coarse human facial features, long tongues, horns or such, with beaks and bristles or moving jaws in front of the face. All, however, carried small and larger *Schellen* (“*Rollen*”) [round bells] on their broad leather belts, often exhibiting a diameter of 20 to 24 cm, or many small cast *Glocken* [cowbells].<sup>391</sup>

The formal, ornamental processions of the Pongau which developed concurrently (4.5.3) represented the opposite end of the spectrum, introducing an Apollonian counterpoint to the Dionysian *Perchten* described above: the duality of *schön* and *schlach*. The visual sumptuousness of these processions stems in large part from the towering, elaborate headdresses worn by the *Schönperchten* (Figs. 22-23), which consist of towering, thin wooden panels decorated with jewelry and mirrors, artificial flowers and ribbons (*Schmuckperchten*, or “jewelry *Perchten*”), evergreen boughs, feathers, or taxidermically-preserved animals, such as owls, rabbits, and foxes (*Jagdperchten*, or “hunting *Perchten*”). These headdresses had assumed their current form by the late nineteenth century, attested to by several illustrations dating to that time.<sup>392</sup> This development reflected a shift in how folk masks were regarded — from ephemeral objects assembled by their wearers from commonly available materials to expensive art objects designed to last by professional wood-carvers. The following section will explore how this change came about.

## 6.2 Tourism, Mask-Collecting, and Revival

Unsurprisingly, the history of Alpine tourism and the evolution of Alpine masking traditions into public display customs is intertwined. The gaze of outsiders — what might be termed the “etic eye” — has profoundly shaped the body of *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions, and continues to do so. In order to understand this development, we must trace its roots to the time when mask customs acquired a new value in the broader culture. Rumpf traces the *Perchtenlauf*'s transformation into a display custom to the point when outsiders began to take an interest in rural folklife, which led to a sort of gentrification effect:

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<sup>391</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 163. The place names here seem to be archaic spellings of the neighboring communities of Goldegg, Schwarzach, and St. Veit, all in the Pongau region of Salzburg.

<sup>392</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinungsformen in Osterreich’, p. 55; Hutter, ‘Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt’, p. 143. Hutter cites illustrations reproduced in Andree-Eysn, p. 10 and Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 126.

*In Landes- und Reisebeschreibungen werden nunmehr Perchteläufe, -tänze und -bräuche beschrieben und positive als possierliche Masken beurteilt. In städtischen, adeligen und gelehrten Kreisen begann man sich Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts für das Leben des einfachen Landvolkes und dessen Bräuche zu interessieren.*

In descriptions of travel and the countryside *Perchten* runs, dances, and customs were henceforth described and positively reassessed as *possierliche* [delightfully comical] masks. At the end of the eighteenth century, people in urban, aristocratic and academic circles began to interest themselves in the life of the simple country people and their customs.<sup>393</sup>

By the dawn of the twentieth century, three interrelated developments had surfaced as the result of this interest in rural culture: mask-collecting, the invention/revival of *Perchten* mumming (or its refashioning into display customs), and Alpine tourism, all three of which continue to shape *Perchten* mumming today.

As we saw in 4.4.1, throughout Salzburg, Tyrol, and parts of Bavaria, *Perchten* were vigorously persecuted by civil and church authorities from the late sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries for transgressions ranging from begging to diabolism.<sup>394</sup> Despite this, the *Perchtenlauf* survived to see a dramatic change in fortunes.<sup>395</sup> Popular and academic interest in folklore blossomed in the nineteenth century, and the desire to preserve this newly esteemed cultural commodity led to the revival (or, as the case may be, invention) of *Perchten* mumming and other folk traditions throughout Austria and southern Germany as well as their transformation into display customs.<sup>396</sup> This call for revivals (*Wiederbelebungen*) was sometimes fostered by the very researchers who studied these traditions, believing that they could be resuscitated in areas where they had only recently gone extinct. Hannjost Lixfeld explains that this mission extends back to bourgeois-nationalist *Volkskunde* at the turn of the century. Through the efforts of *Volkskundler* to salvage them and clean them up, ‘Folk goods [...] become purified, in their opinion; when necessary they are reshaped, given a new sense, and enlivened by placing them at the

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<sup>393</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p.163.

<sup>394</sup> This period is discussed in depth in Schuhladen’s ‘Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’.

<sup>395</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 163.

<sup>396</sup> Bendix cites a comparable example from the Swiss Appenzell, where a schoolteacher invested himself in the revival and promotion of *Silvesterklausen* mumming (*Progress and Nostalgia*, pp. 56-57).

disposal of the folk, but only after this specialized control. Out of these relics or survivals are created intentional revivals.<sup>397</sup>

Popular support for these customs remained strong while they evolved into display customs with stationary audiences. Whereas hitherto the reactive parties might witness passing *Perchtenläufe* (or *Perchtenjagen*) or be visited by them at home, now one could go to them and watch them process, as in Gastein and St. Johann im Pongau,<sup>398</sup> or dance, as in Salzburg's Pinzgau region, where audiences gathered to watch the *Tresterer* perform their *Stampftanz* (stamping-dance).<sup>399</sup> According to an account c. 1817 from Mittersill in the Pinzgau, several young men dressed up with big cowbells and masks and ran around the villages, visiting inns and performing impressive acrobatic feats, refreshing themselves periodically with alcohol. The account mentions people coming from far afield to watch the *Perchtenlauf*,<sup>400</sup> a far cry from the secrecy in which their fugitive baroque predecessors were forced to operate, indicating that, at least in some instances, *Perchten* activities were developing into display customs even before they became the formally organized and publicized affairs they are today.

Tourism formed an essential part of these developments from an early point, spurring the transformation into display customs and immediately commodifying them. Grieshofer tells us that during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, urban tourists from the upper classes turned their gaze to the culture of the "folk", including *Perchtenläufe*,<sup>401</sup> and construction of the national railroads between 1841 and 1918 made remote corners of the Austrian Alps more accessible to urban tourists. City-dwellers flocked to the countryside to derive physical and indeed, spiritual health from Nature, that monolithic construct, which was understood to include the rustic peasants who dwelled in close proximity to it. This projection of purity and authenticity onto a native Other represented, in Bausinger's words, a '*Binnenexotik* [inland exotic]',<sup>402</sup> and was an

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<sup>397</sup> Lixfeld, p. 8.

<sup>398</sup> Hutter, 'Die Maske im Wandel', p. 139; Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 170.

<sup>399</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', p. 28.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen im Berchtesgadener Land, in Tirol und Salzburg vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert', p. 20.

<sup>401</sup> Grieshofer cites as examples the illustrations of a "*Perchten-jumper*" and "*Schönperchten pair*" from the SMCA's Kuenburg collection as well as that of a "*Berchte*" from Golling, Salzburg ('Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung', pp. 247-248).

<sup>402</sup> Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, p. 134.

outgrowth of the Grand Tours undertaken by the upper classes during the late eighteenth century, which, according to Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, were ‘influenced by contemporary Romantic sentiments and began including walking expeditions in scenic landscapes. The Alps became the supreme hunting ground for the hiking travellers’ Romantic quest for the sublime and the spectacular’.<sup>403</sup> Folklore tourism was easy to integrate into this paradigm. In 1880, for example, newspaper announcements recommended *Perchten* performances as appropriate pastimes for spa guests who had come to take the waters in Gastein, Salzburg.<sup>404</sup>

In Austria, as elsewhere, the habits of the nobility provided a model for the emergent leisure activities of the middle class. Kaiser Ferdinand was entertained by the *Perchten* when he visited Gastein in 1837 (the folkloric equivalent of paying tributes to a king), and *Perchten* participated in the fifty-year jubilee celebrations in 1898 for Kaiser Franz Josef,<sup>405</sup> who vacationed in the Alps and wore rustic local dress while hunting. A photograph in the keeping of St. Johann im Pongau’s *Perchten* group shows a *Tafelpercht* performing a *Reverenz* (bow) before him on another visit in 1907, part of the dance they perform during the *Perchtenlauf* (Fig. 23).<sup>406</sup> Bausinger writes, ‘For the tourist [...] the confirmation of his expectations is essential. Local people and their activities too must conform to the norm and must more or less explicitly become a “sight” to make the impression a stronger one, a clichéd experience.’<sup>407</sup> Therefore the sights tourists expect to see are condensed vignettes, framed and spot-lit outtakes from what they imagine to be everyday rustic life.<sup>408</sup>

Thus influenced by the gaze of the interested outsider, the revived (or, as the case may be, invented) traditions were cast as display customs. These revivals were, in effect, recreations of something that had never been. It may well be that the emerging tourist industry, which selectively commodified and served up elements of the local culture for consumption by outsiders, imposed the need to articulate the essence of that culture; in

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<sup>403</sup> Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, ‘Pedestrian Art: The Tourist Gait as Tactic and Performance’, *Ethnologia Europaea*, 40:2 (2010), 14-28 (p. 15).

<sup>404</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 164.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>406</sup> Hutter, ‘Die Maske im Wandel’, p 50.

<sup>407</sup> Bausinger, *Folklore in a World of Technology*, p. 134.

<sup>408</sup> For examples of similar dynamics elsewhere in the German-speaking Alps, see Bendix, ‘Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?’ and Bausinger, *Folklore in a World of Technology*, p. 134-135.



other words, commodification demanded essentialization. This commodification consisted in part of a kind of romantic objectification of the natural, which included not just the Alps themselves, but their native inhabitants. Bendix's observation that 'Culture has become a commodity, as has knowledge itself'<sup>409</sup> speaks to this symbiotic relationship between tourism and tradition as well as to the "commodification" of knowledge and culture implicit in the processes of folklorism and feedback.

Folk masks acquired a new status and utility as impressive works of art worthy of study and preservation during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when a flurry of mask-collecting accompanied an increase of interest in folk masks in *Volkskunde* scholarship.<sup>410</sup> Wilhelm Hein, for example, was sent forth from the anthropological-ethnographic division of the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien (Vienna Natural History Museum) in 1893 in search of wooden folk masks in Salzburg and Tyrol,<sup>411</sup> and the abundance of masks with which he returned to Vienna provided the core collection of the national *Volkskunde* museum, founded in 1894.<sup>412</sup> As a counterpart to this surge in scholarly interest, old masks began to appear on the market as valuable art objects,<sup>413</sup> thus bearing out Bendix's observations on the commodification of culture.<sup>414</sup> Masks were so sought after by museums and antique dealers that demand eventually outstripped supply. As a consequence, '*Masken im Handel auftauchten, die nie in Verwendung standen, sondern nur noch für den Verkauf geschnitzt worden waren* [masks surfaced in shops which had never been in use, but had only been carved for sale].'<sup>415</sup> Writing about these *ersatz* antiques, Rumpf remarks that:

*Da die Masken bereits vor dem ersten Weltkrieg begehrte Sammelobjekte waren, wurden Schnitzer veranlaßt, für den Kunsthandel "Maskenfälschungen" anzufertigen. Zur*

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<sup>409</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 10.

<sup>410</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinungsformen in Österreich', p. 227. Schmidt remarks on a second wave of interest in folk masks during the Nazi period, which he attributes to the concept of the *Männerbund* entering *Volkskunde* via the Vienna Ritualists (Schmidt and Broessler, p. 12).

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>412</sup> Hutter, *Masken: Brauch und Mythos*, p. 10; Schmidt and Broessler, pp. 10-11.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>414</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 10.

<sup>415</sup> Grieshofer, 'Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung', p. 245.

*“Belebung der Hausindustrie” gründete man Schnitzerschulen [...]. Daneben sind aber immer noch Laien als Maskenfertiger tätig, die wohl den “geschulten Schnitzern” nacheifern, deren Erzeugnisse sich aber durch die schlechtere Holzqualität und die gröbere Ausführung von den Künstlermasken unterscheiden.*

Because the masks were already valued collectors’ items before the first World War, carvers were compelled to manufacture “mask forgeries” for the art trade. For the “stimulation of cottage industry” [wood-] carving schools were founded [...]. In comparison, however, ever more laypeople were occupied as mask makers [...] whose products nevertheless distinguished themselves from the artists’ masks through the poorer wood quality and the coarse execution.<sup>416</sup>

As time passed, the value of these forged masks diminished due to their origins, but their status has recently changed again. Grieshofer describes the change of fortunes of a series of ‘*groteske* [grotesque]’ *Perchten* masks. Having been discovered to be forgeries after the fact, these masks have yet again acquired a new value:

*Gerade diese überaus kunstvollen Masken sind heute aber sehr wertvoll, den sie sind der augenscheinliche Beweis für die gegenseitige Beeinflussung und die Wechselwirkung des wissenschaftlich-sammlerischen Interesses auf die Gestaltung der Masken.*

Currently, however, these extremely creative masks are very valuable, for they are manifest proof of the mutual influence and interplay of scholar-collector interest with the design of the masks.<sup>417</sup>

One might say these masks, viewed in historical context, embody the switchback of currents of cultural information (including interpretation of meaning) known as *Rücklauf* in concrete form.

The emphasis on the mask-maker as artist and master craftsman is an important characteristic of contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming as well. Whereas in past

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<sup>416</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 115.

<sup>417</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung’, p. 245.

centuries masks were often homemade by amateur wood-carvers and incorporated crude materials, the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the ascendance of the master mask-carver, which resulted in the eventual confluence of practical use and display. The masks worn by *Perchten* and *Krampusse* today are indeed prestigious show objects, as Hutter states,<sup>418</sup> but not generally museum pieces. While they are carved by a handful of highly sought-after professional carvers, *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks are meant to be used, and are the core element of the mummer's persona.

Folk art, however monolithically it is defined, is always the work of creative individuals and thus subject to their personal sensibilities. During the twentieth century, the practice of acknowledging and honoring local mask-carvers by name became well-established in places universally considered to be centers for authentic representations of these traditions. Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann's books on Gastein-area *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, for example, focus on their esteemed carvers, including photographs of them at work and the masks which represent their legacy as well as the dates when they worked and other bibliographical information,<sup>419</sup> and Hutter's *Masken: Brauch und Mythos* provides the names and dates behind the SMCA's collection.<sup>420</sup> Thus the widespread respect contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* evince for their mask-makers is in keeping with this practice, which has become something of a tradition in itself.

## **6.3 The Mask-Maker's Art: Aspects of Contemporary Mask Construction**

### **6.3.1 Practical Considerations**

*Perchten* and *Krampus* masks are not only meant to be worn, but also worn year after year in inclement weather and during boisterous activity, requiring that form must follow function to a great extent. The methods and materials used to construct these masks address a number of practical considerations, including how they will weather the elements and rough use, ensuring the safety of mummers and spectators/hosts alike.

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<sup>418</sup> Hutter, 'Die Maske im Wandel'.

<sup>419</sup> Ulrike Kammerhoffer-Aggermann and Horst Wierer, *Die Gasteiner Passen* (St. Johann: Franz Hochwarter Verlag, 2002) and Ulrike Kammerhoffer-Aggermann, Horst Wierer, and Werner Reinbacher, *Die Gasteiner Perchten* (St. Johann: Franz Hochwarter Verlag, 2001).

<sup>420</sup> Hutter, *Masken: Brauch und Mythos*, p. 10.

While the faces, features, and styles certainly vary, *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks are usually constructed the same way (see Figs. 28, 34-35, 79 and 90-95 for a variety of examples). The wooden block is carved to cover the crown of the head as well as the face, which (along with its pointed ears) is usually the only part of the wood left visible. Glass eyes and real animal fangs are often set into the wood. Horns are set into the crown and fur is attached to it so that it covers the rest of the head and neck (goat's hide or sheep's fleece is typically selected to match the rest of the costume). While the fur usually begins at the "hairline", the wooden crown is sometimes left "bald" (an example of a bald *Krampus* is found in Faistenau (Fig. 79). The horns used vary; the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, for example, use ibex, billy goat, and rams' horns. When I interviewed founding members Michael Berger and Günter Gatterbauer, they brought along one of their masks to show me how they are made. Gatterbauer turned it upside down to reveal the hard plastic builder's helmet fitted inside the wooden crown and an adjustable strap, which is pulled tight under the chin. '*Das ist von einem Bauhelm ... ein Stück herausgeschnitten. Das ist eine Snowboard-Bindung zum Verstellen, kann man zumachen* [This is from a builder's helmet ... a piece carved out [of the wood]. That is a snowboard strap for adjusting it; you can pull it closed].' Between the helmet and wood is a tightly-packed layer of foam to keep the mask securely on the head (see Figs. 96 and 97 for comparable foam-padding mask construction).

*Und so setzt man die jetzt auf — gut ausgepolstert. Und das Fell hier, das ist Ziegenfell. So sieht die Maske innen aus. Die sind innen alle gleich...dass sie gut gepolstert sind, dass es schön anliegt. Das ist wichtig, damit die Maske nicht wackelt. Und darum sind diese Snowboard-Bindungen absolut super.*

And now one puts it on, [the foam] tightly packed — well padded-out. And the pelt here, that is goat's fur. That is how a mask looks inside. Inside they are all the same...they are well-padded, so that it fits securely. That is important, so that the mask doesn't jiggle around. And that is why these snowboard straps are absolutely super.<sup>421</sup>

Next he demonstrated how easily the straps can be undone to allow the wearer to remove the mask.<sup>422</sup> With experience, carvers get a feel for the head shape and how to fit it to the

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<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten (Michael Berger and Günter Gatterbauer), personal interview, Schärdding, Upper Austria, Dec. 1, 2006.

helmet. (Berger also counted drawing skills and being able to think in three dimensions as helpful skills for successful mask design.) Gatterbauer explained:

*Diese Kopfform, diese Rundung vom Holz? Ja, das ist das Gefühl beim Schnitzen, das bringt man mit Erfahrung. Die ersten Versuche beim Schnitzen, da war die Maske...der Holzblock so groß und die Maske so klein ... und im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt sich etwas, dass man besser reinkommt.*

This head form, from this block of wood? Yes! That is the touch and skill with carving that comes with experience. The first attempts by carvers...the block of wood so big and the mask so small ... and in the course of time something develops, as one gets better.<sup>423</sup>

It is especially important that a mask fit snugly on the head. According to Berger, their weight can vary from three and a half to 12 kilograms, estimating that his own mask weighs a staggering seven or eight (roughly six times the weight of a typical motorcycle helmet). He handed it to me to hold so I could get a sense of its heft, remarking on the tremendous stress on his neck resulting from supporting the mask over an hour of constant movement.<sup>424</sup> An ill-fitting mask can endanger its wearer; because they are so heavy and cover the whole head, being pulled or jostled the wrong way could result in a broken neck.

The safety of spectators/hosts can also be a consideration in mask design. Koenig states that in parts of Gastein where the roads between houses were long, groups would clash when they encountered each other (see also 4.4.2), a factor which led to the removal of breakable and potentially deadly horns from *Klaubauf* masks in East Tyrol,<sup>425</sup> where the performance-encounter is exceedingly acrobatic and violent (running at people at high speed, grabbing them and throwing them through the air).

Another practical consideration is durability. The materials used reflect the need to keep masks and costumes in good condition for many years of use in winter weather. While sturdy, the wooden masks most *Perchten* and *Krampusse* use today are still vulnerable to the effects of age, weather and wear. These factors determine their life span and necessitate planning for new masks, whether that means training wood-carvers within the group or

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<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

<sup>425</sup> Koenig, p. 23.

saving money and working with professional carvers to commission masks in keeping with group's look and ethos.

The Perschtenbund Soj agree with their founder, the father of current group leader Wolfgang Uebelacker, that their masks can survive for up to 30 or 40 years of active duty before they need to be retired. Recognizing the artistry with which they were carved, they aim to take more and more of Uebelacker Sr's masks out of circulation and set them aside for mask exhibitions, continuing to produce new masks so that there are enough for their members to wear. As Untermieder said, '*Je mehr Masken wir jetzt schnitzen, desto mehr bleiben diese Typen von Masken erhalten* [The more masks we carve now, the more we preserve these types of masks].'<sup>426</sup> He described the ways in which their wooden masks can degrade:

*Erstens: das Holz verändert sich, das Holz wird spröde, das Holz bricht immer öfter. [...] Wenn [...] dieses Holz feucht wird, kalt wird, dann sprengt es, und je älter diese Masken werden, desto mehr Feuchtigkeit nehmen sie auf, desto öfters bricht irgendetwas. Das wollen wir vermeiden, indem es nicht nach außen kommt. Die bleiben, bei einer bestimmten Luftfeuchtigkeit, in einem Behälter drinnen und dementsprechend haben wir es auch länger zum Begutachten.*

First of all: wood changes, the wood becomes brittle, then the wood breaks more and more often. [...] When [...] this wood becomes moist, becomes cold, it cracks, and the older these masks get, the more moisture they accumulate, the more often they break. We want to avoid that, so they are never left outdoors. They remain at a more regulated humidity inside of a container indoors, and we have increased the time and attention [we put] towards assessing the condition of these masks accordingly.<sup>427</sup>

Uebelacker added that:

*Eine Maske hat nur eine begrenzte Haltbarkeit, durch die Ausdünstungen, die Temperaturunterschiede — es ist kalt, die Leute schwitzen und das Salz ... das macht die*

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<sup>426</sup> Perschtenbund Soj (Wolfgang Uebelacker, Hermann Untermieder, and two unidentified members), personal interview, Kirchseeon, Bavaria, Jan. 7, 2006.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid.

*Masken kaputt, und bevor sie ganz kaputt sind, nehmen wir sie raus, und dann kommen wieder neue nach.*

A mask has a fixed shelf-life because of the evaporation, the differences in temperature — it's cold, the people sweat and the salt [of perspiration] ... that destroys the masks. So before they are completely wrecked we withdraw them, and put new ones into service.<sup>428</sup>

Like the wooden masks fitted onto builders' helmets, the fur costumes used by most *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten* adhere to a common design. On December 7, 2005, I accompanied the Faistenauer Krampusse on their rounds in Faistenau, Salzburg, who commissioned their masks and costumes. Upon meeting them beforehand, they brought me into the garage of an apartment building which they were using as a changing room. The space was filled with masks (balanced upright on the floor on their curving horns) and pelts, and they encouraged me to take photographs of their group at various stages of transformation (Figs. 77-83). First they stepped into a pair of goatskin trousers held up by wide green suspenders, then pulled on the matching jacket and strapped on the wide leather belt, which is buckled in the front and pulls the pieces together in such a way as to create the impression of a creature completely covered with fur. Bells are affixed to the back of the belt, either two large, round *Schellen* (like the *Rollen* of the *Silvesterklausen*, *Schellen* make a high, shimmering sound, although they are not specially tuned like *Rollen*)<sup>429</sup> or one *Glocke* (cowbell), which makes a lower, clanking, discordant sound. Lastly they donned dark leather gloves (some with claws of tiny antelope horns) and masks and picked up their cow-tail switches.<sup>430</sup> Such pride in the details of their finely crafted masks and costumes is common among *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, regardless of whether their gear was made "in-house" or commissioned by a professional mask carver.

### **6.3.2 Making the Masks: Commissioned or Made In-House?**

To carve one's own mask is relatively unusual among *Perchten* and *Krampusse* today, but some groups take pride in producing their own. As we have seen, the *Perschtenbund Soj* do not need to commission their masks, as there are several carvers in the group to create their

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<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>429</sup> Bendix, *Progress and Nostalgia*, p. 28.

<sup>430</sup> See field notes, Appendix I18.

own as needed. They regard dependence on professional carvers to be a typical Austrian problem, as many groups there have no one with the skills to make their own. Self-reliance, they feel, is the sign of a healthy group, whose members can diversify their skills and develop such as aspects as playing instruments, learning dances, and mask-carving, so that it is not necessary ‘*dass ein Externer beauftragt wird: “Schnitz mir eine Maske!”*’ [that an outsider is asked [to]: “Carve me a mask!”]<sup>431</sup>

When Berger found the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, a South American friend then living in Austria carved the first masks. When his friend returned home, Berger taught himself the wood-carving and other skills needed for mask-making, and has taken responsibility for the groups’ masks ever since. His distinct style gives them a unified “family resemblance”, but each mask is memorable and different from the others (Figs. 64-67).<sup>432</sup> It takes from 35 to 45 hours to carve a single mask, which Gatterbauer explained they assemble and paint themselves by hand. They also cut the pelts themselves to make their costumes, each member doing what he can with the time he has available.<sup>433</sup>

Hermann Untermieder of the Perschtenbund Soj attributed the growing popularity of the tradition partly to the fact that the internet provides aspiring *Perchten* access to the services of professional mask-carvers:

*Es gibt Schnitzer in Österreich, dort können Sie das aus dem Internet komplett kaufen. Das macht es natürlich leichter. Oft können die Leute...selber keine Masken fertigen, deswegen scheitert es daran. Jetzt kann ich es kaufen und kann selber eine Gruppe gründen.*

There are carvers in Austria, you can buy [a set of gear] complete on the internet there. Naturally, that makes it easier. People often cannot make masks themselves; they start the process, but it fails. Now I can buy the mask and I can found a group myself.<sup>434</sup>

Indeed, one of the services the Krampusmania Web portal<sup>435</sup> provides — like its predecessors, the now-defunct *Perchten Österreich*<sup>436</sup> and *Teufelskreis*<sup>437</sup> — is an online

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<sup>431</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid.

<sup>434</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>435</sup> Aitenbichler, ‘Krampusmania: Forum: Bazar — Masken’, <<http://krampusmania.at/index.php/Board/80-KM-Umfragen/>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 3, 2015.



marketplace where used masks, pelts, bells, horns, and other gear can be bought and sold and mask-makers contacted (Fig. 95).

New *Perchten* and *Krampus* group members are typically responsible for shouldering the costs of their own masks and costumes. Max Maislinger, a Juvavum Pass *Krampus*, told me their group strives to have masks made by the same mask-maker in a uniform style so that they look good together.<sup>438</sup> While generally groups require the commission of a new mask to match the group's aesthetic, in some instances members are permitted to procure a mask made by a different carver or in a different style, so long as it is not jarringly different from the others. Günter Polanec of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n stressed the importance of having masks custom-made in such a way as to evoke the group ethos and in the spirit of old *Perchten* masks, but noted this can be impractical in practice. Masks can be extremely expensive to have commissioned, so new members who find the cost prohibitive try to find used masks that match the look and feel of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n as closely as possible.<sup>439</sup>

Uniformity and personalization vary between groups. Like many other *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups, the Juvavum Pass commissions all of their masks from the same mask-maker in order to create a unified appearance; a family resemblance, as it were. For instance, their costumes all feature molded chests and abdominal muscles, like those of a great ape. Uebelacker suspects that such uniformity of design is a relatively new development, contrasting them with groups that favor more variety :

*Wie es bei uns der Fall ist, sie haben unterschiedliche Masken, die ähneln sich nicht. Das ist auch in Österreich der Fall, bei manchen Gruppen, die haben verschiedene Typen. Da ist der Tod dabei, da ist ein Hanswurst dabei ... aber alles unterschiedliche Masken. Und dann haben wir wieder, ich nenne es einmal so, Uniformträger, die alle in den gleichen Fellgewändern herumlaufen und möglichst gleiche Masken haben. Und das ist sehr ungewöhnlich. Und da ist bereits schon ein Trend zum Spektakulären, möglichst viele Hörner ... sagen wir, wenn Sie heute 15, 20 gleiche Masken haben und gleiche Gewänder, dann wird diese Gruppe größer wirken, als wenn 30 mit unterschiedlichen Masken laufen.*

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<sup>436</sup> Patschok, Perchten Österreich.

<sup>437</sup> Teufelskreis, <<http://www.teufelskreis.info>>, defunct (founded 2003?).

<sup>438</sup> Juvavum Pass.

<sup>439</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n (Günter Polanec and Herbert Mengl), personal interview, Salzburg, Dec. 9, 2005.

As is the case with us, they have different masks which do not resemble each other. That is also the case in Austria with some groups who have different types. There they have Death, there they have a Hanswurst ... but all different masks. And then again we have, I'm going to use the name uniform-wearers, who are all running around in the same fur suits and have the same masks, as much as possible. And that is very unusual. And there is already a trend towards the spectacular, as many horns as possible ... let's say, when today you have 15, 20 masks all the same and the same costumes, then this group looks bigger than 30 running with different masks.<sup>440</sup>

Nevertheless, such uniformity of design can still leave some room for variation. Following a performance, Maislinger pointed out various unique details their carver had included: a gash in the skull here, milky cataracts there. A pair of tailors make their costumes from goatskins, denuding them of fur in places because they would otherwise be too heavy to wear.<sup>441</sup> He pulled out a few tufts of fur to demonstrate, as if he were customizing jeans by ripping holes in them. Maislinger also wields a horse-tail switch terminating in an unusual handle: a goat's hoof, intact except for the broken bones, which make it wag disconcertingly when he holds it out to spectators, eliciting disgust and delight.<sup>442</sup> This unique feature allowed him to customize his costume and performance style to express his *Krampus* "personality" and put his individual stamp on the tradition.

As with using *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks interchangeably, the mummer's intentions and actions are more important than the mask's appearance. Uebelacker stressed that the trend towards uniformity should be considered in context:

*Die Problematik ist zu unterscheiden, ist es richtig oder falsch. Wir leben im Heute, und deswegen kann man nicht einfach sagen, diese Uniformierten, das ist grundsätzlich falsch. Das ist nicht möglich. Ich denke nur, dass die Problematik darin liegt, was machen sie. Das ist für mich die Unterscheidung: was üben sie aus!*

The tricky thing is to decide, is it right or wrong? We live in the present, and for that reason one cannot simply say, these uniformed ones, that they are fundamentally wrong. That is

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<sup>440</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>441</sup> See field notes, Appendix I1.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

not possible. I just think that the problem lies in that, what one is doing. For me, that is the distinction: what they practice!<sup>443</sup>

### 6.3.3 The Importance of Intention in Mask Design

The process through which *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups develop can be complex. The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, for instance, do not follow a straight line (*‘wir haben keine gerade Linie’*)<sup>444</sup> in the development of their mask aesthetic, but rather employ a variety of techniques: looking at other groups, some things by design and others unplanned, a great deal of experimentation and learning through experience. For the most part, it simply comes down to incorporating what they liked.<sup>445</sup> Nevertheless, certain commonalities emerged in interviews with mummers, particularly the following principles which guide their creative process when designing masks and choreographing performance elements: adherence to what they perceive to be the essence of the tradition, and the belief that the custom is ultimately defined by their intention more than anything else.

Where fragments of pre-existing material are not available, or when they wish to expand their repertoire, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* may create something new which reflects the spirit of what they understand to be the original, typically pre-industrial incarnation of the tradition. This creative initiative is the mummer’s prerogative. As Untermieder stated, *‘Das ist, was das Ganze so bereichert und wo der Fantasie keine Grenzen gesetzt sind. Niemand kann uns verbieten einen neuen Tanz zu kreieren* [That is what enriches the whole thing so much and where no limits are imposed on imagination. No one can forbid us to create a new dance].’<sup>446</sup>

Such integration of new elements (or fragments of old elements) into the existing framework is not a matter of random selection; it should not mean imposing foreign elements with no organic relationship to the custom. Rather, what is incorporated should be determined by a resonance between the new additions and the custom’s core:

*Es würde jetzt keinen Sinn machen, wenn wir jetzt einen Lambada einstudieren würden — das hat mit dieser Kultur nichts zu tun. Auch Tango wäre nur unbedingt einsetzbar. Wichtig*

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<sup>443</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid.

<sup>446</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

*ist, dass, wenn man so etwas neu entwickelt, dass man zurückblickt auf die Wurzeln, auf das, was vorhanden ist, ob ich mich daraus bedienen kann.*

It would make no sense now if we rehearsed a Lambada — that has nothing to do with this culture. Tango would also not exactly be applicable. It is important that when someone develops something new that one looks back to the roots of the art form and its development; that will determine whether I can avail myself of it.<sup>447</sup>

It thus becomes a question of *intention*: for whom they are performing, and why. It seems that this is the factor that determines whether changes constitute innovation within the tradition (keeping to the spirit, if not the letter of it) rather than changes that depart from the tradition, taking it too far out of context (adhering perhaps to the letter, but not discernibly to the spirit of it).

The importance of intention was stressed by Polanec, who explained that the apparent interchangeability of *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks does not necessarily result from the confusion or conflation of the two, or prioritizing one over the other. When prohibitive cost prevents the purchase of two different masks (as it often does, especially for young apprentices), a member may use the same mask twice in one season, running first as a *Krampus* and then as a *Schiachpercht*. This is an important point to consider with regards to the blurring of lines between *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, evident in their often indistinguishable masks and fluid performance schedules.<sup>448</sup> Polanec cited the mummer's

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<sup>447</sup> Ibid.

<sup>448</sup> Dengg points out that *Schiachperchten* and *Krampusse* may be distinguished from one another by the date on which they appear:

*Im Pongau, insbesondere im Gasteiner Tal, wird zwischen den beiden Funktionen klar unterschieden. Am 5. Und 6. Dezember laufen die "Kramperl", die "Toifen", nie die Perchten, auch wenn es sich um die gleichen Masken und die gleichen Maskenträger wie dann am 5. Jänner handelt. Beim Perchtenlauf am 6. Jänner sind des dann die Perchten [...].*

In the Pongau, especially in the Gastein valley, the two traditions are clearly differentiated. On December 5 and 6 the 'Kramperl', the 'Toifen' run, never the *Perchten*, even when one is dealing with the same masks and the same mask-wearers as on January 5. It is the *Perchten*, then, who are at the *Perchtenlauf* on January 6 [...] (p. 83).

Nevertheless, Dengg states that the two traditions are ever more '*verschmelzen* [melted into one another]', and reports that, in addition to appearing as *Perchten*, the *Schiachperchten* of Salzburg's Pinzgau and Pongau districts '*haben die Krampusrolle übernommen, eine Aufgabe, die bald zu ihrer wichtigsten wurde* [have taken over the *Krampus* role, a task which soon became their most important one]', accompanying St. Nikolaus on December 5 and 6 (ibid). He traces this trend to the influence of the "*Teufelschiachpercht*" style on *Krampus* mask design, which spread to neighboring regions from 1972 to 1992, accounting for the proliferation of new mumming groups during this period (ibid, pp. 83, 86).

intention and the calendrical context (*Perchten* run during the *Rauhnächte*, after Nikolaus Day has passed) as the most important factors distinguishing *Perchten* from *Krampusse*.<sup>449</sup> I had been often been told that one can tell *Perchten* and *Krampusse* apart by counting the number of horns. This, Uebelacker pointed out, is often heard in Austria, but he did not think it was simply determined by how the mask looks; ‘*Viel wichtiger ist die Unterscheidung bei der Ausübung des Brauches zu machen* [Much more important is to make the differentiation by the practice of the custom].’<sup>450</sup>

It is the person inside the mask who invests it with meaning, both for himself and the people with whom he interacts.<sup>451</sup> Likewise, how the *Perschtenbund Soj* carry out the performance — what they actually do — is more important to the integrity of the custom than the masks themselves. It is important to have a conscious awareness of the purpose of the mumming; it is that which distinguishes it from mere entertainment. As Uebelacker put it, ‘*Nicht nur Spaß haben, sondern wissen, was man tut* [Not just to have fun, but to know what one is doing].’<sup>452</sup> In this respect, *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming stand in contrast to Carnival masking, which is bereft of a deeper purpose. For the *Schärdinger Teufelsperchten*, ‘*Wenn das nur noch Spaß ist, dann können wir irgendwann auch beim Fasching mitgehen können. Nur Spaß soll es eben auch nicht sein, eine gewisse Spannung soll halt einfach da sein* [When it is just for fun, then we will eventually be no different than *Fasching*. So it should not just be for fun; otherwise a certain needed tension will simply not be there].’<sup>453</sup>

#### 6.3.4 Revival as a Process of *Bricolage*

The creation of the *Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana* illustrates the way in which new and old elements can dovetail, reviving a tradition through a process of *bricolage*. The founding members had grown up with tales of *Perchta* the *Kinderschreck*, and knew that *Golling* had once had *Perchten* mumming. Their conceptualization and realization of a reconstructed *Golling Perchten* tradition drew on a combination of childhood memories, conversations with elderly community members, literary sources, and serendipitous discoveries as well as their own creative sensibilities. After gathering the surviving fragments of information from these various sources, it was necessary to integrate new material to bind the fragments into

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<sup>449</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

<sup>450</sup> Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>452</sup> *Perschtenbund Soj*.

<sup>453</sup> Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.

a living whole that could be put into practice, thus revealing the symbiotic relationship between revival and invention.

The core of their performance is a *Perchtenspiel* (*Perchten* play), which revolves around a battle between Summer and Winter, combined with a luck-visit and revived in 1996. The text of the play comes from neighboring Hallein and was published by Karl Adrian in 1924,<sup>454</sup> but, as Anni Faller explained, Adrian was not their only point of reference:

*Meine Mutter, wie sie ein kleines Kind war, hat uns immer, meiner Tochter und mir, erzählt, dass da zu ihnen nach Hause zwei Gestalten gekommen sind. Der eine hatte einen Pelz an, und der andere war weiß angezogen und hatte einen kleinen Baum mit, mit Bändern dran, und einen Strohhut. Das hat sie uns immer erzählt. Und die Elisabeth hat sich von Karl Adrian einmal ein Buch gekauft, und da war das genau dokumentiert. Das waren die Alten von Hallein, die alten Schindleute, und die sind im Winter sozusagen betteln gegangen und haben dieses Spiel aufgeführt und haben sich damit ein Geld verdient, das ist dokumentiert.*

My mother, when she was a little child [probably in the 1940s], she always told me and my daughter that there were two characters coming to their home. One was wearing a fur, the other was clad in white and was carrying a little tree with them, with ribbons tied to it, and a straw hat. This she always told us. And Elisabeth [Rainer, one of the group's co-founders], she once bought a book by Karl Adrian where this was described exactly as she had been told. These were the elderly from Hallein, the old *Schindleute*,<sup>455</sup> and in winter they went out to, in a way, beg, and they performed this play and earned some money through this, this is documented.

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<sup>454</sup> 'Das Halleiner Winter- und Sommerspiel' is found in Karl Adrian, *Von Salzburger Sitt' und Brauch* (Wien: Deutsche Hausbücherei, 1924), pp. 72-77. (Adrian founded the Salzburger Volkskundemuseum, which is part of the SMCA.) The play is also reproduced in Robert Faller's 'Auszug aus der Chronik zur Wiederbelebung des Gollinger Perchtenspiels: Die ersten Schritte' in *D'Rabenstoana Festschrift, 1929-2004: 75 Jahre Trachtenverein Golling* (Golling: Rabenstoana Golling with Druckerei Christian Schönleitner), pp. 31-46 (42-46).

<sup>455</sup> "*Schindleute*" is an archaic term for beggars or people seeking charity. The verb *schinden* means to abuse or mistreat, and the word *Schindleute* contains this nuance, conveying the sense that the beggars in question are the neglected and suffering poor. The word *Schindleute* appears in Luther's writings in the context of the Ten Commandments, where he discusses charity (Martin Luther and Johann Spangenberg, *Der gros Catechismus und Kinder Lere* (Georg Rhau: Wittemberg, 1544). First pub. as *Deutscher Katechismus* (Georg Rhau: Wittemberg, 1529).

The play text outlined the interaction of Summer and Winter, but the other figures in the group ‘*mussten wieder Rollen bekommen, was sie tun* [had to get new roles, what they do]’. The music and dance they use was discovered by chance through Anni Faller’s conversations with a friend:

*Ich habe durch Zufall einen alten Perchtentanz bekommen, wirklich durch Zufall. Und das war zu derselben Zeit, und wir haben gesagt, diese Melodie nehmen wir für unsere Perchte. [...] Und dann ging es darum, noch Schritte für diesen Tanz zu suchen. Und dieser eine Freund, der sich sehr mit Mythologie und auch mit Tanzgeschichte beschäftigt, stand beratend bei und sagte: Es kann nur so sein. Und so entwickelten sich dann die Figuren und der Tanz.*

I happened to come by an old *Perchten* dance; it was pure coincidence. And this happened at the same time, and we decided to take this melody for our Percht. [...] And then it was about finding steps for the dance. And this one friend, who is very much into mythology and into dance history as well, counseled us and said: It could have only been like this. And so the characters and the dance evolved.

Literary sources uncovered a different Perchta from the *Kinderschreck* they knew from their youth:

*Das ist die Percht, Frau Percht. Und es gibt noch Berichte vom Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, aber ich bin nicht auf die Primärquelle gekommen, ich habe es nur über eine Sekundärquelle gelesen, wo diese Percht in diesem Raum noch als helle Gestalt beschrieben wurde, im weißen Kleid. Das schreibt Hoffmann, aber ich fand nie die Primärquelle. Ich kenn sie immer nur so von der Erzählung her. Aber sie wurde hier auch im hellen Kleid, ähnlich wie Luzia, beschrieben.*

This is the Percht, Frau Percht. There are reports from the beginning of the twentieth century, but I haven’t found the primary source, I have only read this in a secondary source, where the Percht in this area is described as a light-colored figure in a white dress. Hoffmann writes this...but I never found the primary source. I only know her like this, from the tales. But she has been described in a light-colored dress, similar to Luzia.<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana.

The Frau Percht in their group more resembles the Perchta of folktales, an elderly witch-like figure with flaxen hair and broom in hand (Fig. 45). Her inclusion in the group came relatively late, however, as they did not know at first what she should look like.<sup>457</sup> The revelation came as the result of a chance discovery at a flea market:

*Rainer Elisabeth hatte das Glück, bei einem Flohmarkt im Sommer 1995 eine alte Holzmaske der Frau Percht erstehen zu können. Nach dieser Vorlage fertigte Frau Petra Bernhofer aus Scheffau für uns seine originaltreue Frau Percht. Das Fassen der Holzmaske übernahmen wieder die geschickten Hände von Elisabeth Rainer, dieses mal wurde die Ölfarbe weniger intensiv, ähnlich einer Farbe-Lasur, aufgetragen. Vorne wurde langes, helles Haar aus Flach, eines der Hauptmerkmale der Figur [...].*

Elisabeth Rainer had the luck to be able to acquire an old wooden mask of Frau Percht at a flea market in summer of 1995. Frau Petra Bernhofer of Scheffau made her Frau Percht after this model, true to the original. The assembly of the wooden mask was taken further by the skilled hands of Elisabeth Rainer; this time the oil paint was less intense, applied like a [translucent] stain. [...] In the front was long, fair hair of flax, one of the chief characteristics of the figure [...].<sup>458</sup>

Their visualization of Frau Percht adhered to local precedent, as did her portrayal by female mummers. According to Robert Faller, an elderly farmer's wife told them that '*sie als Kind selbst noch perchtern gegangen ist* [she herself had "gone perchtern" as a child]' and had been instructed by her grandmother how she should look when she visited the neighbors.<sup>459</sup> This Perchta adheres to representations of the *Kinderschreck* Faller's parents warned her about:

*Wo wir Kinder gewesen sind, haben die Eltern immer gesagt, am 5. Jänner, das ist die letzte Raunacht, die große: Kinder; räumt zusammen, heute Nacht kommt die Percht, schneidet Euch den Bauch auf, kommt die große Schere, schmeißt den Unrat hinein und näht ihn*

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<sup>457</sup> Faller, p. 33.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid.

<sup>459</sup> Faller, p. 34.



wieder zu. In der Früh, aufgestanden, geschaut ... aaaah, Gott sei Dank! Ja, das ist wirklich wahr, jedes Jahr.

When we were children, the parents always told us, on January 5, the last of the *Rauhnächte*, the major one: Kids, tidy up, tonight the Percht will be coming, cutting open your bellies, using the large scissors; [she] throws in all the filth and stitches it up again. Early in the morning, getting up, checking. ... aaaah, thank God! Yes, that's really true, every year.<sup>460</sup>

The group's Frau Percht adheres to this classic representation. Hanging from her waist are giant scissors, a needle with which to stitch up her victims, and three threads, white, black, and red, standing '*für Leben, Tod, Geburt* [for life, death, birth]', recalling her *Spinnstubenfrau* persona and evoking the three Norns, who spin, weave, and cut the threads of life. Other figures in the group include the *Fetzenperchten* ("rag-Perchten"), modelled after a late eighteenth-century illustration in the SMCA's Kuenberg collection. Bearing the caption, "*Golling: Eine Berchte*", it depicts a person glossed by Rumpf as a *Fetzenpercht*, dressed in a fur hat, ragged coat and skirts, and human-featured mask.<sup>461</sup> Natural materials were needed for other figures, so in 1995 they put out an open call for the rooster feathers which cover the costumes of the two *Vogelperchten* ("bird-Perchten"; see Fig. 45), and wherever they went:

*Überall wurde Ausschau nach Hähnenfedern gehalten und nicht selten ein spaßiges Wort über das Federnausreißen bei Hähnen fallen gelassen. Federn in Form von ganzen Hähnen trudelten alsbald in unserem Hause ein, und das Rupfen von bereits seit laengerer Zeit toten Tieren erwies sich als nicht sehr leicht [...]. Die Tiere kamen von Bauern as der Umgebung und Freunden des Brachtums.*

Most of all we were on the look-out for rooster feathers, and made more than a few joking remarks about the plucking of the roosters. Feathers in the form of whole roosters arrived shortly at our house, and the plucking of animals long since dead turned out not to be very

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<sup>460</sup> Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana.

<sup>461</sup> This illustration from the SMCA's Kuenberg collection is reproduced in Rumpf, *Perchten*, Fig. 41, p. 256 and mentioned in Schuhlader, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', p. 27.

easy [...]. The animals came from farmers from the surrounding areas and friends of folk customs.<sup>462</sup>

These measures, along with newspaper inserts and a radio announcement, yielded a huge number of feathers and whole birds.<sup>463</sup> Among their most enthusiastic supporters was a taxidermist who contributed vulture heads mounted on movable stands adorned with bells, which were subsequently attached to the *Vogelperchten*'s stalves.<sup>464</sup> In this sense, their community was involved in the tradition from the very start, not only providing the revival's *raison d'être*, but contributing to it on a practical level. Ultimately, the Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana acted as true *bricoleurs*, using the materials around them, reflecting historical precedents as much as possible, and recombining elements to create a new composition to fit in an old frame. In so doing, they are working within the tradition rather than against it. Indeed, it may be that tradition itself tends towards *bricolage*, as is suggested by the definition offered by Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin:

We must understand tradition as a symbolic process that both presupposes past symbolisms and creatively reinterprets them. In other words, tradition is not a bounded entity, made up of bounded constituent parts, but a process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present though making reference to the past.<sup>465</sup>

### 6.3.5 The Importance of Imagination

As the preceding example shows, the mask-maker's own imagination is the glue that binds the *bricolage* together. According to Uebelacker, the use of unbridled imagination in mask-making allows them to combine old and new elements in the form of allusions to both established legendary motifs and contemporary fears. In addition to the *Holzmandel* (wood spirits) inspired by the once-forested land where Kirchseeon stands, there are:

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<sup>462</sup> Faller, p. 31.

<sup>463</sup> Ibid, pp. 31-32.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid, p. 32.

<sup>465</sup> Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *Journal of American Folklore* 97:385 (July-Sept. 1984): 273-290 (p. 287).

*Diese Klaubaufmasken, die da um die Frau Percht herum tanzen — da hat man ja wieder in erste Linie diese Elemente Feuer, Wasser, Erde, Luft, aber auch menschliche Eigenschaften, wie Zahnweh, Terroristen, auch ganz aktuelle Sachen. Das ist ja auch immer der Fantasie von den Schnitzern überlassen. Aber eben auch Sagengestalten, wie ein Werwolf oder den Drachen oder einen Clown [...]. Und da haben unsere Schnitzer ... sehr viel Fantasie und das Schöne ist, dass jedes Jahr neue Masken dazu kommen, sodass man das Ganze immer ein bisschen ausweiten kann.*

These *Klaubauf* masks, which dance there around the Frau Percht — there again one has on the first level these elements, fire, water, earth, air, but also human qualities, like toothache, terrorists, so completely contemporary things. So that is always given over to the fantasy of the carver. But also legendary figures, like a werewolf or the dragon or a clown [...]. And there our carver has ... a great deal of imagination, and the beautiful thing is, that each year new masks come along, so that one can always expand it all a little bit.<sup>466</sup>

This practical, syncretic approach calls to mind Handler and Linnekin's observation that 'traditions thought to be preserved are created out of the conceptual needs of the present. Tradition is not handed down from the past, as a thing or collection of things; it is symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present'.<sup>467</sup>

Further inspiration for their masks comes from the land itself, from the faces one sees in the trees when one goes walking in the woods,<sup>468</sup> a sense of the landscape as a living presence, a numen very much embedded in place. This is how these *Perchten* found their way into reviving the tradition in a way that reflects the essence of their home region, specifically by way of their mask design. One senses the faces in the trees, '*und die sind da. Das ist am Ort und daraus kann man die eigene Fantasie speisen. Und dann kommen solche Geschöpfe heraus* [and they are there. That is at the place, and out of it one can feed one's own imagination. And then such creatures emerge]'.<sup>469</sup> Untermieder summed up the process of inspiration in English as a 'combination between imagination, fantasy and the place'.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>467</sup> Handler and Linnekin, p. 280.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid.

Likewise, Gatterbauer stressed the importance of ‘*Viele Fantasie. Es ist ja nicht einfach so, wenn man so sagt: “Diese!” Eher: Hier noch etwas und da noch etwas, einfach Fantasie. Vielleicht von Filmen, Fernsehen oder so etwas ... wenn man irgendetwas sieht* [A lot of imagination. It is not as simple as saying, “These!” Rather, a little something here and a little something there, simply fantasy. Perhaps from films, television, something ... whenever one sees something like that]’.<sup>471</sup> Berger added that sources of inspiration may include ‘*Science Fiction-Filme oder eventuell auch Horrorfilme, verschiedene Masken, da kommen die Mitglieder mit Fotos* [science-fiction films or maybe horror films too, different masks, since the members come in with photos]’.<sup>472</sup> (These influences are discussed in more depth in 7.1.)

Finally, the carver may be inspired by the mummer for whom the mask is being made. Uebelacker explained that the mask’s features and personality should reflect those of its wearer. For a female *Percht*, for instance, the mask of a *Vogelpercht* might be especially ornamental and delicate in its design:

*Und wenn ich jetzt für eine Frau eine Maske schnitze, die darf nicht groß sein, die muss passen zur der Dame: zierlich, aber aussagekräftig. Damit die Dame mit der Maske etwas anfangen kann. Wir haben zum Beispiel Vogelmasken ... zierliche Maske, zierliche Person ... passt dann wieder zusammen, und so ist das auch mit den Perchten selbst. Das ist auch wichtig für die Schnitzer.*

And when I carve a mask for a woman, it cannot be big, it must fit the lady; petite, but also expressive. That way the lady can make something of a beginning with the mask. We have, for example, bird masks ... delicate mask, delicate person ... then it fits together, and so it is with the *Perchten* themselves. That is also important for the carver.<sup>473</sup>

This personalization can be achieved without sacrificing the mask’s adherence to the group aesthetic. This is an important balance for the mask-maker to maintain, which becomes clear upon examining a group’s masks in relation to each other, as one can at mask exhibitions.

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<sup>471</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid.

<sup>473</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

## 6.4 Mask Exhibitions

While some long-established groups display their masks year-round in their local *Heimat* museums,<sup>474</sup> most groups will hold a special mask exhibition in a rented hall in mid to late November. In these settings the masks may be studied in good light, allowing children to familiarize themselves with these folk-figures without the pressure and distraction of the performance-encounter. The mask-makers' skill, so greatly esteemed by the mummers themselves, is showcased here for the public, who wander freely around the hall examining the masks at their leisure. Halls are decorated with evergreen boughs to evoke the mountain forests understood to be the creatures' natural habitat. Masks may be mounted atop costumes on mannequins or frames, displayed separately on tree stumps, or hung on lightweight wooden fencing erected for the occasion. They may also be arranged in a group, like a wall of hunters' trophy heads, or mounted on posts, like the decapitated heads of monstrous foes hoisted on stakes on the battlefield.

According to Berger, the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten's annual mask exhibition provides an introduction to the tradition before their performance season begins.<sup>475</sup> The exhibitions, held in a hall on the outskirts of Schärdding, are comprised of a mask-carving demonstration<sup>476</sup> as well as an overview of the tradition and the club. Exhibitions provide an opportunity to educate tourists about the meaning of the tradition and generate interest in young people, who may approach them about becoming members. The group prefers not to have these conversations while they are behind the mask and in character, so it is better to prepare potential spectators in a controlled environment where they can examine the masks in good lighting, uninhabited and unthreatening.<sup>477</sup> In addition, Berger carves miniature *Perchten* figurines to sell at the exhibitions in order to generate a little extra revenue for the

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<sup>474</sup> The Gasteiner Museum, located within Haus Austria in Bad Gastein, houses the Gasteiner Perchten's masks and costumes as well as a wonderfully rendered miniature of the *Perchtenlauf* in the manner of Christmas *crèche* scenes, and offers postcards and a video of the Gastein *Perchtenlauf* for sale. Similarly, the masks of the Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe are in the keeping of the group's leader in the Heimatmuseum Strick, which may be visited by appointment. The unique and colorful *papier-mâché* masks of the Untersberg Wilde Jagd (which is carried out by the Jung Alpenland group) are kept in the Untersberg Marmormuseum in Grödig, Salzburg until Advent, when they are removed for use.

<sup>475</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>476</sup> The Fürsten der Finsternis of Bad Goisern, Upper Austria also featured a mask-carving demonstration at their 2014 mask exhibition on their Facebook page. Fürsten der Finsternis, 'Ausstellung F-d-F 2014' (mask-carving photo), <<https://www.facebook.com/FurstenDerFinsternis/photos/a.848845578480970.1073741828.415493298482869/848845975147597/?type=3&theater>>, Dec. 2, 2015, accessed Feb. 24, 2015.

<sup>477</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

club.<sup>478</sup> Groups may take photographs of their exhibitions and upload them to photo galleries on their websites, which in a sense serve as a secondary exhibition setting.<sup>479</sup> Finally, the internet provides an additional setting for mask-carving demonstrations as a mode of performance. Video clips, some interspersed with interview segments, show carvers at work in their studios and the gradual emergence of *Perchten* and *Krampus* faces from the wood.<sup>480</sup>

## 6.5 Bonding with the Mask

A number of mummers vary the masks they wear within the group, which in some cases implies assuming multiple mumming personas.<sup>481</sup> For instance, the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana of Golling, Salzburg portray a variety of figures and trade off their roles from year to year.<sup>482</sup> It is quite common, however, that a *Percht* or *Krampus* commits to a single mask, whether he carves it himself or has it carved for him, and bonds with it over time (this particularly applies to those whose masks are custom-made to reflect their own features and personalities, as discussed in 6.3.2). Polanec stressed the importance of masks from this perspective, telling me that, unlike many young mummers who buy and sell masks online, he would never part with one of his masks, even after it had been retired.<sup>483</sup> Keeping and caring for one’s mask is another expression of the profound commitment to the tradition and sense of responsibility that is evident in his approach to being a *Percht* and the leader of a *Perchten* group.

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<sup>478</sup> This is an instance of mummers marketing themselves, like the Newfoundland Christmas Mummers described by Paul Smith (‘Remembering the Past: The Marketing of Tradition in Newfoundland’ in *Masks and Mummung in the Nordic Area*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 755-770.

<sup>479</sup> The Fürsten der Finsternis Facebook page features an extensive photo gallery of their 2014 mask exhibition, with links to other photo galleries. ‘Ausstellung F-d-F 2014’ <<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.848845578480970.1073741828.415493298482869&type=1>>, Dec. 2, 2015, accessed Feb. 24, 2015.

<sup>480</sup> For examples, see Richard Kranawetvogl (Stillerer Loavn), ‘Über Mich’, <[http://www.stillerer.de/index.php?article\\_id=41](http://www.stillerer.de/index.php?article_id=41)>, n.d., accessed Nov. 12, 2015; www.woo.at, ‘Maskenschnitzer aus Braunau’, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbBZ9yaDg\\_E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbBZ9yaDg_E)>, Dec. 23, 2010, accessed Nov. 12, 2015; and Christian Lipp, ‘Maskenschnitzer Lipp’, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpZCn\\_-Ngk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpZCn_-Ngk)>, Feb. 14, 2014, accessed Nov. 12, 2015.

<sup>481</sup> Faistenauer Krampusse (Josef Brandstätter), personal interview, Faistenau, Salzburg, Dec. 7, 2005. See field notes, Appendix I18.

<sup>482</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana.

<sup>483</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

Berger explained that it is not just the mask, but the wearer who brings it to life, animating it with something of his own spirit:

**Berger:** *Die ganze Gestalt mit der Maske, das ist eine Gestalt ... und das drückt er dann auch beim Laufen aus. Das ist wichtig. Und wenn sie eine Maske bekommen, die sie unbedingt wollen, dann muss praktisch der ganze Körper, alles, dabei sein, bei der Maske. Das ist wichtig. Das ist eine Gestalt dann, egal welche Maske er hat, aber er verkörpert diese Gestalt komplett.*

**Carter:** *Das ist also nicht bloß alles in der Maske, es muss auch von dem Maskenträger stammen. Er muss es innehaben.*

**Berger:** *Genau, dann ist es eine Einheit, dann ist er ein Läufer. Er kann nicht heute anfangen und dann verkörpert er diese Maske. Er weiß nicht, was eigentlich diese Maske bedeutet. Das kriegt er erst im Laufe der Zeit mit. Und das ist auch wichtig für die Schnitzer, so eine Maske zu schnitzen, die auch zum Läufer passt. Das ist dann immer das kleine Spiel.*

**Berger:** The whole figure with the mask, that is one figure ... and he expresses that also with the running. That is important. And when they get a mask that they absolutely want, then practically the whole body, everything, must be there with the mask. That is important. Then it is a single figure, regardless of which mask he has, he completely embodies this figure.

**Carter:** So that is not purely all in the mask; it also has to come from the mask-wearer. He must have it within.

**Berger:** Exactly, it is a unity; then he is a [Perchten-] runner. [...] He cannot just start today and embody this mask. He does not actually know what this mask means. He only realizes that in the course of time. And that is also important for the carvers, to carve such a mask, which also fits the runners. That is always the little game.<sup>484</sup>

People generally keep their masks over the years in the Schürdinger Teufelsperchten, but there are a few masks that are especially coveted, and members look forward to having the opportunity to wear them. This they may do, providing the mask fits the mummer:

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<sup>484</sup> Schürdinger Teufelsperchten.

*Aber dann muss der Typ, die Person dazu auch stimmen. Das heißt, "große Maske, kleiner Mann" geht nicht; "große Maske, großer Mann" passt zusammen [...] die Verkörperung von der Gestalt, die [die] Maske ausdrückt, muss [er] im Läufer sein.*

However, the person must also be attuned to the type. That means, "big mask, small man" doesn't work; "big mask, big man" fits together [...] the embodiment of the figure which this mask expresses must be in the [Perchten-]runner.<sup>485</sup>

Uebelacker and Untermieder spoke to the bond that develops over time between a mask and its wearer as well as spectators' dual awareness of mummer and mask persona:

**Uebelacker:** *In der Regel behält er die auch. Ganz, ganz selten, dass er die abgibt und sagt: 'Ich nehme eine andere.' Normalerweise nicht. Es gibt Leute, die über 15 Jahre, 18 Jahre in der gleiche. Und das Schöne ist, wenn dann plötzlich jemand anderes darunter steckt, dann [...] denn irgendwie identifiziert man den Menschen, der darunter steckt, mit dieser Maske und wenn die jetzt plötzlich ein anderer trägt, dann ist das schon schwierig.*

**Untermieder:** *Wenn der anders tanzt, irgendwas stimmt auf einmal nicht ... andere Bewegung ... das war doch 20 Jahre anders.*

**Uebelacker:** *Da hat der Untermieder schon recht. Man darf nicht nur die Maske sehen, sondern auch diese Person als Ganzes und auch den, der da drunter steckt.*

**Uebelacker:** As a rule, individuals hold fast to their [mask] identity. Very, very seldom, will he give it up and say: 'I'm taking another one.' There are people who for over fifteen years, even eighteen years have remained in the same one. And the beautiful thing is, when someone else then suddenly gets underneath it...for somehow one identifies the human being who is underneath it with this mask and when they are now suddenly wearing another one, then that is challenging, all right.

**Untermieder:** When he dances differently, [one sees] at once that something is not right ... other movements as well ... because we have been accustomed to something different for nearly 20 years.

**Uebelacker:** Untermieder is right about that. One not only sees the mask, but also this person as a whole and he who is underneath it as well.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>485</sup> Ibid.



Masks must fit the wearer's face securely for safety and comfort during the run, as we saw above, but the mask must fit the man on a deeper level as well. Untermieder elaborated on the *Verschmelzen* process:

*Es ist ein Verschmelzen, es ist ein Prozess. Ich denken, wenn man vier bis fünf Stunden tanzt und läuft, dann muss die Maske so passen zum Gesicht, damit ich keine Beschwerden habe. Sie darf nicht drücken ... [in English:] no pressure. It has to fit, und das ist eine Notwendigkeit. Und wie der Uebelacker sagt, es gibt dann diese Entwicklung irgendwann findet jeder seine Maske, die dann auch behält er dann auch gleich. Das ist dann der [in English:] melting point. Beide Charaktere verschmelzen dann auch zum Teil miteinander, und Masken haben die Eigenheit, dass sie den Träger verändern können ... seinen Charakter. [...] das ist aber ein Prozess, weil, wenn ich heute 14, 15, 16 Jahre bin, dann habe ich ja noch gar nicht das Wissen, was dieser Brauch eigentlich bewirkt, das kann man auch nicht mit 14, 15, 16 Jahren [...] von mir erwarten.*

It is a fusion, it is a process. I think when one dances four to five hours and is running, then the mask must fit to the face in such a way that I have no discomfort. It may not press ... no pressure. It has to fit, and that is a necessity. Like Wolfgang says, then there is this development where each person finds his mask, and they are determined to hold on to or keep this one. That, then, is the melting point. Then both the person and the character merge into one another, and masks have a quality whereby they can change the wearer ... his character. [...] But that is a process, because, when I am 14, 15, or 16 years old today, then I don't yet have the understanding of this custom or how it actually works; one cannot expect that from me at 14, 15, or 16 years of age.<sup>487</sup>

The transformative effect the mask has upon its wearer referred to here is not the temporary altering of consciousness or behavior that takes place when one inhabits a character during a performance, but rather a melding of personalities over many years. That goes with getting to know the custom's meaning over time, which goes along with the wearer's bonding with the mask. These twinned observations were shared by the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, who also referred to the gradual integration of one's self with the mask he wears and the fact that it takes many years to understand the deeper meaning of the

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<sup>486</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.

tradition. Experiential, personal understanding of the custom comes with committing to a mask for years.

Mummers must find their way into the mask, which is always animated by its wearer; the mask's spirit is a fusion of the mummer's own personality, what he sees in the mask, and what it brings out in him. While the context is quite different, John Emigh's summation of the way Balinese actors bond with new masks resonates to some extent with the experiences described by Untermeider, Uebelacker, Berger and Polanec:

He is assessing the potential life of the mask and searching for the meeting place between himself and the life inherent in its otherness [...]. If the performer fails to find such a meeting place within this field of paradox, ambiguity, and illusion, then the mask will retain its separateness: whatever its worth as an object, a "work" of art, it will at best function as a decoration, a costume element. The process begins with a respect for the mask's potential life as a separate entity and proceeds by narrowing the gap between self and other through a process of imaginative play.<sup>488</sup>

We began by discussing various aspects of mask construction and design, providing historical context as well as establishing the provenance of common design elements found in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming today. Next we touched upon the process of *bricolage* that characterizes the revival of existing fragments combined with newly created material. For these mummers, the guiding principle in the creative process is to adhere to the spirit of the tradition rather than the letter. Accordingly, personal interpretation and creative freedom are highly valued, and we shall see in the following chapter how mummers draw upon various sources of inspiration, new and old, from both within and without the body of the tradition to infuse it with new life.

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<sup>488</sup> John Emigh, *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 275.

## 7. SOURCES OF INSPIRATION FOR MASK DESIGN AND PERFORMANCE

In 6.3.5 we saw the importance of imagination in mask design and the ways in which mummers exercise their prerogative to draw on various sources of inspiration. Today two major sources of inspiration for *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks may be identified, both of which draw on work authored by others, recycling and retreating it in various ways. The first is an aesthetic influence on *Perchten* and *Krampus* mask design stemming from the “pop-Satanic” imagery found in commercial mass culture. The second is the inspiration *Perchten* groups draw from Perchta folklore and scholarship, which contains its own encapsulations of that folklore. To illuminate how these influences are incorporated, the concepts of tradition, authenticity, continuity, and the associated theories of folklorism and feedback will be examined in relation to mummers’ own understanding and interpretation of what they do. Implicit in this process of interpretation is the question of mummers’ authority to claim, change, and speak for the tradition.

### 7.1 The Modern “Horror” Aesthetic

One of the most striking and widespread developments in these traditions today is the emergence of the modern “horror” aesthetic, prevalent throughout Austria and Bavaria. The Pfarrwerfener *Perchtenlauf* on January 1, 2006 (V7, 27:18-43:10) exemplified this aesthetic:

Aliens and monsters from science-fiction and fantasy movies and video games; horror movie ghouls whose gorey features suggest latex Halloween masks; and Orcs from the recent films made of J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. These masks, which tend to be custom-made of painted wood with glass eyes, real animal horns and hair by a handful of highly respected and sought-after mask carvers in the Salzburg region, are truly gruesome and lovingly detailed. From one, snot drips like hot glue, frozen for eternity between nostril and chin; jaws are stretched impossibly wide to reveal bloodstained fangs, and gashes from horrible battles (some with exposed brain tissue) are everywhere in evidence. [...] With the streetlights out, the procession becomes a sea of noise and jostling bodies, punctuated by a few distinct sensations: Sloshing beer, the stink of wet goat hair, and red and blue “laser lights” blinking from the eyes of several masks. One Orc-like creature with flashing blue

laser eyes approaches me and begins whipping my thighs with a cow's tail while the brass band solemnly plays "O Come All Ye Faithful".<sup>489</sup>

This aesthetic, frequently described as "*modern*" — in contrast to "*alt*" (old) or "*traditionell*" (traditional) — is quite controversial both within the *Perchten* and *Krampus* communities and among the general populace. The controversy seems to arise from a presumed dichotomy between several corresponding pairs of polarized qualities which are perceived to be in opposition to one another:

1. Modern vs. ancient
2. Spurious or fraudulent vs. authentic (corresponding to the folklorism vs. folklore dichotomy)
3. Traditional vs. recently invented
4. Anonymous and collective authorship vs. identifiable authorship
5. Fragmented over time vs. original and whole
6. Secular, spiritually bankrupt, devoid of meaning vs. spiritual, holistic, numen-laden

These opposing pairs surface in the discourse about the nature of tradition and authenticity, which in turn relate to issues of legitimization and authority. In addition, they correspond generally to the widely perceived dichotomy between popular culture (enumerated by Ben-Amos as one of the three "enemies" of "tradition" in American folkloristics)<sup>490</sup> and folk culture, as described by Peter Narváez and Martin Laba:

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<sup>489</sup> Molly Carter, 'Contemporary *Perchten* Masking in Austria and Bavaria: Creative Authority, Continuity and Change' in *The Ritual Year and Ritual Diversity: Proceedings of the Second International Conference of the SIEF Working Group on The Ritual Year, Gothenburg, June 7-11, 2006* (Göteborg: Institutet för språk och folkminnen, 2007), pp. 201-208 (201-202).

<sup>490</sup> According to Ben-Amos, the three presumptive enemies of tradition are what is often called "high culture" ('little tradition vs. great tradition'), popular culture (discussed above), and creativity, which is discussed in relation to originality and authenticity in mask design in Appendix H3 ('The Seven Strands of Tradition', p. 107).

Popular culture refers [...] to cultural events which are transmitted by technological media and communicated in mass societal contexts. Accordingly, the performance contexts of popular culture are usually characterized by significant spatial and social distances between performers and audiences. In contrast to popular culture, folklore performance is artistic performance which is transmitted and communicated by the sensory media of living, small group encounters. The spatial and social distances between performers and audiences in folklore events is slight or non-existent and there tends to be a high degree of performer-audience interaction.<sup>491</sup>

With regards to these dichotomies, it must be noted that, while there is by no means a consensus even within the *Perchten* and *Krampus* communities about where these lines are drawn, in practice, their mask and performance design and conceptions of their customs' origins and meaning juxtapose these qualities (which are not always regarded as mutually exclusive) in a multitude of ways. In the example above, blinking laser eyes and Christmas carols coexist in the same performance space, just as inspirations from Hollywood special effects are incorporated into traditional wooden masks with animal horns and hides.

### 7.1.1 Naturalizing Commercial Mass Culture Influences

In interviews, such masks were sometimes referred to as *Schreckmasken* ("horror masks") and their visual allusions were summed up as the products of commercial mass culture, namely science-fiction (aliens), fantasy (Orcs), and horror films (zombies). This aesthetic is also reflected in heavy metal music and many video games, which, like those film genres, are mass-marketed to teenage boys and young men the age of most *Perchten* and *Krampusse*. These influences build upon and are integrated with the bestial features characteristic of baroque *Schiachperchten* and *Krampus* masks of the *Teufel* type (6.1): claws, fangs, horns, fur and long tongues in mask design and fire in the form of pyrotechnic special effects used in parades.

External influences may be transmitted either indirectly or consciously, and continue to circulate in second-hand or third-hand forms via exposure at large collaborative events like the Pullman City *Perchtentreffen* (V3, 04:34-07:17) or on the internet, where groups' guest books and Facebook pages are often filled with enthusiastic comments from other mummers praising their mask design and use of props, music, and other staging

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<sup>491</sup> Peter Narváez and Martin Laba, 'Introduction: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum' in *Media Sense: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum*, ed. by Peter Narváez and Martin Laba (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1986), pp. 1-8 (1). They point out that this is actually a false dichotomy, since both folk culture and popular culture (which they describe as a continuum) 'exhibit conservative and dynamic qualities' (ibid).

elements. In this way, performers continue to work with sources of inspiration which may have originally trickled down to them (or their peers) from commercial culture sources. The appropriated influence is ultimately changed in the process, naturalized into the mummers' own aesthetic sensibilities and performance personae. P. J. Falzone writes of slash fiction authors, who appropriate or 'poach' characters from copyrighted commercial culture sources like *Star Trek* to write their own stories, that they 'engage in a "Narrative Edgeplay," transgressing the borders of a parent narrative through the construction of an aberrant metatext. [...] By engaging in this narrative edgeplay for long enough, a revised mythos emerges from the ashes of the commercial'.<sup>492</sup> Influences from commercial culture for *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are similarly appropriated and naturalized.

Gatterbauer discussed the modern "zombie" aesthetic of mask design, which he felt went too far '*ins Grotesk* [into the grotesque]':

*Die Wurzeln, die gibt es schon vielerorts. Gibt es allerdings auch Gruppen, wo die Masken schon sehr reinen Zombieg Gesichtern ähneln ... Hautfetzen ... herunterhängende Augen. Das ist dann weniger unser Fall, und das ist auch nicht mein Fall. Das geht schon ins Groteske...das ist sehr übertrieben. Ich will ja keinen Zombielauf mitmachen, ich will schon die Masken auch ein bisschen erhalten. Darum sind solche Sachen, naja, Geschmackssache. Oder möchtest Du mit einem halb auseinander gerissenen Schädel herumlaufen?*<sup>493</sup>

The roots, those are already there in many places. There are admittedly also groups where the masks totally look like full-on zombie faces ... skin in tatters ... eyes hanging out. That is not so much the case with us, and that is also not the case with me. That is already moving into the grotesque...it is very excessive. I do not want to join in with a zombie chase; I want to preserve the masks a bit yet. Therefore such things are, well, matters of taste. Or do you want to run around with a skull cracked half in two?

Mengl and Polanec of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, who run as both *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, also felt that an overdependence on external mass culture influences had resulted in a trend towards excess in mask design, which drains the custom of its meaning and makes the masks lifeless forms good only for entertainment:

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<sup>492</sup> P. J. Falzone, 'The Final Frontier is Queer: Aberrancy, Archetype and Audience Generated Folklore in K/S Slashfiction', *Western Folklore*, 64:3 (Fall 2005), pp. 243-262 (253).

<sup>493</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

**Mengl:** *Aber es muss ja auch Grenzen geben. Es gibt eine Grenze, bis dorthin und dann ist fertig.*

**Polanec:** *Da ist das dann Kasperltheater, Fasching ... über dieser Grenze.*

**Carter:** *Das heißt also Fasching ist unterschiedlich für die Perchten?*

**Polanec:** *Nein. [...] hier sind jetzt leider keine drinnen. Es gibt zum Beispiel irgendwelche abstrakten Masken, die schon in Hollywood...*

**Mengl:** *In Star Trek...*

**Polanec:** *Für Gruselfilme [...] Horrormasken.*

**Carter:** *Das ist also auch Einflüsse auf die [sic] Perchtenmaske?*

**Polanec:** *Ja, also von den Schnitzern her schon. Das wollen wir zum Beispiel nicht.*

**Mengl:** *But there must also be limits. There is a boundary; you can go right up to that point, but then that's it.*

**Polanec:** *Otherwise it is Kasperl theater, Fasching ... [it's gone] over the line.*

**Carter:** *So that means Fasching is different for Perchten?*

**Polanec:** *No. [...] here, there is nothing within now, unfortunately. There are, for example, somewhat abstract masks, which really in Hollywood...*

**Mengl:** *In Star Trek...*

**Polanec:** *For gorey movies [...] horror masks.*

**Carter:** *So those are also influences on the Perchten mask?*

**Polanec:** *Yes, it is already [an influence] on the carvers here. That, for example, is something we do not want.<sup>494</sup>*

Untermieder also attributed this development to mass media influences:

*Da ist es sicher so, dass die Medien eine große Rolle spielen. Ich bezeichne diese Masken als Aliens. Das ist einfach ganz logisch zu erklären: diese Schnitzer, die sind natürlich auch beeinflusst von [in English:] Movies und das, was dann im Fernsehen oder im Kino*

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<sup>494</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

*vermittelt wird und Effekthascherei ist — sonst wären ja auch die Kinos nicht so voll — das setzen die dann um. Die Problematik, die dahinter steckt, ist, dass sie nicht wirklich Wurzeln haben. Wenn sie heute mit einer Krampus-Gruppe sprechen, die Masken tragen, die sie gekauft haben, werden die Ihnen nicht wirklich den Hintergrund der Maske sagen können.*

It is certainly so that the media plays a big role. I categorize these masks as aliens. It is simply, totally logical to explain: these carvers, who are of course also influenced by movies and that which is imparted on television or in the movie theater — otherwise the movie theaters would not be so full — that then implement them. The problematic thing which lies behind it [is] that they don't really have roots. Today when you speak with a *Krampus* group who wear masks they have bought, they will not really be able to tell you the background of the mask.<sup>495</sup>

Uebelacker, who described their group as *Schönperchten*, agreed, apparently regarding it as a problem particularly across the border, where ‘*die österreichischen Krampusse mit den Schreckmasken [...] haben keine Aussagen in dem Sinn. Die werden nur geschnitzt, um Angst zu schüren* [The Austrian *Krampusse* with the horror masks [...] have no information about the meaning. They are carved only to stoke fear]’. At another point, he took a more ambivalent position, stating that while the value of new influences varies, they do no harm.<sup>496</sup>

### **7.1.2 Continuity with the Grotesque Devil Masks of Previous Centuries**

Although Grieshofer writes about the ‘*Übersteigerung und [...] groteskes Aussehen* [escalation and [...] grotesque appearance]’ of these masks as though they represent a new development,<sup>497</sup> *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks as ugly and horrifying as possible is nothing new. Designing masks to evoke a sense of horror does not represent (as many believe) a foreign imposition and corruption of the tradition, but is rather in keeping with the traditional associations of both *Perchta* and the *Krampus* as *Kinderschreck* figures. This is especially true considering that the horror movies which provide such an important source of inspiration today are an outgrowth of the horror-tale complex rooted in verbal

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<sup>495</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid.

<sup>497</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung’, p. 248.



*Kinderschreck* warnings given to children and, in their more elaborate literary manifestation, as *Märchen* about child-eating witches and ogres. The goal was always to evoke horror. What could surpass the supremely imaginative horror of the *Butzenbercht*, her nose dripping snot, and her male counterpart, the *Kinderfresser*, sinking his oversized teeth into a squalling youngster?

In this sense, the detailed gore of contemporary horror masks hardly represents a break with tradition. Rather, it is an aesthetic sea change that, from the perspective of the *Perchten* cited above, threatens to go too far into the grotesque. The gore of today does not resemble the gore of yesterday, which it seems to have surpassed in explicit detail and viciousness, but has altered in purpose, undergoing a kind of a type of semantic shift. In the view of many contemporary mummies, foregrounding shock value, sensationalism and spectacle (essentially horror for horror's sake) divests these traditions of their meaning.

### **7.1.3 The Feedback Loop: Making it Squeal**

As Bendix points out in her discussion of folklore and authenticity, the rarer the cultural commodity in question, the more valuable it becomes.<sup>498</sup> In the context of centuries-old calendar customs like the *Perchtenläufe* and *Krampusläufe*, rarity is equated with perceived danger of extinction or decay; thus the oldest surviving forms (or the oldest forms which may be reconstructed) are considered the most valuable. Therefore it is unsurprising that what is perceived to be vanishing cultural heritage is more highly prized when the rate of social change accelerates, as was the case in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, when the rise of the disciplines of anthropology and folkloristics accompanied the Industrial Revolution. The relationship of such rapid social and technological change to revivals and inventions is pointed out by Hobsbawm, who writes, 'We should expect [the invention of tradition] to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which old traditions had been designed [...].'<sup>499</sup>

In this regard, the feedback of cultural material mirrors the feedback of an audio signal. In electronics, the signal flows from the input (such as an electric guitar pickup or microphone) into the output (through an amplifier and speaker), where it is fed back into the input, creating a feedback loop. The rate of speed at which the signal travels is fast enough to generate its own frequency, which the loop amplifies; it is at this point that it begins to "squeal". For musicians like Jimi Hendrix, who pioneered the use of feedback in

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<sup>498</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 8.

<sup>499</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-9 (4-5).

rock music, it is not seen as unwelcome distortion, but just another effect in their arsenal, a sound which can be played to achieve different compositional effects.<sup>500</sup>

According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions will commonly arise in a climate of rapid change, ‘emerging [...] within a brief and dateable period — a matter of a few years, perhaps — and establishing themselves with great rapidity’.<sup>501</sup> Insofar as electronic feedback can be compared to the feedback of cultural material, it may be surmised that when the rate of social and technological change accelerates — around the time of the Industrial Revolution and again in the Digital Age, both intense periods of popularization, invention and revival in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming — so do the effects of those changes become discernable in folk traditions. Here, too, we notice when the feedback loop begins to squeal, noting (sometimes uncomfortably and sometimes with delight) the distortion of what we perceive as the original, pure signal. As the most common instance of this, the incorporation of “foreign” influences like Hollywood fantasy and science-fiction films into folk masks may be consciously identified as such and perceived as incongruous. The point at which the intrinsically frightening and grotesque quality of *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks becomes “too much” is the point at which the signal begins to squeal.

Bringing the horror aesthetic up to date has meant incorporating current technologies and visual allusions to popular culture in this way, in effect incorporating the process of feedback into the creative process, thus underscoring the new masks’ modernity and bringing an awareness of mundane, everyday life (where the mass culture allusions are located) into sharper focus during performances. This can feel disruptive and distracting to passive and active tradition-bearers who feel that the masks’ power lies in their ability to evoke a sense of otherworldliness and antiquity. Nevertheless, we may see this process as an instance of feedback being used as a creative tool by mummers, just as Hendrix and others incorporated electronic feedback into rock music, making it an extended technique for the electric guitar.

Clashes and incongruities between modernity and antiquity (corresponding to the ‘spurious’ and ‘genuine’,<sup>502</sup> respectively) surface with regards to interpretations of the folklore as well. The association between perceived antiquity and authenticity underlying the horror aesthetic controversy is also apparent in the influence of Perchta and *Perchten*-related scholarship on *Perchten* mumming, as we shall see.

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<sup>500</sup> My thanks to Garth Powell for explaining the process of audio feedback.

<sup>501</sup> Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

<sup>502</sup> Handler and Linnekin.

## 7.2 Inspiration from Perchta Folklore and Scholarship

As stated in Chapter 1, a central concern of this thesis is what *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming traditions “mean” to their contemporary practitioners: meaning both in the sense of how they interpret their origins, history, and function (the themes that are present in their representations of *Perchten* and *Krampusse*) and in terms of the value participation holds for them personally. This chapter, which draws on my interviews with mummers as well as the explanations they offer on their websites, shall deal with their own interpretations, motivations, and value as they define them as well as their understanding of the traditions in general.

To this end, we shall examine the themes present in contemporary mumming groups’ presentation of them, which is evident in their mask design, performance scripting (such as the creation of new plays), and the interpretations they post on their websites. These themes revolve in a general sense around the *Rauhnächte* and the folklore associated with them, which takes the form of legends, folk beliefs, divination practices, and protective customs as well as mumming. The body of interpretations upon which they draw stems in part from past generations of scholarship which endeavored to provide an understanding of what these customs “mean”. Thus it seems that the principle of feedback is in play, although I hope to show that, ultimately, such academic and pseudo-academic interpretations are simply further sources of inspiration to feed the mummers’ creative process.

Until the mid-twentieth century, as we saw in 3.1, scholarship about Perchta and *Perchten* revolved around Perchta’s origins as an ancient Germanic goddess and *Perchten* mumming as the remnants of seasonally rooted folk belief and magical practices intended to ensure protection and fertility.<sup>503</sup> While now generally discredited within academia, these interpretations are well-established in the popular imagination via the process of feedback, and may be regarded as Perchta folklore in their own right. There are several interrelated interpretations of Perchta and *Perchten* mumming<sup>504</sup> in evidence today, informing mummers’ own understanding of the tradition’s origins and purpose as well as inspiring new mask and performance design. The first of these has to do with New Year’s luck in the form of protection and fecundity for householders, livestock and crops. The second

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<sup>503</sup> See, for example, Panzer, vol. 2, p. 464 and Andree-Eysn, p. 179.

<sup>504</sup> Several other aspects of Perchta folklore are reflected in contemporary *Perchten* mumming to a very limited extent, namely the gastrotomy paradrama continued by the Rauriser Schnabelperchten and Perchta as leader of the Wild Hunt, which is performed by the Koppler Perchten und Krampusse (who refer to their annual *Perchtenlauf* in Fuschl am See in the Salzburg Salzkammergut as the “*Wilde Jagd*”) and the Wilde Jagd mumming group (founded in 1947 and based near the Untersberg), who appear in the vicinity of the city of Salzburg on the second Thursday of Advent.

interpretation, which encompasses the luck-bringing function, is Perchta's *Doppelaspekt*. The concept of Perchta's dual aspect as such is a scholarly construct building on the work of Grimm and Andree-Eysn,<sup>505</sup> but it is rooted in historical representations of Perchta as well, which range from the beautiful to the monstrous (Appendix C).

### 7.2.1 New Year's Luck: Driving out Winter and Dancing in Fertility

Insofar as it incorporates the shaking of bells and the cracking of whips,<sup>506</sup> the *Perchtenlauf* may be considered a *Lärmbrauch* (noise-making custom). The notion of the *Lärmbrauch* is embedded in the belief that the *Perchten* drive out winter or alternately, demons or evil forces — *Wintervertreibung* and *Dämonenvertreibung*, respectively — by their running and dancing, and making a racket by various means was historically part of this. In the *Perchtenjagen*, as it was commonly known in Carinthia, a *Percht* dressed as Perchta was the quarry, driven past the village border by a group of young men who raised a din by cracking whips and banging on pots and pans, assisted by howling dogs and the cowbells the men wore strapped around their waists. This was said to keep predatory animals and spirits from attacking the livestock in the coming year.<sup>507</sup>

Elsewhere the *Perchten* themselves were not hunted, but rather were the agents of *Dämonenvertreibung*, driving destructive forces away and bringing fecundity, protection and blessing to families, crops and livestock, reflecting the need to attract and preserve good fortune during the *Rauhnächte*.<sup>508</sup> The apotropaic function was accomplished by two means: noise-making and terrifying masks. For this purpose, '*Glocke und Schelle [...] neben Trommel, Kuhhorn und Peitsche [Glocke and Schelle [...] next to drum, cow horn and whip]*' were the *Perchten*'s noise-making instruments of choice.<sup>509</sup> Andree-Eysn attributes the variety of '*abschreckende, phantastische und häßliche [frightening, fantastical and hideous]*' mask types created during this period to carvers' individual interpretations of how best to produce this effect. (The idea was to scare off the evil spirits with something as

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<sup>505</sup> Grimm, vol. 4, pp. 1368-1371; Andree-Eysn, pp. 161-162.

<sup>506</sup> Today the *Perchten* themselves do not crack whips, but in the formal Pongau processions they are preceded by *Aperschnalzer* (whip-crackers), who build up polyrhythms. The *Aperschnalzer* are organized in village clubs like *Perchten* and *Krampusse* and typically dress in *Trachten*, but in one instance, they are bundled up like walking haystacks: the *Strohschabe* of Bad Mitterndorf, Styria (V4, 11:15-11:40).

<sup>507</sup> Georg Graber, *Volksleben in Kärnten*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Graz: Leykam Verlag, 1941), p. 179.

<sup>508</sup> Andree, p. 231.

<sup>509</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 180.

bad or worse than themselves; a little of the devil that bit them, as it were.)<sup>510</sup> She also speaks to their fertility-bringing properties:

*Die Perchtenumzüge in der Absicht unternommen werden Fruchtbarkeit auf den Feldern hervorzubringen, und auf Menschen wohlthätig einzuwirken, so haben wir in dieser hier entwickelten durchaus alttümlichen grosteken Erscheinung die noch traditionell in den Talern der Alpen erhaltenen Reste uralten heidnischen Brauches vor uns.*

The *Perchten* procession undertaken with intent will bring forth fertility to the fields and have a beneficial effect on people [...] so we have before us, in this quite ancient, grotesque phenomenon developed here, the vestiges of an age-old pagan custom still traditionally maintained in the valleys of the Alps.<sup>511</sup>

This interpretation is widespread among *Perchten* today. Untermieder also explained *Perchten*'s house visits in terms of fertility:

*Dass man Glück und Segen zur Familie bringt, auf den Hof bringt, also auch das Vieh, die Felder... teilweise gingen die Perchten ja auch auf die Felder. Und ein weiterer Aspekt ist natürlich auch die Fruchtbarkeit — für den Boden, für das Vieh: viele Schafe ist viel Reichtum. Viele Kinder ist damals auch viel Reichtum gewesen. Und wenn die Perchten auf den Hof kamen und hatten Ruten dabei, dann haben sie nicht zugeschlagen, sondern sie strichen über den Bauch bei den Mädchen.*

That one brings luck and blessing to the family, to the farm, and also the cattle, the fields ... to some extent, the *Perchten* went into the fields. And a further aspect is fertility, of course — for the earth, for the cattle; many sheep meant great wealth. Many children also meant great wealth in those days. And when the *Perchten* came to the farm and had their switches with them, then they did not hit, but stroked them over the bellies of the girls.<sup>512</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid, p. 183.

<sup>512</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

The *Tresterer* (a type of *Schönperchten* found only in the Pinzgau communities of Zell am See, Unken, and Stuhlfelden; see Map 3) offer a similar explanation for the origins of their rhythmic stamping dance on their website. In the words of the head of the Zeller *Tresterer*:

*Man vermutet, dass sich das Trestern vom Dreschen und von der Strohtriste ableitet. In ganz alter Zeit hat man die Getreideähren mit den Füßen ausgetreten. Bei dieser eintönigen Arbeit dürfte sich der rhythmische Stampftanz, der Tresterertanz entwickelt haben. Der Tanz der Schönperchten verheisst für die Bauernfamilien reichen Erntesege, Fruchtbarkeit, Glück und Gesundheit. Man sagt sie bringen: an Fried, an G'sund und an Reim.*

It is claimed that the *Tresterer* come out of threshing. A very long time ago, the ears of grain were dispatched with the feet. One was able to carry out this monotonous work with the [help of the] rhythmic stamping dance, [which] may have developed into the *Tresterer* dance. The dance of the *Schönperchten* augurs the blessing of [a] rich harvest, fertility, luck and health for farm families. One says they bring: peace, health, and harmony.<sup>513</sup>

That the *Perchten*'s purpose was to bring fertility to farms and their inhabitants in the coming year was a well-accepted theory in early *Volkskunde*. In 1936, for example, Richard Wolfram advanced the idea that the dancing of the Pinzgau *Tresterer* was a form of fertility magic meant to wake up the fields.<sup>514</sup> This idea is closely associated with the interpretation advanced by Heinrich von Zimburg (1947), for whom the purpose of the *Perchtenlauf* 'im naturglauben unserer Vorfahren [in the nature beliefs of our ancestors]' was for good spirits associated with light, beauty and life to drive away the "Unholden" (malevolent spirits attached to night and death) at the time of the winter solstice, 'denn der Sieg des Tages über die Nacht bedeutete Wiederwachen der Natur [for the victory of day over night meant the reawakening of nature]'.<sup>515</sup>

This interpretation of *Perchten* mumming's original function was echoed in my interviews as well. Berger claimed that the use of hideous masks and noise to drive evil

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<sup>513</sup> Hermann Schmiderer, Zeller *Tresterer*, 'Brauch' <<http://tresterer.com/brauch.html>>, n.d., accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

<sup>514</sup> Wolfram, 'Der Pinzgauer *Tresterertanz*', p. 15.

<sup>515</sup> Heinrich von Zimburg, *Der Perchtenlauf in der Gastein* (Wien: Braumüller, 1947), p. 45.

spirits away was what differentiated *Perchten* from *Krampusse*; the whippings of the *Perchten* were meant to bring luck and blessing rather than to punish, and they stroked women's hair with their switches to bring them fertility.<sup>516</sup> Likewise, the Perschtenbund Soj stressed that they never hit people; their switches are not meant to punish, but to bring 'Gluck n' Segen [luck and blessing]'.<sup>517</sup> They feel that the inherent meaning of tradition does not depend upon acceptance by others; rather, it is an indwelling trait rather than a superimposed construct, an insight in keeping with Handler and Linnekin's centering of subjectivity in their definition of tradition.<sup>518</sup>

Untermieder explained that for some hosts, the wish to ensure good fortune for the coming year continues to infuse house visits with real purpose:

*Aber es hat auch mit Psychologie zu tun, es hat mit Glauben zu tun. Denn es gibt Leute, die leben auch heute noch, die sind davon überzeugt, dass ... es wichtig ist, dass wir alle hier auskommen, weil das Glück, Segen, Gesundheit bedeutet.*

But it also has to do with psychology, it has to do with beliefs. For there are still people alive today who are convinced of this, that ... it is important that we all get along, because it means luck, blessing, and health.<sup>519</sup>

In his essay on witches and feminism, posted on the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n's website, Polanec finds modern-day relevance in the *Perchten*'s function of driving evil out of the community. He compares the *Hexen* who walk before the *Perchten* in their group as they do in the four Pongau *Perchtenläufe*, sweeping the way clean of evil influences, to feminist marches to 'erobern uns die Nacht zurück [take back the night]'.<sup>520</sup> In light of this interpretation, the notion of *Dämonenvertreibung* and Perchta's practice of sweeping away bad luck (as she does in Golling and Rauris) assumes a contemporary relevance.

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<sup>516</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>517</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>518</sup> Handler and Linnekin, pp. 285-286.

<sup>519</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>520</sup> Günter Polanec, who wrote this essay for their website, uses this phrase. Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, 'Die Hexen Kommen Wieder — Zum Feministischen Hexenbegriff Unter Berücksichtigung Österreichs', <<http://www.krampusse.eu/hexe.html>>, n.d., accessed Nov. 10, 2015.

The interrelated functions of bringing protection and fertility in the coming year and blessing and good fortune generally, while they endure in themselves as we have seen, also form part of the common conception of the dual aspect, which is the dominant conception of Perchta today.

### 7.2.2 Perchta's Dual Aspect in Mummers' Interpretations

Perchta's dual aspect as it is widely conceptualized today manifests in two ways: as an image of moral balance and thus a reminder to behave correctly (in keeping with her historical *Kinderschreck* persona, in which the binary of rewards and punishments was implicit), and as the balance of natural forces like snow and sun, which are morally neutral in themselves, but potentially destructive as well as life-giving and therefore deserving of respect. Common examples of this binary range from the cycle of seasons to moral qualities, such as *schön/schiach* (beautiful/ugly), old age/youth, life/death, bright/dark, summer/winter, and good/evil.

The Salzburger Schiachpercht'n connect Perchta's role as administrator of rewards and punishments with her dual-aspected identity as the personification of natural balance. Mengl described *Perchta's* double aspect as the light and dark halves of the year and stressed that '*die Macht der Dunkelheit* [the power of darkness]' is not only not evil, but necessary; we cannot have the light without the dark.<sup>521</sup> Like Anni Faller of the Perchengruppe D'Rabenstoana,<sup>522</sup> Polanec added that children would be told by their grandparents of Perchta's dual nature: she inspects houses and punishes the lazy, but rewards the industrious with nuts and apples. The *Schiachperchten*, Polanec and Mengl explained, represent her dark face and the dark side of nature only, whereas Perchta of the *Doppelaspekt* represents both light and dark, day and night, summer and winter.<sup>523</sup> Polanec pointed out that these natural forces and their power to create and destroy is neither good nor bad in a human moral sense, but should be approached with respect. In this reading, the *Perchten*, like the Alps from which they sprang, are dangerous and wild, but beautiful.<sup>524</sup>

Furthermore, there appears to be a correspondence between the binary symbolism of the double-faced masks (and the division of *Perchten* into *schiach* and *schön* in general) and their seasonal context. As I wrote in my examination of notions of continuity and change in the *Perchtenlauf* with regards to the ritual year:

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<sup>521</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>522</sup> Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana.

<sup>523</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid.



This increased emphasis on presenting Perchta's dual nature in terms of seasonal opposites and double mask imagery, suggesting a powerful figure who is both young and old, beautiful and troll-like, bright and dark at the same time, anchors Perchta — and *Perchten* masking — more firmly than ever in their seasonal context. Epiphany, as the last of the Twelve Days of Christmas, is a sort of temporal hinge; as the threshold between the old year and the new, it is the liminal 'time outside of time' par excellence. Thus Perchta's double mask functions as a potent expression and reminder of the past in the present (a centuries-old tradition celebrated in the computer age) and hence the interrelationship of continuity and change, but also as an image of the continuity and change embodied in the seasonal cycle.<sup>525</sup>

The Perschtenbund Soj run as both *Klaubaife* and *Perchten*. Untermieder identified the moral dualism represented by Nikolaus and the *Krampus* with the dualities combined in the single figure of Perchta:

*Die doppelgesichtige Frau Percht, wie sie bei uns ja in der Mitte steht mit ihren zwei Gesichtern, Teufel und Sonne, das ist im Prinzip nichts anderes als Nikolaus und Krampus. Der eine gibt, der andere bestraft.*

The double-faced Frau Percht, as she stands in the middle with us with her two faces, devil and sun; that in principle is none other than Nikolaus and *Krampus*. The one gives, the other metes out punishment.<sup>526</sup>

'*Hell/dunkel* [Bright/dark]', Uebelacker added. '*Mann/Frau* [Man/woman]', said Untermieder, '*das ist sogar auch in dieser Maske vereint. Vorne Mann, hinten Frau* [even those are joined in this mask. Man in the front; on the back, woman].'<sup>527</sup>

*Denn der Krampus geht mit dem Nikolaus mit und der Nikolaus belohnt die Kinder, der Krampus bestraft sie. [...] Wenn wir jetzt den Nikolaus wegnehmen, dann bleibt der*

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<sup>525</sup> Carter, 'Contemporary *Perchten* Masking in Austria and Bavaria', p. 205.

<sup>526</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>527</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

*Krampus. [...] Und wenn der Krampus bestraft, dann haben wir wieder die Figur der Frau Percht, denn die Frau Percht konnte sowohl belohnen als auch bestrafen.*

For the *Krampus* goes along with the Nikolaus, and the Nikolaus rewards the children; the *Krampus* punishes them. [...] When we take the Nikolaus away, now the *Krampus* remains. [...] And when the *Krampus* metes out punishment, then we have again the figure of Frau Percht, for Frau Percht could reward as well as punish.<sup>528</sup>

Uebelacker clarified that the *Krampus* and Frau Percht stem from the same figure; ‘*Es gibt nur wieder andere Namen* [It is just more names]’ which vary from region to region, with the result that one might find *Krampusse* in one place and *Perchten* in another.<sup>529</sup> He offered his interpretation of *Perchten* symbolism, noting that it must be understood in its broader mytho-religious context:

*Man kann dieses Brauchtum nicht isoliert betrachten. Das hat sehr viel mit Religion zu tun. Und wenn wir jetzt unsere Frau Percht nehmen, die gute und die böse Seite, die Helle und die dunkle Seite ... und wir nehmen die Helle, dann wurde dieses Gesicht mit Strahlen versehen. Wir heute assoziieren sofort Sonne damit, und das ist auch nicht falsch, denn Sonne ist Licht. Wir finden das überall auf der Welt, dieses Symbol. Und die andere Symbolik, [die] der Dualität, die finden wir auch überall ... Yin und Yang, und selbst in uns Menschen gibt es Y- und X-Chromosome. Und jede Münze hat zwei Seiten.*

One cannot observe this tradition in isolation. It has a great deal to do with religion. And now when we take our Frau Percht, the good and the bad side, the bright and the dark side ... and we take the bright, then this face was shown with radiant beams. Today we immediately associate the sun with it, and that is also not wrong, for sun is light. We find it all over the world, this symbol. And the other symbolism, [that] of the duality, we also find everywhere ... Yin and Yang, and in us human beings, there are Y and X chromosomes. And every coin has two sides.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>528</sup> Ibid.

<sup>529</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid.

The Perschtenbund Soj see in Frau Percht a life-giving mother goddess who maintains balance in nature, placing her fertility-bringing aspect in the context of her dual aspect. Untermieder described her as:

*Diese Mutter Erde, oder Frau Percht, die gibt meinetwegen Regen. Man braucht den Regen, damit das Zeug wächst. Wenn es zu viel regnet, dann ist das schlecht. Habe ich zu viel Sonne, ist das auch schlecht. Also sie kann uns schon bestrafen. Darum ist das auch in einer Person; sie kann beides.*

This Mother Earth, or Frau Percht, who gives us our rain. One needs the rain, so that the crops may grow. When it rains too much, then it is bad. If I have too much sun, that is also bad. She can punish us as well. That is all in one person, too; she can do both.<sup>531</sup>

It is all a matter of balance, they explained. A world out of balance has resulted from our turning our back on nature and brought about a ‘*globale Rauhnacht* [global *Rauhnacht*]’, a planet succumbing to global warming. For the Perschtenbund Soj, it is not a question of good against evil, as life is more complicated than that. Like luck, which is ambiguous in itself, the forces of nature are morally neutral, beneficial or harmful depending on the context. I shared this thought with Untermieder, who responded with a fascinating comparison with medicine: ‘*Es ist wie [beim] Gift: zu viel Gift ist tödlich, die richtige Dosis ist ein Gegenmittel* [It is like it is with venom: too much venom is deadly, the right dose is an antidote].’<sup>532</sup>

### **7.2.3 Perchta’s Dual Aspect in Mask and Performance Design**

Perchta’s dual aspect is represented in *Perchten*’s performance choreography as well as in their mask and costume design. As we have seen, *Perchten* are commonly taken to be symbolic representations, if not actual embodiments, of two types of polarized elements. The first consists of the power of nature (wind, snow, sunlight, thunder), with which we should strive to live in harmony, while the second consists of morally positive and negative forces locking horns; namely, the driving of malevolent spirits out of the community by enacting a combat in which the “positive” figure is sure to win. Three *Perchten* plays

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<sup>531</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid.

exemplify the dramatization of Perchta's dual aspect. Nature in balance is the theme of the Perschtenbund Soj's *Spieltanz* (play-dance), which enacts the sun's course across the sky,<sup>533</sup> while the Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana's play depicts the ritual combat of Summer and Winter, portrayed by mummers: Summer in white clothes and hat with flowers, carrying a staff topped with greenery festooned with red and white ribbons, and Winter wielding a bare staff, his face and body covered by a long coat and hat of sheep's fleece (Fig. 45). The Salzburger Schiachpercht'n also scripted a play about Perchta's double aspect (here representing life and death), which they performed in Traun, Upper Austria in 2005 on an elevated stage following their procession. In the final scene, Death (a hooded skeleton with a bloody scythe) and Perchta did battle to the strains of Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*. Perchta was victorious, and as Death sank to the ground, she rose up and danced with her *Schiachperchten*, shaking their bells in unison to create a deafening din.<sup>534</sup>

Perchta's dual aspect is represented in mask design as well, not only by the general division between *Schönperchten* and *Schiachperchten*, but by the double-faced masks worn by a single figure representing her (see Figs. 20 and 71). The Frau Perchta who appears with the Salzburger Rupertiperchten wears the same bell-girtled furry costume as the group's *Schiachperchten*, but a different mask, consisting of a flat wooden disc worn atop the head with a face on either side carved in relief. This design provides a practical way for the mask-maker to divide the mask in half (into *schön* and *schlach*) without adding too much weight. The effect is that of a halo towering above the heads of the other *Perchten*, with a devil on the front and a sun face on the back. The Salzburger Rupertiperchten performed a dance in front of the Salzburg Cathedral during the *Christkindlmarkt* on December 21, 2006, which was preceded by their Frau Perchta displaying her two faces by turning sedately from side to side (V1, 00:35-01:07). Her costume is white on the back and black on the front, corresponding with her bright and dark faces, respectively. The Salzburger Schiachpercht'n also feature a Perchta with a furry *Schiachperchten* costume and the same type of double-faced mask. In 2006, it was worn by an especially tall, broad-shouldered member, who produced a magnificent roar as they processed through the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt* (see Map 2 and V1, 02:31-02:37). Likewise, the Perchta of the Perschtenbund Soj wears a full-body furry suit with a double-sided mask made in this style. Theirs features a grotesque, darkly-painted, leering face on one side and a sweetly-smiling, naturalistic female face on the other, each with a halo: red flames for the *schlach* and golden sun rays for the *schön*. In these representations, the apparent fissure between the

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<sup>533</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>534</sup> See field notes, Appendix I9 and Carter, 'Continuity and Change', p. 205.

nineteenth-century *Perchten* clad in devil masks, fur and horns and the lore of Perchta's dual aspect noted by Andree-Eysn<sup>535</sup> (4.5.1) has been closed.

In St. Johann im Pongau, a mummer representing Domina Perchta (Fig. 20) wears a double-faced wooden mask as she leads the *Hexen* in the procession. In contrast to the usual equation of old age with Perchta's *schlach* side, here the *schön* face is also that of an elderly woman, benign and fleecy-haired, on the front, with a red conical cap festooned with straw flowers and a small glass eye (akin to the Turkish *nazar* amulets) to deflect the evil eye. The back face, like those of the *Hexen*, is that of the stereotypical pointy-nosed witch, painted black with coarse, horse-tail hair; her half of the cap is rough gray cloth decorated with chicken feathers. The conical cap performs the same structural function as the wooden halo style mentioned above in that it affords the mask-maker to neatly conceal the dividing line between the two faces. Perchta's dress and apron are split into *schön* and *schlach*, and she carries a small cloth doll representing a baby (the *Poppin*). This Frau Perchta reaches out her hand to bystanders, then whips around suddenly to show her forbidding aspect.<sup>536</sup>

Hitherto we have seen how *Perchten* and *Krampusse* have defined and reconstructed their traditions for themselves through a process of *bricolage*, with regards to both mask and performance design (6.3.4 and 7.1) and the interpretation of *Perchten* mumming's function and meaning (7.2.1 and 7.2.2). For more insight into Perchta's dual aspect for contemporary mummers, it helps to consider the conceptions of continuity informing their work.

#### 7.2.4 Constructed Continuities

For a number of *Perchten*, as we have seen, Perchta's dual aspect does indeed evoke a sacred dimension of human experience, and is conceptually linked to an imagined pagan past with which they still resonate. As the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n processed past the Franciscan church in Salzburg's *Altstadt* on their 2006 *Rauhnachtslauf* (which I accompanied in the capacity of *Ordner*), a monk came out and stood in the doorway watching us pass, scowling and glaring all the while. Citing the custom's fortunes during the Baroque (4.4.1), the *Ordner* walking beside me explained that the Church was naturally antagonistic towards *Perchten*, whom it had long vilified as pagan and persecuted.<sup>537</sup> On another occasion, Polanec explained that *Perchten* mumming was originally native to the

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<sup>535</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 163.

<sup>536</sup> Kammerhoffer-Aggermann, Wierer and Reinbacher, p. 37. According to Reinbacher, the figure of Domina Perchta was reintroduced to the group in 1982 after a long absence.

<sup>537</sup> See field notes, Appendix I10.

city of Salzburg as well as the countryside but brought to a halt by the Church, which was especially powerful there. This, reasoned Polanec, was all the more reason to reestablish *Perchten* mumming in the city.<sup>538</sup>

The common characterization of *Perchten* mumming as *heidnisch* (pagan) is more complex than it might appear on its surface, and is indicative of several important dimensions of the tradition. As we saw in Chapter 3, the claims of pagan origins for Perchta and *Perchten* mumming implicit in the survivals theory of first-wave *Volkskunde* have been refuted by Rumpf and others as part of the third-wave corrective to those interpretive schools.<sup>539</sup> While there is insufficient evidence of historical continuity to support the bulk of first-wave interpretations (informing the work of the Vienna Ritualists, for example), to dismiss claims of pagan origins on those grounds would be to overlook what is actually meant by “pagan” in this context and what the semantic multi-dimensionality of the term can tell us about the personal significance of Perchta and *Perchten* mumming for mummers today.

While it is used in historical contexts, such as the condemnation of *Perchten* mumming as sorcery alluded to in Polanec’s narrative, the word “pagan” can also signify antiquity, invoking the confluence of continuity, tradition and authenticity central to these traditions. In practice, conceptions of authenticity, continuity, and the value conferred by what Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett calls “pastness”<sup>540</sup> intersect in the process of tradition itself, where it is constructed in present time. As Handler and Linnekin put it:

Tradition is never wholly unselfconscious, nor is it ever wholly unrelated to the past. The opposition between a naively inherited tradition and one that is consciously shaped is a false dichotomy. [...] [the value of] traditional symbols does not depend upon an objective relation to the past. [...] The origin of cultural practices is largely irrelevant to the

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<sup>538</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

<sup>539</sup> For instance, a focus on medieval Christian festive culture and fasting mandates based on the liturgical calendar is central to Rumpf’s interpretation of the gastrotomy motif (*Perchten*, p. 61) and Mezger’s work on *Fastnacht*, in contrast to Stumpf’s interpretation of medieval drama as derived from ancient Germanic ritual (Mezger, *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch*; Stumpf).

That notwithstanding, there is considerable latitude to revisit the question of Perchta and *Perchten* having been considered to have pagan origins from a vantage point other than that of the *Kontinuität*-theory school of first-wave *Volkskunde*. As shown in Appendices C1 and C2, Perchta and *Perchten* mumming were indeed historically considered to be pagan by the Christian establishment, as attested to by the condemnations of Burchard, the *Canon episocopi*, the use of Domina Perchta as an anti-Mary figure in allegorical polemics, the baroque Church bans on *Perchten*-springing as sorcerous, and the refusal to bury *Perchten* in consecrated ground (4.4.2).

<sup>540</sup> Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, *Ethnomusicology*, 39:3 (Autumn 1995), 367–380.

experience of tradition; authenticity is always defined in the present. It is not pastness or givenness that defines something as traditional. Rather, the latter is an arbitrary symbolic designation; an assigned meaning rather than an objective quality.<sup>541</sup>

This atemporal, ahistorical quality links this conception of tradition to Richard Schechner's definition of "restored behavior". According to Schechner, all performance is restored behavior, which is adaptable and ever-changing:

Restored behavior is living behavior treated as a film director treats a strip of film. These strips of behavior can be rearranged or reconstructed; they are independent of the causal systems (personal, social, political, etc.) that brought them into being. They have a life of their own. Their original truth or source may not be known, or may be lost, ignored, or contradicted — even while the truth or source is being honored.<sup>542</sup>

In this sense, we may consider restored behavior, like tradition, to be a substratum in constant flux, like a river from which anyone may draw at any time. Ben-Amos puts forth a definition of tradition very much in keeping with Schechner's notion of restored behavior, denoting a kind of ahistorical continuity:

[We may] use atemporally a concept that connotes time past. *Tradition* becomes a dimension of folklore that constantly exists regardless of the actual performance. It is *folklore in potential*. It is knowledge that is secured in the minds and memories of the people only to be performed on appropriate occasions; the sense of appropriateness in itself is subject to rules of tradition.<sup>543</sup>

Restored behavior is therefore not dependent on historicity (having been established in a provable way in an "authentic" form at a particular point in history). As Schechner writes, restored behavior 'may be stored, transmitted, manipulated, transformed'. It is "out there", distant from "me"; it 'is separate and therefore can be "worked on," changed, even though

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<sup>541</sup> Handler and Linnekin, pp. 285-286.

<sup>542</sup> Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 35.

<sup>543</sup> Ben-Amos, 'The Seven Strands of Tradition', p. 115. Italics his.

it has “already happened”<sup>544</sup>. Thus it represents its source material at one remove, and like the pasts discussed by Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, involves a virtual travelling between “here” and “there”, “now” and “then”. Virtuality, she explains, is the means by which people relate to heritage sites in a personal, meaningful way by closing the distance between themselves and the destination<sup>545</sup> (ostensibly a place fixed in space and time, but in actuality, the place is a signifier for a state or experience). Thus ‘ritual journeys’ like pilgrimages ‘do not lose their potency when conducted symbolically rather than physically’ and confer their own authenticity.<sup>546</sup>

This in mind, it is worth asking: why insist on imposing antiquity on a tradition or stressing its importance? As Grieshofer, Clifford, and Bendix have observed,<sup>547</sup> antiquity confers authenticity and legitimizes the tradition in question. Thus Ohrvik notes, ‘Just as past times and history have become important elements in the construction of modern life in a completely different manner to that which existed before, so too can the fear of the opposite — the lack of history — be experienced as a threat.’<sup>548</sup> Citing a circular written by one agent about the background of tradition, historicizing it in a particular way, she observes that ‘What is of interest here is how the past is interpreted and used. [...] The narrative that is formed proves and thus acts as a foundation for the legitimacy and continuation of the present-day tradition’.<sup>549</sup> Seen from this perspective, historicity functions as a legitimizing strategy as it is integrated into the *bricolage*. Therefore emphasizing a tradition’s historicity — establishing proof of its antiquity and hence its legitimacy — is a priority for many mummies. What results is ‘selective tradition’, described thus by Ben-Amos:

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<sup>544</sup> Schechner, *From Theater to Anthropology*, p. 36.

<sup>545</sup> Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 370. One is transported via these ‘interfaces’ [...] ‘from a now that signifies hereness to a then that signifies thereness. The attribution of pastness creates distance that can be travelled’ (ibid).

<sup>546</sup> Ibid, p. 375. Giving an example of such virtual travel, she points out that ‘One can trace Christ’s last steps anywhere, which accounts for the Stations of the Cross processions on Good Friday all over the world. And more to the point, no one asks if the stations are authentic’ (ibid).

<sup>547</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung’, p. 248; James Clifford, ‘On Collecting Art and Culture’ in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. by Simon During (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), pp. 49-73 (55); Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 8.

<sup>548</sup> Ane Ohrvik, “‘May the Star Come in?’ The Process of Tradition in Grimstad, Norway’ in *Masks and Mummings in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 583-602 (598).

<sup>549</sup> Ibid, pp. 596-597.



Tradition [...] could well be a constructed canon, projected into the past in order to legitimize the present. Since the past serves as such a powerful authority in culture, no society could afford letting it just be; it must add to it, subtract from it, mold it in its own image.<sup>550</sup>

While the tradition itself exists (as restored behavior) in an atemporal state, it nonetheless displays the appearance of historicity, specifically antiquity, which functions as a kind of trope signifying legitimacy or authenticity.

In this context, however, the meaning and value of a tradition does not depend upon whether a tradition has been revived or invented, or more accurately, which elements have been preserved from the original and which are new creations, and may therefore be seen as reconstructions rather than inventions. Therefore their legitimacy for tradition-bearers does not depend upon their demonstrable historicity so long as they facilitate authentic experiences in the personal sense. In the end, it is not so much a question of ‘genuine or spurious’ as it is of relevance and efficacy. Sabina Magliocco’s observations on Neo-Pagan magical practice can be equally applied to the constructions of continuity embedded in our traditions:

Like art, the goal of much magic is to bring about an emotional or affective reaction that effects a change in consciousness. We do not question the rationality of either artists or of individuals who are profoundly moved by art [...] because we expect art to affect human emotions [...] we might think of [magic] as a kind of performance art aimed at producing extraordinary experiences.<sup>551</sup>

These customs construct play-worlds which may likewise be considered ‘a kind of performance art aimed at producing extraordinary experiences’. Because *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming performances are liminoid<sup>552</sup> and exist in a time, space or state outside of everyday experience, they tap into a substratum of atemporality and do not necessarily derive their power and legitimacy from their location in a historical timeline. Therefore,

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<sup>550</sup> Ben-Amos, ‘The Seven Strands of Tradition’, p. 115.

<sup>551</sup> Sabina Magliocco, *Witching Culture: Folklore and Neo-Paganism in America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 100.

<sup>552</sup> Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York, NY: PAJ Publications, 1982), p. 28.

while they are not necessarily ancient in the historical sense, they are indeed “timeless”. Timelessness is not antiquity, though it is often mistaken for such. These traditions, then, are timeless in the sense of restored behavior, not historicity; theirs is not the *faux*-historical *Kontinuität* of early *Volkskunde*, but an ahistorical continuity constructed by the practitioners themselves.

That the transit between oneself and one’s sacred destination (the numinous place, state, or space), the closing of the distance from “now/here” to “then/there” referred to by Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, is a virtual (interior) journey does not mean that it is not experienced as “real”.<sup>553</sup> To the contrary, they are catalysts for genuine experience, like the festivities following a pig kill in Papua, New Guinea described by Schechner, where ‘Performing was the way the participants achieved “real results”’. Here the performance ‘did not mark or “represent” the results, but created the result they celebrated’,<sup>554</sup> thus using the illusory and metaphorical nature of play and performance to engender something real, ‘lies that tell the truth’.<sup>555</sup> It is at this point in ‘dramatic transformations’, writes Roger Abrahams, that ‘the real becomes, simultaneously, the real and the unreal’.<sup>556</sup>

From this perspective, constructed atemporal continuities are not necessarily tantamount to inauthenticity, despite the apparent opposition of innovation to antiquity, a paradox that figures into the definitions of tradition discussed in Appendix H. Such construction of meaning also factors into the notions of insiders and outsiders informing mummies’ definitions of identity and community, to which we shall turn next.

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<sup>553</sup> Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, pp. 370, 375.

<sup>554</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 69.

<sup>555</sup> Anne C. Hegerfeldt, *Lies that Tell the Truth: Magic Realism seen through Contemporary Fiction from Britain* (New York, NY: Rodopi, 2005).

<sup>556</sup> Roger D. Abrahams, ‘An American Vocabulary of Celebrations’ in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. by Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pp. 173-183 (179).

## 8. INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS: IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY

The age of globalization has seen the expansion and dissolution of borders of all kinds — some socio-economic and some cultural — which formerly defined (and are thought by some to have protected) communities in the past. The growing popularity of *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions stems in large part from tourism and internet exposure, both of which encourage access to experiences and information formerly unavailable due to geographical, linguistic, and cultural barriers. Local pride and interest in collaborating across state and even national borders are not mutually exclusive in practice. It is important to remember that the people furthering both of these developments are often one and the same — the mummers themselves. Simon Bronner's observation about the relationship of new media to folklore is especially pertinent to the thriving Web culture of *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups:

The twentieth century has passed and folklore is still here. [...] One place for restructuring is in communication, as the Internet and wireless broadcasting have led to rethinking of folklore performance as a face-to-face or localized encounter. Even as some observers bemoan the loss of intimacy in community and group, others note the recluster of networks by shared, and often overlapping, interests that engender folklore. Another source of restructuring is increased mobility which has on the one hand informed ideas of transnationalism and globalism, and on the other encouraged reunions, festive occasions, and temporary communities worthy of folkloristic attention.<sup>557</sup>

The next two chapters deal in part with the commodifying of culture and the construction of authenticity for an outsider audience, key components in folklore-based tourism. Relevant to these issues are the notion of *Heimat* (the concept of homeland, implying an emotional attachment to place), the role of mumming in reinforcing community bonds, and the simultaneous developments of cultural-geographical boundary expansion and displays of regional pride. Evident in these traditions is a redrawing of borders, sharing of information, and shifting conceptions of insiders and outsiders, which raises the questions: who constitutes community, and who can lay claim to the tradition?

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<sup>557</sup> Simon J. Bronner, 'The Meaning of Tradition: An Introduction', *Western Folklore*, 59:2 (Spring 2000), 87-104 (p. 88).

In interviews, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* often emphasized how their connection to others shaped their participation and discussed it in terms of commitment to community: the responsibility to perpetuate the “true” tradition (in form or essence) for their contemporaries in their local communities and beyond, a responsibility to teach and preserve it for future generations, and finally, the responsibility to one’s group embedded in long-term membership. To shed light on these matters, we shall explore mummies’ definitions of community and how they construe their commitment to it.

## **8.1 *Heimat*: Belonging to the Place**

In interviews, discussions of what constitutes tradition and authenticity often uncovered conceptions of community marked, explicitly or implicitly, by a sense of “belonging to place”. Where this conscious identification with one’s home region is in evidence, folk customs such as those discussed here can be seen as an expression of *einheimisch* (native or local) identity. In order to understand these connections, it is useful to explore them in the context of “*Heimat*”, a rich concept which can be defined in as home, country, homeland, or native land. It is often used in contexts that imbue it with what might be called a spiritual quality: to refer to an emotional bond between person and place, arising from a sense of profound commitment and *belonging* to the land of one’s ancestors. This sacred landscape is often defined in very precise and local terms: this valley, those hills, that brook — all named, all precious.<sup>13</sup>

The weaving together of local customs and regional identity continues to be fostered by the numerous *Heimat*-based institutions and associations dedicated to local culture and history found throughout Austria and Bavaria. Small local museums in rural areas, sometimes called *Heimatmuseen* (*Heimat* museums), are where local masks can often be found. Haus Strick in Bad Mitterndorf, for instance, doubles as a *Heimat* museum housing the masks of the town’s *Nikologruppe* (which Hans Strick heads) and the group’s headquarters. *Heimatvereine* (*Heimat* associations) are typically clubs devoted to traditional culture, often containing sections for or overlapping with groups dedicated to *Trachten* (traditional dress), folk music (the brass bands which are such an important part of village life) and dance, such as the *Schuhplattler* folk dance groups. Being interested in traditional culture to begin with, members are uniquely equipped to bring a wealth of energy, creativity and practical skills to the endeavor. The Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana and the Untersberg-based Wilde Jagd mumming group both grew out of such associations (the Trachtenverein D’Rabenstoana and the Salzburg-based Heimatgruppe Jung Alpenland,

respectively). Likewise, *Trachten* groups played an important role in the revival of *Tresterer* traditions in the Pinzgau.<sup>558</sup>

This linking of *Heimat* with revivals is telling. Bausinger's analysis of the concept of *Heimat*, which he defines as "native area", shows that it is a relatively recent invention, and in fact a response to the current socio-cultural climate, evolving from a more specific definition of home (one's farmland or the home in which one was raised) to a more abstract and generalized concept.<sup>559</sup> Indeed, *Heimat* seems to be a product of modernity; like folklorism, it refers to a newly-created construct representing itself as something age-old, if not timeless. The apparent paradox is, of course, that this self-conscious yearning came into being — or at least to full flower — in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, and indeed, as a reaction to it. In Bendix's words, 'The quest for authenticity [...] is oriented toward the recovery of an essence whose loss has been realized only through modernity, and whose recovery is feasible only through methods and sentiments created in modernity'.<sup>560</sup> This paradox is embraced in a de facto manner by *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups today and largely defines their direction, aesthetically and conceptually, as well as accounting to a great extent for their current popularity. Grounding these traditions in their socio-cultural, historical, and geographical contexts illuminates the ways in which *Perchten* and *Krampusse* conceive of community.

## 8.2 Mummers' Conceptions of Community

For many members of rural communities, this essence of place, pure and enduring, is protected in equal measure by environmental and cultural preservation, and is an essential component of the heritage they hope to pass down to their children. Many Austrians and Bavarians, not all of them mummers, see the creation and maintenance of mumming groups as an investment in their communities and in the youngest generation in particular. Among contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, community is defined in various ways. On one level, of course, their community is the mumming group, with whom they share a unique bond, and beyond that, self-identification as a *Percht* or *Krampus* places them among the active practitioners of those traditions in every region.

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<sup>558</sup> Degg, p. 86.

<sup>559</sup> Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, p. 55.

<sup>560</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 8. To this observation we might add Handler and Linnekin's comment that 'Inventing traditions is then not an anomaly but rather the rule, and it can be particularly well studied in industrial and postindustrial nation-states exposed to extensive intercultural contact' (p. 132).

Furthermore, identity may be expressed in terms of historical and geographical placement. Mummers often express a sense of connection and obligation to their home region and see themselves as a link in the chain of generations, to whom they bear the responsibility of perpetuating their cultural legacy. Local performances thus reinforce social bonds while creating a bridge between past, present, and future generations. The ways in which *Perchten* and *Krampusse* conceptualize community and identity illuminate their motivations and their understanding of their traditions' meaning and value. As we shall see, in this context, community is conceptualized in terms of both place (mummers' home towns) and people (their interdependent local social network).

Many *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups are named for the villages where they are based, thus expressing hometown pride as well as an affinity with the local landscape and the history and lore attached to it. The text on the website for the Atrox Pass of Tennengau, Salzburg illustrates how the sense of being rooted in antiquity, belonging to a place, its people, and its history is commonly reflected in *Perchten* groups' self-presentation — how they position themselves in space and time, in relation to geographical location and past generations:

*Der Name Atrox stammt aus dem Keltischen und bedeutet soviel wie teuflisch. Die keltische Sprache wurde deswegen gewählt weil der Tennengau fr her [sic; = früher] ein Siedlungsgebiet der Kelten war. Da unsere Mitglieder aus Kuchl, Golling und Hallein stammen wurde als Ortsbezeichnung der Tennengau gewählt.*

The name stems from the Celtic and means about the same as devilish. The Celtic language was chosen for the reason that the Tennengau was previously a settlement area of the Celts. Because our members come from Kuchl, Golling and Hallein, the Tennengau [which encompasses those localities] was chosen as place-designation.<sup>561</sup>

Likewise, the Breagazer Bodasetüfl of Bregenz, Vorarlberg (on the border between Austria and Switzerland) claim Celtic ancestry for Perchta as well as themselves: '*Dennoch*

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<sup>561</sup> Atrox Pass (of Tennengau, Salzburg), 'Die Pass', <<http://www.atroxpass.com/pass.htm>>, 2010, accessed Nov. 6, 2015. Nazi *Volkskundler*'s efforts to associate mumming with Teutonic *Männerbünde* notwithstanding, my fieldwork suggests that contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are more likely to express an affinity with the Celtic tribes who settled in the Alps from 800 to 600 BCE, establishing the Hallstatt culture in Salzburg. For some mummers, it is their Celtic ancestors who represent the sacred past.

*stammen die Perchten von der keltischen Göttin "Perchta" ab und die Kelten waren auch bei uns beheimatet [Nevertheless the Perchten stemmed from the Celtic Goddess "Perchta" and the Celts were also settled here].<sup>562</sup> Distinctive features of the landscape in mummers' communities are also referenced in evocative group names. The Fohnsdorfer Gruab'n Perchten explain why they chose their name: 'Der Name gefiel uns da wir in Fohnsdorf ein stillgelegtes Kohlebergwerk haben, und wie jeder weiß diese Höllengestalten aus finsternen Orten kommen! [We like the name because in Fohnsdorf we have an inoperative coal mine, and as everybody knows these Hell-figures come from dark places!]'<sup>563</sup>*

Nevertheless, the naturalization of tradition in a new locale can sometimes occur. The Perschtenbund Soj, which was founded in 1954, trace the pedigree of local *Perchten* mumming to the traditions immigrants brought to Kirchseeon from other parts of Germany and beyond, and see tradition as ever-evolving by nature. To make his point, Untermieder gave the hypothetical example of how a person might naturalize the *Perchten* tradition in California:

*Dann könnte er in Kalifornien auch ein Perchtenlaufen gründen, das ist meines Erachtens möglich. Das hätte dann Wurzeln, wenn er sich mit dem Land beschäftigt, in dem er dann lebt, also mit Kalifornien ... damit es zum echten Brauchtum werden sollte. Dann müsste er das Land beobachten, die Landschaft, die Menschen, die Geschichten. Dann würden andere Masken entstehen und dann könnte man so ein Brauchtum, eine Art eines solchen Brauchtums sehr wohl zu einen lebendigen Brauchtum machen. Nach Amerika zu gehen und unser Brauchtum zu exportieren, und zu sagen: 'Wir kennen das ja vom Little Oktoberfest' hätte keine Wurzeln in Amerika, weil die Leute nicht mit den gleichen Problemen behaftet sind, nicht mit der gleichen Umgebung behaftet. Das ist ein ganz wichtiger Aspekt.<sup>564</sup>*

Then he could also found a *Perchten*-running in California; that is possible from my point of view. It would have roots, then, if he concerned himself with the land in which he then lived, in this instance, California ... that way it would become an authentic custom. He would then have to observe the land, the landscape, the people, the stories. Then other masks would come to into existence and one could then quite possibly make such a custom

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<sup>562</sup> Breagazer Bodaseetüfl, 'Geschichte', <[http://www.breagazer-bodaseetuefl.at/galleries/fotoshooting-2014-2/#prettyPhoto\[pp\\_gal\]/3/](http://www.breagazer-bodaseetuefl.at/galleries/fotoshooting-2014-2/#prettyPhoto[pp_gal]/3/)>, 2015, accessed Nov. 27, 2015.

<sup>563</sup> Fohnsdorfer Gruab'n Perchten, 'About', <<https://www.facebook.com/gruabnperchten/>>, 2015, accessed Nov. 6, 2015.

<sup>564</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

[...] into a living custom. To go to America and export our tradition, and to say: 'We know that from Little Oktoberfest' would have no roots in America, because the people are not saddled with the same problems, not saddled with the same environment. That is a totally important aspect.

Furthermore, they acknowledged that people should not abstain from *Perchten*-running just because there are no traces of it in their hometowns. For some groups, inserting themselves into a new environment is their only option. Not everyone is born into a receptive community in which the tradition is already thriving, or in which geography, aggregations of neighborhoods, and social networks readily allow for it to be implanted.

*In Sankt Johann [im Pongau, Salzburg] laufen die sehr wohl von Bauernhof zu Bauernhof. Was mache ich, wenn ich jetzt in München bin? Da gibt es keine Bauernhöfe, da gibt es nur Hochhäuser. Was mache ich da?*<sup>565</sup>

In St. Johann [im Pongau, Salzburg], they run with great success from farmhouse to farmhouse. What do I do when I am in Munich? There, there are no farmhouses; there, there are only skyscrapers. What do I do there?

While the two previous definitions of community present in mummers' discourse allude to a sense of rootedness in place and time, the third definition may be seen as putting down new roots. Contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming is shaped in part by the coexisting influences of globalization and regionalism. Many *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups use the internet to maintain a lively communication across state and national borders, sharing interpretations, attitudes, and practical information about their traditions and arranging collaborative performances. While this has resulted in controversial trends towards uniformity, it has also greatly increased the popularity of these traditions, or, to be more precise, their visibility.

Most *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups welcome opportunities to perform multiple times throughout the season, and are willing to travel in order to participate in large-scale parades with other groups. Examples of these collaborative events include the annual parades in Pfarrwerfen and Mühlbach am Hochkönig and the *Perchtentreffen* at the

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<sup>565</sup> Ibid.



Pullman City Wild West theme park in Bavaria (V3, 04:34-07:17), each of which features hundreds of mummers and many more spectators. Not every village and city has its own group, and in any case, the vision of dozens or hundreds of *Perchten* or *Krampusse* creates a more dramatic effect and a longer, more varied performance.<sup>566</sup> Loyalty to one's community does not necessarily preclude willingness to perform elsewhere. In addition to their annual *Perchtenlauf* in Schärding, the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten perform in larger cities such as Linz (their state capital) and Passau in nearby Bavaria. Their audiences are willing to travel significant distances to see them, coming from up to 100 kilometers away.<sup>567</sup> As Gatterbauer explains:

*Ortsgebunden sind wir nicht. Die Gebiete, in die wir fahren: wo wir gerade gebucht sind, da fahren wir hin. Ob das 100 oder 200 Kilometer sind, das ist uns egal...wo wir hinwollen, da fahren wir hin.*

We are not place-bound. The areas to which we travel, where we are booked straight away, we shuttle ourselves there. Whether that is 100 or 200 kilometers, makes no difference...we go where we want to go.<sup>568</sup>

Such collaboration in planning *Perchtenläufe* is not entirely due to modern transportation and communication technologies. Andree-Eysn describes a group of 50 to 60 men from various parts of Salzburg's Pongau region gathering to plan a joint *Perchtenlauf*, which would have taken place c. 1900 or earlier.<sup>569</sup> Interestingly, the dates of their appearances were flexible, not just January 5, the date most associated with *Perchten*. Today, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* must be somewhat flexible in scheduling their appearances in order to coordinate performance opportunities such as Christmas markets and collaborative events with their work schedules and other practical limitations, and there is no reason to assume that their nineteenth-century forebears would not have had comparable demands.

At first glance, it might seem odd that such expressions of connection to place — and specifically, one's rootedness in place through ancestral lineage ('I'm a Gasteiner,

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<sup>566</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid.

<sup>568</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>569</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 163.

through and through. My family has always lived in this valley’) — should be so common in an age marked by sweeping social and cultural changes. Several paradoxes are at work here. First of all, most *Perchten* and *Krampusse* for whom mumming represents an expression of regional pride and an investment in the cultural and even spiritual life of their home communities see no contradiction in travelling great distances to perform for strangers, or in incorporating aesthetic influences from groups across the country. This has resulted in part in a trend towards homogenization of mask design (6.3.2), parade choreography, readings of the tradition, and other elements, whereas the mumming traditions of previous centuries were often distinctly different from region to region. Nonetheless, this increasing uniformity seems, if anything, to have strengthened the emphasis on local affiliations (which need more conscious affirmation than they did in the past, when they were taken for granted).

Secondly, it is often in modern environments that we find such constructions of an “authentic” and spiritually meaningful past which can be evoked, if not permanently reestablished. At the start of this chapter, we saw how “*Heimat*” emerged as a nostalgic construction of place rooted in the past (8.1), in the same way that “home” can signify not just the house or town where one grew up, but the past by extension (the childhood one spent there). As the above comment by Bendix indicates, the kind of nostalgia for the past<sup>570</sup> that provides the impetus for the revival of folk customs and folklore tourism is a product of modernity, acquiring new relevance and importance as cultural resources due to the very fact of their location in the past.<sup>571</sup> That is why there was money to be made in forging folk masks over a century ago, as we saw in 6.2, and folklore tourism, like heritage tourism in general, is a viable enterprise.

Yearning for the past (a constructed past, like *Heimat* is a construction of place) may manifest in nostalgia and sentimentalism, but it also galvanizes and inspires, and as such is largely responsible for the renaissance of interest and creative expression in the *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions. Thus what may appear to an outsider to be the cheapening of old (and therefore meaningful and authentic) cultural traditions in favor of ‘prestige’<sup>572</sup> and the tourist Euro<sup>573</sup> may feel very different to the mummers themselves.

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<sup>570</sup> Bendix uses the word “nostalgia” in this sense in *Progress and Nostalgia*, where she discusses the development of an Alpine mumming tradition quite similar to *Perchten* mumming.

<sup>571</sup> As Clifford points out in his discussion of cultural artifacts, that which is perceived to be in dwindling supply becomes more valuable (p. 55). This is echoed by Bendix’s observation that (perceived) antiquity confers authenticity, which is tantamount to value (*In Search of Authenticity*, p. 8).

<sup>572</sup> Hutter, ‘Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt’, pp. 137-147.

While their public appearances are indeed in a sense more generalized and depersonalized, this does not strip them of their value: as links to each other which reveal that community boundaries have been expanded rather than abandoned ('We are all Austrians') and as a way to celebrate and reinforce their perceived continuity with their home localities as well as with past and future generations.

Surfacing in the interviews was a sense that affiliation with the tradition is elective to some extent, based on affinity rather than inheritance. This means that a tradition can be naturalized in a new environment under the right circumstances. Untermieder of the Perschtenbund Soj expressed how a community can make a claim on a tradition, which depends on relevance and utility to survive:

*Je mehr sich eine Bevölkerung mit diesem Brauchtum identifiziert, desto mehr gehört sie zu diesem Brauchtum dazu. Und das ist sehr wichtig für die Akzeptanz und für die Ausübung, denn Brauchtum kommt von brauchen.*

The more a population identifies with this custom, the more they belong to this custom. And that is very important for the acceptance and practice, for tradition comes from need.<sup>574</sup>

This focus on the community begins with the mumming group itself, which functions as a tightly-knit community in its own right. For a description of the organization of *Perchten/Krampus* mumming groups and the thriving cyber-culture they maintain, see Appendices F and G, respectively.

### **8.3 Consideration of the Social Climate**

So what, if anything, are we to make of the superficial resemblance between the hometown pride and interest in heritage evident in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming? My conclusion is that the differences are significant. Despite the best efforts of second-wave *Volkskundler* to popularize the notion of the *Männerbund* and cement the association between folk traditions and the ideological infrastructure of National Socialism, which was predicated on the supposed racial purity of *das Volk* and the mission to expand the Fatherland by "reclaiming" what they regarded as their ancestral Germanic territories, contemporary

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<sup>573</sup> See, for example, Dengg, p. 96.

<sup>574</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

*Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming does not reflect this agenda. Though it is probably safe to assume that any custom as popular and widely-practiced as *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming is today encompasses a variety of personalities and points of view, including those across the political spectrum, I never encountered evidence of right-wing affiliations among *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in my own fieldwork.

Nevertheless, since my fieldwork ended in 2009 (eight years after the war in Afghanistan began and six years after the one in Iraq), right-wing political parties and movements have been on the rise in Europe, particularly in the form of anti-immigrant and specifically anti-Muslim sentiment, exacerbated by the rise of terrorist groups like Al Quaida and Daesh, and most recently the mass-exodus of Syrian refugees. (Anti-EU sentiment figures into these movements to a lesser extent.) Since then, Austria has been led by the Social Democratic Party in coalition with the center-right Austrian People's Party, comparable to the Christian Social Union party leading the Bavarian government. In Austria, movement to the right has been orchestrated largely by the politician Jörg Haider (who died in 2008, the year his party won the national election), while in Germany, the Pegida movement has attempted to mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment by holding demonstrations.

As Bausinger points out, *Heimat*-centered rural folklife represents social conservatism for many,<sup>575</sup> a view dating back to the ideological alliance between the nationalistic strains in German Romanticism and the burgeoning interest in *Volkskunde* in the nineteenth century (3.1, 6.2). But while this history could make folk customs a safe harbor for those so inclined, it would be wrong to assume there is a provincial and exclusionary mindset among *Perchten* and *Krampusse* across the board. Voices arguing for both insularity and inclusivity can be heard in discussions of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming today. To illustrate the former, several instances of Vienna schools forgoing the Nikolaus/*Krampus* visit and catechism-interrogation have met with scorn and condemnation from right-wing politicians and their constituents, who see this trend as an example of rampant multi-culturalism and secularism rotting away the fabric of Austrian society.<sup>576</sup> On

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<sup>575</sup> Bausinger, *Folklore in a World of Technology*, p. 57. As Narváez and Laba explain, however, while folk culture is generally characterized as conservative, it is dynamic as well (p. 1).

<sup>576</sup> For examples, see Andreas Puschautz and Daniel Steinlechner, *News Networld Internetservice*, 'Der jährliche Krampf ums Nikolovebot', <<http://www.news.at/a/wien-fpoe-legende-nikolovebot>>, Dec. 6, 2013, accessed Dec. 4, 2015 and *Katholische Nachrichten*, 'Wien: Niolausverbot in Kindergärten', <<http://www.kath.net/news/29167>>, Nov. 30, 2010, accessed Dec. 4, 2015. This appears to be an urban trend. Vienna is not entirely representative of Austria, being a cultural melting-pot due to its position as the seat of the Hapsburg empire for most of its history and border-

the other side, sensitivity to the needs of a pluralistic society informs the decisions of some mumming groups. In October of 2015, for instance, the *Salzburger Nachrichten* reported the decision of the Carinthian Moorteufel Steindorf not to make their usual appearance in the city center that year in order not to create a threatening environment for newly-arrived Syrian refugees.<sup>577</sup> The Moorteufel Steindorf feared that the refugees' lack of linguistic fluency and cultural context and a huge event overflowing with drunken spectators would prove a toxic combination, leaving the former vulnerable to anxiety and misunderstandings. This attitude indicates a sensitivity to their multi-cultural environment, emphasizing, like Untermieder's comments in 8.2, the need to stay relevant to the community.

As we have seen in this chapter, definitions of community in terms of people and place is an important element in these traditions, and as the developments above indicate, the relationship between those construed as insiders and outsiders is complex, in many cases providing fertile ground for the growth of these traditions. The following chapter will address the nature of these relationships and attendant concerns about ownership and self-representation.

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city between eastern and western Europe, and is widely regarded as atypical in the rest of Austria, which tends to be more socially and politically conservative.

<sup>577</sup> Austria Presse-Agentur, *Salzburger Nachrichten*, 'Kärntner sagen Krampuslauf wegen Flüchtlingen ab', <<http://www.salzburg.com/nachrichten/dossier/fluechtlinge/sn/artikel/kaerntner-sagen-krampuslauf-wegen-fluechtlingen-ab-170474/>>, Oct. 21, 2015, accessed Dec. 21, 2015.

## 9. FOLKLORE TOURISM: BROKERING AUTHENTIC ENCOUNTERS

In the last chapter, we discussed mummers' conception of community in terms of people and place, identification with the landscape and its history. In previous generations, regional boundaries were reinforced by geography and limited by the transportation and communications technology of the day. Hence the insularity of village life was at the heart of these customs and shaped them in various ways. As we have seen, mummers' primary audiences still tend to be from their own or neighboring communities (Bischofshofen residents attending the *Perchtenlauf* in Bischofshofen or nearby Altenmarkt) or at least cultural insiders (people from the city of Salzburg or other Austrian states that are conversant to some degree with the tradition).

Mummers' interaction with outsiders, however, is arguably equally important to these customs today, tourism in particular having played an important role in reviving and reshaping them from the late nineteenth century to the present day. In this chapter, we shall explore two ways in which mummers exercise their agency in these interactions and "perform tradition": tourism and education, both of which entail the promotion of themselves and their traditions to varying extents.

### 9.1 Folklore Tourism and Teaching Cultural Heritage

The role tourism plays in folk traditions may be seen as either destructive or constructive, depending on how tourism resources are deployed in the promotion and presentation of those traditions. In some discourses, like the controversy over the modern mask design aesthetic discussed in 7.1, tourism is cast in opposition to authenticity just as modernity is contrasted to tradition, and therefore thought to threaten folk culture via corruption and dilution. For others, including the many mumming groups which coordinate and promote their appearances with the help of tourist offices, it is seen as a powerful tool to propagate awareness and understanding of their traditions, for locals and tourists alike. Informing the various angles in these debates are questions of correct representation and authority (who is entitled to define and interpret the tradition, and authorize changes?), but also questions of agency and exploitation (who benefits from tourism resources and commercialization — performers or local businesses?).

Multiple intersections can be found today between folk customs, their local communities, and folklore-based tourism: intersections between insiders and outsiders, with their attendant economic considerations, self-conscious regional identification and self-presentation, and the instinct to educate and protect the community's cultural heritage. These intersections — in some cases, conflicts — are not unique to *Perchten* and *Krampusse*. Aspects of Carolyn Ware's assessment of the present state of Cajun Mardi Gras mumming in rural Louisiana, USA, a *quête* tradition which has become more public and tourist-oriented in recent years, apply to contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse* as well:

What was once mainly an insider event has become a public event. [...] Downtown, strangers often outnumber friends and neighbors. [...] With the throngs, the parade through town has become more a spectacle than a reciprocal performance. A broader, more diverse [...] audience also opens the local tradition to more intense outside scrutiny.<sup>578</sup>

*Perchten* and *Krampus* parades, like the *courirs de mardi gras*, 'are elastic, constantly adapting to new circumstances, and tourism is just one such circumstance.'<sup>579</sup> In Cajun Louisiana, states Ware, 'the tradition is being redefined for the tourist market'.<sup>580</sup> In the case of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, however, the performers, scholars, and tourist industry workers concerned with the integration of tourism and folk-performances would probably see it not so much as a matter of redefinition as one of basic and (most importantly) *correct* explanation.

It is important to remember the mummers themselves have agency with regards to tourism. They are used by the tourist industry in the sense that they may draw more people to Christmas markets (as in Salzburg), and their performances may constitute tourist attractions in themselves which bring money into the local economy, as is the case with the famous Pongau *Perchtenläufe*. However, they use tourism in return, not for financial profit, but to promote the tradition in several respects: to publicize specific scheduled appearances, but also to educate the public about the tradition in general. Motivations for this include the strengthening of social bonds, preserving common cultural heritage, generating interest in children who will be the next generation of mummers, and for some, awakening a sense of

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<sup>578</sup> Carolyn E. Ware, 'Marketing Mardi Gras: "Heritage Tourism in Rural Acadiana"', *Western Folklore*, 62:3 (Summer 2003), 157-187 (p. 180).

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*

connection to the natural world and seasonal cycle. The Schäringer Teufelsperchten, for instance, use their mask exhibition as an opportunity to introduce the many tourists visiting their baroque city to the custom:

*Und bei der Ausstellung sind [...] die ganzen Masken da. Die ganzen Mitglieder sind da, die erklären dann den Leuten immer wieder Wissenswertes über das Brauchtum, die Entstehung des Brauchtums, die Entstehung von unserer Gruppe, weil es sind immer wieder viele Gäste da. Schärding ist ja auch eine schöne Barockstadt und wir haben ja sehr viel Tourismus hier. Und es sind eben die Gäste, die nach Schärding kommen, und gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt, zur Winterzeit, die natürlich die ganze Geschichte [kennenlernen] wollen ... die Entstehung von den Perchten, dass das ein heidnischer Brauch ist und [dass] die Leute früher gedacht haben, dass Frau Percht zur Erde kommt mit ihren Gefolgsleuten.*

And at the exhibition all of the masks are [...] there. All the members are there, who then explain to the people further trivia about the tradition, the origins of the tradition, the origins of our group, because there are ever more guests there. Schärding is such a beautiful baroque city, and we have a whole lot of tourism here. And there are guests who come to Schärding and right at this point in time, in wintertime, who naturally want [to learn] the whole history ... the origins of the *Perchten*, that it is a pagan custom, and [that] earlier the people thought that Frau Percht comes to earth with her retinue.<sup>581</sup>

As this example shows, while folklore tourism benefits local businesses financially, it is also sometimes motivated by pedagogical efforts<sup>582</sup> (by mummers, but also tourist bureaux and other parties) directed towards locals as well as tourists, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive aims.<sup>583</sup> In some cases, such as the information provided about *Schnabelperchten*, *Krampusse*, and other seasonal customs, such as those found on the Rauris tourism website,<sup>584</sup> the text is brief and purely descriptive, telling visitors what they will see, but not what it means. In other cases, however, the very need to describe the tradition to the uninitiated seems to necessitate a framing of the information, providing a

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<sup>581</sup> Schäringer Teufelsperchten.

<sup>582</sup> Bendix, 'Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept', p. 6.

<sup>583</sup> Paul Smith.

<sup>584</sup> Tourismusverband Rauris, 'Tradition & Brauchtum: Rauriser Schnabelperchten: Einzigartiges Brauchtum', <<http://www.rauriseratal.at/de/region/tradition-brauchtum/schnabelperchten/>>, 2016, accessed Dec. 19, 2015.



larger historical or cross-cultural context to help readers relate it to their own experience. Local folklore tourism. Like most contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, folklore tourism aims to *educate* local and semi-local (Austrian and Bavarian) visitors about their common cultural heritage and *promote* the correct understanding of these traditions.

## 9.2 Awareness of the Etic Eye

### 9.2.1 Self-Presentation for an Outsider Audience

Self-consciousness about the interaction of community insiders and outsiders tends to characterize tourism based on cultural heritage, which is romanticized and commodified. As we saw in 6.2, rural Alpine life was reimagined as a pastoral fantasy in the nineteenth century, when the urban leisure class took to the countryside for rest and reinvigoration. Tourists took the waters at spas in such areas as the Styrian Ausseerland, which is rife with Nikolaus plays (Map 4), and the Pinzgau and Pongau districts of Salzburg (Map 3), which are home to various regional *Perchten* traditions. Such entertaining and visually rich folk customs lent themselves to public display, and were retooled and gentrified to be more “authentic” and “correct”, adhering (or so the revivalists believed) to the original template from which they had survived in a corrupted and fragmented form. This invested folk performances with an air of authenticity which seemed to be contagious; exposure to such cultural expressions of the folk, like the healing waters of the spas, carried the power to soothe and rejuvenate the urban soul. Folklore-based tourism in these regions has traded in authenticity (in both the cultural and the spiritual sense) ever since, helping to cultivate the tendencies towards self-definition and education found among *Perchten* and *Krampusse* today.

The *Perchten* in these communities are therefore well-prepared for the tourists who bolster their audiences every winter and have woven provisions for their education and entertainment into their presentations, which may take the form of verbal explanations during the parade (spoken, for example, by the master of ceremonies in Pfarrwerfen and Goldegg) or information provided by the websites of local tourist bureaux, as in Rauris (see Figs. 108-109).<sup>585</sup> In Bad Gastein, the local history museum includes masks, costumes, and miniature figurines of the *Perchten*, and sells a video of the *Perchtenlauf* produced by the Gasteiner *Perchten*.<sup>586</sup> As noted in 8.1, visitors to Bad Mitterndorf may visit the Haus Strick

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<sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>586</sup> Gasteiner *Perchten*, produced by Loe Video (Tanja Schwaiger, Ernst Kiechle, Karl Pichler, Markus Buchsteiner and Hans-Peter Hohenberger), ‘Gasteiner *Perchten*: Die Film,’ “Die *Perchten* in

*Heimat* museum (which doubles as the group's headquarters) to educate themselves about the town's famous Nikolaus play, then purchase an assortment of books, postcards, and a video of the play from local shops as commemorative souvenirs, thus feeding back into the folklore-tourism economy. Through the performance of their mumming traditions, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* might be said to be "performing tradition" more generally, reflecting the dynamics described by Ben-Amos:

In a technological world people present their traditions in print, in mass-media, in festivals of folklore revival, and in exhibitional displays before tourists. The performance of folklore in such contexts involves self-reference, drawing attention to its own traditionality.<sup>587</sup>

People made subjects of study in the field are of course aware of being observed, objectified and analyzed, and watch the watcher back,<sup>588</sup> expressing an awareness of the etic gaze by playing with projections and throwing them back defracted. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* often display a keen self-awareness and ironic humor; they are well-aware of how they are viewed collectively (as representatives of an idealized rural past practicing an ancient custom) and of outsiders' expectations and projections, whether those outsiders be folklorists, journalists, or tourists from Germany, Vienna, or farther afield. The leader of the Juvavum Pass had a wry sense of humor and played with the apparent incongruities of modern parades and folklore-tourism clichés, turning to me during the Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf* and saying in English, 'Folk music' while heavy metal played.<sup>589</sup>

The insider/outsider relationship underpinning folklore tourism is a tense one for some community members who see it as the unwelcome objectification and commodification of cultural heritage, while others may be less critical of the phenomenon

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der Gastein", <<http://www.gasteinerperchten.com/film.php>>, n.d., accessed Dec. 19, 2015. The website contains excerpts from the film (titled *Die Perchten in der Gastein*), including the history of the *Perchtenlauf* in Bad Gastein and descriptions of some of the figures in the group.

<sup>587</sup> Ben-Amos, "'Context" in Context', pp. 219-220.

<sup>588</sup> Julie Cupples's observation about sexuality and gender in the field also holds true for projection and counter-projection in the perception of cultural identities: 'When we go into the field, we often go as members of a group of people of which our researched community already has a preconceived image. We are other to our hosts, as they are others to us' ('The Field as a Landscape of Desire: Sex and Sexuality in Geographical Fieldwork', *Area* 34:4 (Dec. 2002), pp. 382-390 (383)).

<sup>589</sup> See field notes, Appendix I2. This was a playful twist on the cross-cultural fieldwork dynamic mentioned by Paredes, in which 'sometimes unconsciously the informant may seek to conform to the stereotype [...] rather than expressing his own attitudes and opinions' (p. 32).

overall, yet negotiate their interactions with outsiders in various ways, judging case by case which cultural material is to be shared and which is only for the locals. Safeguarding it may be accomplished either by educating outsiders or protecting it from their prying eyes.

However, the sharing of local traditions with outsiders, with money sometimes changing hands, is not always condemned by community insiders. On the contrary, the public performance of folk customs in tourism-based environments may serve as an expression of group identity and solidarity, and in any case may be aimed at both local and non-local audiences. Bendix identifies these dynamics at work in Interlaken, Switzerland, concluding that, while it might initially appear that locals offer public folk performances for outsiders in an attempt to adjust to the demands of a new tourism-based economy, such performances may actually constitute a different response: a statement of solidarity and regional identity in the face of tourism.<sup>590</sup> Here the mummers are not being taken advantage of, but rather doing the commodifying themselves and framing their performances on their own terms. Like the people of the Indonesian community of Tana Toraja, whose funeral rites attract tourism, the locals exercise agency in their self-representation in a socio-economic context in which their culture *is* the commodity.<sup>591</sup> In Austria and Bavaria, as in Tana Toraja and Interlaken, ‘tourism development does not always entail a complete loss of agency for local people’, and ‘self-conscious cultural (re)formulation does not necessarily imply a collapse in meaning or emotive power’.<sup>592</sup>

Patschok, himself a member of the Cernunnos Chiach’Perchten, proposes a theatrical model for the social distinction between insiders (*Perchten* and members of their home communities) and outsiders (tourists).<sup>593</sup> *Perchten*, he says, communicate with outsiders on the *Vorderbühne* (proscenium) during their annual public appearances differently than they do with insiders the rest of the year on the *Hinterbühne* (backstage). Patschok adds that both verbal and non-verbal communication with outsiders on the *Vorderbühne* tend to follow formalized, fixed contours, whereas *Perchten* are freer to interact more informally and explore what it means to be *Perchten* in relative privacy during the rest of the year, when they are “backstage”. The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten also draw a line between their formal public appearances as *Perchten* and their behind-the-

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<sup>590</sup> Bendix, ‘Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?’, p. 142.

<sup>591</sup> Kathleen M. Adams, ‘Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)’, *Ethnology*, 36:4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 309-320 (p. 320); Paul Smith, p. 757.

<sup>592</sup> Adams, p. 318.

<sup>593</sup> Patschok, *Der Wandel von traditionellen Brauchtumsgruppen zu modernen Entertainern*, pp. 76-78.

scenes activity, and their mask exhibitions serve the purpose of allowing people to ask questions and even touch the masks outside of the liminal play-world of their performances, in an ordinary daytime environment and using an everyday mode of social interaction.<sup>594</sup>

Perhaps it is precisely because they continue to receive so much attention from academics and tourists alike that the famous Pongau *Perchten* insist on retaining a private dimension to the tradition, taking care to visit houses after the tourists have departed, apparently unwilling to sacrifice the more personal, community-bonding ritual trek from house to house for the massive public *Perchtenlauf* in the village center, which in addition to providing an entertaining spectacle for tourists functions as a second community-bonding experience for locals and generates an air of festive hospitality which is extended to the village's guests for as long as the procession lasts.

### **9.2.2 Observing through the Camera-Eye: Ethnology and Tourist Gaze**

Digital photography, which gained popularity midway through my fieldwork, has increasingly become a part of the spectator experience for locals as well as tourists. Any pretense that folk-performances are to be experienced solely as essentially ephemeral events which must not or cannot be reproduced or experienced in other contexts evaporates in the flickering blue lights of hundreds of camera phones held aloft at *Krampusläufe*. (The mummers themselves understand that they are potentially performing for a larger audience, as photographs and video taken at these events are typically posted online and thus may circulate indefinitely.)

The popularity of amateur photography and video-recording notwithstanding, I still felt self-conscious about documenting these formerly ephemeral events for posterity. As Nájera-Ramírez points out, the presence of a camera clearly implies the intention to preserve a record of the moment for future re-presentation in other contexts,<sup>595</sup> which in itself is an increasingly common phenomenon due to the prevalence of self-documentation in online spaces, uploaded to YouTube or posted on social media. Nonetheless, I shared the ambivalence Nájera-Ramírez felt about documenting and representing others' experience in this way:

I [...] felt self-conscious recording the event [*La Fiesta de los Tastoanes* in Jocotán, Mexico] on film, for it underscored that I was ultimately preparing data for an outside

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<sup>594</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>595</sup> Nájera-Ramírez, p. 183.

audience, in effect gathering evidence to substantiate my authority to represent the people of Jocotán as a firsthand “eye witness”.<sup>596</sup>

While photography and video recording are ostensibly objective media for recording events and can thus be relied upon to represent the subject with relative accuracy, they are in fact selective processes and reflect the choices, biases, and agenda of the photographer; in short, his or her perspective.

As a cultural outsider doing fieldwork in environments where tourism plays a central role in the economy, I was struck by the ways in my ethnographic experience of watching and documenting paralleled what John Urry calls “the tourist gaze”.<sup>597</sup> (Indeed, as a foreigner with a camera, I was often assumed to be either a tourist or journalist when conducting participant-observation fieldwork at events which were established tourist attractions in themselves, such as the Pongau *Perchtenläufe* and Bad Mitterndorf Nikolaus play.) Because my participant-observation often involved photographing and video-recording the proceedings, reflexivity demanded I take into account the ways in which the camera played into my participant-observation as a whole and the performance-encounter in particular. Just as reflexivity demands that the ethnographer not erase himself from the scene and write himself out of the narrative, so must the effects of the camera’s presence be acknowledged. For me, the use of cameras in fieldwork signified both “seeing as understanding” and “seeing as experience”. Describing vision as the primary mode of perceiving and analyzing information in the West, Clifford writes:

The predominant metaphors in anthropological research have been participant-observation, data collection, and cultural description, all of which presuppose a standpoint outside — looking at, objectifying, or, somewhat closer, “reading,” a given reality.<sup>598</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>597</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Sage Publications, 2002). Österlund-Pötzsch defines the tourist gaze as ‘a distinct way of viewing one’s surroundings. The tourist gaze implies anticipation and a way of looking at the environment with interest and curiosity’ (pp. 15-16). Urry’s comment that ‘We can use the fact of difference to interrogate the normal through investigating the typical forms of tourism’ (p. 2) suggests its potential as a useful ethnological research methodology.

<sup>598</sup> Clifford, p. 11.

The tourist gaze, another visual metaphor, provides the underpinnings for Österlund-Pötzsch's definition of the "tourist gait": 'As tourists we tend to move more slowly and more erratically, trying to "take it all in"'.<sup>599</sup> This active, voracious experience of one's surroundings — "taking it all in" — is almost a mode of consumption, in the same sense that cultural heritage can be consumed. Seeing and recording through the camera's eye (which is often incorporated into the tourist gait) is also a strategy for "taking it all in". Like ethnographers, tourists start with reference points for their observation: 'Through guided tours and suggested itineraries in guidebooks, places are linked together by walking to create narratives, experiences and representational spaces.'<sup>600</sup> Both tourism and documentary fieldwork involve the conscious experience of an event or place, bringing the scene into sharp focus and framing it selectively, as a camera does.

The narrative resulting from the field data is consequently the ethnographer's representation, his or her "vision", which brings us full-circle to Nájera-Ramírez's ethical concerns. The photograph or video is not, after all, purely objective, but rather reflects the photographer's perspective. Whether operated in a touristic or ethnographic context, the camera-eye acts as an extension of the observer's selectivity ("framing the shot"). Furthermore, while it can both distance the observer from the subject ("zooming out") and provide greater clarity and detail ("sharp-focusing"), the "picture" being composed is not *exactly* what one sees without the filter and frame of the camera lens. Experiencing events like *Perchtenläufe* through the camera-eye created the illusion of detachment and distorted my sense of psychological and physical proximity to my subjects, leading me to objectify them while forgetting my own presence; becoming, in essence, the "fly on the wall" that is all too visible.

As Tedlock notes, participant-observation is best understood as a continuum,<sup>601</sup> and viewing the proceedings through the camera lens made it easy to vacillate from participation to observation — or so I thought. On some occasions, being drawn into the performance-encounter forced a split-second change in perspective. During the 2006 Schärddinger *Perchtenlauf*, as mentioned in 2.6, I was confronted by a *Percht* who penetrated the barrier of the camera-eye and playfully grappled with me, forcing me to push my video camera into my coat as he cried, '*Paparazzia!*' (The camera managed to pick up enough of the encounter to give a sense of the experience; see V2, 04:16-04:32). In this case, my "etic eye" was knocked out of the way and I was forced out from behind it. As this

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<sup>599</sup> Österlund-Pötzsch, p. 15.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>601</sup> Tedlock, p. 69.

example shows, “playing to the camera” has become a significant element in the performance-encounter, and mummers’ improvisation often weaves playful acknowledgment of the camera — and the illusion of distance it is presumed to create — into the fabric of their interaction. (How the camera’s eye factored into my experience of the performance-encounter and the ways in which mummers play to the camera in general are discussed in 11.3.3.)

The drive of many *Perchten* and *Krampusse* to educate the public about what they are doing and why is another way in which the interface between insiders and outsiders is negotiated in these traditions, and these efforts frequently find their way into folklore tourism and its attendant commercial aspects, as we shall see in the following section. Concerns about the ramifications of commercialism and popularization surface in these touristic contexts, raising questions of orthodoxy and authority and linking them to the pedagogical strain in both mumming groups’ self-representation and folklore tourism.

### **9.3 The Confluence of Commerce and Pedagogy**

Among the most visible aspects of these traditions today is a marked pedagogical orientation on the part of many *Perchten* and *Krampusse* as well as other entities, particularly tourism bureaux, educational institutions, and the organizers of Christmas markets. These attempts to educate the public about these traditions are frequently seen in environments where commercial concerns are in sway, and mummers and money-making entities employ each other to their own ends. Because of these agendas and the variety of people involved, it is perhaps inevitable that conceptions of authenticity and tradition and ideas about how best to present them should be variable, and at times contested.

#### **9.3.1 Folklore Pedagogy**

In his seminal essay on folklorism and feedback, Moser identifies a pedagogical strain<sup>602</sup> underlying efforts by various interested parties, such as amateur folklorists, teachers, tourist bureaux, and journalists, to educate the populace about folklore and propagate a correct understanding of it. (What is correct is contestable, of course.) It is not only scholars and the active tradition-bearers themselves who take on this responsibility and thereby incur the circulation of folklorism and feedback, but other parties with an economic or personal investment in the tradition. Bendix explains in her summary of Moser’s writings on

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<sup>602</sup> Moser, ‘Vom Folklorismus in unsere Zeit’, p. 198.

folklorism that ‘Journalists, writers of almanacs, and amateur folklorists, are the principal promoters of *Rücklauf*’,<sup>603</sup> adding that:

Moser distinguishes between ‘folklorism of our time’ and folklorism of the past, the latter clearly separating social classes. The upper stratum (clergy and rulers) had an urge to regulate, accompanied by pedagogical instincts. In the lower strata Moser found material interests that cleverly made use of the upper stratum’s desire for a *Volksseele* [folk soul]. In modern times, however, Moser found folklorism ‘primarily commercially determined and deeply anchored in the tourism and entertainment industries, both increasingly important branches of the economy.’<sup>604</sup>

Debates surrounding the issues of contested interpretations and commercialization reveal various understandings of what constitutes authenticity, a concept which itself relates to a number of other contested definitions and assignments of value, such as continuity and purity, often simply described as “the right way”. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* represent their traditions by performing them in various public settings, including those oriented in part towards tourists, such as parades and Christmas markets, as well as for the local children (schools invite them to speak in advance of their winter performances). Therefore proper interpretation, representation and education as to the true nature and meaning of the customs are conscious concerns for many mummers, who feel they act as gatekeepers to their cultural heritage and have a responsibility to their communities and future generations to avoid the loss or corruption of their traditions. The pedagogical impulse, then, implies a sense of orthodoxy which takes the form of fidelity to certain conventions of form, meaning, and function and their perpetuation through mummers’ annual appearances.

Since the renaissance of interest in *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in the 1970s, these traditions have enjoyed increased popularity, which has opened up their perceived ownership to a greater variety of people and generated various developments in turn. The advent of affordable digital technology and widespread access to the World Wide Web in particular has enabled hundreds of *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups to maintain a lively communication across state and national borders, sharing interpretations, attitudes, and practical information about their traditions and arranging collaborative performances.

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<sup>603</sup> Bendix, ‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’, p. 6.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-7.



Untermieder of the Perschtenbund Soj offered his thoughts about why the *Perchten* tradition has grown in popularity:

*Ich denke, dass es ein ganz interessanter Aspekt ist, wenn Sie dieses Brauchtum im Heute sehen. Vieles aus diesem Brauchtum mutet sehr altertümlich an. Vieles ist in der Realität erst vor Kurzem entstanden. Sie sagen zu Recht, es gibt ein großes Interesse, ein steigendes Interesse an diesem Brauchtum. Das hat verschiedene Ursachen. Einmal, denke ich, weil wir Medien haben, die dieses Brauchtum weiter verbreiten. Zum anderen, denke ich, weil es möglich ist an Masken daran zu kommen, Masken zu erwerben. Es gibt Schnitzer in Österreich, dort können Sie das aus dem Internet komplett kaufen. Das macht es natürlich leichter. Oft können die Leute selber keine Masken fertigen, deswegen scheitert es daran. Jetzt kann ich es kaufen und kann selber eine Gruppe gründen.*

I think that is a totally interesting aspect, when you look at this tradition in the present day. Much from this tradition appears to be very archaic. In reality, much has just recently come to be. You say correctly there is a great interest, a growing interest in this tradition. That has different reasons. One, I think, because we have media which has further disseminated this tradition. The other, I think, is because it is possible to get ahold of masks, to purchase masks. There are carvers in Austria, you can buy [them] there complete on the internet. That makes it easier, of course. Often people cannot make masks themselves; things fall apart on account of this. Now I can buy it and found a group myself.<sup>605</sup>

While this increased communication has resulted in an increasing tendency towards aesthetic homogenization, as we saw in 6.3.2, it has also contributed to the visibility of these traditions. Naturally, in pluralistic and complex contemporary societies ever spawning new modes of transmitting information, readings and representations of common cultural material are likely to be contested. Due to the popularization and apparent democratization of the ongoing cultural conversation (wrought by the Web and mass media, which have made participation in that conversation cheaper, faster, and more inclusive), aspects of culture considered to be in the public domain, such as folk customs, are subject to a greater variety of influences and opinions than ever before. A consensus on what constitutes a tradition's correct form may no longer be taken for granted, and a consensus on its

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<sup>605</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

functions even less so. Elements once commonly seen as essential to a given custom may be extracted, and the altered form championed as the true one.

### 9.3.2 Commercialism as Corruption?

One particularly controversial aspect of the increased popularization of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming is its perceived commercialization via folklore tourism, which seems to literally capitalize on cultural heritage. At the Salzburg *Perchten*-themed symposium “Maske, Mystik, Brauch” held at Burg Hohenwerfen in 1992, which was attended by ethnologists as as *Perchten*, Dengg expressed misgivings about what he considered an abuse of the cultural heritage they all shared. In his paper, Dengg complains of the influence of tourism and commerce on the tradition, which pull *Perchten* away from their traditional dates and thus out of their original contexts by offering paying gigs,<sup>606</sup> leading to the degeneration of the tradition:

*Denken wir an die Auftritte in Einkaufszentren oder für Fremdenverkehrsattraktionen, meist außerhalb der für den Brauch vorgesehenen Zeit und oft fernab vom Heimatort. Das ist nur noch folkloristisches Spekatkel, sprupellose Vermarktung, gewissenloser Ausverkauf eines uns wertvollen Kulturgutes unserer Heimat, [...] nur um daraus kurzfristig Gewinn oder Nutzen zu erzielen.*

We think of the appearances in shopping centers or for tourist attractions, mostly outside of the time prescribed for the tradition and often far from their home turf. This is only folkloristic spectacle, unscrupulous marketing, the unprincipled selling-off of a valuable cultural asset of our homeland [...] just for some short-sighted gain.<sup>607</sup>

From this perspective, which assumes an opposition between commercialism and authenticity, mumming is tainted by the profit motive, especially when it takes place in commercial environments where people are already getting their wallets out — a sort of guilt by association. Any general long-term increase in money spent at popular annual *Perchten* or *Krampus* performances may benefit the national rail service, Christmas markets, and local restaurants and guesthouses, but for *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, mumming is not a path to wealth and material comfort. Even in commercial environments like Christmas markets, it is generally not the mummies who have their hands in spectators’ pockets. Groups typically rely on sponsorship by local businesses such as guesthouses

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<sup>606</sup> Dengg, p. 86.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid, p. 96.

when available and members' out-of-pocket contributions, which they hope are just enough to cover ongoing operating expenses and keep the group going from year to year. Expenses for outfitting and maintaining *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups are considerable (one mask can cost up to €1000), and it is commonly expected that members will pay their own way without expecting to recoup their considerable investment in masks, costumes, props, publicity, and travel expenses.<sup>608</sup>

Such groups as the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, Perschtenbund Soj, and Schärddinger Teufelsperchten nonetheless view their mumming duties in altruistic terms: as a legacy to their community and a labor of love. The pleasure and pride taken in display for its own sake (an important part of classical performance and fine arts as well) and the sheer fun and camaraderie of working together are also common motivating factors. Mummers perform in shopping malls not because the malls pay them, but because they *let* them.

There is no consensus among the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* themselves as to whether it is appropriate to charge money at all, and if so, what for. While admission is typically not charged for their formal appearances, groups may charge admission for special events or products to generate some revenue to cover their costs. The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten carve miniature *Perchten* to sell at their mask exhibitions, and some groups sell DVDs of their parades, professionally filmed and edited with a heavy metal score. The Juvavum Pass rents a hall on the outskirts of Salzburg for a yearly party called *Tanz & Teufel* at which they perform (Figs. 70-76).<sup>609</sup> While it is primarily for members, friends, family, and other *Krampus* groups, members of the general public may buy tickets from a market stall at the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*. Many groups hold an *Afterparty* for friends and family devoid of formal performance elements. The Perschtenbund Soj were critical of groups combining performance with such events and charging admission:

**Untermieder:** *Es gibt auch sogenannte Perchten-Discos in Österreich. Da haben die ein Treffen, später dann ein großes Bierzelt und die kommen dann mit Masken und machen dann Perchten-Disco.*

**Carter:** *Das ist nicht so eine Afterparty nach dieser modernen Perchten-Show ... das ist etwas anderes?*

**Uebelacker:** *Das ist kommerziell.*

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<sup>608</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>609</sup> See field notes, Appendix II.

**Untermieder:** *Ganz offiziell. Da können auch Zuschauer rein.*

**Untermieder:** There are also so-called *Perchten* discos in Austria. There they have a get-together, then later a big beer tent and then they come with masks and do [a] *Perchten* disco.

**Carter:** That is not like an after-party after these modern *Perchten* shows ... it is something else?

**Uebelacker:** It is commercial.

**Untermieder:** Totally official. Spectators can absolutely also [go] there.<sup>610</sup>

At least in theory, commercialism and popularization go hand in hand, insofar as the commercial potential of marketing cultural material depends on its popularity, and its popularity depends on how much and how well it is marketed. The debate over the increased visibility of folk traditions through tourism, like that about mask design and the modern aesthetic, is informed by a perceived conflict between authenticity and commercialism, which is tied to popularization and publicity in turn. Even setting aside economic considerations, some worry that popularization threatens these traditions' integrity, diluting and corrupting them. According to this view, the marketing of a given tradition — recasting and presenting it in response to the gaze of outsiders; making it tourist-friendly, for example — is thought to compromise its authenticity, which constitutes its value (the double-meaning of the English expression is applicable: the “cheapening” of tradition). Popularization, it is implied, leads (in these contexts, if not inevitably) to corruption. Bendix aptly summarizes this view:

To scholars and ideologues engaged in commenting on culture ... efforts to promote and market folklore invariably lead to a perceived loss of authenticity, because students of culture until recent years have considered ideological and market forces as outside agents that spoil folklore's authenticity.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>611</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 9.

Thus critics perceive commercial aspects of folk culture as corrupted or distorted renderings of its true form or essence; in other words, as a type of folklorism. In popular and academic contexts, the tensions between divergent interpretations and manifestations of traditions underlie the concepts of folklorism (in contrast to the original, pure folklore from which it is derived) and authenticity. Claims to authority — the authority to define (and govern) orthodoxy in folklore — sometimes permeate discussions of folklorism, a concept presupposing that authenticity is a territory with fixed borders. In his counter-critique of folklorism scholarship, ‘Towards a Critique of Folklorism Criticism’ (1986), Bausinger points out that charges of folklorism may reflect discomfort at the apparent shifting of the earth underfoot: ‘Folklorism is the product of role expectations. A criticism of folklorism is to a great extent a criticism of the democratization of attitudes which previously had been exclusive’.<sup>612</sup> Complaints about the commercialization of folklore, whether committed by active tradition-bearers, the tourism industry, or local businesses, do not just reveal contested interpretations and agendas, but are at times ethically problematic. Where commercialism is concerned, it is naïve to expect the “folk” performing the customs in question to rise above the financial concerns which circumscribe their lives as much as anyone’s in order to keep “Tradition” pure.

One of the most striking features of contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, however, is their self-determination and articulation of their own motives, values and interpretations; they are not taking orders from anyone, and their adherence to “Tradition” stems more from devotion than obedience. Mummers who take this commitment seriously sometimes express misgivings about the role of commerce in public performances. Whereas the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana does not accept money for their performances, which consist exclusively of house visits within their community, the outsiders organizing the large-scale public *Perchtenlauf* also held in Golling (Fig. 56) charge admission, attracting participating groups and spectators from far and wide. The Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana members feel that this depersonalized, delocalized, commercialized approach interferes with the essential *raison d’être* of *Perchten* mumming; for money to change hands prevents the *Perchten* from fulfilling their true purpose, which is to bring luck. As Rainer explained, ‘*Glück kann man nicht kaufen, man kann Glück nicht kaufen, darum darf man kein Geld nehmen* [Luck cannot be bought, you cannot buy luck, and this is why you mustn’t take money for this]’.<sup>613</sup>

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<sup>612</sup> Bausinger, ‘Towards a Criticism of Folklorism Criticism’, p. 119.

<sup>613</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana.

Along with other industrialized Western countries, Austria and Germany have developed over the course of the past century and a half into increasingly consumerist societies in which people pay experts for previously homemade goods and services, marked by socio-geographic displacement and rapidly changing community structures. Commercialization of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* tradition was perhaps inevitable, considering its continuing widespread popularity and central place in children's culture, which has itself grown increasingly susceptible to commercial interests. It is, however, nothing new, as is clear from the popularity of the "*Grüße vom Krampus*" greeting cards at the turn of the last century (5.7).

Furthermore, it must be noted that while the ongoing socio-cultural debate about the *value* of folklore and cultural heritage tends to define value rather abstractly, at times discussions reveal (if unwittingly) how value is actually defined in practice: as monetary; that is, "value for money". This concrete interpretation is especially relevant to the controversy surrounding the commercialization (and alleged corruption) of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* tradition. While it is obvious that a calendar custom like Halloween, criticized as an unwelcome foreign import aggressively imposed upon the populace for profit, is a lucrative commercial enterprise, the value of home-grown traditions is frequently expressed in Euros as well. It is not uncommon for cultural politics to take the form of competition in the marketplace — for instance, between the native St. Nikolaus and the American Santa Claus, whose products (foil-wrapped chocolates) and services (mumming appearances) vie for the affections and Euros of German and Austrian consumers.<sup>614</sup>

Popular conceptions of cultural authenticity contain an intriguing paradox: while commercialization is often decried as the antithesis of tradition (which represents spiritual rather than economic value), and thought to extinguish the spirit of authenticity which gives it life and meaning,<sup>615</sup> in practice, authenticity is often conceived of in economic terms (see 8.2.1). It would be absurd to claim an inherent division between monetary and other motives for mumming, let alone an absence of the former. Nevertheless, discussions of money and commercialization (often decried as the "cheapening" of cultural heritage) cast light on the value Austrians and Bavarians currently place on these traditions. The way mumming duties are interpreted in the contemporary socio-economic climate, financially compensated either directly (by parents booking a Nikolaus house visit) or indirectly (by

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<sup>614</sup> I have delved into the marketplace rivalry between these folk-figures in 'The *Christkind*: Gender Ambiguity in the Evolution of a German-Austrian Christmas Gift-Bringer', *Cosmos & The Ritual Year 4: The Ritual Year and Gender*, ed. by Jenny Butler and Emily Lyle (*Cosmos* 25:2009), pp. 105-114.

<sup>615</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 9.

corporate sponsorship defraying costs), *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming is seen as a job to be performed in a professional manner.

### 9.3.3 The Self-Marketing of *Perchten* and *Krampus* Groups

Groups must be assertive in their self-promotion to make a name for themselves and establish visibility, and it is through such entrepreneurial efforts<sup>616</sup> that these traditions (as they conceptualize and represent them) take root in new locales. These efforts may include networking with other groups and participating in collaborative parades like the annual *Perchtenlauf* in Pfarrwerfen, Salzburg (V7, 27:18-43:10) as well as forming alliances with the tourist bureau and securing sponsorship by local businesses. These are the kind of alliances Paul Smith identifies in the marketing of traditions by interested outsider parties: the ‘mediators, interpreters, brokers and entrepreneurs’ of tradition<sup>617</sup> who form symbiotic relationships with the active tradition-bearers.

As we saw in 6.3.2, the costs of buying or making masks, costumes and gear can be prohibitive, and *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups typically pay for ongoing expenses from their personal funds. That most groups regard their activities as labors of love motivated by a desire to share tradition and have fun rather than money-making opportunities is evident in the fact that they do not typically charge admission. Large-scale parades may defray expenses by having friends or group members (usually female) walk alongside the mummers and solicit donations from the crowd one clump of people at a time, which makes the collection random and low-pressure. In fact, it feels like an organic part of the parade, as the donation-collectors are usually costumed and offer something in exchange, such as a quick drink of schnaps or folded papers with fortunes for the coming year,<sup>619</sup> making the solicitation resemble the *quête*-style mumming exchange in miniature. Tickets may be sold to large events open to the public, such as the Juvavum Pass’s annual *Tanz & Teufel* event and the numerous *Afterpartys* thrown by *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, which incur significant expenses such as space rental, catering, sound system and disc jockey hire, and even insurance. Nevertheless, even these events are more likely to recompense groups for their operating costs than to generate substantial additional revenue.

For these reasons, securing the sponsorship of local businesses and community members is vital for sustaining mumming groups. Sponsors’ logos are displayed on group

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<sup>616</sup> Ohrvik, p. 583. For example, the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, founded in 1995 and native to Schärdding, have gradually built up the audience for their local *Perchtenlauf* year after year through consistency and visibility (Schärddinger Teufelsperchten).

<sup>617</sup> Paul Smith, p. 757.

<sup>619</sup> Paper fortunes for the New Year were sold at the 2003 *Perchtenlauf* in Mühlbach am Hochkönig. See field notes, Appendix I16.

websites, promotional material like flyers and brochures, and banners at mask exhibitions and other indoor events, but are generally not in evidence during the runs themselves. Tourist bureaux and local businesses benefit financially from the increased foot traffic at *Perchten* and *Krampus* parades, and sponsors hope to benefit from the advertising they receive on group websites and publicity materials.

Upon examination, this transactional exchange does not degrade mummers' value to the community for the most part, but rather serves as a symbiotic relationship ensuring it remains intact. Furthermore, with regards to the commercial (or rather, commerce-proximate) aspect of running mumming groups, it is important to note that, while the entities with which *Perchten* and *Krampusse* work for their mutual benefit may themselves be commercial, sponsorship results in groups covering some of their running expenses, not in its individual members benefitting financially. Therefore it is not a simple matter of groups making a profit for themselves or others, though even if it were, it would behoove us to question why exactly that would compromise the custom's integrity, as Dengg assures us it would.<sup>620</sup>

In addition, it is the groups who tend to initiate these contacts, an expression of their agency and entrepreneurial approach to the tradition.<sup>621</sup> Groups offer something of value to sponsors and tourist bureaux (exposure to audiences and the makings of a tourist attraction, respectively) in exchange for the practical benefits of financial support, publicity and performance opportunities as well as the opportunity to perpetuate the tradition for future generations and share it with a wider audience. This may be seen as a dance between valorization and valuation: the value of cultural heritage construed in non-economic terms and awareness (if not deployment) of its money-making potential, respectively.<sup>622</sup> Untermieder gave as an example *Perchten* groups who perform at Christmas markets, which are commercial ventures in themselves. In return, the market setting commercializes the *Perchten* by association, insofar as they are an attraction helping the market make money. According to him, this does not negate the value of these performances, as it is far

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<sup>620</sup> Dengg, p. 96.

<sup>621</sup> Ohrvik emphasizes the active self-representation (agency) of the Norwegian *stjernegutter* ("Star Boys", cousins to the Austro-Bavarian *Sternsinger*), noting that 'In many cases, the agent can also be characterised as an entrepreneur' (p. 583, n. 2).

<sup>622</sup> Glossing Kirschenblatt-Gimblett's terms, Markus Tauschek explains that 'Valorization is non-economic', whereas 'Valuation rests on the insight that cultural goods, knowledge, artefacts, and heritage can be transformed for economic benefit' ('Cultural Property as Strategy: The Carnival of Binche, the Creation of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Property', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 39:2 (2009), 67-80 (p. 75)).



more important for groups to find places to perform than it is to avoid becoming integrated into someone else's commercial scheme.<sup>623</sup>

This reciprocal arrangement is an example of what Paul Smith describes in the context of Christmas mumming in Newfoundland, Canada: active tradition-bearers (agents, in Ohrvik's terminology)<sup>624</sup> working in conjunction with invested outside parties to market the tradition.<sup>625</sup> Seen from this perspective, the mummers are not passive parties being commodified by rapacious outsiders, but rather active agents in their self-promotion. As Smith observes, 'The marketing of traditions is not new, and a number of them [...] incorporate aspects of self-promotion and marketing by the performers/participants'.<sup>626</sup> In this regard, the agency exercised by both our Austro-Bavarian mummers and their Canadian counterparts resembles that of populations whose cultures are commodified for the tourist trade.<sup>627</sup> In the latter case, locals do not wilt under the tourist gaze, but rather insert themselves into the economic chain so that they are essentially representing themselves (and, as the case may be, commodifying themselves) on their own terms rather than being passively or unknowingly coopted and exploited by outside parties for their own financial gain.

Finally, what appears to be self-marketing may simply be groups working within current social structures and available technologies to offer their services to the community. For instance, Nikolaus house visits with the Salzburger Rupertiperchten can be booked on the Stadtteil Verein Lieferung website. Kindergarten and primary school visits are free; '*Ebenso können Sie unsere Auftritte in dieser Zeit für Hausbesuche, Familienfeiern, Krampuskränzchen, Firmenfeiern buchen* [Likewise you can book our appearances in this time [the first Advent Sunday through December 8] for house visits, family celebrations, *Krampuskränzchen*, and office parties]'.<sup>628</sup> In these situations, the practice of the tradition is not subordinate to commercial concerns.

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<sup>623</sup> Perschtenbund Soj. Untermieder explained that '*Wenn Perchtengruppen keine andere Möglichkeiten haben, dann haben sie da die Möglichkeit, sich zu präsentieren. Das ist im Grundsatz nicht falsch* [When *Perchten* groups have no other options, then they have the possibility to present themselves. That is not wrong in principle]'.

<sup>624</sup> Ohrvik, p. 583.

<sup>625</sup> Paul Smith, p. 757.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid*, p. 756.

<sup>627</sup> See Bendix, 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?' and Adams.

<sup>628</sup> Robert Schnaitl (Salzburger Rupertiperchten), Stadtteil Verein Lieferung, 'Salzburger Rupertiperchten — Krampus, Rauhachtsläufer und Spielleute', <<http://www.liefering.at/old->

## 9.4 Self-Representation and Cultural Ownership

Since my fieldwork ended in 2009, two Austrian mumming customs have been granted intangible cultural heritage status by UNESCO: the *Perchtenlauf* in Gastein, Salzburg in 2011<sup>629</sup> and the Nikolaus play of Reith, Tyrol in 2014.<sup>630</sup> The notion of transmission is an integral part of tradition as it is often defined. As Ben-Amos writes, ‘The connotations of its Latin root *tradere*, to give, to deliver, to hand down, still resonate in the abstract noun tradition, making superfluous any further explication.’<sup>631</sup> UNESCO’s definition of “intangible cultural heritage” also centers around transmission, but focuses on transmission as a process (the dynamics by which it is achieved) rather than its products (the resulting cultural expressions): ‘The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next.’<sup>632</sup> This orientation is in keeping with definitions of tradition as processual, kinetic and adaptive, epitomized by the work of Bendix and Handler and Linnekin (see also Appendix H).<sup>633</sup>

There is an ethical component to this approach to tradition, as it foregrounds the tradition-bearers themselves. Like Ohrvik, I see the relevance of these definitions of

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version/system/web/gelbeseite6ee3.html?typ=8&bezirkonr=0&detailonr=217323118&menuonr=218602126>, 2012, accessed Dec. 21, 2015.

<sup>629</sup> Österreichische UNESCO-Kommission/Austrian Commission for UNESCO, ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria: “Perchten” in Gastein’, <<http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/unesco/element.pl?eid=56&lang=en>>, 2007-2011, accessed Dec. 12, 2015.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid, ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria: The Reither Nikolausspiel — St. Nicholas Play in Reith’, <<http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/unesco/element.pl?eid=115&lang=en>>, 2007-2011, accessed Dec. 12, 2015.

<sup>631</sup> Ben-Amos, ‘The Seven Strands of Tradition’, pp. 97-98.

<sup>632</sup> In 2003, UNESCO adopted a convention for the ‘safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage’, which ‘includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts’ (UNESCO, ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage: Frequently Asked Questions’, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/faq-00021>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 12, 2015). UNESCO’s definition of intangible cultural heritage touches on conceptions of tradition, intergenerational transmission, and the tension between globalization and regionalism, all active issues in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming today:

To be kept alive, intangible cultural heritage must be relevant to the community, continuously recreated and transmitted from one generation to another. [...] but safeguarding does not mean protection or conservation in the usual sense, as this may cause intangible cultural heritage to become fixed or frozen. ‘Safeguarding’ means ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, that is ensuring its continuous recreation and transmission. Safeguarding [...] focuses on the processes involved in transmitting, or communicating it from generation to generation, rather than on the production of its concrete manifestations [...] (ibid).

<sup>633</sup> Handler and Linnekin; Bendix, ‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’.

tradition to contemporary house-visiting customs, and agree that ‘Relating her discussion of the Norwegian *stjernegutter* (Star Boys) to the definitions of tradition offered by Bendix, Handler and Linnekin, Ohrvik writes, ‘This viewpoint allows for an analytic focus on the agency of those involved in the formation and transmission of tradition [...] [which] will [...] in this context denote those processes that take place in the present and involve a selective and symbolic construction of the past in the present.’<sup>634</sup>

In a sense, these customs have come to stand for tradition itself, especially those regarded as ancient and authentic and thus deemed especially valuable to the community and useful in folklore tourism, like the Pongau *Perchtenläufe*. (This status is further amplified by the designation of intangible cultural heritage, enjoyed by the Gastein *Perchtenlauf* and Reith Nikolaus play.) Following Tauschek and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, we can say that *Perchten* and *Krampus* masks (including recently created ones, by virtue of their use in these traditions, which are themselves considered part of authentic folk culture) have acquired ‘a second life as heritage’.<sup>635</sup> For *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, like the active tradition-bearers Tauschek describes, these ‘cultural expressions’ are ‘already considered in their “metacultural dimension” as “heritage” by the local actors themselves’.<sup>636</sup>

We have dealt with issues of identity and self-representation in the past few chapters. In the next two chapters, where the personal and experiential aspect of these traditions will be discussed, we shall explore issues of identity in terms of gender and age, particularly within the framework of the performance-encounter, shedding light on the semantic systems which inform them.

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<sup>634</sup> Ohrvik, p. 558. As Ben-Amos points out, Carl von Sydow’s terminology is itself a refutation of this definition of tradition (‘The Seven Strands of Tradition’, p. 118). In distinguishing active from passive tradition-bearers, it refers to what Ohrvik calls “agents”, invested and knowledgeable individuals responsible for shaping and perpetuating the tradition rather than an anonymous, collective mass, the “folk” (p. 558).

<sup>635</sup> Tauschek, p. 84, citing Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production’, *Museum International*, 56 (2004), 52-65 (p. 56).

<sup>636</sup> Tauschek, p. 78.

## 10. PLAY WITH SOCIAL ROLES: AGE AND GENDER

Observing the interaction of participants in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, it soon becomes apparent that the ritualized role-play contained within the performance-encounter is strongly informed by social mores related to age and gender — in short, the everyday social roles of men, women, and children, which may be challenged or reinterpreted, but are generally reinforced by the play. Interactions both before and after mumming performances, when viewed in their larger social context, reveal a number of ways in which these different types of role-play bleed into one another; indeed, when analyzed in terms of socialization functions, these traditions may be considered together with their prelude and aftermath to be part of the same multi-layered whole.

The following sections will deal with this porous, loose definition of generalized social role-play — specifically, play with social roles — and its relationship to the more ritualized and calendrically delimited role-play inherent in the *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming traditions. As we shall see, they both mirror and are mirrored by social roles, particularly those tied to age and gender. Mumming can exaggerate and intensify the dramatic subtexts of everyday social interaction against the backdrop (and through the medium) of shared cultural symbols and heightened emotions, and thereby uphold or subvert social conventions, proving particularly useful in the socialization of children, but also evident in gendered interactions. Particularly where gender mores are concerned, currents of subversion and affirmation may intermingle, creating a complex coded interaction.

### 10.1 Mumming and Role-Play in Everyday Life

Before considering the ways in which everyday social interaction and that between participants in mumming contexts relate to one another, it is important to understand that the former is in itself a highly performative, ritualistic phenomenon, quite apart from its integration into masked performance proper. The dramaturgical sociology of Erving Goffman, outlined in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959),<sup>637</sup> sets forth a theatrical model for analyzing social interaction, thus completing the circuit between play, performativity, and social roles.

As Goffman writes, ‘This kind of control upon the part of the individual reinstates the symmetry of the communication process, and sets the stage for a kind of information

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<sup>637</sup> Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

game — a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery, false revelation, and rediscovery.<sup>638</sup> Indeed, while everyday interaction may initially appear to be the prosaic, workaday cousin to the festive, ephemeral culture of Carnival and calendar customs attached to such masked performers as the *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, closer examination reveals the communication and metacommunication between people, both verbal and non-verbal, to consist of performative patterning, projection, symbolic displacements, and ritualized self-presentation characterized by considerable complexity.

While the importance of the influence of mumming and other folkloric forms on socialization must be acknowledged, equally valuable insights might be gleaned by examining the same phenomenon in reverse — that is, the influence of social roles on mumming, particularly in relation to age and gender. The mirroring of social relations in mumming role-play corresponds to the second interpretation of the meaning of festive behavior advanced by Alessandro Falassi, in which ‘festive behavior parallels everyday life, but with a more stylized form and with greatly increased semantic meaning’.<sup>639</sup> The fact that many fixed and improvised elements of both *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions reflect, parody, or otherwise allude to age and gender-specific social mores encourages a reading of mumming role-play as an exaggerated, intensified, and symbolically weighted reflection of the social role-play of everyday life.<sup>640</sup>

The suspension of everyday identities and their corresponding role-play for the duration of the performance-encounter — a temporary and consensual shifting into the ‘subjunctive mood’ of performance and play<sup>641</sup> — does not entirely preclude participants’ awareness and maintenance of their everyday points of view and social roles; rather, the play-world and everyday world tend to exist contemporaneously. Therefore the performance-encounter may be seen as a multi-layered exchange which takes place between

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<sup>638</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>639</sup> Alessandro Falassi, ‘Festival: Definition and Morphology’ in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. by Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pp. 1-10 (3).

<sup>640</sup> That mumming can consist solely or primarily of role-playing behavior is exemplified by the Norwegian *russ* tradition Christine Eike describes, in which the donning of uniforms in school colors identifies graduating students as *russ* and gives them license to run amok. In addition, ‘some people run naked through the middle of the town in the morning to get a *knute* [a ‘knot’ put on their caps as a special sign], or they might crawl naked at the football stadium on May 17: yet another way of getting into “uniform”!’ (‘Disguise as Ritualised Humor in Norway: Past and Present’ in *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolphi Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007) pp. 497-553 (516)).

<sup>641</sup> Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 82; Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, p. 37.

two or more participants, but also consists of the complex interplay between the constellations of selves — layers of personality and identity — within each participant.

All participants possess multiple identities or aspects of self (for example, one may identify oneself as male, Austrian, native of Zell am See, member of a *Krampus* group, Roman Catholic, and so forth), and these identities manifest and interact with each other in various ways in the context of masked folk performance, just as they do in the course of everyday life. Goffman observes that social displays ‘can be, and are likely to be, multivocal or polysemic, in the sense that more than one piece of social information may be encoded in them’.<sup>642</sup> In keeping with the liminal nature of these traditions, the nature of the interaction is subtle and diffuse. The fact that all but the youngest children understand that these otherworldly creatures are actually human beings does not entirely mitigate the sense of strangeness and danger, even if they risk nothing more than the brief sting of a switch and the masquerade lasts only a few hours. The mingling of these apparently contradictory psychological perceptions is evident in the spectators’ improvised responses. Both participants are in effect engaged in multiple simultaneous interactions during the performance-encounter; they are responding to one another on a ritualized, mythic level on which they both inhabit roles prescribed by the tradition, such as *Müdel* (girl) and *Krampus*, and essentially play themselves (or, should we say, their everyday selves), aware that they are playing roles and engaging in ritualized behavior, and, as a secondary response, reacting to that with laughter, irony, or irritation.

Sometimes everyday identities and relationships reinforce mumming roles, the most notable example being the portrayal of St. Nikolaus by one of the more mature group members. While in such communities as Bad Mitterndorf and Rauris, mummers are guided by an older man who accompanies them unmasked, directs them in the tradition’s forms and assists with practical matters, in some cases the man playing Nikolaus plays this role as well, his supervision of the other mummers echoing the saint’s control over the *Krampus* and amplifying the moral message of the paradrama. While a man may be chosen to play Nikolaus because he looks the part or is good with children, it is important that he command respect from the younger *Krampusse*, whose role by definition involves skirting the fringes of socially acceptable behavior, sometimes fortified by liquor. Honigmann, writing of Styrian *Krampusse* in the 1970s, notes that an older man is called upon to play Nikolaus in order to exert his everyday authority over the younger *Krampus* actor if

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<sup>642</sup> Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, p. 2.

needed.<sup>643</sup> Müller relates a similar tendency in his own *Krampus* group, where the men portraying Nikolaus resemble the saint in age, temperament, and eloquence.<sup>644</sup>

In the catechism-interrogation, the roles of the unmasked participants are determined principally by age, and adherence to social expectations is enforced through a ritualized testing of character, as we shall see.

## 10.2 Mumming and the Socialization of Children

### 10.2.1 The Catechism-Interrogation

As noted in 1.6.5, the classic form of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* performance-encounter is the catechism-interrogation. In its historical form, embedded as it is in predominantly Catholic Austria and southern Germany, this paradramatic exchange revolves around the catechism children are expected to learn as part of their religious education, and the recitation of correct answers (accompanied in some cases by hymns and prayers) provides its basic narrative structure. Uncertainty as to whether the child's performance will be sufficient provides the dramatic and emotional tension, as the stakes are raised considerably by the forbidding presence of one or more *Krampusse* at the saint's side, itching to mete out punishment. Honigmann's 1975 account of a house visit on Nikolaus Eve in Altirdning, Styria conveys a palpable sense of the pressure on children to maintain their emotional equilibrium, a pressure the ritual is designed to create:

Frightened by the visitor's appearance, the two-year-old boy at once began to cry and was immediately taken upstairs by his mother. But no relief was offered to the older children. [...] It was plain that the children, as they knew they were expected to do, tried resolutely to control their fear, despite the almost constant menacing threats of the irrepressible, noisy Krampus.<sup>645</sup>

Generally speaking, the catechism-interrogation is a tool of socialization addressing children's obedience and diligence, which has helped it adapt to increasing secularization and depersonalized public settings such as Christmas markets, where the threat of punishment personified by the *Krampus* is largely nominal and symbolic and the questions

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<sup>643</sup> Honigmann, p. 268.

<sup>644</sup> Müller, p. 453.

<sup>645</sup> Ibid, pp. 265-266.

tend to be general and perfunctory, a brief formality before the sweets are dispensed. In these settings, children are not assumed to have any formal religious education or know the rules of engagement, but are invited to participate in the custom nevertheless.

Although such group settings are increasingly the norm, the catechism-interrogation can still be experienced in its classic house visit form. On December 5, 2009, I was able to observe the ways in which both age and gender can shape participation.<sup>646</sup> In the village of Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, close to the border with Salzburg, Nikolaus is accompanied by both straw-clad, *Krampus*-masked *Buttnmandl* and *Krampusse*, some dressed in the common full-body fur suits and wooden masks, but others in sheepskin tunics over their everyday clothes, simple hood-style fur masks sprouting horns and, in one case, a brass nose ring (Figs. 26, 28, 34-35). Upon my arrival, the proprietor of my guesthouse told me that the mummers would be there that afternoon and invited me to wait in the guest dining room with her five children (two girls in their late teens, two girls aged about nine and twelve, and a boy who looked to be about seven), one of their grandmothers, and three adult friends of the family.

Hearing the sound of bells, everyone took their places at the table, the three children staying where they had been the whole time: huddled in the corner of the room behind the table, between the wall and their grandmother. I sat next to her facing the other adults, while the mother scurried around tidying up and setting out refreshments and the older girls watched from the window. Once the mumming company arrived, having walked up the highway escorted by a police car, one of the teenage girls ran out to put herself in harm's way, and the *Krampusse* reached out to oblige her with soot-smearred arms. The grandmother turned to the three children sitting in the corner and explained calmly that *Krampusse* will not come near fire, at which the children reached out as one and pulled the large votive candle closer to them.

After a while Nikolaus knocked on the door and entered the room flanked by three *Krampusse* and the teenage daughter who seemed to be attached to one of them. (Due to their massive and messy straw costumes, the *Buttnmandl* stayed outside.) While the mother remained in the background (her role at this point seemed to be to offer hospitality, since all of her children were old enough to interact with the mummers without protection), Nikolaus opened his Golden Book and began interrogating the children about their conduct over the past year, starting with the eldest, noting their progress and areas for improvement. Meanwhile their sister continued to wrestle with her *Krampus* in the background and his fellows stood at the ready, watching the children intently. (One glared at me through the eye holes in his fur hood, but I was otherwise ignored.) One *Krampus* took the dominant role,

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<sup>646</sup> See field notes, Appendix I4.



bouncing impatiently and periodically punctuating the saint's speech by lunging diagonally over the table at the children, bringing his birch switch down with a resounding *thwack*. The children flinched and grimaced every time; half, it seemed, in fun and half in earnest. After a while the grandmother reached out a hand and said firmly to the *Krampus*, '*Genug!*' [Enough!]' (Nikolaus may control the *Krampusse*, but ultimately it is parental authority — here, that of the grandmother — that controls the mummers and directs the action.) Having passed the test, the children received gifts in cellophane bags and the mummers departed.

As this account shows, children graduate from one type of interaction to another as they age, and each level they advance to involves closer physical proximity (and vulnerability) to the *Krampus*. The placement of the various participants is initially determined by age, but can be adjusted based on the child's emotional response. This is done by using the space to mediate the child's degree of exposure to the mummers, as exemplified by Honigmann's account: 'The older two sat apprehensively on the corner bench behind the table; the youngest was in his mother's lap.'<sup>647</sup> Moving from youngest to eldest, these configurations tend to conform to the following sequence:

1. Infants: held in parents' arms facing away from the mummers, and removed once they start crying.
2. Toddlers: facing the mummers, but held in the protective embrace of a parent seated behind the corner table which is a ubiquitous feature of farmhouses in Bavaria and Austria (see Fig. 13 for this configuration in Rauris, where the *Schnabelperchten*'s house visits follow a similar pattern).
3. Ages four to 12: seated behind the table facing the mummers next to a parent, sometimes called out to stand before Nikolaus and *Krampus* while being interrogated.
4. Teens: standing and moving freely about the room. At this age boys may play the role of *Krampusse* themselves and girls may tussle with them in the playful,

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<sup>647</sup> Ibid, p. 265. Mezger argues that knowledge of the catechism underlay and informed much of folk tradition (*Sankt Nikolaus*, p. 111). He stresses the importance of this point with regards to *Fastnacht*, but it is equally applicable to the body of Nikolaus tradition, from the medieval examples in Chapter 5 to the catechism-interrogation of the present day. The demonstration of learning (including religious education) was the province of the cloister students, which explains how the emphasis on the catechism found its way into Nikolaus/*Krampus* mumming.

flirtatious manner characteristic of parade settings. Boys and girls may also choose not to participate at all.<sup>648</sup>

By guiding children through this age-based progression, the catechism-interrogation serves the socialization aims encapsulated in the concept of *Erziehung*, the process of becoming a fully-formed and responsible person. The catechism-interrogation thus functions as a socialization ritual, a dramatization of the process of *Erziehung*.<sup>649</sup> In her study of the Nikolaus tradition in the Bavarian village of Linden, Karin Norman explores its role in the formation of children's individual and collective identities, stressing its usefulness as a vehicle for both disciplinary and socialization aims: 'The Nikolaus celebration sets each child in focus to be scrutinized and judged and in the end consoled through the gift of sweets, which binds the child to the righteousness of the judging adult.'<sup>650</sup> In the community she observed:

*Erziehung* is regarded as the process of separating the person from an amorphous nature, the good from the potentially evil, through a technique of teaching and learning that combines intricate forms of praise and punishment. It operates progressively through the institutions of family, kindergarten, school, and church. Notions of order and freedom are closely linked. People believe that through proper upbringing and education a child will become a socially acceptable being, an orderly and free person [...] it is only through this process of upbringing that one can become human, *ein richtiger Mensch* (a real or true person).<sup>651</sup>

Considered in this light, the dyadic symbolism found in both *Perchten* and Nikolaus/*Krampus* traditions begins to make sense, as does their central position in children's culture and their otherwise opaque or enigmatic symbolic acts. For instance, the poles of reward and punishment, which the mummers embody and between which the child-protagonist moves during paradramatic tests of character, reveal themselves to be a useful socialization

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<sup>648</sup> Honigmann writes of this stage that:

If the ten- to fourteen-year-olds in the audience recalled the genuine terror they had once felt when they still believed in the reality of Krampus and Saint Nicholas [...] they now knew it was all pretence. They had also probably several times visited the folklore museum [...] and there seen an impressively large Krampus mannequin, the final revelation of the plot in which their elders had conspired (p. 265).

<sup>649</sup> See Appendix E for an analysis of the catechism-interrogation in terms of dramatic structure and age-based rites of passage.

<sup>650</sup> Norman, p. 335.

<sup>651</sup> *Ibid*, p. 327.

construct. The ritualized socialization this type of performance-encounter provides may be more or less cathartic and transformative depending on the age of the child, the mummers' scripted and unscripted performance choices, and the seriousness with which the adults seem (to children) to take the play.<sup>652</sup>

### 10.2.2 Mummers as Representations of Moral Dualism

In 10.2.1, we saw how age and emotional maturity determines how children take part in the catechism-interrogation and adults, too play certain roles. The "division of labor" evident in the partnership of Nikolaus and *Krampus* is reflected not only in the different duties they perform during their joint interrogations, but in the fact that they may appear in entirely different settings. In Germany, especially in the north, it is common for Nikolaus to question children alone. There, as Norman's kindergarten examples show, he may integrate the punitive role with his clement qualities,<sup>653</sup> but where he appears with the *Krampus*, they represent the poles of reward and punishment, respectively. In Austria, the popularity of the *Krampusse* (often in groups unsupervised by the saint) has grown so much in the past forty years that it nearly eclipses that of Nikolaus. One of the surprising consequences of this is the fact that, in an interesting counterpoint to the sole Nikolaus displaying *Krampus*-like characteristics, the *Krampus* has begun to take on Nikolaus's role in some cases. Nevertheless, Nikolaus and *Krampus* are best understood as a symbiotic unit.

Another division is reflected in the spatial boundary between the house and the outdoors maintained by the Upper Austrian *Krampusse* observed by Honigmann in 1975. Only one *Krampus* accompanied Nikolaus into the houses, where he was more easily controlled. Outdoors, however, once let off the leash and free from Nikolaus's supervision, the *Krampusse* ran in packs through the streets, 'perhaps emboldened by alcoholic beverages', on the nights leading up to December 5 to 'roam and annoy people, especially women'.<sup>654</sup> Honigmann's examples indicate the direction the tradition has taken since then. The labor has increasingly been divided into public appearances dominated by packs of wild *Krampusse* and private appearances (a much gentler version of Nikolaus's interrogation), which offer mass-entertainment and moral education, respectively.

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<sup>652</sup> The catechism-interrogation could perhaps be considered deep play. All but the youngest participants remain cognizant that these are only humans in masks with whom they are temporarily engaged in consensual play; the *Krampus* is not, after all, actually going to drag them down to Hell. Nevertheless, the tears and anxiety in themselves *are* real. As Geertz observes in the context of Balinese cockfights, the deeper the match (the play), 'the greater the emotion that will be involved and the more the general absorption in the match' (p. 441).

<sup>653</sup> Norman, p. 329.

<sup>654</sup> Honigmann, p. 267.

### 10.2.3 Parental Collusion in the Testing of Character

While children and masked mummers are at the center of the paradrama, unmasked adults (particularly parents, but also grandparents and schoolteachers) play a crucial role as well: they may play the role of bogey figures or pretend to rescue children from them through the media of verbal threats, mumming paradramas, and forms of performance which exist somewhere in between the two.<sup>655</sup> As we have seen, this role-playing has traditionally been intended to accomplish disciplinary and pedagogical aims: to test children and mold their character, results which are expected to last long after the ephemeral play-world has dissipated. One of the many paradoxes embedded in these traditions is that while *Krampusse* exceed the boundaries of socially acceptable behavior and appear to be chaos personified, their antics are in fact socially sanctioned and encouraged by parents, who themselves often collude with their masked visitors, particularly when the play is of an instructive or disciplinary nature, as in the catechism-interrogation.

A number of parallels can be found among similar mumming traditions which are structurally and functionally similar. Of the Nova Scotian mummers known as *belsnickles*, whose name is a corruption of *Pelznickel* (“fur-Nikolaus”), Richard Bauman observes that ‘By calling the children to account for their behavior during the past year and extracting promises of good behavior for the year to come, as well as by serving as bogeymen for bad behavior throughout the year, the *belsnickles* served as an agency of moral order.’<sup>656</sup> Their functionally similar cousins, *Nikolaus* and *Krampusse*, may also be said to fulfill this role. A further parallel is found in another mumming tradition, that of the Inuit *naluyuks* of Labrador, Canada, who represent a fusion of German (by way of Moravian) and indigenous influences. Like the *belsnickles*, *Nikolaus*, and *Krampusse*, the *naluyuks* use fear to test children’s behavior in what might be considered a socialization ritual. While the children sing hymns and carols for their approval the *naluyuks* pound their sticks upon the floor, which ‘seems to increase the children’s anxiety’. Once outside, ‘excitement turns to terror’ as they pursue people on the street with ‘a raised stick, a dash at one, a poke at another’.

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<sup>655</sup> Widdowson describes an intermediary stage between the verbal staging of scenes (in the form of playful warnings or folktales about threatening figures) and the mumming performance-encounter (pp. 32-33), noting that such verbal threats may take paradramatic forms, such as pressing one’s nose flat against a window to simulate a dreaded figure (pp. 32-33). In addition, dramatization is often integrated into story-telling, as when the parent assumes a deep, gruff voice to speak the words of the giant in the tale of *Jack and the Beanstalk*: ‘Fee, fie, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman!’

<sup>656</sup> Bauman, pp. 240-241.

Shmuel Ben-Dor explains that the *naluyuks* were bogey figures ‘regularly used to discipline young children and are said to take bad children away’.<sup>657</sup>

One of the many paradoxes embedded in these traditions is that while *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, in true mumming fashion, exceed the boundaries of socially acceptable behavior and appear to be chaos personified, their antics are in fact socially sanctioned and encouraged by parents, who themselves often collude with their masked visitors, particularly when the play is of an instructive or disciplinary nature, as in the catechism-interrogation. The nature of this parent-mummer collusion may be characterized as “good cop/bad cop”. In the context of American police work, the term good cop/bad cop is used to describe the dynamics of a joint-interrogation style used by police, itself a form of ritualized role-play which uses dramatic devices to exaggerate and accelerate the emotional state of the suspect, in this case pushing him to confession. One policeman (the bad cop) deliberately threatens and aggravates the interrogated person in order to stress and confuse him, and thereby engender psychological susceptibility to the good cop, who may then gain the suspect’s trust by a show of sympathy. In the interrogation chamber, of course, the cops who seemingly occupy opposite positions are in fact working together towards a single goal.

In the case of the catechism-interrogation, the *Krampus* and Nikolaus embody danger and salvation, respectively. A single adult relative may vacillate between apparent collusion with *Krampus* (temporarily withdrawing his or her protection) and opposition to him (intervening to defend children or halting the action with a word, as the grandmother did in Berchtesgaden). When multiple adults are present, they may split these duties between them. Widdowson describes these dynamics in the context of verbal warnings:

As he is principally responsible for initiating and maintaining the system of threats, a parent or other senior member of the family might well be expected to use the more direct invocation of his own power and himself adopt the role of both threatener and threatening figure. In so doing, however, he goes against the concept of the adult relative as the child’s protector. By invoking himself as a direct threat he appears to expose the child to at least a temporary lack of parental or familial security.<sup>658</sup>

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<sup>657</sup> Shmuel Ben-Dor, ‘The “Naluyuks” of Northern Labrador: A Mechanism of Social Control’ in *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History*, ed. by Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969), pp. 121-127 (123-125).

<sup>658</sup> Widdowson, p. 70.

This is exemplified by Honigmann's account of the Altirdning Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visit, in which the grandmother assumed the role of threatener: 'The grandmother in her actions consistently supported the actors and showed no sign of defending the children. After the visitors left she continued [...] to admonish the youngsters, warning them that Nicholas and Krampus might return the very same evening.' This teasing was reserved for the older children, who could manage the challenge. 'While the adults did not put themselves forward as protectors of the two older children, it was otherwise with the two-year old.'<sup>659</sup> Most often, however, adults position themselves in opposition to the *Krampus*. Like verbal warnings, house visits from mummers create the illusion of threatening figures appearing in the flesh, allowing adults to '[shift] responsibility apparently or actually onto some other agency'.<sup>660</sup>

In these cases, projection onto these figures permits the adult to assume a third role, that of intermediary between child and threatening figure — the savior who may rescue the child from the *Kinderschreck*. The parents' 'part of the plot,' in Honigmann's words, is 'at first to affirm the child's naughtiness and then to intercede with the Krampus not to take the youngster away'.<sup>661</sup> The effect is that the authority of the unmasked adults occupying this central and crucial position in the drama is reinforced, as they have the power to control children and mummers and children alike: the former may appeal to them for protection, and the latter must obey their commands to curtail excessively violent or frightening behavior.

Such playful deception, in which only the adults are in on the joke, is characteristic of the "exposition" phase leading up to the catechism-interrogation (see Appendix E, Table 1). Since the younger the child is, the more likely it is that he will be genuinely frightened, such threats can be described as a kind of 'dark play', in which 'sometimes even the conscious players are not certain if they are playing or not'.<sup>662</sup> In the case of the catechism-interrogation, this play is (ostensibly) intended not only to hold children to account for their past behavior recorded in Nikolaus's Golden Book, but also to serve as a transition to the

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<sup>659</sup> Honigmann, p. 265.

<sup>660</sup> Widdowson, p. 43. As Widdowson notes, threats of varying levels of seriousness are issued by parents in the course of daily life (p. 27). While children are commonly given to understand that their parents will punish them themselves, threats may also include harm or abduction by 'real or imaginary external figures', which implies in turn the 'Alienation of parental affection and revocation of familial security' (ibid). In the context of the mumming performance-encounter, however, where the 'figures of fear' (ibid, p. 5) evoked in verbal warnings and folktales appear in the flesh, the threats made by them (and on their behalf by parents) assume a greater power, as the possibility of rewards and punishments suddenly seems quite concrete.

<sup>661</sup> Honigmann, p. 265.

<sup>662</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 109.

next level of maturity; to push them off the diving board into the deep end of the pool, as it were. In these mumming contexts, children are made to understand that their fate lies in their own hands and encouraged to choose the right path, to be “*brav*”. Today, however, most adults are careful to mitigate the element of dark play so that children can reach their destination without becoming incapacitated by fear or anxiety.

#### 10.2.4 From Murderous Monsters to Cuddle-Bears

One hallmark of the contemporary era is that many adults are ambivalent about the *Krampus*'s effects on children's psyches. As we have seen, the catechism-interrogation encourages adherence to socio-religious behavioral norms. This involves reining in the wilder, more destructive aspects of their cultural environment. Left to his own devices, of course, the *Krampus* is a terrible role model, and many adults are concerned by the psychological repercussions of the physical violence he metes out. Honigmann's observations in 1977 still hold true today:

On the one hand adults who remember their own fright as children cherish the drama and say that childhood would be much poorer without the evening's fantasy. On the other hand they are aware of potential psychic danger and recognize the need of protecting very young or timid children from trauma.<sup>663</sup>

While some people regard encounters with *Krampusse* as traumatic, others feel exposure to them is psychologically beneficial to children as well as a valuable part of their cultural heritage. Writing in the same year as Honigman, Hörandner noted the still-dominant discourse condemning the folklore of bogeys, monsters, witches and demons as psychologically harmful. She refers to ‘*eine Trendumkehr* [a reversal of the trend]’, noting that psychologists’ and pedagogues’ assessments and interpretations are changing: ‘*Wie die Hexe* (‘*Kinder brauchen Märchen!*’) *wird nunmehr auch wieder der Krampus als notwendiges Ventil für Ängste und Aggressionen gesehen und bewertet* [Like the witch (‘children need fairytales!’), the *Krampus* is now also perceived and valued as a necessary outlet for fears and aggressions].’<sup>664</sup> In *No Go the Bogeyman* (1998), Marina Warner muses that ‘It is possible that by scaring ourselves to death, by investing ourselves with the face

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<sup>663</sup> Honigmann, p. 265.

<sup>664</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 11.

and features of the bogeyman, by pretending to extremes of violence and aggression’, we have found a ‘way of confronting fear in times of anxiety and disarray’.<sup>665</sup>

While the current trend in childhood development is to move away from the ‘discipline of fear’<sup>666</sup> which has long provided the *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions with their structure, impetus, and *raison d’être*, today the *Krampus* is generally seen not so much as the personification of social and spiritual ills, but as the remedy to them. Overall, popular perception of his destructive power has diminished gradually, as shown by the evolution of accusations and punishments: from Church and civic condemnation of mummers in the fifteenth century<sup>667</sup> to lambasting them for spreading superstition in the Enlightenment,<sup>668</sup> and from inflicting psychic trauma on children to creating a mere public nuisance with their noise and rough-housing<sup>669</sup> in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

For many parents today, the transgressive aspects of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* remain within acceptable limits. It is an intriguing fact that while the masks themselves are gorier and more hideous than ever, evident in such details as exposed brain tissue and horns piercing tongues, the mummers’ behavior has become milder and more innocuous; even sweeter. Some groups make child-friendliness their explicit policy and regulate their behavior accordingly, eschewing violence as a matter of policy. On their website, the Breagazer Bodaseetüfl of Bregenz, Vorarlberg reassure readers of their intentions:

*Wir sind eine gewaltfreie Krampus- und Perchtengruppe, welche den Brauchtum der Krampus- bzw. Perchtenläufe gemeinsam mit anderen Gruppen and Vereinen in Vorarlberg und in Bodenseeraum wieder aufleben lassen! Es ist nicht unser Ziel Gewalt, Angst, Furcht oder Schrecken zu vermitteln, sondern vielmehr das alte Brauchtum wieder aufleben zu lassen und die Zuschauer mit den großartigen handgeschnitzten Masken zu erfreuen.*

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<sup>665</sup> Warner, p. 16. Warner lists a number of *Kinderschreck* and bogey figures, drawn from a wide variety of old and new literary and folkloric sources and reimagined as loveable oafs in popular culture forms which ‘quarry the grotesque for their peculiar atmosphere and pleasure (p. 18)’. Such cuddly monsters, witches and aliens appear in stuffed-toy form as well as in countless video games, children’s books, television shows, and films. Significantly, most of the devils depicted on the merchandise sold for Nikolaus Day are pointedly non-threatening and even twee.

<sup>666</sup> Widdowson, p. 5.

<sup>667</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 11.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid.*



We are a violence-free *Krampus* and *Perchten* group which together with other groups and clubs in Vorarlberg and in the Bodensee area is bringing the custom of *Krampus* and *Perchtenläufe* back to life! It is not our aim to convey violence, anxiety, dread or fear, but rather to revive the old custom and to delight the spectators with the magnificent hand-carved masks.<sup>670</sup>

In any case, it may well be that the violence of *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten*, such as it is, pales in comparison to the imagery children are exposed to every day through television, films, and video games. The increasingly horrific appearance of *Schiachperchten* and *Krampus* masks reflects this new aesthetic and the apparent desensitization towards it; adults and older children tend to view these masks as entertaining and artfully made rather than truly frightening. Nevertheless, some mummers are mindful of their effect on small children. Polanec eschews excessively gorey and frightening masks for this reason, remarking, ‘*Du merkst es bei den Kindern. Ich habe einen kleinen Sohn, der ist sechs Jahre alt. Der furchtet sich zum Beispiel vor diesen Gruselmasken ... da furchtet er sich, wirklich* [You notice that with the children. I have a little son who is six years old. He is afraid of these gorey masks, for example ... he is really afraid of them]’.<sup>671</sup> Gatterbauer likewise stressed the need to remain safe and approachable, reassuring children who may believe that *Perchten* actually exist that they are only human beings behind the mask.<sup>672</sup>

As Polanec’s and Gatterbauer’s comments show, current attitudes towards child-raising — namely, the concern with inflicting psychic trauma and distaste for corporal punishment<sup>673</sup> — are reflected in the ways in which mummers approach the performance-encounter. Conscious pedagogical efforts to introduce children to these folk-figures in a non-traumatic setting call for more passive and pettable *Krampusse*. The *Krampusse* of previous centuries who rattled their chains, beat children in earnest, and threatened to carry them off to Hell in their baskets would likely never have submitted to sitting quietly and being stroked by timid children in a *Kinderkrampusstreichelzoo* (“Children’s *Krampus*

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<sup>670</sup> Breagazer Bodaseetüfl, ‘Über Uns: Zu unserem Verein’, <[http://www.breagazer-bodaseetuefl.at/galleries/fotoshooting-2014-2/#prettyPhoto\[pp\\_gal\]/3/](http://www.breagazer-bodaseetuefl.at/galleries/fotoshooting-2014-2/#prettyPhoto[pp_gal]/3/)>, 2015, accessed Nov. 27, 2015.

<sup>671</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

<sup>672</sup> Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>673</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 20. For a more recent example, see Rafaella Lindorfer, *Der Kurier: Lifestyle*, ‘Rettet den Krampus: “Der tut nix”’, <<http://kurier.at/chronik/oesterreich/rettet-den-krampus-der-tut-nix/100.736.019>>, Dec. 5, 2014, accessed Dec. 18, 2015.

<sup>674</sup> Juvavum Pass, ‘Termine 2015’, <<http://www.juvavum-pass.at/veranstaltungen/>>, 2015, accessed Nov. 13, 2015.

Petting Zoo”), like the ones hosted by the Juvavum Pass in the week leading up to Nikolaus Day.<sup>674</sup> This event was designed, as the term *Streichelzoo* indicates, to introduce children — gently, and in daylight — to these intimidating figures away from the noise, chaos, smoke and stink of the nocturnal *Krampuslauf*.

While this is also one of the purposes of the mask exhibitions discussed in 6.4 (also held in late November), the mummers do not just display the masks, but inhabit them as well. One of these petting zoos was hosted by Salzburger Volkskultur and took place on December 2, 2015 between 9:30 and 2:30. The description promises that ‘*Hier können Kinder den Krampussen der Juvavum Pass mal ganz nahe sein, hinter die Maske schauen und die Angst besiegen* [Here children can get really close to the *Krampusse* of the Juvavum Pass, look behind the mask and overcome [their] fear]’.<sup>675</sup> Müller, describing his own experiences running as a *Krampus* in Niederalmb, Salzburg, shows how children’s fear may be dissipated during the performance-encounter:

*Ein Brüller, ein Hieb mit der Rute in die Menschenmenge [...] auf die Knie gefallen siehst du ein kleines, verängstigtes Kind vor dir stehen. Du beruhigst dich, die Glocken hören auf zu hämmern, brummelnd und gurrend fängst du an, das Kind zu streicheln. Es lacht, du ziehst ihm die Mütze über die Augen [...] mit einem Satz springst du auf, das Kind heult wieder [...].*

A roar, a lashing of the switch into the crowd of people [...] falling on your knees, you see a small, frightened child standing before you. You quiet yourself, the bells stop hammering; murmuring and cooing, you begin to pet the child. He laughs, you pull the cap over his eyes [...] with a start you jump up, the child howls again [...].<sup>676</sup>

This sight is commonplace in both *Perchten* and *Krampus* parades, and interaction with children generally demands the most attention and forethought from the mummers. In his firsthand account of *Krampus* mumming, Müller uses the term *Streichelbär* (which translates roughly to “teddy-bear” or “cuddle-bear”) to describe a style of interaction

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<sup>675</sup> Salzburger Volkskultur, ‘Aktuelle Termine’, <[http://www.salzburgervolkskultur.at/termine/aktuelle-termine/details/cal/2015/12/02/event/tx\\_cal\\_phpicalendar/Kinder\\_Krampus\\_Streichelzoo/?tx\\_cal\\_controlle\[lastview\]=view-search\\_event\[page\\_id-695\]offset-6&cHash=b73801fcdcf25f4e4b29fd7eaa7c36f](http://www.salzburgervolkskultur.at/termine/aktuelle-termine/details/cal/2015/12/02/event/tx_cal_phpicalendar/Kinder_Krampus_Streichelzoo/?tx_cal_controlle[lastview]=view-search_event[page_id-695]offset-6&cHash=b73801fcdcf25f4e4b29fd7eaa7c36f)>, 2015, accessed Nov. 13, 2015.

<sup>676</sup> Müller, p. 455.

sometimes adopted by *Krampusse* during parades, named for the type of contact preferred by curious and delighted young children and exhausted *Krampusse*: *streicheln*, or “petting”.<sup>677</sup> The term *Streichelbär* is revealing in itself, as the *Streichelbär* is *streichelbar* (pettable); they are both the petting and the petted. In the parade setting, it is not unusual to see *Schiachperchten* and *Krampusse* crouch before children and clumsily pat their heads while the children stroke their soft fur, or roll over on their backs, all four “feet” in the air and heads cocked inquisitively, like dogs hoping to get their bellies scratched. When they fall to the ground and roll around like puppies at the feet of spectators, particularly children, they subvert the conventional reading of their animal characteristics as terrifying by invoking a non-threatening animal persona: more cavorting puppy than raging gorilla. One can hear young children cry out, ‘*Kramperl!*’ in a tone of exhilaration laced with a little fear — a tone often heard at the height of play, when daring/inviting someone to chase or tickle them. Likewise, extending a hand to small children is a common performance-encounter trope in *Perchten* parades (V1, 02:11-02:22), which, as Gatterbauer explained, helps children know they need not be afraid, because there are human beings behind the masks.<sup>678</sup>

This evolution in performance style has coincided with a general socio-cultural trend in the industrialized West: the transformation of monsters and bogey-beasts (formerly viewed as truly terrifying and dangerous) into lovable, affable animals, like the family’s dusty but affectionate St. Bernard, or even cute cuddly-toys. Rather than giving nightmarish form to imaginary horrors, like the belly-slitters and child-gobblers of yesteryear, monsters of all descriptions are increasingly envisioned as a child’s best friend and confidant, sometimes closer than his parents or even other children. In Warner’s words:

Monsters have become children’s best friends, alter egos, inner selves. While the monster mania of the last few years has obviously been fostered by commercial interests, it has also diagnosed an identification that children themselves willingly and enthusiastically accept.<sup>679</sup>

This development must be considered in the current climate of gentler, more tolerant and inclusive attitudes towards child-raising and the corresponding reinterpretation and deployment of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* tradition. In addition to the rise of the *Streichelbär*,

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<sup>677</sup> Ibid.

<sup>678</sup> Schäringer Teufelsperchten. See also field notes, Appendix I6.

<sup>679</sup> Warner, p. 15.

this evolution is evident in the practice of *Einlegen*. Most commonly, Nikolaus gives gifts to good children while *Krampus* metes out switchings to the naughty ones. According to Hörandner, nasty *Einlegen* gifts like potatoes and coal provide a milder form of punishment (or merely symbolize it), while the miniature ornamental switches popular today are milder still.<sup>680</sup> Today it is common to give both children and adults sweets representing both *Krampus* and *Nikolaus* on Nikolaus Day (December 6) and the unofficial *Krampus* Day (December 5, often simply called “*Krampus*”), regardless of what their behavior has merited (a delicious chocolate *Krampus* does not make sense as a punishment).

The proliferation of this trend in both *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions provides evidence of their continuing relevance in a rapidly changing socio-cultural climate. The increased self-conscious concern with preserving the psychic safety and innocence of children (expressed in the fantasy-forms of children’s culture) seems to be directly in proportion to the perils and pressures which threaten it in everyday life, such as drug addiction and child molestation. Considering this juxtaposition and the emotional tension it generates, it is perhaps unsurprising that the horned, woolly *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten*, who combine the personalities of ferocious beast and *Streichelbär*, remain so popular.

The pedagogical aspect of both Nikolaus/*Krampus* and *Perchten* mumming has become more overt and therefore consensual, as mummers can no longer take for granted a more or less uniform familiarity with these traditions and acceptance of their archaic play with fear and punishment. As noted in 9.3.1, many *Krampusse* and *Perchten* display a sense of responsibility for disseminating correct understanding of cultural authenticity (viewed as an essential ingredient in successful *Erziehung*), by demonstrating it via performance and through explicit educational efforts. As we have seen, groups may instill a correct understanding of the tradition and prepare spectators for the experience ahead through mask exhibitions and petting zoos. Other methods include running commentary given by a master of ceremonies before or during parades or presentations in schools. Untermieder discussed the role of school presentations in getting young people interested in the tradition:

*Gehen wir aber auch auf Kinder und Jugendliche zu. Wolfgang ist sehr häufig mittlerweile eingeladen in Schulen und in Kindergärten, nicht nur hier im Ort, sondern das zieht immer*

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<sup>680</sup> Hörandner, p. 19.

*größere Kreise, weil das Interesse steigt. Und damit kann man Kinder immer mehr für das Brauchtum interessieren, man kann sie begeistern, im besten Sinne des Wortes und man auch bewirken, das sie keine Angst davor haben ... [in English:] there is no fear anymore.*

We also go to children and young people. Wolfgang is mostly invited to schools and to kindergartens, not only here in this area, but it attracts ever bigger districts, because interest is increasing. And in this way, children can get ever more interested in the tradition, one enchants them in the best sense of the word, and one can also act in such a way that they have no fear beforehand ... there is no fear anymore.<sup>681</sup>

*Perchten* and *Krampusse* are not the only ones concerned with showing children “the right way”. In keeping with its focus on folklore tourism, Altstadtmarketing Salzburg (the tourism and marketing bureau of Salzburg’s historic city center) has hosted a series of educational Krampus-themed events in cooperation with the Salzburg Landestheater, the Hellbrunn Zoo, and the Salzburg Spielzeugmuseum (toy museum) since 2007. It is significant that these are all scheduled during the day, emphasizing and facilitating children’s control over their experience.<sup>682</sup> This series, entitled “*Krampus erleben*” (which might best be translated “Experience *Krampus*”, since the verb *erleben* means to learn through experience), has included drama workshops which help children overcome their fear of the *Krampus* by “becoming” him, a lecture at the toy museum, and an introduction to the various horned animals at the Hellbrunn Zoo.<sup>683</sup>

### **10.2.5 ‘Respect, not Fear’: A Taste of the Rod**

Of course, the masked play must not be *too* safe, lest it become meaningless. The leader of the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n has repeatedly stressed that they aim to instill ‘*Respekte, nicht Angst* [respect, not fear]’ in children, even the mentally disabled children whose school they visit every year. Polanec described the impression they hope to make on children: ‘*Bei unseren Perchtenmasken, die wir haben, furchtet er sich nicht. Er hat zwar Respekt, aber er furchtet sich nicht. Er hat keine Angst* [He is not afraid of the *Perchten*

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<sup>681</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>682</sup> The text promises that children may ‘*Krampus erleben: Wissenswertes erfahren, Masken basteln, Theater spielen* [Learn about *Krampus*: experience [something] worth knowing, craft masks, play theater]’ (Tourismusverband Salzburger Altstadt, “Highlights im Winter: Workshop ‘Krampus erleben’”, <<http://www.salzburg-altstadt.at/media/pdf/pdf177.pdf>>, 2006, accessed Dec. 13, 2015).

<sup>683</sup> Ibid.

masks we have [on]. He does have respect, but he is not afraid. He has no fear].<sup>684</sup> It is important for children to understand that, while the *Perchten* choose not to act aggressively towards them, ‘*sie könnten*’ — they *could* be dangerous if they wanted to. The implication, of course, is that it is the child’s responsibility to maintain this balance through good behavior.<sup>685</sup> This implicit emphasis on the child’s conduct and character is the means by which children are taught to handle their growing independence with prudence and foresight. Essentially, the scripting of the performance-encounter is informed by *choice* on the part of both participants: the mummer chooses to “spare” his victim, if the latter chooses to behave in a way that warrants such leniency.

Several mummers expressed that, while nowadays a cursory “taste of the rod” is not meant to hurt or punish, it is therapeutic in small doses, something like an inoculation against fear. Berger said that, for *Perchten*, the horse-tail switches are stroked over the hair to brush away harmful influences, but the stroking should also be ‘*ein Bisschen strafen* [a bit to punish]’.<sup>686</sup> According to some disciplinary models, children should be given a taste of the rod — a nominal punishment which is both symbolic and actual, whether or not they have actually earned it — in order to build character, or as a preventative measure to discourage future wrongdoing. In this context, whippings, whether actual or merely threatened, assume a corrective and instructional value in themselves, which explains their long-standing use in *Erziehung*. (It is revealing that corporal punishment is so often accompanied by the promise/threat that the adult is going to ‘teach the child a lesson’.)

A symbolic tasting of the rod is found in Norman’s description of Nikolaus’s visit to a kindergarten, where the saint appears alone and so incorporates the rod-wielding duties assigned to the *Krampus* further south. In Norman’s account, the teacher played the bad cop to the saint’s good cop, prompting Nikolaus and feeding him information about which children needed punishment or praise:

When all the children are seated again, the head teacher tells Nikolaus that there is a boy in her group who always scratches and bites the other children. She says, ‘So now Georg can have a taste of the rod,’ and Nikolaus goes up to him, gets his rod, and rubs his cheek with it. [...] The head teacher, not finding this Nikolaus emphatic enough, tells Georg that ‘there you see how it goes, now you can see what it is like!’ and she looks at him quite

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<sup>684</sup> Ibid.

<sup>685</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

<sup>686</sup> Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.

disapprovingly. [...] Nikolaus lets all of the children touch the rod with their fingers as he slowly goes by them row after row, and they nudge each other or giggle shyly. Some of them are eager to be brave, others hesitate, but they all reach out to touch it.<sup>687</sup>

This gentle, cursory tasting of the rod is done, in Norman's view, to familiarize children with it, thus making it 'less spectacular and less threatening'.<sup>688</sup>

The overlapping of functions can also be seen in the ambiguous symbol of the sack, which can represent both rewards and punishments. While one thinks first of Nikolaus's sack as filled with gifts, it may also be used to abduct naughty children, like the cage-like baskets worn on the backs of mummers representing Perchta and the *Krampus* (Fig. 100) as well as the *Butzenbercht* and *Kinderfresser*.<sup>689</sup> The child's choices during the encounter ultimately determine his fate; that is, what is in the sack: reward or punishment. In any case, whether these aggregates (presented to children as a moral choice between good and bad) are split into two opposing figures or combined into one, it seems that by constructing a play-world bracketed by the poles of reward and punishment, children are given to understand that in everyday life they must operate within these parameters as well.

### 10.3 Child-Krampusse

The formation of the Schäringer Teufelsperchten illustrates the way in which informal childhood mumming can lead to the founding of a semi-professional club. Gatterbauer explained that they started out as an informal *Krampus* group with seven members when they were about fourteen or fifteen years old, roaming around downtown, '*Leute erschrecken, Kinder erschrecken* [frightening people, frightening kids]'. Gatterbauer went on to describe the informal process of becoming a *Krampus* as the natural outgrowth of growing up with the custom: '*Von Kindheit an erlebt man das mit, die Krampusnacht und die Nikolausnacht. Da wird zusammengerufen: Heute wird Krampusgehen, und da gibt es noch keinen Verein, kein gar nichts* [From childhood you see that, *Krampus* Night and

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<sup>687</sup> Norman, p. 330.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid, p. 329.

<sup>689</sup> Wolfram, *ÖVA*, p. 45; Norman, p. 330; Rumpf, 'Buzenbercht und Kinderfresser,' 57-76.

Nikolaus Night. From there it would be convened: Today we're going *Krampus*, and there was no club yet, none whatsoever]' .<sup>690</sup>

The founding members of the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten dressed in furs, but wore rubber masks rather than the ornate wooden ones they wear now. They were inspired by witnessing formally organized *Perchten* groups to graduate to more elaborate gear. According to Berger:

*Dann haben wir früher schon immer andere Perchtengruppen gesehen, die zu Gast waren in Schärdding, und dann haben wir gesagt, wir möchten auch Holzmasken haben und die richtigen Felle dazu und das Gewand und alles was zu einer richtigen Perchtenausrüstung dazugehört. Und da ist das ganze irgendwann einmal entstanden.*

[By] then we had seen earlier other *Perchten* groups who were guests in Schärdding, and then we said, we would also like to have wooden masks and the right pelts to go with them and the costume and everything that belongs to a proper *Perchten* outfit. And the whole thing eventually developed from there.<sup>691</sup>

Uebelacker illustrated how children's familiarity with them leads organically to their wanting to make their own masks and come along:

*Im Kindergarten in der Schule sind die Perchten bestens bekannt. Die kennen unsere Lieder, die kennen unserer Sprüche, sie kennen die Masken. [...] Wir haben eine sehr, sehr große Fan-Gemeinde bei Kindern, die schon mit fünf, sechs Jahren sagen: 'Papa, später will ich bei den Perchten mitlaufen!' Und das passiert auch. Das habe ich selber erlebt. Die haben dann [alles] selber gemacht, die Masken aus Karton, und die Mama muss ein Gewand machen. Da gehen die Kinder mit, und irgendwann stehen sie plötzlich da und sind dabei. Das habe ich schon sehr oft erlebt.*

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<sup>690</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.



The *Perchten* are known best of all in kindergarten, in school. They know our songs, they know our patter, they know the masks. [...] We have a very, very big fan base with children, who are already saying at five, six years old: ‘Papa, later I want to run along with the *Perchten!*’ And that happens, too. I have experienced that myself. They have made everything themselves, the masks out of cardboard, and the mama must make a costume. The children come along, and somewhere along the way, they are suddenly with us. I have that seen that myself quite often.<sup>692</sup>

Pre-adolescent boys may still be seen roaming the streets informally, either alone, accompanied by a relative, or in small bands, whacking people with homemade switches and playing pranks. My observation of the child-*Krampusse* walking around the city of Salzburg<sup>693</sup> in 2005, 2006 and 2007 in the week leading up to Nikolaus Day came from the practice of accidental ethnography,<sup>694</sup> which involves being open to everyday, out-of-frame experiences in the field as potential sources of valuable data<sup>695</sup> and can be combined quite naturally with Österlund-Pötzsch’s “tourist gait”,<sup>696</sup> a conscious observational practice with parallels in ethnographic observation (9.2.2). These informal solo perambulations were not publicized, of course, and I did not know at the time that they could still be seen on the streets of Salzburg. On those days, I was walking around the city, alert but otherwise undirected, in search of contextual information,<sup>697</sup> which permitted me to experience the child-*Krampusse* in the context of several other aspects of child-focused culture emanating from Nikolaus Day: *Einlegen* gifts in shop windows, adult *Krampusläufe*, children overheard talking excitedly to parents about the *Krampus*, and the *Christkindlmarkt* itself (Map 2) with its combination of tourists and local families.

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<sup>692</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>693</sup> See field notes, Appendix I5.

<sup>694</sup> Fujii, pp. 526-527.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid.

<sup>696</sup> Österlund-Pötzsch, p. 15.

<sup>697</sup> I sought to gain insight into five of Richard Bauman’s six types of context used to analyze folklore: ‘(a) *context of meaning* (what does it mean?); (b) *institutional context* (where does it fit within the culture?); (c) *context of communicative system* (how does it relate to other kinds of folklore?); (d) *social base* (what kind of people does it belong to?); (e) *individual context* (how does it fit into a person’s life?) [...]’ (‘The Field Study of Folklore in Context’ in *Handbook of American Folklore*, ed. by Richard M. Dorson with Inta Gale Carpenter (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 362-368 (367). His italics. Cited in Ben-Amos, “‘Context’ in Context”, p. 215).

The child-*Krampusse* observed in Salzburg resembled each other in age and appearance, dressed in mass-produced rubber devil masks and costumes consisting of a sheepskin poncho or a mother's fur vest cinched with a wide leather belt hung with bells, a miniature version of those worn by their adult counterparts. Similarities of behavior were in evidence as well. On Nikolaus Day, 2005, one of three child-*Krampusse* roaming around the market stalls outside the Salzburg train station came up to me, considering, took me by the sleeve, and tried a few whacks with his bundle of twigs, but failed to make contact, having apparently misjudged the distance, and being quite small. He held up his switch as if threatening to try again, and I started giggling, but struggled to stop, worried that it was the wrong reaction. (I feared that my nervous giggling would break the spell and intrude upon the play, constituting, in Huizinga's words, 'a collapse of the play spirit, a sobering, a disenchantment'.)<sup>698</sup> My would-be assailant regained his equilibrium by stealing a few roasted chestnuts from a nearby vendor, who also laughed, setting my mind at ease.

Walking through the old squares around the Salzburg Cathedral later that evening, I heard the jangling of cowbells in the darkness, and a young man working at a nearby *Glühwein* stand swept his female companion off her feet, shouting, '*Der Krampus kommt!* [The *Krampus* is coming!]' while she shrieked with mock-hysteria. The scene became all the more comical when the *Krampus* emerged from the dark alley, a tiny boy weighed down by a fur tunic, bells, and adult-sized rubber devil mask and accompanied by his father and older brother. One could not say that the young man and woman played a less important role than the costumed *Krampus*; if anything, their enthusiasm far exceeded his, demonstrating that the adults these little mummers encounter (like American parents dressing up for Halloween and taking children as young as one trick-or-treating) play a vital role in training them to be *Krampusse*.

While *Krampus*-baiting usually consists of unmasked boys teasing adult *Krampusse*, adults and teenagers may sometimes be seen baiting (and thus encouraging) child-*Krampusse* in a playful reversal of roles. Later that week, while waiting on a pedestrian lane in the old part of the city around the Salzburg cathedral for the official, *Christkindlmarkt*-sponsored *Krampuslauf* to begin, I noticed a little *Krampus* who could not have been older than five coming up the street, accompanied by his mother. She drifted off to smoke a cigarette, gazing into the distance as if she had nothing to do with the proceedings, but remained close enough to keep an eye on things (about five meters away)

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<sup>698</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1950), p. 21. Originally pub. in Dutch as *Proeve Ener Bepaling Van Het Spelelement Der Cultuur* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1938).

while the boy ran up to a pair of teenage boys and began switching them vigorously about the knees and calves with his bundle of twigs, which was as high as he could reach. They endured this with laughter and exclamations of pain which seemed to be somewhat exaggerated for their assailant's benefit. They mostly seemed to be focused upon each other, looking up at each other and grinning, but when the little *Krampus* stopped switching them and turned away, apparently distracted, they studied him for a while. Finally, one leaned down and made a loud sound in the child's ear that was something between a bark and a belch, which immediately spurred him back into action.

#### 10.4 Rising to the Bait: *Krampus*-Hunting

Another type of age-based participation in these traditions is known as *Krampusjagen* (*Krampus*-hunting) or *Perchtenjagen* (*Perchten*-hunting). Hörandner reports that in southwest Carinthia and Tyrol, the term *Kramperljagen*, like *Kramperllaufen*, referred to the running of the *Krampusse* themselves, who were accompanied by unmasked children who ran before them (*Vorläufer*, or “forerunners”).<sup>699</sup> This chase, announced with a cacophony of bells and chains, began a day or two before the *Krampusse* made their official appearance. According to Müller, there can be some ambiguity as to who is chasing whom:

*Die Karriere beginnt als “Kramperl-Jäger”. “Krampusjagen” bedeutet: Vor dem Krampus davonzulaufen. Meist sind die Jäger so feige, daß noch nie ein Krampus je die Chance hatte, einem ein paar Hiebe zu versetzen. Später oder bereits parallel beginnt der typische “Kramperl-Jäger” seine erste Ausrüstung zu fabrizieren: Zuerst eine Waschtrommel mit Kuhhörnen und ein älter Mantel [...].*

The career begins as “*Kramperl*-hunter”. “*Krampus*-hunting” means: to run away from the *Krampus*. For the most part, the hunters are so cowardly that a *Krampus* hasn't even had the chance to deal him a couple of blows. Later, or even concurrently, the typical “*Kramperl*-hunter” begins to make his first outfit: First a washbasin with cow horns and an old coat [...].<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>699</sup> Hörandner, ‘Nikolausbrauchtum I und II’, p. 20.

<sup>700</sup> Müller, p. 454.

Today the “hunt” takes the form of brief *Krampus* or *Perchten*-baiting before the beginning of parades. Boys aged roughly eight to twelve may frequently be observed running up to the mummers waiting to begin the procession, and sometimes even after it begins. They get as close as they dare, grinning, laughing, and perhaps reaching out to poke one. Invariably, a masked figure will turn suddenly on them with a roar, at which the boys will shriek with glee and scatter, regrouping to try again later. (The teasing is rather low-risk; few rise to the bait, and then only briefly, though the boys milk the encounter for every last drop of terrified glee.) The *Ordner* generally tolerate this, even when they are vigilant to clear the parade route of other spectators. The boys who tease adult *Krampusse* before processions tend to be older than those who roam the streets as child-*Krampusse* themselves, and older still than those who regard these figures with genuine fear and awe, but not quite old enough to join the men in their mumming bands. Certainly these companies of young men, joined every year by new recruits, function as fraternities representing the division between boy and man; indeed, it is their de facto task to dramatize the dynamics of the relationship between children and adults for their young spectators, just as they represent the relationship between men and women (albeit in playful caricature) for adults.

As in the catechism-interrogation, *Krampus*-hunting creates a way for children to test their courage and reflexes against this forbidding figure. Whether they are being trained to be spectators engaging appropriately with *Krampusse* or *Krampusse* themselves, children learn the behavior expected of all participants through the semantically dense medium of the performance-encounter. The essential personalities of Nikolaus and *Krampus* remain constant while children’s relationship to them changes year by year. (As boys and girls grow older, their way of relating to this figure differs more and more in keeping with the general divergence in gender-based social development, as we shall see in 10.5.) Müller, himself a member of the Niederalmer *Krampusen* from the age of 16, describes *Krampus*-hunting in terms of the gradual evolution from child to *Krampus* (that is, from boy to man):

*Werden die Jungen sechzehn Jahre alt, dann haben sie die Chance, bei den “echten Krampusen” aufgenommen zu werden. Dort sind einige schon über zehn Jahre dabei. Ich z. B. war mit sechs Jahren das erste Mal “Kramperl-Jagern”, mit acht Jahren besaß ich meine erste Pappemaske und mit vierzehn die erste selbstgeschnitzte Holzmaske, die noch mehr einer Waschrumpel als einem schreckenerregenden Krampusgesicht glich.*

Turning sixteen years old, the boys have the chance to be accepted by the “real *Krampusse*”. Some have already been [with them] over ten years by then. [...] I, for

example, went “*Kramperl*-hunting” for the first time at six years, at eight owned my first *papier mâché* mask, and at fourteen the first homemade wooden mask, which looked more like a washboard than a terrifying *Krampus* face.<sup>701</sup>

Another of Bauman’s comments about the *belsnickles* discussed in 10.2.3 is relevant here:

It is evident that in frightening and intimidating the youngsters of the household, the *belsnickles* were gaining release from the time, just recently left behind, when they themselves were fearful children, terrified of the strange and the supernatural and subject to external mechanisms of moral control. On the other hand, it must be recognized that at the very same time the *belsnickles* were rejecting their former status as children from their position outside the social order, they were also acting as agents of the social order by participating in the socialization of the children.<sup>702</sup>

In such cases, the gradual process of becoming a *Krampus* reflects the boy’s transition to adulthood and assumption of adult roles and responsibilities. In the following section, we shall see how gender roles are reflected in these traditions as well.

## 10.5 Mumming and Gender

From the preceding sections, which deal with the ways in which age factors into *Nikolaus/Krampus* mumming, it is clear that men and boys are generally the most active participants from childhood, some eventually becoming *Krampusse* themselves. What, then, are the girls doing all this time?

While the *Nikolaus/Krampus* performance-encounter typically centers around children and the inculcation of right behavior and is therefore more generalized with respect to gender, the onset of adolescence marks a divergence in how boys and girls participate in the performance-encounter. The interactions *Krampusse* initiate with teens and adults are not only gendered, but frequently eroticized. Everyday gender roles and expectations may be subverted or reinforced in this more adult sphere, in which subversion of performance-encounter tropes may also occur, often drawing on the tension between the masked

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<sup>701</sup> Müller, p. 454.

<sup>702</sup> Bauman, ‘*Belsnickling in a Nova Scotia Island Community*’, pp. 240-241.

performers and their “victims” (also performers), who may bend the rules of engagement through their improvisations and tussle for control of the encounter. In a lively and exciting episode, it is not a given that the *Krampus* will maintain the upper hand.

This is not necessarily the only manner in which women and girls can participate in these traditions, however. While *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are still overwhelmingly male, there are increasing numbers of women and girls taking on mumming roles as well.

### 10.5.1 “Playing *Krampus*” as Gender Performance

When I first encountered *Krampusse* in the field, I toyed with the idea that they represented maleness in a highly caricatured way: they are big, hairy, and strong; rough and potentially violent; not particularly verbal, preferring to roar and grunt; they like to drink, fight, and paw women, and, while they can be as playful as children themselves, they threaten them with a whipping to scare them into good behavior. Of course, in this social triad of men, women, and children, the mummers are not only men, but present something of this caricature by amplifying and simplifying the visual and behavioral signifiers of maleness, including secondary sex characteristics. (Some *Krampus* costumes even have sculpted chest and abdominal muscles, suggesting a cross between a gorilla and a body-builder; see, for example, V7, 28:19-28:28 for a *Krampus* with a wasp waist and molded thorax.) Watching them roaring, strutting, and preening, it soon becomes apparent that part of the joy of being a *Krampus* is showing who has the longest horns and the biggest bells.

This analysis was facetious at first, a conceit to amuse myself, but over time I learned that there was indeed some truth in this. *Krampus/Mädel* interaction mirrors and mingles with everyday social male-female interaction, itself a type of role-play laden with tropes and conventions which lend themselves easily to exaggeration. Goffman puts it more mildly: ‘If gender be defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning), then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of those correlates.’<sup>703</sup> Koenig believes that the *Klaubauf* role is the most coveted in East Tyrol because of the vision of idealized male potency it presents.<sup>704</sup> Inhabiting this skin, as it were, allows mummers to play out this fantasy and perhaps graft parts of it onto their own personalities:

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<sup>703</sup> Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, p. 1.

<sup>704</sup> Koenig, p. 18.

*In vielen Orten gibt es [...] nur Klaubaufs und keinen Nikolaus. Genauso treten in den Städten Krampusse immer wieder spontan auf, aber kein Bursch wird von sich aus ohne spezielle Aufgabe als Nikolaus gehen.*

In many places, there are [...] only *Klaubaufs* and no Nikolaus. In just this manner, *Krampusse* appear ever more spontaneously in the cities, but no young man will go as Nikolaus by himself without a special mission.<sup>705</sup>

Accompanying the Juvavum Pass at the Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf* on December 6, 2005, I witnessed a scene that exemplified how playing Krampus can be regarded as a type of gender performance — and commentary on gender performance. In addition, it called to mind Koenig’s reference to bells and other noise-makers as a means for *Klaubaufe* and *Krampusse* to mark their territory acoustically (perhaps an alternative explanation to the apotropaic function mentioned in 3.1).<sup>706</sup> Another *Krampus* group, who, like the Juvavum Pass, were waiting behind a shed adjacent to the parade route to do the final lap of the *Perchtenlauf*, stood in a big circle facing in and shook their bells together, raising an enormous din. At one point a Juvavum Pass member ran to the outer edge of the ring and joined in, wagging his rear end at the other group and adding the discordant, deep clunking of his *Glocke* to the higher, shimmering, sleigh bell-like sound of their *Schellen*, an act which seemed to be intended both as mockery of the other group and entertainment for his own. The mother of one of the Juvavum Pass *Krampusse*, herself an *Ordner*, was laughing at the sight. I felt I understood her laughter as a woman’s reaction to a display of machismo, but asked what they were doing anyway. ‘*Imponieren*,’ she said — trying to impress or outdo each other. ‘They want girlfriends, but they can’t get ‘em,’ added one *Krampus*, speaking in English.<sup>707</sup>

While these observations were made at a comical scene well out of sight of the parade spectators, gendered displays of various kinds also factor into the performance-encounter, as we shall see in the following section.

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<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> Koenig, p. 15.

<sup>707</sup> See field notes, Appendix I2. In addition to the *Vertreibung* function, to which he partly subscribes, Koenig sees such noise-making in terms of ethology, as an ‘*Imponiermittel* [means of making an impression]’ with which ‘*man sein Territorium akustisch markiert* [one marks his territory acoustically]’ (p. 15).

### 10.5.2 The *Krampus/Mädel* Performance-Encounter as Gendered Role-Play

Today pre-adolescent girls and boys alike are subjected to a gentler version of the performance-encounter than their teen counterparts, although, as noted in 10.3, boys tend to partake more actively, some even becoming *Krampusse* themselves. At adolescence girls are propelled into a more active role as well, attracting the special interest of *Krampusse* just as they start to be singled out for male attention in everyday life. In male-dominated customs like these, it is tempting to conclude that, as with peacocks, the female is drab and unornamented while the male is a glorious show-off. Nevertheless, while the mummers initiate the encounter and thereby push young women into the passive, reactive position, it can be argued that the role they play is as essential to the performance-encounter as that of the *Krampus*.

In 4.5 and 5.7, we saw how chasing women, grabbing and whipping them has long been a customary activity for both *Perchten* and *Krampusse*. Such physical intimacy between unmarried men and women was of course prohibited in daily life, but temporarily sanctioned on these special occasions, a subversion of the rules governing everyday interaction. The fertility-bringing properties of whipping notwithstanding, the promise of rambunctious eroticized play would have sufficed as motivation in itself, as it does today. It seems likely that the erotic element in both *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions arose incidentally from the fact that the mummers are generally teenagers and young men, given temporary license to shed their usual identities and social inhibitions while behind the mask. Because of this, it is perhaps inevitable that when dealing with their female victims, an erotic undertone should attach itself to the play. According to this narrative, in the days when the mummers were itinerant farmhands working most of the year in secluded Alpine valleys, winter brought a respite from work as well as the opportunity to travel farther afield, and house visits afforded the opportunity to earn much-needed extra income and meet marriageable young women. Untermieder noted that, while it is easy for young men and women to find each other today, *Perchten* house visits once provided a way for them to meet:

*Das waren — so ein Laufen ist sehr anstrengend — eine Möglichkeit für junge Burschen, mit Mädchen in Kontakt zu kommen. Heute ist das kein Problem, heute gehe ich in die Diskothek oder sonst irgendwo hin und ich habe sofort Kontakt. Das war früher anders...das ist eher heimlich passiert — [in English:] backstage — so dass man sagen könnte, das war eine gute Gelegenheit, sich ein Mädchen auszusuchen, mit ihr Kontakt aufzunehmen, ohne dass sie mich nicht erkannt hat. Man hat ihr dann über den Bauch*



*gestrichen und konnte damit signalisieren: das wäre eine Auserwählte. Oder man hat sie mit Ruß beschmiert. Ich glaube, dass dieses Ritual heute auch noch existiert. Es hat nicht mehr die Bedeutung. Aber es ist noch vorhanden.*

Those were — such a run is very arduous — a possibility for young men to come into contact with girls. Today that is no problem; today I go down to the discotheque or anywhere else and I immediately have contact. Earlier, it was otherwise...that first took place at home — backstage — so that one could say, that was a good occasion to seek out a girl, establish contact with her; without that she didn't get to know me. One stroked her over the stomach [with the switch] and thus signaled: that would be the chosen one. Or one smeared her with soot. I believe that this ritual still exists today, but it has no more meaning. Yet it is still around.<sup>708</sup>

While it is much easier for men and women to meet informally today, and marriage is not always the motivation, the interplay between the sexes remains charged, due now more to the opaque barrier of the mask and the character it summons forth than to the fact of physical contact itself. Koenig describes this wonderfully as a '*Blinddarm* [blind date]',<sup>709</sup> although in this case the woman remains 'blind' until the end of the date, or forever. She usually does not know who is behind the mask, and the man is free to assume a different persona, perhaps exploring uncharted parts of his personality as long as he wears it. Uebelacker described this transformation: '*Ich bin ein anderer, ich habe die Maske auf, ich bin jetzt ein anderer. Ich bin hemmungsloser, ich kann auch auf die Mädchen ganz anders zugehen* [I am another, I have the mask on, I am now someone else. I am more uninhibited, I can approach girls in a totally different way].'<sup>710</sup>

This freedom of mumming, with its suspension of everyday identities (or rather, the simultaneous mediation of everyday and temporary identities) is personal as well as social. As Uebelacker's comment shows, it allows both masked and unmasked participants not only to experiment with new behaviors and ways of relating to one another, but also to

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<sup>708</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>709</sup> Koenig, p. 8. He believes the courtship element stems from St. Nikolaus's association with marriage (the legend of the virgins and the gift of the gold pieces) and its seasonal context. He argues that c. 1900, farmers tended to marry at the juncture between winter and spring in accordance with work/rest patterns in the agricultural year, pointing out the Valentine-like quality of *Krampus* greeting cards (pp. 7-8). (See also 5.7.)

<sup>710</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

explore unfamiliar or secret aspects of their personalities without recrimination or “losing face”. If their actions are laughed at, they can remain the antics of the character they are playing rather than an expression of their true desires; if taken seriously, they can be pursued to some degree. As Koenig explains:

*Die Maske befreit den Träger von der Konvention. Er kann Dinge tun, die ohne Maske peinlich wären. Wo es um ein Mädchen geht, wirkt dies erleichternd, den sogar im Haus, vor Eltern und Geschwistern, ermöglicht die Maske eine Annäherung, das In-den-Arm-Nehmen durch den “Unbekannten” und eine Erwidern ohne Prestigeverlust. Es ist ein erregendes Theater, das gespielt wird. Man agiert gleich Schauspielern auf der Bühne und darf hintergründig doch wieder ernstnehmen, was man will.*

The mask frees the wearer from convention. He can do things which would be embarrassing without the mask. Where a girl is involved, this makes things easier, for even in the house, in front of parents and siblings, the mask enables a drawing near, the taking of the “unknown” in the arms, and reciprocation without losing face. It is a thrilling theater which is performed. People act as actors on the stage while in the background one may [...] take seriously what one will.<sup>711</sup>

Thus under his *Krampus* mask, a shy, well-mannered boy may bellow and beat his chest like a gorilla, paw at other boys’ girlfriends, and deliver a sound switching to the town bully. More than one young *Schiachpercht* or *Krampus*, having whipped and pawed me vigorously while in character, was soft-spoken, courteous and even deferential when speaking with me afterwards. While the mummer acts differently as a *Krampus* than he would in everyday life, his ordinary personality is still present under the mask, informing the performance and tempering the *Krampus* persona. In return, his *Krampus*-self may also embolden his ordinary self to attempt things he would ordinarily be afraid to do, indicating another level of psychologically productive symbiosis to the merging of mask and man discussed in 6.5. After all, ‘It isn’t that a performer stops being himself or herself when he or she becomes another — multiple selves coexist in an unresolved dialectical tension.’<sup>712</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>712</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 6.

One of Goffman's insights into gender displays sheds further light on gendered self-presentation in these mumming contexts:

Instead of merely "displacing" an act [...] the human actor may wait until he is out of the direct line of sight of a putative recipient, and then engage in a portrayal of attitude to him that is only then safe to perform, the performance done for the benefit of the performer himself or third parties. In turn, the recipient of such a display (or rather the target of it) may actively collaborate, fostering the impression that the act has escaped him even though it hasn't — and sometimes evidently so.<sup>713</sup>

Of course, Goffman is referring here to such acts as thumbing one's nose at the boss while he is out of the room. But this insight may apply to mumming as well (for example, a painfully shy teenage *Krampus* emboldened to accost girls from inside his hyper-virile costuming), insofar as the mask and the adoption of a new persona may be considered to remove the actor from 'the direct line of sight'. This type of action also speaks to the mutual suspension of disbelief in the mumming performance-encounter, where one may through gesture and actions "say" what one ordinarily could not. In interviews, men sometimes expressed how much they enjoyed the flirtatious interaction masked role-play afforded them. After a particularly rambunctious *Krampuskränzchen* which involved the energetic lashing of waitresses with horse tails and ordering teenage girls to climb into shopping carts to be wheeled wildly about the restaurant (Fig. 53), a young member of a Bavarian *Perchten* and *Krampus* group expressed his enjoyment of the anonymous flirtation afforded by the mask. Part of the thrill, he explained, was seeing these women afterwards and holding the secret knowledge that, while they do not recognize him, he is the man with whom they shared this strange intimacy.<sup>714</sup>

Women's feelings about the performance-encounter vary. Having absorbed the performance script from childhood, they expect to endure a certain amount of manhandling, which may or may not be welcome. Therefore they tend to act preemptively to control the degree of contact by either putting themselves in harm's way or escaping the mummer's embrace. While some women wish to avoid *Krampusse* altogether or at least observe from a safe distance, others make a point to stay within striking range. The latter still make a show

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<sup>713</sup> Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, p. 3.

<sup>714</sup> Ruperti-Pass e. V. Ainring (Hansi), Alötting, Dec. 11, 2005. See field notes, Appendix I17.

of resistance by shrieking and pulling away, ducking or fleeing, a performance trope which resolves into capitulation. While they squirm in the mummers' embrace and instinctively dodge the switch, they make little effort to pull away, let alone flee. Sometimes they do run away, but return to repeat the cycle. As one *Percht* put it:

*Sie können das sehen, wenn junge Mädchen — 16, 17, 18 Jahre — wenn die als Besucher zu einem Laufen kommen und dann zum Beispiel von einem Maskenträger erschreckt werden, [in English:] she runs away. Sie kommen aber wieder zurück und ziehen vielleicht und laufen dann wieder weg. Dieses Spiel existiert nach wie vor.*

You can see that, when [...] young girls —16, 17, 18 years [old] — when they come as visitors to a running and then, for example, are frightened by a mask-wearer, she runs away. But they come back again, and maybe pull away and then run away again. This game exists as before.<sup>715</sup>

In East Tyrol, the game of pursuit and resistance takes place in the kitchen. Koenig explains that the efforts of the *Klaubaife* to empty the room, starting with the kitchen table (the *Tischaufraumen*), are especially vigorous when girls are hiding behind it. The *Klaubaife* pull first the table, then the people clustered behind it out the front door while their resistant victims try to hold on for dear life, until the whole room has been “*geräumt*” (cleared). In this game, explains Koenig:

*Hauptangriffsziele sind immer die Mädchen. [...] Und weil das den Mädchen so gut gefällt, eilen sie mitunter den Klaubaufs von Hof zu Hof voraus, um immer wieder hinter dem verteidigten Tisch hervorgezerrt zu werden.*

Girls are always the main targets. [...] And because the girls like it so much, they hurry on ahead of the *Klaubaufs* from house to house in order to be torn away from behind the table again and again.<sup>716</sup>

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<sup>715</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>716</sup> Koenig, p. 20.

Along the same lines, Müller observes that during *Krampusläufe*, ‘*Hübsche Frauen [...] bekommen eine Sonderbehandlung (d.h. ein paar Hiebe mehr)* [Pretty women receive special treatment (that means a few more blows)]’, and want to see ‘*ob sich unter der Maske nicht ein schöneres Gesicht verbirgt* [whether a more handsome face is not hidden under the mask]’.<sup>717</sup>

Thus the paradramatic play of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming provides a ritual structure to contain male-female interaction within socially acceptable parameters. As bold and licentious as the *Krampus/Mädel* interaction appears, it is limited to a specific time of year and occurs in front of family and community. Flirtation with a *Krampus* in the family kitchen, however drunken and charged with sexual electricity, is unlikely to result in pregnancy. Although the massive parades of today are more impersonal and delocalized than they were formerly, and many liberties are allowed (or at least endured), mummers must conform to current legal and social standards of conduct for the most part. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj’s observations on eroticized mumming in Finland are equally applicable to our Austro-Bavarian examples:

The adult mummer can violate the everyday rules of good behavior but must remember that in a village community where everyone knows everyone else she or he may well be recognized. [...] Mumming *can* be tremendous fun for mummers and hosts alike, but it must also withstand the light of day when the party is over. In other words, it must keep to a certain degree of law and order.<sup>718</sup>

### 10.5.3 Gender in the Ethnographic Encounter

In his discussion of fieldwork strategies, Kenneth Goldstein suggests enlisting an informant to help the fieldworker by saying or doing something that will instigate a particular response on the part of others, triggering a specific event that the fieldworker wants to observe (asking them to tell a certain story, for example). He refers to the strategy as ‘inducing natural context’, which is actually a contradiction, since ‘inducing natural context’ means artificially creating a “naturalistic” situation:

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<sup>717</sup> Müller, p. 455.

<sup>718</sup> Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj, ‘Eros in Disguise: Eroticism in Mumming Interaction’ in *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 531-547 (544).

By having the accomplice behave in a way that is likely to stimulate some subject(s) to exhibit behavior or provide information the fieldworker wants to observe or record, he indicates, the subjects' behavior, though induced, still "occurs naturally" in the kind of "social context" in which it is commonly and appropriately in evidence.<sup>719</sup>

While I did not initially understand the dynamics and tropes of the *Krampus/Mädel* performance-encounter, once I had been drawn into it I realized I would be playing the role of *Mädel* by default, being a relatively young woman at the time. This was 'a revelatory moment', to use Fujii's term,<sup>720</sup> illuminating a path forward and providing valuable social context. While conducting accidental ethnography, the ethnographer 'might notice the different ways that people type her. [...] These smaller, less dramatic moments can reveal patterns, logics, and practices that other, more procedure-driven methods cannot'.<sup>721</sup> Therefore I decided to embrace the opportunity, standing in the front row at parades whenever possible in order to 'induce natural context'; in effect, to smoke the folklore out. In addition, I would be playing the *Mädel* while also playing the fieldworker, which meant that my own experience of the performance-encounter would be foregrounded (2.5.3); in essence, I would become one of my own field subjects.

As a consequence, my participant-observation would become more complex and require greater reflexivity (2.4.1). As stressed by Cupples<sup>722</sup> and Whitehead and Conaway,<sup>723</sup> women cannot and should not ignore or dismiss the impact of gender and sexuality on their fieldwork, which can take different forms. As Cupples explains, 'We will still be sexually positioned by members of the host community. [...] sexuality will be constructed for us, even if we attempt to put our sexuality aside in the interests of maintaining some form of detachment or objectivity'.<sup>724</sup> I, too found that I could not shed my gender identity and the perceptions and projections with which others might approach

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<sup>719</sup> Kenneth S. Goldstein, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1964), p. 87.

<sup>720</sup> Fujii, p. 526. Fujii writes, 'The mundane and quotidian of field life are filled with smaller dramas that generate similar feelings of awkwardness and delight as those that characterize revelatory moments' and recommends 'treating these smaller moments as data' (p. 527).

<sup>721</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 527.

<sup>722</sup> Cupples, p. 383.

<sup>723</sup> Tony Larry Whitehead and Mary Conaway, eds., *Self, Sex and Gender in Cross-Cultural Fieldwork* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

<sup>724</sup> Cupples, p. 383.

it. That being the case, I did find that my gender yielded an advantage in one respect: it permitted me to observe and experience the *Krampus/Mädel* performance-encounter from the inside.

While the gendered dimension of my fieldwork mostly expressed itself in the non-verbal performance-encounter, my dual roles as “woman” and “fieldworker” sometimes affected conversations with mummerners as well. The ethnographic encounter has the capacity to become a power struggle, as noted by Américo Paredes.<sup>725</sup> Historically, the ethnographer has generally had the upper hand in these situations, having higher social status or other kinds of leverage, which necessitates that he not abuse his position by making his informants feel uncomfortable, disrespected or exploited. This model assumes that the ethnographer is male, however; when the ethnographer is female, the dynamics can change considerably in keeping with social power imbalances prescribed by gender.<sup>726</sup> Forcing a sudden shift in role-identification is one way for a male informant to seize control of the exchange and turn the tables on a female ethnographer, as I learned in the field. Recasting the ethnographic encounter as a seductive game, which could be accomplished with double entendre or an openly lewd comment, is one way of putting a female ethnographer in her place. In these situations, forcing me to switch from one identity to another — from ethnographer to the lower-status role of woman — changed the power differential in their favor. This was, of course, in keeping with the “power struggle” dynamics of the performance-encounter, which also involves male mummerners disorienting their (often female) co-participants and making them lose their footing.

In some cases, the tug-of-war over the direction and tone of the conversation became palpable, as it did during a 2007 house visit in Bad Mitterndorf. Stopping along the way between pubs where the Nikolaus play would be performed, I accompanied several *Krampusse* and the *Håbergoaß* (a comical goat figure; see Figs. 18 and 98-99 for examples from other groups) into the kitchen of a family who invited us to join them in toasting each other’s health with schnaps. Since there was no more room left on the benches around the kitchen table by the time we arrived, the *Håbergoaß* sat on a chair by the stove while I stood. Between balancing a shot glass of schnaps in the goat’s mouth — which sat perched atop his head, the construction of his mask/costume being of the clacking-jaw pole-puppet

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<sup>725</sup> Paredes, p. 29. See also pp. 26-27 and 32.

<sup>726</sup> Gwen Sharp and Emily Kremer recognize ‘the need to protect research subjects from exploitation or harm. Given past abuses of research subjects, increased scrutiny of research protocols was certainly needed’, but note that sometimes female researchers compromise their own safety in order to achieve this objective (‘The Safety Dance: Confronting Harassment, Intimidation, and Violence in the Field’, *Sociological Methodology*, 36 (2006), 317-327 (p. 317)).

type — he proceeded to smile at me and make ribald suggestions. The *Håbergoaß* was like a ventriloquist's dummy; I was interacting with both the goat and the operator of the goat. 'Is it you, or the *Håbergoaß* speaking?' I asked when he invited me to sit on his lap. 'Sleep with me and find out!' was the rejoinder, to which I was forced to utter perhaps the most absurd line of my fieldwork career: 'I don't sleep with goats.'<sup>727</sup> (It must be added that none of this was particularly out of character for a *Håbergoaß*, as they function as bawdy comic relief when accompanying Nikolaus and *Krampusse*.)<sup>728</sup> One *Krampus* responded to my earnest questioning by grinning and unzipping my jacket.

I was left to wonder what exactly I had experienced — mild sexual harassment, testing the waters, or the hazing of an intrusive outsider?<sup>729</sup> Improvised play, the shifting power dynamics of the ethnographic encounter, or those of the performance-encounter? The answer, as far as I can tell, was all of the above.<sup>730</sup> As this example illustrates, the ethnographic encounter is not truly a world apart from gender-performance expectations and other everyday concerns, and this holds true for the performance-encounter as well. The flipside of harmless *Krampus/Mädel* flirtation is genuine transgression and violation, or the fear it will occur. If the ritualized violence of *Krampus* mumming carries the text of abduction for children, it carries the subtext of rape for grown women. We conceive of men who carry out such acts in real life in similar terms: as "animals", "monsters", and "devils" — all of which the *Krampusse* resemble. Nevertheless, women and children, the primary targets of mummies' attention, are ultimately allowed to control the play in the performance-encounter today, and the communal festival in which it is embedded is informed by (and to a large extent upholds) everyday social mores.

While acting the *Mädel* constitutes a type of role-play, women may participate more actively by joining mumming groups. Female members may take behind-the-scenes

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<sup>727</sup> See field notes, Appendix I8.

<sup>728</sup> Schuhladen notes this quality and mentions that this figure's main function in the Styrian Nikolaus play is 'zwicken [to nip at people]' (*Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 41).

<sup>729</sup> These distinctions can be ambiguous. As Crapazano points out, 'Humiliation [...] does reflect plays of power in the field situation. Testing, on the other hand, requires comment. A test is a way one's informant learns something about you' (p. 553). In addition, humiliation might be seen as a way to level the playing field between fieldworker and informant when the latter perceives that a problematic power differential of the kind articulated by Paredes (p. 29) is in play.

<sup>730</sup> Sharp and Kremer note that situations where ethnographers are subjected to sexual advances (or harassment or hazing, as the case may be) are fraught 'because researchers feel that the subject is doing them a favor by participating' (p. 321). While I did not typically experience a 'lack of deference and respect' (p. 319) due to my gender, the introduction of the already-gendered *Mädel/Krampus* performance-encounter dynamic into the ethnographic encounter heightened the ambiguity and tension considerably.



support roles, such as that of *Ordner*,<sup>731</sup> and girlfriends and sisters might be persuaded to play a role in more elaborately choreographed performances, such as the teenage girls crouching in the cage drawn by one group in the 2006 *Perchtentreffen* procession at Pullman City (V3, 04:40-05:05). Women and girls who wish to go a step further may become *Perchten* or *Krampusse* themselves, a trend which seems to be on the rise.

In addition, the *Krampus* personality seeps into various settings outside of mumming contexts proper around Nikolaus Day, leading to often subversive or humorous metacommentaries on gender roles and the *Krampus*'s essential qualities — mischievous, naughty, transgressive — as they surface in everyday life, particularly in gendered contexts.

### 10.5.4 Reinforcing and Subverting Gender Roles

In keeping with interpretations of the function of Carnival as either a means to uphold the status quo in everyday life through temporary, ritualized inversion<sup>732</sup> or an expression of genuine rebellion against it (reversal),<sup>733</sup> socio-cultural conventions regarding gender may either be reinforced or challenged through mumming, and in some instances both impulses are apparent. This is the case with the sexy “she-devil”, which is a familiar pop-culture trope throughout the West. In Austria, the *Krampus* figure has been appropriated to give her a local flavor. The *Krampus* is, of course, conflated with devil imagery in general, which in turn has come to signify playful, often erotic mischief — in short, naughtiness — in increasingly secular Austria and Bavaria. Thus *Krampus* Day provides a welcome opportunity to play with the tradition and incorporate it into new festive contexts.

Popular awareness of the BDSM sexual subcultures — especially flogging and the role-play of one adult punishing another for being a naughty child — infuses the sexual

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<sup>731</sup> The *Ordner* are still “onstage” in the sense that while they are unmasked, they are still visible walking in processions alongside the mummers. This is in contrast to the support roles played by women in the Swiss Appenzell, for example, who work intensively at home to make the *Silvesterklausen*'s costumes with seasonal materials, but do not go mumming themselves (Bendix, *Progress and Nostalgia*, p. 65).

<sup>732</sup> Lindahl, p. 63. Lindahl writes that ‘Mardi Gras is absolutely hierarchical in structure. Its great strength as a popular festival derives from the fact that it inverts, but does not subvert, the power structure that it mocks’ (ibid).

<sup>733</sup> Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (New York, NY: Berghahn, 1998), p. 158. Originally pub. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Handelman distinguishes inversion from reversal thus: ‘Inversion offers an appearance of autonomy, free and wild, yet always controlled within limits. Higher-order ideas, values, and positions are not threatened, and either there is consensus as to their worth or submission to their force’ (ibid). Reversal, on the other, hand, ‘potentially implicates a radical overturning of social order, however this is defined in terms of magnitude, for it is open-ended and developmental, and so may really lead elsewhere. But inversion is a conservative and conservationist device that indexes reversion and so does not threaten the social order’ (p. 156).

allusions attached to *Krampus* Day due to their formal similarity (role-play involving whipping to punish “naughty” children), attested to by the cartoon postcards sold around this time, which depict the *Krampus* as a sexy, black leather-clad, whip-wielding *Domina* terrorizing feeble middle-aged men. The joke, which relies largely on the idea of a powerful female dominating a male submissive in a reversal of customary gender dynamics, is trussed up in devil drag to make it a relevant allusion to *Krampus* mumming, which, like BDSM play, is a type of more or less consensual role-play involving flogging, ritualized humiliation, and, in some cases, a current of sado-masochistic eroticism. These postcards, like the “*Grüße vom Krampus*” ringtones and SMS (text-message) graphics available online (Figs. 101-102), are the modern-day equivalent of the nineteenth-century “*Grüße vom Krampus*” greeting cards described in 5.7 and display the same playful, eroticized humor, albeit in a more vulgar and modernized form. As we saw in 10.5.2, this tone informs the *Krampus/Mädel* performance-encounter as well.

More commonly, women’s clothing boutiques display their sexiest red and black lingerie on mannequins draped with feather boas and sporting glittery horns (Figs. 8a-8b). Lest the association be lost on passers-by, the words “*Zum Krampus*” were emblazoned across the windows of several Salzburg lingerie boutiques in 2006 and 2007. Loosely speaking, this red and black lingerie may be considered a type of *Krampus* costume, insofar as the *Krampus/Mädel* drama (roles enticingly reversed) may continue in the bedroom; by extension, the shop window displays, which allude to this fantasy scenario may also be seen as a rendering of the *Krampus/Mädel* performance-encounter in reverse. (Men are also offered the opportunity to allude to the *Krampus* in the bedroom — some shops display men’s boxers in red and black, printed with little devils — although it is hard to imagine any self-respecting *Krampus* wearing such a thing.)

Naturally, the caricatured sexiness of fishnets, heels, and scanty lingerie (in the Devil’s colors, no less) is equated with being a “bad girl” in Austria and Germany, as in many other societies. An example of mock-transgression; girls today understand that they are expected to include this persona in their arsenal, a socially accepted, commonplace, even trite means of complying with contemporary norms of approved gendered behavior by donning the mask, as it were, of male sexual aggression in the form of the original rebel. Women are thereby invited to try on the role within socially accepted and calendrically defined limits, exploring the fantasy of playing the “naughty devil”, at least in private. (Of course, the primary objective of such seasonally-themed window displays is to draw attention to the merchandise; as with Christmas, it is a device to increase sales.)

The conventions of erotic display implicit in these commercial appropriations of *Krampus* imagery permit young women to be seductive in a showy, ornamental way, but allow men the same liberty only in the context of the gay subculture. Here the role of woman as sex object is playfully alluded to and mirrored more or less subversively, and the preening and strutting of *Krampusse* becomes an extension of drag display. Like their heterosexual female counterparts, gay men dressed as the *Krampus*, the ultimate “bad boy”, celebrate *Krampus* Day at bars and parties in the larger Austrian cities. A gay bar in Salzburg promoted their festivities with a poster modeled on the print advertisements promoting the 2006 theatrical release of *The Devil Wears Prada*,<sup>734</sup> a film about the fashion industry, which shows a red high-heeled shoe, its stiletto tip ending in a devil’s trident. While discussing current abuses of the *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions, members of the Perschtenbund Soj offered the example of male erotic dancers in Vienna who include *Krampus* and, intriguingly, *Nikolaus* among their striptease roles.<sup>735</sup>

In a handful of processions, such as the *Perchtentreffen* in Pullman City, Bavaria in December, 2006, several *Krampusinnen* (the feminine form of the word *Krampusse*) — or, as they are sometimes called, “*Krampussettes*” — walked with several groups, wearing costumes and masks with clearly feminine features (see V7, 29:27-29:32). It is intriguing that in these cases female gender was conveyed through a stereotypically sexy appearance with exaggerated secondary sexual characteristics, suggesting that overt, caricatured sexuality may not only be endemic to the males of the species. The *Krampussettes* are not always welcomed. On the Gloria.tv website, an internet portal bearing the byline, “the more catholic [sic] the better”, the forum on the “*Nikolaus von Myra*” webpage includes a comment (accompanied by animated monk and nun emoticons displaying sarcastic and bewildered expressions) from a scandalized Vorarlberg reader:

*Hier in unserem Nachbarbundesland Kärnten liefen gestern auch die ersten Krampusinnen herum...immer mehr in Larven aus bekannten Horrorfilmen...mit dem ursprünglichen Brauch des Perchtenlaufens hat es nichts mehr zu tun...dort sind Weiber...“pfui”...Eine Krampusin und Mutter einer achtjährigen Tochter, die dem Treiben der Mama verwirrt zusah, sagte vor laufender Kamera, dass dieses Hobby zu dieser Zeit ein guter Ausgleich zum Muttersein sei...SUUUUUPER....*

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<sup>734</sup> *The Devil Wears Prada*, dir. by David Frankel (20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox, June 30, 2006).

<sup>735</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

Here in our neighboring state [of] Carinthia the first Krampusettes ran about yesterday as well...ever more in masks from famous horror films...it has nothing more to do with the original custom of *Perchten*-running...there are chicks...“*pfui*”...A Krampusette and mother of an eight-year-old daughter, who watched the mama’s carrying-on in confusion, said before a running camera that this hobby is a good balance to being a mother at this time...SUUUUUPER...<sup>736</sup>

Perhaps the personality of this folk-figure demands too much divergence from customary gender assignments for women and girls, who are still, after all, expected to (and mostly do) act meek and passive in the performance-encounter, and still only rarely don masks themselves and strut in public as powerful Krampusettes. Such subversions as the gay strippers and Krampusettes may be considered to represent “play with the play”, a sort of metacommentary on the dominant script. A different approach is taken by the Breagazer Bodasetüfl of Bregenz, Vorarlberg, a *Perchten* and *Krampus* group founded in 2011, who play with the angel/devil dichotomy represented by Nikolaus’s traditional companions, *Engel* and *Krampusse*. Their company features four adult female angels accompanying Nikolaus: the two in white are conventionally represented, but the other two appear to be *Krampus*-angels, winged, as devils (the anti-angels) are in so much Christian iconography, and attired in red and black.<sup>737</sup> The fact that female readings of the *Krampus* are still largely uncharted territory within the mumming tradition allows for considerable creative freedom and imaginative possibility. After all, what does it mean to subvert and play with a character who is transgressive and subversive to begin with?

Such transgressive and ambiguous elements, whether tongue-in-cheek or meant in earnest, form a crucial part of the performance-encounter and inform participants’ improvisations, which are in essence their spontaneous interpretations of culturally embedded performance tropes. These dynamics are the subject of the next chapter, which will deal with the performance-encounter in detail.

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<sup>736</sup> elisabethvonthüringen (poster), Gloria.tv, ‘Nikolaus von Myra’ (Web forum), <<http://en.gloria.tv/?media=41210>>, Dec. 12, 2009, accessed Dec. 14, 2015.

<sup>737</sup> Breagazer Bodasetüfl, ‘Über Uns’.

## 11. ELEMENTS OF THE PERFORMANCE-ENCOUNTER

After the *Tanz & Teufel* party and performance organized by the Salzburg-based Juvavum Pass in December of 2005,<sup>738</sup> one of their members met with me to show me their masks and goatskin costumes and discuss their construction and special features.<sup>739</sup> The pelts stink, he said, especially when they get wet; spectators wrinkle their noses when *Krampusse* get too close. Standing in a sea of goatskins and disembodied heads, he showed me the *Rute* with which he had whipped me earlier. Like many used by *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten*, it was a horse tail bound at the end, although his had an unusual handle: a goat's hoof and foreleg in which the bones had been broken, making it wag disconcertingly. Sometimes, he said, he likes to approach people slowly with the hoof-end extended, holding it out as if offering it for a horrible handshake, which makes them recoil with panic. Proffering the hoof, he explained, is an alternative to whipping spectators with the tail-end, which is what they expect. Holding it by its thin leather straps, he waggled it at me to demonstrate. Most spectators do not like it all, he explained, though we both agreed it was wonderful.

Curious, I thought, that they should react like this; dead animal parts are incorporated into *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances in so many ways that the possibility of being touched by one is surely never far from their minds. Indeed, it is largely the promise/threat of physical contact with these unsavory, otherworldly beings (whose costumes, masks and props are, after all, made up of animal skins, tails, horns, fangs, hooves and skulls) that lends the performances their *frisson*. It is common to find grown men and women shrinking from such contact and even shrieking, sometimes playfully and sometimes in earnest, like small children do when a worm is dangled in front of them. This phenomenon, which is central to both *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, is the performance-encounter. Ephemeral and dynamic in nature, it is created through the joint improvisation of mummers and spectators and combines elements of play and performance.

*Perchten* and *Krampusse* employ a number of techniques in performance to induce psychological as well as physical engagement with the spectators, aiming to achieve what

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<sup>738</sup> See field notes, Appendix II.

<sup>739</sup> Juvavum Pass.

Hanne Pico Larsen calls ‘psychological striking power’.<sup>740</sup> In parade settings, mummers may turn from side to side to regard the spectators as they make their way down the street, beckoning and pointing with clawed gloves, loping and staggering, sometimes engaging in brief tussles with each other, shaking their long hair, and shimmying to create a deafening din with their bells. They rely on movement and context to trigger a greater range of expression in their wooden faces than one would think possible; their fixed leers and grimaces may convey menace, lust, cunning, surprise, rage or curiosity, depending on the context. When they notice cameras, video cameras and camera phones held up in their direction, they may strike a pose for a few moments to allow spectators to photograph or film them. Despite this varied activity, they generally act as a group and maintain their forward momentum, so their opportunities for individualized interaction with spectators are necessarily brief, contact usually limited to a quick hair-rumpling and a few judicious whacks on the calves when they can reach them.

Even in a *Freilauf* setting, the mummers may move through the crowd fairly quickly, but freedom from time restrictions allows them to choose their prey, seeking out the people who interest them most, typically friends, small children and attractive women. Generally speaking, the *Freilauf* offers the most possibilities for improvisation, cursory switching and hair-rumpling giving way to more prolonged and personalized encounters. In these cases the mummer’s gestures are slow and deliberate, hyper-dramatic and hypnotic; they stand before their victims, feet planted widely apart, and cock their heads to one side like inquisitive dogs, studying their reactions. This gives them time to consider their victims, like a snake hypnotizing its prey, and decide what to do with them. The longer the encounter lasts, the more the spectator’s nervous tension escalates. *Krampusse* and *Schiachperchten* watch their victims carefully during these interactions, observing their reactions and the growing tension level, deciding how and when to act (usually breaking the stillness by a sudden lashing out with the switch) based upon their reading of the spectator’s psychic state, noting such factors as their fear level and the possibilities for flirtation.

As these examples show, the performance-encounter can take many different forms, depending on participants’ ability and willingness to improvise within the framework of expected behaviors and play with the roles the tradition assigns them. Furthermore, it occurs in a number of public and private settings. Analysis of performances observed in the field and retrospective examination of photographic and video documentation of some of those performances has revealed a handful of elements

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<sup>740</sup> Hanne Pico Larsen, ‘Talking about the Talking Masks of Ærø’ in *Masks and Mimming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolphi Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 485-496 (490).

characterizing the performance-encounter. These elements provide structure and inspiration for improvisation, shaping the creative choices of performers and spectators and thus shaping the performances, which may contain a considerable degree of innovation and improvisation while remaining squarely within the contours of these traditions as they are popularly defined.

Above all, the performance-encounter is liminoid<sup>741</sup> in nature and plays with tensions between the familiar and the strange, intimacy and distance, physical sensations and mingled, contradictory emotions. One can be thrown off-balance both physically and psychologically when drawn into it, reflecting two of Roger Caillois's game categories: *ilinx* (vertigo) and to a lesser extent, *agon* (competition).<sup>742</sup> This sense of uncertainty and potential, borne in part of shifting unpredictably between scripted and improvised interaction, is emblematic of play<sup>743</sup> and the 'ambiguity and paradox' which characterize liminality.<sup>744</sup> There are five main aspects of the performance-encounter in which this liminoid quality is made manifest:

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<sup>741</sup> Turner classes mumming and masked play as "liminoid" activities (*From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 28). Liminoid activities are more likely to be secular and found in modern societies with post-industrial technology, whereas the properly liminal characterizes pre-industrial tribal societies and belongs to the sacred, initiatory rites of passage being the example par excellence. Both may 'include subversive and ludic (playful) events' (Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 27; see also Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 61).

Generally speaking, the difference between liminal and liminoid states and spaces, in which one experiences permanent transformation or temporary transportation, respectively (Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 63), corresponds to Schechner's efficacy-entertainment dyad (ibid, p. 71), which in turn describes the continuum between ritual and play. While play tends to be liminoid and ritual liminal (Turner, p. 28), as Schechner points out, performances cannot consistently be classified as either theater or ritual, since whether they are experienced as secular or sacred depends on the context:

If the performance's purpose is to effect change, then the other qualities under the heading "efficacy" [...] will also be present, and the performance is a ritual. But if the performance's purpose is mostly to give pleasure, to show off, to be beautiful, or to pass the time, then the performance is an entertainment (*Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 71).

<sup>742</sup> Roger Caillois proposes four categories of play and games to indicate 'whether [...] the role of competition, chance, simulation, or vertigo is dominant':

I call these *agon*, *alea*, *mimicry*, and *ilinx*, respectively. One plays football, billiards, or chess (*agon*); roulette or a lottery (*alea*); pirate, Nero, or Hamlet (*mimicry*); or one produces in oneself, by a rapid whirling or falling movement, a state of dizziness and disorder (*ilinx*) (*Man, Play and Games*, trans. by Meyer Barash (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. 12. First published as *Les jeux et les hommes* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1958)).

<sup>743</sup> Handelman stresses 'the affinity of the idea of "play" with that of "uncertainty", identified with the unpredictable play of forces in flux' (p. 63), whereas he defines "game" as 'rule-bound play' and characterizes it as 'a distinctly moral medium, one that is keyed by instructions that specify how it is to be played, and that distinguish between correct and incorrect behavior, between right and wrong' (ibid, pp. 70-71), a definition well-suited to the catechism-interrogation.

<sup>744</sup> Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 26.

1. Semi-improvised interaction characterized by the interweaving of scripted and unscripted elements.
2. The interplay of real and mock-transgression.
3. “Play with the play” consisting of metacommentary on performance scripts.
4. A fluid, creative use of space and movement.
5. The evocation of liminoid emotional states.

These elements, which appear in various combinations and to varying degrees, will be elaborated upon in the sections below.

## 11.1 Scripts and Improvisation

The spectators are in a sense the passive participants in the performance-encounter, but wield a great deal of control, as the mummer’s efforts are focused on them and his improvisational choices are shaped largely by their reactions. The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten mentioned that they, too can be surprised by what people do during the performance-encounter.<sup>745</sup> Participants improvise within a ritual framework drawing on a common ‘symbolic lexicon’, to use Turner’s term<sup>746</sup> — in other words, in accordance with tradition. They rely upon a mutually understood script, which Schechner defines as ‘something that pre-exists any given enactment, which acts as a blueprint for the enactment, and which persists from enactment to enactment’.<sup>747</sup> For Schechner, performance scores exist in what Turner calls the “*subjunctive*” mood’;<sup>748</sup> ‘it is a world of “as if”’,<sup>749</sup> a state of

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<sup>745</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>746</sup> Turner, ‘Variations on a Theme of Liminality’ in *Secular Ritual*, ed. by Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), pp. 36-52 (38).

<sup>747</sup> Schechner, *Performance Theory*, p. 70.

<sup>748</sup> Schechner, *ibid*; Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 82. Italics his. Turner writes:

The passage form of ritual, as elicited by van Gennep, postulates a unidirectional move from the “*indicative*” mood of cultural process, through culture’s “*subjunctive*” mood back to the “*indicative*” mood, though this recovered mood has now been tempered, even transformed, by immersion in subjunctivity; this process roughly corresponds with his preliminal, liminal, and postliminal phases. [...] it is a world of “as if” [...]. It is “if it *were* so,” not “it is so” (*From Ritual to Theatre*, pp. 82-83).



potentiality.

While the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are typically the instigators of the action, spectators improvise as well, sometimes even wresting control from the masked performers and forcing them into the reactive position. This is not to say that the control is always equally weighted between participants. Indeed, it seldom is. Typically control over the interaction belongs to one party more than the other, as in partner dancing wherein one partner takes the lead and the other follows. In drawing the spectators into the action, the performance has departed from spectacle and become something else, a personal interaction. The interpersonal “electricity” and the narrative flow of the paradrama are generated principally by the co-participants’ behavior from moment to moment, informed by reading one another’s signals. These signals are conveyed by ritual actions and reactions conforming to the roles set by tradition for each participant, but at the same time are largely improvised within that framework. The performance-encounter resembles an ordinary one-on-one social interaction more than a relatively unidirectional stage performance, with the significant difference that the communication is generally non-verbal. The fact that *Perchten* and *Krampusse* do not generally speak, unless to bellow or murmur a few words in a low, dramatic voice, muffled by the mask, being more likely to roar and growl, and the spectators also tend to say very little, mostly laughing or shrieking, does not detract from the potency of the communication. If anything, it seems to intensify it, perhaps because non-verbal communication requires a higher degree of attention and sensitivity from the participants. The non-verbal character of the performance-encounter allows for greater improvisation on the part of both parties, since ‘Textual stability and contextual dependency are in direct relationship to each other’.<sup>750</sup>

The mask itself inspires characterization and improvisation as well; it is partly the physical process of donning it that tells the mummer, intuitively and through experimentation, how to act. Upon asking Anni Faller whether the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana’s masks developed their own personalities, she replied:

*Sie haben sie gesucht. Die Maske hat die Persönlichkeit gesucht. Sie hat sich entwickelt.*

*Man musste nichts sagen, es war ganz klar, was ... die Vogelpercht, die geht zum Vogelhaus,*

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See also Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 2004). Originally pub. in French as *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909).

<sup>749</sup> Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 83.

<sup>750</sup> Ben-Amos, “‘Context’ in Context”, p. 213.

*zum Futterhaus und pickt Futter, als wär sie ein Vogel. Sie benehmen sich auch wie Vögel. Und diese treiben Schabernack.*

They looked for it. The mask looked for its personality. It evolved. You didn't have to say anything, it was quite clear what [it was] ... the *Vogelpercht* goes to the birdhouse, to the bird feeder and pecks at the bird seed, just like she was a bird. They behave like birds. And these [ones] behave mischievously.<sup>751</sup>

The *Vogelpercht*'s improvisations inspire the others' improvisations in turn. Robert Faller gave an example: '*Als Kraxenträger, wenn ein Vogel zu mir kommt, der schleicht sich zu mir, da sag' ich: "Geh' weg! [As a basket-carrier, when a bird comes to me, he sneaks up to me, I say: Shoo, go away!]"*'<sup>752</sup>

The importance of creative satisfaction and the enjoyment of play for its own sake must not be underestimated. Much of the performance improvisation and creative innovation in the *Krampus* and *Perchten* traditions is inspired by watching other mummers, both spontaneously in the course of the *Läufe* and while perusing each other's websites and exchanging creative ideas and opinions on internet forums. In his discussion of Cajun Mardi Gras mummers, Lindahl suggests that being masked in itself activates a sense of creativity and play. He describes how one of the masked Mardi Gras riders invented a 'chicken dance' on his very first outing:

During the performance of the ritual begging song, he began to dance chicken-style, pigeon-toed, kicking the dirt. This small act of unpremeditated creativity was not only accepted, but also imitated — and varied — by other riders as the day wore on. The freedom of the mask is prodigious: all who wear it are free to create something, no matter how ridiculous, if only in the motion of the moment.<sup>753</sup>

The performance-encounter typically contains both scripted elements (behavior of spectators and performers following the expected narrative and conforming to the conventional roles prescribed by the tradition) and unscripted elements (departures from or

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<sup>751</sup> Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana.

<sup>752</sup> Ibid.

<sup>753</sup> Lindahl, p. 62.

reimagining of the tradition), and involves various degrees and types of improvisation. Improvisation in the performance-encounter is, of course, only partial, referring directly or indirectly to the scripts embedded within the cultural-semantic code. Joint-improvisation depends in large part upon mutual understanding of this code. The challenge of maintaining the delicate balance between improvisation and adherence to the script in performance is a game in itself, supported by Caillois's statement that '*Mimicry* is incessant invention. The rule of the game is unique: it consists in the actor's fascinating the spectator, while avoiding an error that might lead the spectator to break the spell'.<sup>754</sup> Thus the balance between the expected and unexpected is fluid and ever-changing in the performance-encounter, giving rise to spontaneous departures from convention in which the script occasionally disintegrates, leaving an unbounded and uncharted space where the usual rules do not apply, and the terms of engagement must be renegotiated in the existing ritual framework.

The issue of consensuality is central to the performance-encounter and in particular to the moving wall between real and mock-transgression, as we shall see below. Complete consensuality derives, of course, from successful communication, which depends in turn on mutual understanding of non-verbal as well as verbal signals. Since most performance settings (with the possible exception of Christmas markets and group websites) are dominated by local residents and to a lesser extent by visitors from other parts of the country who share this cultural knowledge (also defined as locals in this context), spectators are expected to "know the rules", which provides them with a framework in which to improvise and a means of interpreting each other's actions and reactions.

Whether one is an insider or an outsider plays a critical role in shaping the performance-encounter. In the field, it soon became apparent that familiarity with cultural semantics forms the basis for improvisation in the performance-encounter; in other words, one must know the rules of the game in order to play by them, let alone improvise upon them. Lindahl observes of unwelcome invention in Mardi Gras mumming that 'There is an invisible line in the proceedings past which Mardi Gras becomes, in the eyes of even its wildest participants, a tasteless parody of itself'.<sup>755</sup> I was keenly aware in these situations that I might inadvertently cross such an invisible line, as being a cultural outsider meant I risked imposing my own incomprehensible and irrelevant symbolic language, drawn from my own experiences and cultural references, upon the performers as I improvised. Such awkward experiences reinforced for me the importance of cultural and regional affiliation in these traditions, which manifests in a number of ways. At the 2005 *Perchtenlauf* in St.

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<sup>754</sup> Caillois, pp. 22-23. Italics his.

<sup>755</sup> Lindahl, p. 62.

Johann im Pongau, a chimney sweep (one of the many figures who accompany the *Perchten* there) stopped to engage me in conversation — to offer me a shot of schnaps for luck in the New Year, as I later learned (Fig. 21). I had never encountered this particular figure before, and could not understand much of what he was saying; I was reduced to saying over and over, ‘*Ich verstehe nicht* [I don’t understand].’ After repeated efforts to get through to me, the chimney sweep exclaimed in frustration, ‘*Doch, du verstehst schon!* [But you *do* understand!]’

I did not, in fact, understand; I understood only that there was a soot-smearing man standing before me with a shot glass, barking mostly unintelligible commands and growing increasingly impatient. Lacking familiarity with the tradition, I experienced it out of context, as a tapestry of surreal and enigmatic images and actions; I was able to respond subjectively to this relatively new experience, but unable to interact with performers as convention seemed to demand. The kind of understanding the chimney sweep was counting on to inform our interaction is constructed over many years through deep immersion in the culture and familiarity with all of its codes and subtleties, and my unavoidably superficial analysis of the interactive dynamics of these parades was as crudely simplistic and generic compared to the understanding of natives as a stick figure is compared to the “Mona Lisa”. A gap remained between us, one that could not be closed by my enthusiasm, imagination, or the improvisational skills I had developed in other contexts as a performing artist. Even greater language fluency, as I subsequently learned, would not have helped. But while my ignorance and confusion necessitated a brief departure from the script, it did not require exclusion from the play; the chimney sweep may have felt frustration when I failed to respond on cue to his offer of schnaps, but he offered it repeatedly until I accepted it, which allowed the ritual action of the performance-encounter to return to its conventional form and complete its trajectory.

As this shows, issues of consensuality and communication are embedded in the performance-encounter, and departing from the script — the parameters set for the play — disrupts its flow and can even constitute (or instigate) genuine transgression. It is to these issues that we shall now turn.

## **11.2 The Interplay of Real and Mock-Transgression**

Today, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* employ both mock-transgression and genuinely transgressive behavior, the former sliding occasionally into the latter. One may generally assume that those who remain in proximity to a *Krampus* agree to or at least recognize the

terms of engagement and are willing to “perform” the role of victim. Müller describes his group’s *Krampuskränzchen*:

*Ein Wirtshaus nach dem anderen klappern wir ab, ziehen einige Leute hinter den Tischen hervor und geben ihnen ein paar Hiebe. Ein Tisch wird abgeräumt, die Gläser fliegen, der Wein spritzt [...] macht alles nichts, den heute ist Krampus. Dem Wirt ist es egal, solange sich der Schaden in Grenzen hält. Die Gäste lieben es, etwas herumgezerrt zu werden, den für das sind sie ja heute gekommen. Echte schmerzhaftige Schläge setzt es sowieso nicht. Die Ruten haben wir vorm Haus gelassen und hantieren mit den Pferdeschwänzen. Gelegentlich bekommt einer versehentlich eine Glocke ins Kreuz gedrückt oder ein Horn auf den Kopf geschlagen, bei unseren wilden Bewegungen. Aber auch das wird als normal hingenommen, da man als Krampus praktisch nichts sieht und mehr einem manövrierungsfähigen Walroß als einem Teufel gleicht.*

We visit one pub after another, pull some people out from behind the tables and give them a couple of lashes. A table is swept off, the glasses go flying, the wine sprays [...] it’s no big deal, because today is *Krampus*. It’s all the same to the pub, so long as the damage remains within limits. The guests love to get a little banged up, for that’s what they’ve come for today. Truly painful blows don’t go over so well. We have left the [wooden] switches before the house and make do with the horse tails. Occasionally one accidentally gets pressed in the crotch by a bell or hit in the head by a horn from our wild movements. But that is tolerated as normal, because as *Krampus*, one sees practically nothing, and resembles an unwieldy walrus [thrashing around] more than a devil.<sup>756</sup>

At the turn of the twenty-first century, as Müller’s account suggests, the transgression is primarily play-acting; neither *Perchten* nor *Krampusse* aim to evoke genuine terror for the most part, and many take the socialization function of these traditions less seriously than their predecessors did. These developments are reflected in a leavening of the punishment aspect of their performances; for example, a number of groups prefer horse-tail whisks, as they make the least painful (and most beautiful) switches. As we saw in 10.2.4, evolving attitudes towards pedagogy and child-raising have influenced these traditions insofar as a gentler interaction style has been integrated into Nikolaus and *Krampus* role-play. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* represent fearsome, otherworldly creatures who enter the human world to judge and possibly punish people (often children) with a whipping or worse. The *Krampus*

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<sup>756</sup> Müller, p. 457.

in particular is a paradoxical figure, personifying chaos and violence ... in the service of St. Nikolaus. Most people, however, perhaps feeling enough of Nikolaus's influence in their daily lives, flock to *Krampusläufe* in the hopes of appreciating these qualities firsthand. In that setting, where *Krampusse* may appear in packs unsupervised by the saint, his devilish nature will be unleashed — to a point.

While spectators expect certain *types* and *degrees* of transgressive behavior within the context of the performance-encounter, that context is defined by performance conventions which keep it within bounds. Playing with spectators' expectations and pushing the limits, as we shall see below, has become a performance convention in itself. Nevertheless, the threat (or promise) of genuine transgression is always sufficiently present to ensure a high degree of vigilance and emotional engagement. The dramatic power generated by this tension is derived in large part from a judicious pushing and occasional resetting of psychic and physical boundaries; "giving the people what they want" (which is not, after all, well-behaved monsters and devils) is balanced with testing and sometimes surpassing spectators' expectations of physical safety and psychological comfort. This tension — a tug-of-war between participants' wills and/or persons — marks the performance-encounter as agonistic.<sup>757</sup>

In traditions which include cross-dressing, acting like animals, impersonating demons, and switching people with cows' tails, what constitutes genuinely transgressive behavior? How far is too far? There are two principal ways in which genuine transgression can manifest in the performance-encounter: excessive violence and departing from the script, thereby fracturing mutual agreement about the interaction and consensual participation. In both cases, crossing the line from sanctioned to truly unacceptable behavior threatens to disrupt the play for one or both parties,<sup>758</sup> and the dissolution of the ephemeral play-world switches the everyday rules governing behavior back into effect.

Some mumming groups maintain the line between real and mock-transgression by instating policies to manage their members' behavior. In public settings like the large-scale parades, what constitutes genuine transgression is not negotiated by the spectators in advance. Rather, it is up to the group leaders to lay down ground rules, two in particular: no drinking until after the performance, and no use of excessive force, as they say in police work. According to Schechner, this dynamic is characteristic of performance itself:

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<sup>757</sup> Caillois, p. 12.

<sup>758</sup> Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p. 11. Schechner also remarks on the permeability of play-worlds: 'Even in well managed situations like organized games, something like an injury to a player or spectators breaks the play mood. Once the wounded player is removed from the field, play resumes' (*Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 86). The game, then, requires 'balancing on the edge of the unacceptable without getting out of control' (Larsen, p. 490).

‘Because performances are usually subjunctive, liminal, dangerous, and duplicitous they are often hedged in with conventions and frames: ways of making the places, the participants, and the events somewhat safe.’<sup>759</sup>

In some cases, navigating the line between real and pretend violence is a matter of degree. Both can involve whipping, for example, but whipping may be done more gently, symbolically, or harder to inflict pain “in earnest”, thus breaking the play-illusion. Gatterbauer explained that playing these wild characters requires a balance between liberation and restraint; being whipped by their horse tails, for instance, should not actually hurt:

*Wie gesagt, wichtig ist, dass wir als Perchten [...] irgendwie böse [...] aber es soll nicht ängstlich wirken. Es soll der Respekt da sein zwischen Zuschauer und Percht, aber es soll nicht zu wild zugehen [...] die Grenze sollte man einhalten können.*

As we said, what is important is that we as *Perchten* [be] [...] kind of wicked [...] but it should not work in such a way that it induces terror. There should be respect between spectator and *Perchten* there, but it should not go too far [...] one should be able to maintain the boundary.<sup>760</sup>

Part of maintaining the proper balance between real and mock-transgression is monitoring and guarding against violence or untoward actions from the crowd, which are likely to stem from drinking on their part. Though groups may maintain a sobriety policy, spectators are under no such compunction, and beer and *Glühwein* stands are a fixture of parade-style performances. In the relatively rare cases when spectators do initiate aggression, the mummers must contain it by controlling their own response. According to Berger, keeping the peace creates a welcoming, safe environment for all of the spectators, particularly the children, who will return and help the custom grow over time if they have a positive experience:

*Es gibt Jugendliche, die provozieren uns als Perchten, also die fordern das heraus auf die Art: ‘Was willst du denn?’ Und schubsen und ziehen uns hin und her ... dann muss man sich*

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<sup>759</sup> Schechner, *Performance Theory*, p. xiv.

<sup>760</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

*einfach zurückhalten. Man darf nicht böse oder aggressiv werden, sondern man muss zurückhaltend sein. Damit kein Ärger zwischen Zuschauer und Perchten entsteht. Es soll immer Harmonie dazwischen sein, aber irgendwie immer Respekt. Und darum ist für uns wichtig, eben was kleine Kinder anbelangt — weil wie es in Schärding ist, wir haben relativ viele kleine Kinder da[bei] — und wenn wir jetzt Ärger haben mit den kleinen Kindern, dass sich die kleinen Kinder immer fürchten, dann bleiben die Zuschauer aus. Weil die Eltern sagen auch: ‘Mein Kind fürchtet sich — komm’ ich nicht.’ Und wenn sich aber das Kind jetzt sagt: ‘Das hat mir gut gefallen!’ Dann kommen sie immer wieder. Und der nimmt dann Freunde mit.*

There are young people who provoke us as *Perchten*, who put it out there, like: ‘So what do you want [to do about it], then?’ and push and pull us around. Then you simply have to hold yourself back. You are not allowed to become nasty or aggressive; you must be restrained. That way no aggravation between spectators and *Perchten* arises. There should always be harmony between them, but always respect, in any case. And for that reason it is important for us where little children are concerned because of how it is in Schärding, we have relatively many small children there — and when we have trouble with the little children now so that the little children are always afraid, then the spectators stay away. Because the parents always say: ‘My child is afraid — I’m not coming.’ But when the child now says: ‘I liked that a lot!’ Then they always come again. And he brings his friends along.<sup>761</sup>

The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten hope that exercising restraint will send the message to younger children and their parents that they need not be afraid that the *Perchten* will erupt in violence. Cultivating a good reputation and good relationship with the community helps the custom and the group thrive in the long term by attracting children year after year, children whom Berger confirmed may become *Perchten* themselves someday.<sup>762</sup>

Obscured identities and new temporary roles allow participants to act uninhibited by normal social mores, to transgress various social, behavioral, and spatial boundaries, to “go too far”. Naturally, masks have long been used to conceal identity and provide cover for the commission of crimes as well as lesser mischief. Indeed, the spectators’ awareness of the mummers’ prosaic humanity adds to their forbidding quality rather than detracting from it; it is in large part the threat, however slight, of truly frightening, violent, or destructive behavior by the men behind the masks that makes them so unnerving. One of

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<sup>761</sup> Ibid.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid.



Honigmann's female informants c. 1975 was afraid to come across a *Krampus* in the night 'because she would not know who was behind the mask and whether he was drunk'.<sup>763</sup>

Anxiety about this appears to have nurtured rumors and contemporary legends about the violence of *Krampusse* seeping out into everyday life. Honigmann also mentions a young woman:

Who had been so badly shocked by a *Krampus* in the community where she lived that she developed diabetes. The woman retained an almost phobic fear of going out after dark during the days before Saint Nicholas Eve or on the night itself lest she encounter bands of *Krampus* masqueraders.<sup>764</sup>

A few days after Nikolaus Day, 2007, the *Augsburger Allgemeine* reported an instance of real violence erupting among mummers requiring police and medical intervention. In an intriguing role-reversal, a drunken Nikolaus in Aichach, Bavaria attacked a *Krampus*:

*Nikolaus [...] zeigte sich alles andere als einsichtig, es entwickelte sich eine handfeste Prügelei. Dabei wurde der Krampus an der Nase verletzt. Eine Vernehmung des 36-jährigen Nikolaus konnte aufgrund seines Alkoholpegels zunächst nicht durchgeführt werden. [...] Er musste sich nach den Hieben seines "Chefs" erst einmal zur ambulanten Behandlung ins Aichacher Krankenhaus begeben.*

Nikolaus [...] showed himself to be anything but reasonable; it developed into a right punch-up. In the process, the *Krampus* was punched in the nose. An interrogation of the 36-year-old Nikolaus could not initially be carried out due to his alcohol level. [...] After the blows of his "boss", he [the *Krampus*] had to repair to the Aichach hospital for out-patient treatment for a start.<sup>765</sup>

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<sup>763</sup> Honigmann, pp. 6-7.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>765</sup> *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 'Nikolaus verprügelt Krampus: Hiebe statt Geschenke verteilte ein betrunkenen Nikolaus in Aichach', <<http://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/bayern/Nikolaus-verpruegelt-Krampus-id3244596.html>>, Dec. 7, 2007, accessed Nov. 28, 2015.

Some groups require members to abstain from alcohol until after the event in order to avoid such incidents. Gatterbauer emphasized the importance of sobriety:

*Was auch wichtig ist: [in English:] No Alcohol, kein Alkohol! Danach ist es egal. Wenn alles vorbei ist, dann ... Halli-Galli. Aber vorher ist es Tabu. Das bringt nichts, wenn du besoffen bist, betrunken, dann gibt es Probleme. Haben wir noch nicht gehabt, die ganzen Jahre — Gott sei Dank! — Da sind wir stolz darauf. Und darum möchten wir das vermeiden. Wir habe ja normalerweise Mitglieder ab 18 Jahren, aber wir haben schon zwei, drei Jüngere dabei — der René, mein Neffe, war dabei, der ist 15 — aber der ist unter meiner Aufsicht, und er weiß, dass er nichts machen darf, also der muss sich wirklich ein bisschen ruhig halten, also da ist es kein Problem.*

What is also important: No alcohol, no alcohol! Afterwards it doesn't matter. When everything is over, then ... uproar. But beforehand it's taboo. It's no use when you are pissed, drunk; then there are problems. We have not yet had [them] the whole year — thank God! — because we are proud of that. And we would like to avoid it for that reason. Normally we have members 18 years and up, but we have two, three younger ones around already — René, my nephew, was there, he is 15 — but he is under my supervision, and he knows that he may not do anything, so he really has to stay a little mellow; therefore it is no problem.<sup>766</sup>

The Juvavum Pass and Salzburger Schiachpercht'n also stress sobriety and self-control, and the latter has instated a year-long probation period for new members to make certain they can follow these rules and are therefore a good match for the group.<sup>767</sup> The Rauriser Schnabelperchten and the *Krampusse* of Bad Mitterndorf do drink as they make their rounds to pubs and private homes, but the pacing of their perambulations ensure that the drinking is somewhat fragmented and controlled,<sup>768</sup> and in both cases, older men versed in the correct forms of these traditions accompany the young mummers to monitor their behavior (see also Appendix I15). (Unlike Honigmann's example from Altirdning,<sup>769</sup> the Nikolauses in the many *Krampus* groups formed in the last thirty years are typically not

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<sup>766</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>767</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>768</sup> See also Larsen, p. 491.

<sup>769</sup> Honigmann, p. 268.

significantly older than the men playing the *Krampusse*, and bear no particular responsibility for keeping them under control.)

### 11.2.1 Departure from the Script

Thus far we have noted the liminoid, subjunctive quality of the performance-encounter and play in general. Play can be conceived of as being of two types, or existing between two polarities: both safe, orderly, rule-bound definitions (Handelman's view of games in contrast to play and Caillois's *ludus*, the Apollonian polarity of games) and dangerous, chaotic, liminal ones (Handelman's view of play in contrast to games and Caillois's *paidia*, the Dionysian polarity of games).<sup>770</sup> Schechner notes that 'Playing can be physically and emotionally dangerous. Because it is, players need to feel safe, seeking special play spaces and play times. In fact, much of the fun of playing, when there is fun, is in playing with fire, in going in over one's head, engaging in what Geertz calls "deep play"'.<sup>771</sup> Deep play is high-stakes; it is 'the kind of play in which the risks to the player outweigh the potential rewards'.<sup>772</sup>

At times the division between "real" and "make-believe" in the improvised masked play appears to be a moving wall. When consensuality breaks down, the spell is broken, as it were, and the rules and limits governing the interaction change. Huizinga refers to the importance of rules in play, stating, 'All play has its rules. They determine what "holds" in the temporary world circumscribed by play. [...] Indeed, as soon as the rules are transgressed the whole play-world collapses. The game is over.'<sup>773</sup> To abruptly depart from the script used as the basis for improvisation and break character by abandoning the roles it

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<sup>770</sup> Handelman, pp. 70-71; Caillois, pp. 13-14. At one pole, explains Caillois, *paidia* is marked by:

Diversion, turbulence, free improvisation, and carefree gaiety is dominant. [...] At the opposite extreme, this frolicsome and impulsive exuberance is almost entirely absorbed or disciplined by a complementary, and in some respects inverse, tendency [...] to bind it with arbitrary, imperative, and purposely tedious conventions [...] it requires an ever greater amount of effort, patience, skill, or ingenuity. I call this second component *ludus* (pp. 13-14).

<sup>771</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 82.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid. Using the example of high-stakes gambling over cockfights, games of the *alea* type (Caillois, p. 12), Geertz describes deep play (a concept borrowed from philosopher Jeremy Bentham) as 'play in which the stakes are so high that it is [...] irrational for men to engage in it at all' (p. 431). From a practical standpoint, the reward the winner stands to gain is of too little value (or the odds stacked too much against him) to justify the risk of playing. In deep play, writes Geertz, both players 'are both in over their heads. Having come together in search of pleasure they have entered into a relationship which will bring the participants, considered collectively, net pain rather than net pleasure' (ibid, p. 433).

<sup>773</sup> Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p. 11.

outlines is to step outside the bounds of the consensual play-world.<sup>774</sup> While drunkenness can pull a mummer off-script, spectators can disrupt the play as well. It is at this point that ‘nips’ may turn into ‘bites’, as Gregory Bateson puts it. According to Bateson, play consists of “metacommunications”, actions which convey the message that “this is play”. He gives as an example of such metacommunications the play-fighting of animals, in which they are not aiming to hurt each other, but in effect playing the role of “attacking animal”. Thus a “nip” is a metacommunication of a “bite”.<sup>775</sup>

Likewise, the play-transgressions of mummers are metacommunications signifying that they are playing at transgression (but not committing it) by acting in a way that would be considered genuinely transgressive outside of the play context; no one mistakes *Krampusse* snatching caps off of spectators’ heads for genuine theft. Nevertheless, the play-transgression may turn into the real thing if the rules of engagement are broken, and nips may turn into actual bites, the message changing from “this is play” to “this is not a game”. Polanec cited an instance of nips turning into bites on one occasion, when a spectator took advantage of the chaotic, festive environment of the *Perchtenlauf* to cross the line into genuine transgression. The leader of the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n told me that several young female members who played *Hexen* dropped out of the group because they were being molested by male spectators, so the next time they ran, he dressed as a masked *Hexe*. When a slightly intoxicated man reached for his heavily padded breasts, he rammed his broomstick between the man’s thighs to show him he meant business, then pulled aside his mask to let reveal his male face (and male authority). After the procession he had a few stern words with the offender, who had sobered up in the interim. This, he explained, showed how ‘*Hexen können auch böse sein* [Witches can be bad, too]’, reminding people that the tradition has teeth.<sup>776</sup>

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<sup>774</sup> The objectification (distance) common to such eroticized gendered interaction (10.5) is in a sense like the ephemeral play-worlds constructed in the performance-encounter, which can be dissipated by an unexpected departure from the script. Relevant to this are Goffman’s comments that ‘Failure to regulate the information acquired by the audience involves possible disruption of the projected definition of the situation’ (by the performer) and ‘It is a widely held notion that restrictions placed upon contact, the maintenance of social distance provide a way in which awe can be generated and sustained in the audience’ (*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p. 67).

<sup>775</sup> Bateson, p. 188. A metacommunication is in essence ‘a signal that frames all other signals contained within it’ (Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 92). Schechner glosses it further: ‘My playing refers to my “not playing”. My “not hurting” you refers to the fact that I could hurt you, but choose not to’ (ibid). This particular metacommunication brings to mind Polanec’s comment that the *Perchten* strive to instill ‘respect, not fear’ with the knowledge that they will not hurt you, but could if they wanted to (10.2.5).

<sup>776</sup> See field notes, Appendix I9.

My own experiences in the performance-encounter sometimes veered into dark play. As we saw in 11.1, knowing the script (the “rules of the game”) is paramount in maintaining the ephemeral play-world of the performance-encounter. Huizinga’s observation about the delicacy of play applies: ‘At any moment “ordinary life” may reassert its rights either by an impact from without, which interrupts the game, or by an offence against the rules, or else from within, by a collapse of the play spirit, a sobering, a disenchantment.’<sup>777</sup> A misstep made at the 2007 *Krampuslauf* in Bad Mitterndorf<sup>778</sup> constituted one such ‘offence against the rules’ which ‘interrupt[ed] the game’.<sup>779</sup> In punishment for my ill-advised improvisation, the *Krampus* with whom I had engaged exceeded the customary degree of violence: two different types of transgressions. He approached me, waving his birch switch threateningly.<sup>780</sup> ‘*Bete*,’ he growled — ‘*Bete* [Say your prayers].’ Feeling adventurous and ready to expand my repertoire beyond screams and laughter, I dropped to my knees in the snow in front of him and folded my hands in a child’s attitude of prayer, pleading, ‘*Bitte, bitte, Krampus — rette mich von den Christen!* [Please, please, *Krampus* — rescue me from the Christians!].’ At this he erupted into enraged cries of ‘*Du kommst in die Hölle!* [You’re going to Hell!].’ and proceeded to flog me with his switch, a cluster of birch twigs which were knobbed on the ends, like a cat-o’-nine-tails, until my legs were bleeding and criss-crossed with welts. I begged him to stop in German, then in English when I could no longer summon the wherewithal to speak German, but he did not stop. (I was later to learn that local women wore several layers of jeans to pad their legs from the blows, information that would have come in handy.)

This experience could be summarized — and dismissed — as a foreign fieldworker “earning her stripes”, as it were, and I never verified what precisely I had done to bring the beating on myself. But, as is often the case, errors of judgment made in the field, retrospectively classed as happy accidents,<sup>781</sup> can illuminate as much or more than conventionally successful outcomes, and I learned that night that the paradramatic play of

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<sup>777</sup> Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p. 21.

<sup>778</sup> See field notes, Appendix I8.

<sup>779</sup> Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p. 21.

<sup>780</sup> Müller notes that, while that horsetail switches look wonderful, they are not the most effective instruments for delivering a sound switching; the birch switch is best suited to this purpose (p. 453). In Bad Mitterndorf, where the *Krampusse* use birch, the switching is not just for show.

<sup>781</sup> Crapazano writes, for instance, of ‘the importance of breakdowns in conversation, many of which we understand in terms of misunderstanding. These misunderstandings, as dangerous as they may be, are one of the principal ways to ethnographic discovery — that is, if they are not ignored or dismissed’ (p. 550). See also Fujii, pp. 526-527.

ritualized transgression and punishment would be meaningless without the possibility of inflicting real wounds with real weapons.

### 11.2.2 Consensual Transgression

Real transgression becomes mock-transgression once it is sanctioned, expected, and consensual. If an expected action is subverted in the same way often enough, these changes join the repertoire of acceptable performance behaviors. Therefore even actions that would be considered genuinely transgressive in other contexts lose their sting once charted by performers and accepted by spectators through repetition; for example, the common device of snatching spectators' caps and running off with them evokes laughter because everyone knows the caps will be returned shortly (V1, 01:16-01:25). As Michael Taft writes of Halloween mumming in Saskatchewan, Canada, 'the celebrants do not break the rules of society; they only play with the idea of breaking the rules'.<sup>783</sup>

Masked and unmasked participants alike are involved in the negotiation and transgression of boundaries, another hallmark of carnivalesque seasonal ritual. Indeed, it is by border-crossing, particularly by genuine and mock-transgressions of various kinds, that these performances derive their power and achieve their aims. At times the division between "real" and "make-believe" in the improvised masked play appears to be a moving wall. When consensuality erodes, the spell is broken, and the rules and limits governing the interaction change.

While the snatching of a cap is playful and harmless, some interactions involve engaging in real danger, play rough enough to leave a mark, but still understood as play and engaged in consensually. In some villages in East Tyrol, there exists a form of Nikolaus-related mumming which involves real violence, yet is wholly consensual. There Nikolaus is accompanied by a pack of *Klaubaife*, who resemble their *Krampus* cousins both functionally and visually for the most part, but the differences are striking. Since the *Klaubauf* performance-encounter takes a stylized, violent and dangerous form unique to the region — running at spectators and leaping onto them, or grabbing them and throwing them into the air — their masks forgo horns in favor of human-like ears, a necessary precaution to avoid goring their victims when thrown overhead.<sup>784</sup>

On Nikolaus Day in Matrei in Osttirol, 2009, I observed among the *Klaubaife* the dance between mock and real transgression as well as the importance of consensuality and

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<sup>783</sup> Michael Taft, 'Adult Halloween Celebrations on the Canadian Prairie' in *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life*, ed. by Jack Santino (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 152-169 (p. 159).

<sup>784</sup> Koenig, p. 27.

understanding the cultural-semantic code embedded in the tradition.<sup>785</sup> When I told the owner of the guesthouse where I was staying I planned to walk alone to witness their midnight gathering at the town square, several of the men seated around the table protested that it was too dangerous; I might run into *Klaubaife* (they were to be among them, I later discovered). To convey the danger, one turned on the computer and played YouTube video footage of *Klaubaife* in action.<sup>786</sup> To a heavy metal soundtrack, one *Klaubauf* after another ran at full speed towards a row of people standing with knees bent and arms linked, braced for impact. Another outdoor scene showed *Klaubaife* coming at a table stood on edge, behind which people clustered. They took a running leap and made a spectacular stage-dive over the table onto their victims, an outdoor form of the *Tischaufraumen* mentioned in 10.5.2.<sup>787</sup> In another, they ran at hapless individuals (who had deliberately put themselves in harm's way), hoisted them off the ground, and sent them flying through the air.

They strongly encouraged me to observe a house visit at a neighboring guesthouse instead, the indoor performance-encounter being much safer, as encountering the *Klaubaife* outdoors, either on their house-to-house perambulations or their final gathering in the town square, which was truly dangerous and thus required the degree of foreknowledge and preparation only yearly exposure and practice could provide. Fully consensual participation depends upon such familiarity with the script, and in this case, the play script involves real danger. As I helped the women of the house serve drinks to the *Klaubaife* waiting outside the kitchen window, one very drunk *Klaubauf* fixed me with his gaze. 'Komm heraus [Come out here]', he said, promising me that he would indeed throw me over his shoulder.

Locals understand that encountering *Klaubaife* means yielding control and submitting to this danger. In order to meet them on their own terms, they either avoid them by staying indoors and out of sight or brace themselves to endure their aggression in the open. Shortly after the house visit, the father of the family walked me back to my guesthouse, steering us uphill to the outskirts of the village to avoid attracting the attention of the *Klaubaife*, who were roaming the streets in packs. Along the way, I saw several

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<sup>785</sup> See field notes, Appendix I11.

<sup>786</sup> While I was unable to write down the URLs of those videos at the time, comparable examples can be found at the following links: dolomitenstadt.at, 'Ausgeläutet! Klaubauf-Finale in Matrei', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwiCx8xK88>>, Dec. 8, 2012, accessed Dec. 27, 2015 and osttirolheute, 'Krampus Tischziagn in Thurn 2013', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRcjdE11qLY>>, Dec. 2, 2013, accessed Dec. 27, 2015.

<sup>787</sup> Koenig, p. 19. The clearing of the room, historically performed in the kitchens of private homes, derives its drama from the *Klaubaife* trapping people against the wall in a confined space, but may be seen transposed into a public display custom in a fenced-off central area in a YouTube video posted by maklka75, 'Tischziehn Oanet 4.12.2012', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GwmNWGrMt24>>, Dec. 7, 2012, accessed Dec. 27, 2015.

strong-looking men slip out of sight at the sound of the bells, flattening themselves against walls and hiding in the shadows. Later conversations with the women revealed how much they cherish the custom. They explained that they wear multiple mismatched layers of old, ugly clothes they would not mind having torn to shreds by the *Klaubaife* (clothes from the 1970s are ideal). They look ridiculous, but that is part of the fun; in a way, they get to dress up, too. One said that every year, people pour into the hospital the following day to be treated for serious folklore-related injuries, but no one in Matriei ever tells the doctors what really happened. They say they just fell down the stairs or walked into a door, lest anyone try to put a stop to the custom.

### 11.2.3 Play with the Play

Finally, the sometimes tense interplay of the performance-encounter contains the potential for “play with the play”, which can include the subversion of (and metacommentary on) its dominant tropes and those of the wider culture. Such metacommentary, when read as such by the participants, can flirt with genuine transgression, if not tip entirely over into it. Another of Goffman’s comments seems relevant in this context:

More important, once a display becomes well established in a particular sequence of actions, a section of the sequence can be lifted out of its original context, parenthesized, and used in a quotative way, a postural resource for mimicry, mockery, irony, teasing, and other sportive intents. [...] What was a ritual becomes itself ritualized, a transformation of what is already a transformation, a “hyper-ritualization”. Thus, the human use of displays is complicated by the human capacity for reframing behavior.<sup>788</sup>

An example of such “play with the play” was provided by the Juvavum Pass on December 3, 2005 at their annual *Tanz & Teufel* event (see Figs. 70-76). On that occasion, the catechism-interrogation was the ‘sequence [...] lifted out of its original context, parenthesized, and used in a quotative way’<sup>789</sup> by reversing the conventional roles of Nikolaus and *Krampus* as enforcer of moral virtue and embodiment of naughtiness, respectively. St. Nikolaus called people up to the front of the room one at a time, reading

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<sup>788</sup> Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, p. 3.

<sup>789</sup> Ibid. This comical reversal of roles is an instance of symbolic inversion, which Barbara Babcock defines as ‘any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values and norms’ (*The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), p. 14).



their names and deeds from his Golden Book and dispensing sacks of peanuts and sweets. ‘*Auf die Knien* [On your knees]’, Nikolaus said in a stern tone, and they knelt before him, telling him how *brav* they had been during the past year. ‘*Auf die Knien*’, he commanded a woman he clearly knew with a lascivious laugh. A *Krampus* hit him with his switch. A tussle ensued in which Nikolaus’s bishop’s mitre got knocked off and worn momentarily by a devil until Nikolaus regained control of them with the use of his crook. (Significantly, this performance was intended for an audience consisting primarily of members’ own friends and family and other mumming groups, all of whom were insiders well-versed in the tradition and therefore in no danger of misunderstanding the joke.)<sup>790</sup>

### 11.3 The Use of Space and Movement to Shape Performance

There are various ways in which the use of space and movement feature into *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances. In the case of large-scale, collaborative parades, groups must consider the overall pacing of the procession, which determines the space and time constraints they must work within and informs their individual improvisation in turn. Other factors include the mummers’ physical energy or fatigue — how they respond to the physical pressure of moving constantly in a heavy, hot suit and mask — as well as how they employ the elements of speed, stillness, and playing to the camera within the performance-encounter. Here we will consider three aspects of the use of space and movement in *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances: mummers’ individual movements, the role of the *Ordner* who control the pacing of parades, and the ways in which the performance space itself is defined and navigated. All three considerations affect the creative choices mummers make during performances.

My video documentation of *Perchten* and *Krampus* performances (included in the Video Appendix) illustrates various gestures, microdramas, and other choreographed or improvised elements deployed in the performance-encounter. These brief sequences constitute, in effect, a performance within the performance. For instance, some show the tension created by the mummers’ superb timing and their ability to build psychological tension by remaining silent and motionless, then suddenly snapping into action with a quick, violent movement, thereby dislodging the spectators’ sense of control and evoking a sense of what Caillois calls *ilinx* — vertigo, delirium, dizziness.<sup>791</sup> The following examples (save the first, which was the only instance of this type of improvisation I observed during

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<sup>790</sup> See field notes, Appendix II.

<sup>791</sup> Caillois, pp. 23-24.

my fieldwork) include a sampling of commonly used performance tropes:

1. Throwing oneself down on the ground, slowly swiveling one's head while holding torches (V5, 17:38-18:12, which also shows an *Ordner* at work)
2. *Rauferei*, a tussle between several mummers (V2, 03:55-04:15; V7, 38:56-39:03)
3. Standing still in front of victims and hypnotizing them with a gaze, then suddenly lashing out with the switch when they least expect it (see Appendix I13)
4. Blowing flour in faces (V7, 34:56-35:05 shows a *Hexe* deploying a bag of flour to great effect), smearing cheeks with soot (see Appendix I12)
5. Sharing a toast with *Glühwein* or schnaps
6. The "cuddle-*Krampus*", rolling around at children's feet
7. Grabbing caps and mussing hair (V1, 01:16-01:25)
8. Switching shins under the barricade, grabbing shoulders and shaking them (V4, 10:50-11:03)
9. Pulling women into an embrace and whirling them around (V4, 10:26-10:38)
10. Grand strutting, looking imperiously from side to side (V3, 06:25-06:50)
11. Beckoning with a clawed glove (V2, 03:11-03:30)
12. Rushing up the camera to mug and roar (V7, 38:18-38:22; see also 9.2.2)
13. Creeping along, stalking with slow, deliberate movements (V3, 06:25-06:50)
14. Jumping up and down to shake their bells, done as a group to make a racket (V1,

01:08-01:15)

15. Breathing fire after a swig of “*Lampenöl*” (lamp oil) (V2, 03:04-03:10)

16. Stopping to regard spectators, head tilted like an inquisitive dog (V7, 35:47-45:50)

Such short sequences are set into the larger context of the parade, a setting which requires that the multiple participants work together to maintain forward momentum. Therefore there are various pacing issues that shape processions and the forms the performance-encounter may take in that setting.

### 11.3.1 Pacing Considerations

The pacing demands of a procession, the balancing of forward momentum with the available space, and the ways in which space and time constraints can and must be used determine the mummers’ performance choices and shape their improvisations. Berger explained how parade pacing and improvisation interrelate:

*Es gibt garantiert keinen vorprogrammierten Bewegungsablauf, oder, dass man sagt, man muss einen Ablauf zeitgemäß planen. Das geht fast nicht. Man probiert es vielleicht, aber da sind so viele Sachen Ausschlag gebend — der Nikolaus bleibt bei so vielen Kinder stehen, es dauert solange, wir können nicht einfach ohne Nikolaus weitergehen — wir müssen uns immer ein wenig im Umkreis vom Nikolaus bewegen, dass man als geschlossene Gruppe immer schön beisammen ist.*

There is no guaranteed pre-programmed sequence of movements, or that you say you have to plan an up-to-date course of action. That almost never happens. Perhaps you might give it a try, but there are so many things tipping the scales — the Nikolaus lingers with so many kids, it lasts so long, we simply cannot go on without Nikolaus — we have to move somewhat in the radius of Nikolaus, so that we always stay together in a nice closed-off group.<sup>792</sup>

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<sup>792</sup> Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.

Groups conducting a series of house visits throughout the evening must consider pacing as well. The Perschtenbund Soj, for example, try to coordinate their appearances with the *Rauhnächte*, although it is not practical to appear on consecutive nights. As with most groups, their performance schedule is adapted to accommodate work and family commitments. They do eleven runs, one for each district of Kirchseeon, always in the same sequence, so householders have a sense of when to expect them.<sup>793</sup> Even where there is a wealth of prepared performance material, such as the Perschtenbund Soj's dances and tunes played on flutes and bells in front of the houses they visit, there are performance decisions (if not improvisation per se) that are determined by evaluating their remaining time and energy. The number of dances they perform depends on how many houses they will be visiting overall, as they need to pace themselves to manage their fatigue levels.<sup>794</sup> The importance of this consideration is also emphasized by Müller, who reports that as the end of the *Krampuslauf* draws near and the mummers' energy flags, one sees:

*Immer weniger wird gesprungen, und mehr Kinder werden gestreichelt. Einige konditionsschwache Krampusse — wie ich — gelten nicht nur aus Kinderfreundlichkeit als Streichelkrampusse.*

Less and less leaping about, and more children are petted. Some of the out-of-shape *Krampusse* — like me — are not just *Streichelkrampusse* [cuddle-*Krampusse*] out of child-friendliness.<sup>795</sup>

His account shows how physical factors, such as exhaustion brought on by running and leaping in heavy, bulky costumes, shape the actors' improvisational choices and interaction with spectators.<sup>796</sup> Berger also expressed how exhausting it is to remain in constant motion, jumping around to shake their heavy bells, but explained why it is worth the physical discomfort:

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<sup>793</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>794</sup> Ibid.

<sup>795</sup> Müller, p. 455.

<sup>796</sup> Bendix, *Progress and Nostalgia*, p. 30.

*Es ist bei dem Auftritt in Schärding ein wenig anstrengend, weil er bis zu einer Stunde dauert. Das ist lang, mit den ganzen Masken ... mit dem Fell und dem schweren Gurt, wo die Glocken darum sind, oder die Schellen, die ja Lärm machen müssen ... man muss eben immer in Bewegung sein das Ganze. Einfach nur so durchgehen, als wenn man spazieren geht — das wirkt langweilig von der Optik her. Darum macht man eben die Show, dass man ein wenig springt, hüpfert oder sich gegenseitig mit einem anderen Perchten eine kleine Rangelei. Also das soll ein bisschen eine Show mit hereinbringen, also immer richtig in Bewegung sein damit es nicht langweilig wird für die Zuschauer. Das geht ja hauptsächlich für uns, wie es der Günter schon gesagt hat, rein auf die Zuschauer. Das bringt uns ja nichts wenn man da vor 50 Leuten oder, wie wir es jetzt hier haben, vor fast 4.000 Leuten. Also da gibt es Unterschiede.*

It is a little stressful at the appearance in Schärding, because it lasts up to an hour. That is long, with all the masks ... with the pelt and the heavy belt with the *Glocken* on it, or the *Schellen*, which have to make noise ... one must be in constant motion the whole time. To simply walk through it, like when one is going for a stroll — that looks boring optically. That is why one makes a show, jumping around a little, hopping, or a little mutual roughhousing with one of the other *Perchten*. Doing that is supposed to introduce a little bit of show into it, to be in constant motion so it doesn't become boring for the spectators. For us, it is, like Günter has already said, purely about the spectators. That gets us nowhere if you have 50 people or, as we have here now, nearly 4,000 people. So there are differences.<sup>797</sup>

Within the parade setting, forward momentum is maintained by the group's *Ordner*. Sharing the physical performance space with mummers and spectators, they shape the action and the interaction by performing the following essential functions:

1. They monitor the pace of the procession, which is particularly critical when (as is often the case) there are many groups processing one right after the other. The *Ordner* work to keep their groups together and ensure that they enter and exit the parade route on schedule (this often takes the form of reminding performers to move along when they become too involved in a one-on-one interaction).
2. *Ordner* protect performers from the physical dangers generated by closeness to the crowd, such as horn-pulling, which is dangerous to the mummers (as one *Krampus*

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<sup>797</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

explained to me, the masks are constructed to fit the head so closely that pulling the horns can break the mummer's neck).<sup>798</sup> They also maintain safe boundaries by preventing spectators from dismantling rope barricades or wandering into the street to get a closer look.

3. They help guide mummers along the parade route, necessary because they suffer from poor visibility due to mask construction, night settings, snow or rain, poor street lighting, and pyrotechnics such as highway flares and fireworks (I was often told that camera flashes do not bother them, however). Exhaustion from wearing the hot, heavy costumes and jumping around may further compromise mummers' mobility.
4. *Ordner* tend to the maintenance and safe operation of props and special effects, much of which amounts to fire safety: relighting torches, keeping flaming cauldrons dragged on chains behind performers from tipping over, keeping a wooden cage filled with howling devils steady on its wheels as they rattle the bars and jump up and down, and disentangling a string of fairy lights from the long and curving horns of a *Krampus* as he struts past a precariously-positioned Christmas tree, all incidents observed at the 2006 *Perchtentreffen* in Pullman City, Bavaria (V3, 04:34-07:17).

The demarcation of space is of great importance in shaping the action and interaction. Parade routes are generally either roped off or metal barricades are erected to separate performers from spectators. Improvised personal interaction between them is limited by these physical boundaries and the parade momentum, which force performers to keep moving forward. This means that the individualized encounters that do occur may last only a few moments, but they are no less potent for that.

Parades are sometimes followed by *Freiläufe* in which the performers mingle with the crowd. The physical transition from the parade setting to *Freilauf*, accomplished by pulling down the ropes or barricades marking off the parade route (or in the case of the Nikolaus play, leaping off the stage into the audience) mirrors the transition from formal display custom to informal, personalized interaction, which likewise closes the gap between performers and spectators.

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<sup>798</sup> See field notes, Appendix I1 and V4, 11:05-11:08.

### 11.3.2 Closing the Distance between Spectator and Performer

Spectators and performers are often separated by a physical barrier of some kind, and some of the thrill of the performance-encounter derives from mummings threatening to breach it. Several performance settings offer examples of the ways in which mummings may transgress these barriers during the performance-encounter. One is the raised stage upon which the Bad Mitterndorf Nikolaus play takes place, a boundary which is wonderfully dissolved by the devils leaping off the stage into the crowd at the end, crashing through the fourth wall and initiating the interactive *Freilauf* phase of the performance. As we saw in the Berchtesgaden house visit in 10.2.1, the kitchen table serves as a protective barrier as well; somehow, the *Krampus* is never quite able to reach across the table to swat the children huddled there (Fig. 26).

In the parade setting, where spectators line the sidewalks and the mummings process in the street, event security teams prepare the space by erecting a barrier of rope suspended between small posts (V7, 41:23-41:28 shows an *Ordner* replacing a rope fence) or temporary metal security fencing (V2, 02:40-04:33). Both are typically waist-high, allowing for a reasonable amount of physical contact between the mummings and the front row of spectators. Occasionally the curb itself is an adequate boundary marker, and spectators tend to respect it as such, staying out of the street and out of the way of the mummings. In any case, the *Ordner* maintain a safe boundary by flanking the group and watching for possible problems, gently pressing stray spectators back off the street with an outstretched arm (V5, 19:10-19:13). Redrawing or crossing over the line between spectators and performers is of great importance in shaping the performance-encounter. The physical transition from the parade setting to *Freilauf*, accomplished by pulling down the ropes or barricades marking off the parade route (or leaping off the stage in Bad Mitterndorf), mirrors the transition from formal display custom to informal, personalized interaction, which likewise closes the gap between performers and spectators.

The performance space itself tends to be fluid, its boundaries defined by the degree of engagement between performers and spectators. Even when it consists of a road roped off to separate spectators from processing mummings, in practice, its boundaries are defined by the degree of engagement between performers and spectators, allowing them to move around freely on the intimacy/distance continuum. The performance-encounter, as the term implies, involves the dissolution of the fourth wall dividing actors from audience. Part of the thrill for the spectator derives from the apparent reversal of roles: the realization that, whereas he thought he was part of the invisible audience, the strange creature on the “stage” (that is, the supposed performance space) is watching his every move. When mummings stop

to engage spectators in this way, they dissolve psychological as well as spatial barriers separating them from each other and keeping spectators passive and invisible.

The dissolution or transgression of spatial boundaries escalates the play, both in terms of paradramatic narrative and in terms of emotional intensity, by subverting expectations and increasing suspense. The fluid use of physical space is essential to manipulating spectators' reactions and shaping the dramatic action. In extending the performance space (which is by definition any space in which they move), the mummers draw the spectators into the action — onto the stage, as it were — and into an intimacy that may be emotional as well as physical. This expansion often means closing the distance between bodies, and mummers may invade the “personal space” of spectators, taking physical liberties that would never be permitted in everyday life. (Insofar as both parties are choosing to actively participate in the custom, the stealing of caps and pawing of breasts is consensual and met with laughter instead of a slap.)

As noted in 11.1, both participants perform for one another as they co-create the dramatic action by drawing on a common script. Mikhail Bakhtin describes a similar dynamic in the context of Carnival:

Carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlights would destroy a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people.<sup>799</sup>

The same could be said of the performance-encounter, which depends upon the lack of significant psychic or spatial barriers between masked and unmasked players; it is, in Terry Gunnell's words, 'kitchen theatre',<sup>800</sup> or, in some cases, street theatre...or toilet theater, as the case may be. One informal appearance by the Juvavum Pass — a *Krampuskränzchen* in a Salzburg pub<sup>801</sup> — combined spatial transgression with social transgression. The *Krampusse* burst into action to a heavy metal soundtrack, throwing themselves on patrons, sliding across tables and knocking over glasses, chasing women around the maze of tables,

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<sup>799</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1968), p. 7. Cited in Lindahl, p. 61.

<sup>800</sup> Gunnell, *Masks and Mumming, in the Nordic Area*, p. 30.

<sup>801</sup> See field notes, Appendix I3.



barstools, and support beams. It was dark, and patrons could barely see them coming. What makes these *Krampuskränzchen* exciting is the unexpected intimacy: people are not always apprised of their arrival, and would not necessarily choose to be there if they did. A couple of young women were shrieking in earnest, tears on their cheeks; they were genuinely terrified, or at least genuinely hysterical. They retreated into the women's toilet, but they were not safe there; from my position I could see a *Krampus* slam open the door, standing silhouetted in black against the yellow walls, roaring at them as they cowered and convulsed, trapped against the stall doors. Here with the *Krampus*'s incursion into the women's toilet we see the intersection of several types of boundary transgression: the violation of gender and spatial boundaries (represented by the protective barrier of the women's toilet door) as well as a violation of the privacy of toilets in general, a gesture clearly in keeping with Bakhtin's 'ambivalent lower [bodily] stratum'.<sup>802</sup>

### 11.3.3 Playing to the Camera

For spectators, watching the proceedings through the eye of a camera lens psychologically distances them from the action (see also 9.2.2), and penetrating this shield is one of the mummies' favorite games. It is common for locals and tourists alike to photograph and film public performances, which is typically welcomed by the mummies, for whom it is a legitimate way to watch the performance and an even better way to share it, thanks to the ease of uploading digital photos and video to the internet. Camera phones, which are held out at some distance from the face (and often aloft, due to difficulty seeing over the heads of the people in the first few rows) have a different physicality than film cameras, which are held directly in front of the face. While camera phones now dominate, bulkier film cameras were still a common sight when I conducted my fieldwork. Playing to people in the crowd, then, often means playing to the camera. This is often done with geniality and humor; mummies drop their ferocious affect to stop and pose, sometimes putting their arms around tourists so a friend can photograph them and often giving a strong impression of mugging for the camera behind their masks (see V5, 05:35-05:45 and 06:52 -07:10). They peer directly into the camera lens, like curious animals, beckon and pose, roar and mug for the camera, sometimes briefly holding their hands over the lens, more a playful, mischievous gesture than an attempt to keep people from filming.

My use of film and video cameras to document performances illuminated several ways in which cameras are incorporated into the improvised play, both of which involve dissolving the fourth wall between alive and reactive parties. The first involves the

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<sup>802</sup> Bakhtin, p. 64.

mummer coming to the spectator, mugging and posing (V5, 18:07-18:11). Staging photographs in this way is an especially tourist-friendly choice, since it grants spectators a safe, no-muss “photo opportunity”, allowing them to observe from the sidelines without entering into the fray. Berger explained that posing for photographs during a *Perchtenlauf* is part of playing the role, remarking that ‘*Für Fotos zum Beispiel stehen bleiben, gewisse Positionen, mit den Armen, oder Kinder, wenn man die mal auf den Arm nimmt und dann fotografieren lässt, das gehört schon ein wenig dazu* [Standing still for photos, for example, certain positions with the arms, or children, when one takes them by the arm and then lets photographs be taken, that really goes with it]’.<sup>803</sup>

In contrast, the second type of camera response draws the spectator unexpectedly into the action (V2, 03:35-03:45 and 04:16-04:32). Here mummers “attack” spectators, which forces them to hurriedly lower their camera-masks in order to protect them and submit to the physical immediacy of the encounter. This performance trope became apparent upon reviewing the video footage I took in Schärding, Upper Austria, Pfarrwerfen, Salzburg (V7, 27:18-43:10), and the Pullman City Wild West theme park in Eging am See, Bavaria, 2006 (V3, 04:34-07:17). In the Schärding example discussed in 2.6 and 9.2.2, a *Percht* startled me by reaching for me while I was filming, forcing me to stuff the video recorder into my coat while he exclaimed, ‘*Paparazzia!*’ In this way, the *Percht* hilariously foregrounded the “offstage” behavior of observing and recording and dragged it “onstage” into the performance-encounter itself. Choosing this plan of attack suggests that the mummer has decided the photographer in question can handle the rough stuff or is “asking for it” in some way. In both cases, but especially the latter, the direct acknowledgment of the spectator teaches him that the camera-mask does not make him invisible. Singling out photographers in this way draws attention to the inherent absurdity of claiming detachment on the front lines by watching through the camera’s eye; the photographer is suddenly the center of attention and the breaking of the barrier the camera creates — the mummer’s wresting control from the photographer — becomes a new source of entertainment for the other spectators. Taking pictures at all in such a boisterous, chaotic, sensual environment seems stranger than anything the masked figures might do.

For spectators, the camera is another eye that creates additional distance — “depth of field” — between the mummers and themselves. For performers, the camera provides another layer with which to interact, to invade or peel away like an onion skin. In reacting to the camera, mummers demonstrate awareness of how they appear to their audience and incorporate that self-consciousness into their play, adding a layer of irony and secondary

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<sup>803</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

commentary on the performance and suggesting numerous dramatic possibilities. In that sense, such acts of playing to or with the camera constitute a kind of metacommentary on the performance. As I have learned from experience, spectators become so absorbed in the act of filming — of seeing differently, through the camera’s lens — that they lose their own self-awareness and think they are invisible again; they sink even farther back into a distant, disengaged mode of observation. This makes it all the more satisfying for mummers to foil their attempts to film and draw the photographer or videographer into the (inter)action.

We have discussed mummers’ use of space to evoke strong emotions and propel spectators into active participation, thereby giving shape to the performance-encounter. As shown by the Juvavum Pass *Krampus*’s comments on the reactions to his hoof-handled switch above, the space being navigated in the performance-encounter can be psychological as well as physical. Central to this is the way the donning of the mask can effect emotional transformations (or transportations, as the case may be)<sup>804</sup> and evoke liminal emotional states, in mummers and unmasked participants alike. The next section will address this aspect of the performance-encounter.

#### **11.4 Behind the Mask: The Evocation of Liminal Psychic States**

Emotional liminality is a key feature of the performance-encounter. We have seen how physical factors such as the weight of masks and costumes affect the experience and improvisational choices of the mask-wearer. The mask can also evoke strong emotional states in both the wearer and those with whom he interacts, often disturbing the spectator’s psychic equilibrium and drawing them into twilight emotional states. Thus these experiences can be classified in terms of two interrelated phenomena, the first being the evocation of borderline emotional states, a sort of emotional liminality, and the second being the dual awareness of the mask as both an independent personality and its human wearer. Such dual awareness can be felt by both unmasked spectators/hosts and the mummers themselves.

*Perchten* and *Krampusse* may discombobulate spectators during the performance-encounter by throwing them off-balance, both physically and psychologically, through agonistic struggle (by grappling with them or through a “battle of wills”) and by inducing a

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<sup>804</sup> Schechner outlines the difference between transportation and transformation:

Liminal rituals permanently change who people are. These are transformations. Liminoid rituals effect a temporary change — sometimes nothing more than a brief experience of spontaneous communitas or a several-hours-long performance of a role. These are transportation. From a spectator’s point of view, one enters into the experience, is “moved” or “touched” (apt metaphors) and is then dropped off about where she or he entered (*Introduction to Performance Studies*, p. 63).

sense of *ilinx* (exquisite and/or disturbing disorientation). Games of *ilinx*, writes Caillois, strive to ‘momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon an otherwise lucid mind. In all cases, it is a question of surrendering to a kind of spasm, seizure, or shock which destroys reality with sovereign brusqueness’.<sup>805</sup> Just as *Perchten* and *Krampusse* use space and movement to unbalance spectators physically, so may they play with their expectations in order to generate psychological and emotional tension between them comparable to a live electrical current. Mummers make various creative choices during performance to create a *frisson* and manipulate this psychic tension, some premeditated (like the use of the goat’s hoof described at the beginning of this chapter) and some spontaneous (selecting which women to pull into the street).

During the performance-encounter, one experiences extremes of physical sensation: the sting of a birch switch, the softness or coarseness of animal pelt costumes, the odors of beer and sweat, the din of jangling bells and exploding fireworks, the burning taste of schnaps, the rush of bright colors and textures, grotesque and fanciful features, and dreamlike juxtapositions of plant, animal and human body parts, some deliberate (distorted, but recognizably human faces sprouting goat horns) and some incidental (human hands reaching out for spectators from bundles of evergreen boughs or animal pelts). Emotions, too, are frequently jumbled and the lines between them blurred; spectators may find themselves disoriented by unexpected or contradictory feelings, which may trouble or delight. Discussing the comical effect of cross-dressing in mumming, Gunnell notes that the same incongruities that make it comical in one instance can make it disturbing under different circumstances:

We laugh at the “bisociation” of comedy [...] when we watch it from a distance. The gorilla apparently acting in human fashion is similarly funny as long as he remains behind the bars. If the gorilla is released into the crowd, humour can turn into horror. [...] The problem with the intimate “kitchen theatre” of mumming performance is that the lines between performer and audience are unclear. The presence of the exaggerated, masked, cross-dressed performer standing in the room beside you, manhandling you, and talking to you in person, [...] result in a mixture of humour and discomfort, even horror; and an uncertainty about where the border lies.<sup>806</sup>

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<sup>805</sup> Caillois, p. 23.

<sup>806</sup> Gunnell, “There is Nothing like a Dame!” Cross-Dressing in Mumming Activities Past and Present’, *Cosmos* 25 (2009) (Ritual Year 4), 209-217 (p. 215).

Upon being asked why they donned the mask, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* would often say it was “fun” (*‘Es macht mir Spaß’* or *‘Das ist Gaudium’*). Over time it became apparent that the concept of fun, while vague, perfectly expressed the complex mingling of emotions and sensations experienced during the performance-encounter. The Schärddinger Teufelsperchten discussed this shift in quality and intensity of feeling during our interview, noting the depth of emotion with which spectators can react to the mask. This may be seen as another example of deep play<sup>807</sup> in that the strength of the reaction is disproportionate to the conscious knowledge that they are merely engaged in masked play with people who are often familiar to them:

**Berger:** *Unter der Maske, da erlebt man Sachen, wie Menschen reagieren können auf solche Masken. Das ist gigantisch. Wir haben schon Erwachsene gehabt, die haben geweint und hatten Angst obwohl wir noch 10 Minuten vorher an einem Tisch gesessen haben. Dann sind wir rausgegangen, haben uns die Masken aufgesetzt und sind wieder zu diesem Tisch hingegangen, dann hat die geweint vor lauter Angst, obwohl sie gewusst hat, dass ich unter dieser Maske stecke.*

**Carter:** *Aber, der Eindruck ist so groß. Ich habe das auch gesehen, bei den ganz jungen Frauen, vielleicht 18 Jahre alt. Es gab Tränen. Die machen das nicht aus Spaß, das ist ernst, die Tränen sind echt.*

**Berger:** *Viele probieren auch, das zu unterdrücken, damit sie ihre Angst nicht zeigen. Das sind so Situationen. Da sollte man schon wissen, wie man reagiert. Wenn man der Person schon ansieht, sie hat Angst vor mir, aber zeigt das nicht, dann ziehe ich mich schon zurück. Dann mache ich das ruhiger, und versuche der Person die Angst zu nehmen. Es gibt aber auch das Gegenteil, also diejenigen, die das herausfordern, die provozieren und dann muss man ab und zu auch mit der Rute ‘das Böse vertreiben’ ... nicht viel (lacht).*

**Berger:** Behind the mask, one experiences things, how people can react to such masks. That is huge. We have had adults who have cried and felt fear, although we had sat at a table [with them] just ten minutes earlier. Then we left, put on the masks, and went back to the table, and they cried openly out of fear, although they knew that it was me behind the mask.

**Carter:** But the impression is so great. I have also seen that with young women, perhaps 18 years old. There were tears. They are not having fun, it is serious; the tears are real.

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<sup>807</sup> Geertz, p. 441.

**Berger:** Many attempt to give that impression, so that they do not show their fear. That is [what is going on in] such situations. That way people are not supposed to know how you are reacting. When you really look at the person, she is afraid of me, but is not showing it, then I draw back. Then I go about it more gently, and seek to take the fear away from the person. But there is also the opposite, those who make a point to provoke, and then you have to ‘drive the evil away’ here and there with the switch ... [but] not much (laughs)].<sup>808</sup>

Viewed from a sensual, tactile perspective, *Krampus* and *Perchten* performances are a blend of contradictory behaviors and sensations: their pelts are soft, but stinky; dressed as monsters, they roar and thrash to make children laugh; they pull you into an embrace, but then they beat you; they murmur lascivious suggestions into women from inside grotesque devil masks. Elements which in other contexts would seem clearly pleasurable or repellent are here so closely intertwined that at times it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. During liminal experiences, as Turner points out, ‘multivocal symbols’ may be juxtaposed in unexpected ways:

Then the factors or elements of culture may be recombined in numerous, often grotesque ways, grotesque because they are arrayed in terms of possible or fantasied rather than experienced combinations— thus a monster disguise may combine human, animal, and vegetable features in an “unnatural” way, while the same features may be differently, but equally “unnaturally” combined in a painting or described in a tale. In other words, in liminality people “play” with the elements of the familiar and defamiliarize them.<sup>809</sup>

This thing that is not “real” not only exists in the abstract, but is alive and standing right in front of you. But what (or who) is it, exactly? According to Werner Muensterberger, the moment of psychic shock resulting from a confrontation with a masked figure is caused by the inability to read the face and thus identify the wearer, or sometimes even the species of creature he represents:

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<sup>808</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten. Like the catechism-interrogation (10.2.1), this illustrates how the performance-encounter can constitute deep play. The threat the *Percht* represents is not “real” in the sense that both players know he is acting, but the tears are not just play; rather, they are deep play, in which players tend to be emotionally engaged beyond what the apparent circumstances would seem to justify (Geertz, p. 441).

<sup>809</sup> Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 27.

An artificial device — a piece of cloth or a face-like carving — changes its function and effect, is, as it were, animated, once it covers a wearer’s face and thus obscures recognition. [...] The non-recognition has an impact on the viewer’s protective shield, thereby fragmenting a sense of mastery and orientation and inducing a different kind of affective response. [...] Being confronted with a masker, one recognizes a presentiment of discomfort because one cannot “read” the face.<sup>810</sup>

This brings us to the agonistic aspect of spectators’ psychological engagement with mummies. In addition to the battle of wills that sometimes occurs, the reactive party struggles to identify the mask-wearer, struggles to order the experience and project signification onto the mask, to recognize or read identity into it. As Muensterberger explains, ‘Once the piece of fabric or carving is worn, it becomes alive by virtue of the wearer’s action. In this way it provides the viewer with an illusion: that he can mobilize his fantasy by projecting a face, even a being (though not necessarily human).’<sup>811</sup> Materials that in other contexts would seem ordinary and unthreatening, like the mask itself, are suddenly animated by the wearer; they are recontextualized in order to bring the play-world to life. In this manner, theatrical props lend power to the illusion rather than intruding upon it.<sup>812</sup>

Most of all, the masked face, and the performance-encounter overall, induce a sense of what Caillois calls *ilinx*, a pleasurable sensation experienced as a sort of psychic drowning, falling, or sinking, the vertiginous ‘voluptuous panic’ described above.<sup>813</sup> Caillois’s allusion to surrender is especially significant for our examples, since *ilinx* is closely linked to *agon* in the performance-encounter, where it frequently results from losing (or ceding) control. The performance-encounter involves a tipping of the emotional scales, a tussle over psychological control between the participants. Those interacting with the mummies may feel amusement or fear, depending on how safe or threatened they feel in that moment. Creating a state of uncertainty and discomfort is crucial to a good performance. As Handelman observes, ‘Uncertainties of play and terror are not necessarily genteel kissing cousins, but intimate, perhaps incestuous bedmates. The play of forces is never more exhilarating nor frightening than when boundaries are breached and identities

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<sup>810</sup> Werner Muensterberger, ‘The False Face: Observations on the Reaction to Maskers and Strangers’ in *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society, 14. Essays in Honor of Paul Parin*, ed. by L. Bryce Boyer and Simon A. Grolnick (London: The Analytic Press, 1989), pp. 261-279 (263).

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>812</sup> Schechner, *Performance Theory*, p. 9.

<sup>813</sup> Caillois, p. 23.

blurred.’<sup>814</sup>

It is also an intense, transformative experience for the mummers to be immersed in *Krampus* consciousness during their performance season. As Müller puts it:

*Für alle Außenstehenden sind wir sicherlich unerträglich während dieser Zeit. Die meisten der Freundinnen ziehen es vor, uns in dieser Woche nicht zu sehen, denn das ist die Woche des wüsten Lebens. Nicht nur unter der Maske oder mit dem Fell ist man Krampus. Während der ganzen Woche färbt diese höllische Gestalt auf unser Wesen ab: Es ist die Woche des exzessiven und des regellosen Lebens. Der Fasching kann da in unseren Breiten bei weitem nicht mithalten.*

For all outsiders, we are certainly insufferable during this time. Most of the girlfriends prefer not to see us during this week, for this is the week of wild living. One is *Krampus* not only under the mask or with the pelts. This hellish figure rubs off on our character during the whole week: It is the week of excessive and licentious living. *Fasching* in our parts cannot compare with it by a long shot.<sup>815</sup>

According to Muensterberger, confronting masked figures forces a transformation of consciousness in the unmasked participants,<sup>816</sup> facilitating a leap into the subjunctive: ‘With surprise and momentary disorientation, there is an instant redrawing of the inner boundaries’.<sup>817</sup> One of the dynamics that can make the performance-encounter so disorienting is the dual awareness spectators/hosts have of the mask’s persona (the being it is portraying) and the human man behind it. This awareness does not always alleviate fears, as we saw with regards to real transgressions committed by *Krampusse* in 11.2, or ameliorate the sense of anxiety and uncertainty: into whose eyes is one gazing when one looks at the masked face? At the 2006 *Perchtenlauf* in St. Johann im Pongau, Salzburg, I was taken aback by the disorienting sensation of looking through a mass of evergreen boughs, fur and horns into the eyes of one *Percht* who stopped before me, momentarily unable to place whether they were those of a hybrid animal/tree spirit or a human being.

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<sup>814</sup> Handelman, p. 75.

<sup>815</sup> Müller, p. 457.

<sup>816</sup> Muensterberger, p. 267

<sup>817</sup> *Ibid*, p. 269.



Transfixed for a while by ‘the unconscious masochistic lure of induced anxiety’,<sup>818</sup> I became increasingly uncomfortable, finding it difficult to meet the eyes staring out at me from inside the mouth of the mask, and looked away. The moment I broke his gaze, the *Percht* delivered a sudden slap to my calves with his horse-tail switch.<sup>819</sup>

To return to my question, was I looking into the eyes of a *Percht* or a human being? The answer is both. In Schechner’s words, ‘The actors exist in the field of a double negative. They are not themselves, nor are they the characters they impersonate. A theatrical performance takes place between “not me [and] not not me”.<sup>820</sup> This disorienting effect can occur even when one knows there is a familiar, friendly face behind the mask. Gatterbauer said that his young daughter recognizes him when she peeks behind the mask, but still dislikes it.<sup>821</sup> Berger explained how his improvisational choices involve such elements as stillness and movement, playing to the camera, reading the emotional tenor of the interaction so as not to cause genuine fear, and evoking a sense of mystery and power. This process of intuitive decision-making radiates out from “becoming a *Percht*” with the donning of the mask:

*Es ist schon etwas anderes, wenn ich sage: ‘Ich ziehe mir jetzt das Gewand an!’ Und vor dem Auftritt setzt man sich die Maske auf und dann — so geht es zumindest mir und anderen sicherlich auch — dann bist du in einer anderen Haut drinnen. Du weißt, jetzt geht der Auftritt los, jetzt musst du dich ein wenig gut präsentieren...musst das gut [da] ‘rüberbringen, und du musst auch eine wenig schauspielern. [...] und auch selbst während des Auftritts, dass man ein wenig die Gangart wechselt ... ein bisschen ins Mystische, ins Drohende, aber auch wieder so: ‘Komm her, ich tue dir nicht!’ Das ist, wenn ich in Maske drinstecke, ob ich jetzt ein kleines Kind vor mir habe oder jemanden, der schon ein bisschen erwachsen ist, und das abzuschätzen, das ist reine Gefühlssache. Da kann man nicht sagen, das musst du jetzt so machen, sondern das kommt im Lauf der Zeit. Und das ist wunderschön.*

It is really something else when I say: ‘Now I’m putting on the suit!’ And before the appearance one puts the mask on before the appearance and then — at least how it is for

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<sup>818</sup> Ibid, p. 272.

<sup>819</sup> See field notes, Appendix I13.

<sup>820</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 64; see also p. 6.

<sup>821</sup> Schärldinger Teufelsperchten.

me, and surely for others as well — then you have slipped inside of a different skin. You know, now the performance is going on, now you must present yourself well ... you have to bring it across, and you also have to act a little bit. [...] and also for oneself during the performance, that you have a bit of a change of pace...a little into the mystical, into the threatening, yet along the lines of: ‘Come here, I won’t do you any harm!’ That is, when I get inside of the mask, whether I now have a small child in front of me, or someone who is a bit more grown up, and assess that, it’s a matter of pure feeling. That’s why you cannot say that you must do such-and-such now, but that comes in the course of time. And that is wonderful.<sup>822</sup>

The two preceding chapters have dealt with various permutations of the performance-encounter, which comprises elements of play, performance, and ritual, is experienced in the subjunctive mood, and is liminoid in nature overall. This study can be divided into two main parts. Whereas Chapters 1 through 9 have dealt with the conceptual triad of authenticity, tradition and continuity, Chapters 10 and 11 have addressed the often intersecting issues of play, performance, and ritual. Both sections of the study involve the parallel themes of moving from one place or (internal) state to another by constructing conceptual or play-worlds set apart from everyday space-time and accessible through folk-performance. In this respect, the two major areas of this study come together under the shared umbrella of virtuality, subjunctivity, and liminality. How these overarching themes have manifested themselves throughout this work and how they address our initial research questions will be the subject of our final chapter.

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<sup>822</sup> Ibid.

## 12. CONCLUSIONS: *PERCHTEN* AND *KRAMPUSSE* AS THE CURATORS OF TRADITION

In the previous chapters, we have explored various aspects of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming as it manifests today and the process by which mummers express their agency and realize their visions of these traditions. As I hope I have shown, their views and practices reveal important insights into the nature of tradition, authenticity, and continuity as well as the theoretical frameworks of folklorism and feedback. On the basis of my field data, we can affirm that the mummers themselves are the “owners” of these traditions, and have empowered themselves to determine their form and meaning. Thus I shall discuss the ownership of tradition and creative authority, issues of self-representation, and what exactly constitutes the construction of meaning. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* interpret and assign meaning to these traditions in both objective and subjective ways: in the (selective) interpretation of history and origins and the consultation of academic literature on the subject and their personalization of their traditions, from their creative process to their experience of the performance-encounter. As we have seen, many aspects of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming yield insights into their personal motivations and values as well as issues of identity, community, and the transmission of cultural heritage. Finally, I will discuss several trends evident in these traditions which suggest fruitful directions for future research.

First, however, we will revisit the issues encompassed by my research questions stated in 2.2, which can be clustered into five umbrella categories according to theme:

1. A basic descriptive overview of these two traditions as they have evolved to the present day, with a focus on the differences and similarities between them (research questions 2, 3, 6 and 10).
2. The interrelated topics of authenticity, continuity and tradition, how they are conceptualized by mummers, and how these conceptions factor into mask and performance design (research questions 4, 5, 6 and 8).
3. Issues of identity and community, exploring the role of tourism, mummers’ motivations and values, and why these traditions continue to be vital and relevant (research question 9).

4. The nature of the performance-encounter, their interactive, semi-improvised performance style, analyzed in terms of play and performance theory (research question 7).
5. Issues of ownership (who may claim and speak for these traditions) and authority; that is, mummers' prerogative to define, interpret, and create (research question 5). These issues have ethical ramifications and shed light on the nature and utility of the analytical concepts of folklorism and feedback.

As my research progressed, these areas of inquiry divided themselves into two streams: the analysis of the performance-encounter and the interrelated concepts of authenticity, tradition and continuity, which underlie various aspects of these traditions, from informing interpretations of origins and meaning to mummers' mask design. In the end, they come together in their shared attributes of restored behavior, subjunctivity, and virtuality. In addition, folklorism and feedback theory have proven relevant throughout. What follows is a summary of my findings.

## 12.1 The Performance-Encounter Deconstructed

As we saw in Chapter 11, the performance-encounter is characterized by five main elements: interactive improvisation utilizing scripted and unscripted elements; metacommentary on those scripts and tropes, or “play with the play”; the interplay of real and mock-transgression; the creative use of space and movement in both improvised and choreographed performance modalities; and the liminoid and often jumbled emotional states the encounter creates for both participants. This last is one of a number of liminoid aspects of the performance-encounter, which creates ephemeral play-worlds within the greater performance context (typically a short, semi-improvised one-on-one interaction as a “bubble” within the structure and pacing of a parade) and shifts both participants into the subjunctive mood common to play, performance, and ritual,<sup>823</sup> often by inducing a sense of *ilinx*.<sup>824</sup>

The performance-encounter also effectively makes the *Perchten* or *Krampus* mumming both a display custom and an encounter custom at the same time. While I have been using the terms “performer” and “spectator/host” throughout for the sake of simplicity,

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<sup>823</sup> Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, p. 37; Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 82.

<sup>824</sup> Caillois, p. 15.

they are somewhat misleading in that they imply a fixed binary of active and passive (receptive) parties, a dynamic perhaps more suiting to description of the classic performer/audience relationship in aesthetic theater. In his analysis of the social and spatial patterning of customary drama, Pettitt designates forms of folk drama with an interactive aspect as ‘encounter customs’ (described in 1.6; see also note 36). Encounter customs involve the interaction of ‘alive’ and ‘reactive’ parties,<sup>825</sup> corresponding to performers and hosts/audiences, who play active and passive roles in the encounter, respectively. The performance-encounter also revolves around the interplay of alive and reactive parties, though its improvisational nature allows for the possibility of shifting the balance to some extent, or even briefly switching roles.

The paradox which has arisen in time is that, while these traditions were long ago formalized into display customs, they have nevertheless managed to preserve something of the interpersonal spark of the house visit and introduce it into supposedly formal and impersonal display custom contexts via the performance-encounter. While the forms of *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming in evidence today have were largely refashioned into display customs around the turn of the last century, in the performance-encounter, they transcend the ostensible boundaries between audience and performer that the display format imposes on folk customs. In keeping with the classic aesthetic theater dynamics with which the urban tourist classes would have been familiar (6.2), the display custom instates discrete boundaries between audience and performer: the former sits invisible in the darkness, passive receptors, while the latter conducts all the action onstage in the spotlight, usually without acknowledging the audience. In contrast, the fourth wall is shattered in the performance-encounter when the provisionally passive party is pulled “onstage”, becoming an active co-participant. This improvisatory, interactive dynamic is what gives the performance-encounter its character.

Social interactions which tend to be marked by the dynamics of projection and objectification, such as heavily-gendered social contexts (like flirting in nightclubs) and the insider/outsider relations of tourism (particularly folklore tourism, which has historically often been marketed like a cultural safari to an idyllic “place frozen in time” to view the

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<sup>825</sup> Pettitt, ‘Customary Drama: Social and Spatial Patterning in Traditional Encounters’, pp. 31-32. Pettitt uses the term ‘encounter customs’ for a range of customs that can be classified loosely as forms of folk drama with an interactive aspect, ranging from house visits to folk plays. He writes of encounter customs:

Performance is not under the auspices of a single social group but part of a deliberate, articulated encounter between two distinct and identifiable groups. Most dramatic customs occur under the auspices of such encounter contexts and consequently useful social distinctions can be made in terms of the motivation of the group initiating the encounter (the ‘active’ group), and useful spatial distinctions in terms of the relative patterns of movement bringing it and the other (‘reactive’) group together (ibid).

local wildlife in their natural habitat), themselves verge on the kind of dramatized interaction Goffman has described.<sup>826</sup> These two examples in particular are both integrated into the performance-encounter, gendered dynamics in the form of the long-standing *Krampus/Mädel* trope and insider/outsider dynamics due to the many tourists drawn to *Perchten* and *Krampus* processions such as those in the Pongau, which have become major tourist attractions, as noted in 6.2. These two elements speak to these traditions' ability to remain relevant to contemporary audiences by centering personal experience and attribution of meaning; many groups feel that if spectators find a performance personally meaningful, moving or inspiring or even just wonderfully entertaining, it was a success. This is how 'living tradition'<sup>827</sup> is cultivated.

## 12.2 Intersections between Tradition, Authenticity, and Continuity

My research revealed that mummers' understanding of the nature of tradition — what ensures its perpetuation and relevance — supports the recent academic treatments of tradition and the transmission of cultural heritage discussed in 9.4 and Appendix H1. From this perspective, four characterizations of tradition emerge:

1. Tradition is fluid and adaptable, kinetic rather than static in nature.
2. Tradition is more about process than content, more verb than noun, consistent with UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage and its focus on transmission.<sup>828</sup>
3. Tradition is experienced and interpreted subjectively and easily personalized. It is constructed in the present, and, as Handler and Linnekin note, its value 'does not depend upon an objective relation to the past' (7.2.4).<sup>829</sup>
4. The validity of tradition to the active tradition-bearers is not necessarily determined by its demonstrable historicity (antiquity), though the trope of historicity may be

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<sup>826</sup> Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

<sup>827</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>828</sup> UNESCO, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage: Frequently Asked Questions'.

<sup>829</sup> Handler and Linnekin, pp. 285-286.

invoked to legitimize it.<sup>830</sup>

5. The ownership of tradition can be elective, a matter of personal affinity as well as the result of ancestry and geography. Its adaptability and utility account for its relevance to a given community, resulting in the ‘living tradition’ alluded to by the Perschtenbund Soj and others.<sup>831</sup>

These facets of tradition surfaced again and again throughout the research, shedding light on mummers’ motivations and values as well as their resourceful, creative approaches to claiming and performing these traditions, which found expression in the forms detailed in the following sections.

### **12.2.1 Folklorism and Feedback as a Creative Source for Revivals and Inventions**

In the course of my research, the interplay of ideas between scholars and active tradition-bearers in general and folklorism and feedback in particular was a recurring theme. Folklorism and feedback illuminate and problematize various developments within these traditions and thus have proven to be important theoretical frameworks with which to analyze them. These concepts surface as a creative source for revived or invented tradition, in relation to mummers’ agency and issues of ownership and authority, and as they factor into the conceptions of tradition, continuity and authenticity informing the mummers’ work.

Over the course of this study, several insights regarding folklorism and feedback emerged. Firstly, the three waves of *Volkskunde* enumerated in Chapter 3 correspond to periods of revivals and arguably involve instances of folklorism and feedback in themselves. Secondly, folklorism and feedback provide source material for *Perchten* and *Krampusse* to quarry and incorporate into their creative process, and insofar as that is the case, ultimately amount to folklore with its own legitimacy, thus bearing out Bausinger’s observation that ‘folklorism and the criticism of folklorism are in the long run identical’.<sup>832</sup> In practice, what may be identified as folklorism and feedback are not necessarily conscious or complete processes. Nevertheless, the literary reference points for such interpretations as Perchta’s dual aspect are not necessarily known to the performers who work with them. The concept of feedback implies that there is an acceptance of the complete concept as presented in the context of the scholarly writings from whence they came — that the

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<sup>830</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Percht — das unbekannte Wesen im Widerschein Wissenschaftlicher Deutung’, p. 248.

<sup>831</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

transmission is intact. However, these ideas become decontextualized in the process, appropriated and resited to different perspectives and agendas. Thus what survives to the present day is not necessarily the complete concept as presented in its original context. For example, it may have survived as a general association or trope that decades of re-presentation and recycling has distilled down collectively to its essence. The fertility interpretations advanced by the likes of Frazer and Andree-Eysn and still offered as the core purpose of the *Perchtenlauf* (7.2) provide prime examples.

Indeed, while some *Perchten* and *Krampusse* never mentioned scholarly influences, others did, such as the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana, who have consulted with Luisa Luidold of Salzburger Volkskultur and perused literary sources such as the work of Karl Adrian for the reconstruction of their *Perchten* play (6.3.4),<sup>833</sup> and Polanec of the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n, who discovered the doctoral dissertation of Iris Kubovsky while researching Perchta folklore at the National Library in Vienna and has drawn inspiration from it since.<sup>834</sup> More often, however, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are not conscious of exactly where these commonplace ideas came from, let alone the original context with interpretive framework (and underlying political motivation, in the case of Nazi *Volkskunde*) intact. Needless to say, it is sometimes the case that the idea (for example, *Perchten* representing the Wild Hunt, following Höfler)<sup>835</sup> might have survived without its original interpretation (the Nazi-era focus on the *Männerbünde* mentioned in 3.1).

In light of Anni Faller’s remarks about the creation of the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana’s Summer-Winter play (6.3.4),<sup>836</sup> blanket assumptions about folklorism and feedback, the authentic and the spurious, original (true) and revived forms of tradition do not stand up. Her process displays a clear understanding of the difference between these constructs and the aim to find primary source material. One could call this feedback because it is an example of mummers staging the revival of a tradition using literary sources, but it would be wrong to dismiss it as folklorism, which implies delusion or

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<sup>832</sup> Bausinger, ‘Towards a Critique of Folklorism Criticism’, p. 122.

<sup>833</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana; Adrian.

<sup>834</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n; Iris Kubovsky, *Sage und Brauchtum und der Begriff des weiblichen Selbst in der analytischen Psychologie nach Carl Jung*, Doct. Dissertation, Universität Salzburg (1987).

<sup>835</sup> Höfler.

<sup>836</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana.



fraudulence and the assumption that revivals must necessarily be spurious exercises in historical appropriation and misrepresentation of cultural materials. Instead, their reconstruction of *Perchten* mumming may be seen as recontextualization rather than mere decontextualization. These Austro-Bavarian mummers are engaging in a kind of *bricolage* (recontextualizing the materials at hand) when they revive and create tradition; they are working *within* it, utilizing its tropes and functions to create something that is new and yet connected to the greater tradition, which exists as source material, a piece of restored behavior. In this sense, a revival/invention can be both new and original art and “traditional” at the same time.

Accordingly, the legitimacy of traditions does not necessarily depend on whether or not they are “revived” or “invented”: whether or not revivals can demonstrate historical continuity, and by extension, whether or not they can be shown to be invented; that is to say, whether authorship and date of origin can be determined. From this perspective, revived or invented tradition is seen as the creation not of a lifeless facsimile (folklorism), but rather something living and “true” realized through a process of recontextualization.

### **12.2.2 Rights to Revival**

The notion of transmission is an integral part of tradition as it is often defined. As Ben-Amos writes, ‘The connotations of its Latin root *tradere*, to give, to deliver, to hand down, still resonate in the abstract noun tradition, making superfluous any further explication.’<sup>837</sup> Naturally, such transmission-based definitions imply that the integrity of tradition (its authenticity) depends upon its continuity. Considering this with regard to revivals, the question may be asked: whose tradition is it to revive? At least on the surface, to undertake the revival of a tradition in a given area is to imply a presumed continuity with past generations in that place, which in turn suggests insider status is needed to make a legitimate claim on that interpretation. Such claims are frequently contestable, as Eugene Haun points out in his critique of the quest for authentic folklife in the American South during the 1950s:

How astonishing and pathetic then to observe the strivings of persons who yearned for these hobbles and strays! For that’s what it was, a yearning — to return to sources from which some of them had not flowed in the first place, to be something which they could not become, to possess something which could only be bequeathed from father to son, and that

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<sup>837</sup> Ben-Amos, ‘The Seven Strands of Tradition’, pp. 97-98.

not wittingly.<sup>838</sup>

Affiliation with the place where a tradition is believed to be rooted plays an important role in staking a claim to that tradition and by extension the right to adapt and revive it. Chiara Bortolotto notes the ‘close link between heritage and territory’ made by anthropologists and ‘heritage professionals’ and adds that ‘The claim to be the original birthplace of an intangible cultural expression is [...] a tool for stating a “symbolic property”’.<sup>839</sup> In this sense, in identifying with their *Heimat* and the generations of mummers who came before them, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are also making a meaningful connection between heritage and territory and claiming their traditions as ‘symbolic properties’.

Staking a claim to tradition can also mean honoring one’s own subjective experiences behind the mask. Individual vision and personalization are essential elements in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming today, evident in mask and performance design (6.3.2 and 6.3.5), including the improvisations of the performance-encounter (11.1). Mummers tended to see the tradition as something experienced internally and integrated into one’s psyche over a lifetime and consequently had very personal associations with the masks’ connection with the seasonal round and forces of nature, particularly evident in their interpretations of Perchta’s dual aspect. In my interviews, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* found a way into these interpretations, personalizing them and using them as a matrix within which to frame their own experiences. They therefore found them personally meaningful and real, not a conceit plucked unconsidered from the feedback stream that they adopted for the purposes of marketing their traditions, a sound byte for journalists and the general public. Although the imposition of the interpretation on the tradition may have originally been the result of folklorism and feedback, they had been naturalized into the mummers’ own belief systems and world view, and related to their own experience over years of intimacy with the tradition, as expressed in their views on the merging of mummer and mask in 6.5.

Uebelacker’s comment about how seeing the faces of nature spirits on a walk through the Kirchseeton forest served as the genesis of his mask-making process (6.3.5),<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>838</sup> Eugene Haun, ‘Lares and Penates, Once Removed’, *Journal of American Folklore*, 72:285 (July-Sept., 1959), 243-247 (p. 245).

<sup>839</sup> Chiara Bortolotto, ‘The Giant Cola Cola in Gravina: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Property, and Territory between Unesco Discourse and Local Heritage Practice’, *Ethnologia Europaea*, 39:2 (2009), 81-94 (p. 91). The label “heritage professionals” can be applied to both academics and people working in what might be called the heritage industry, which includes folklore tourism.

<sup>840</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

the seriousness with which the Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana take the responsibility — and the honor — of the luck-visit (9.3.2),<sup>841</sup> and the gravity and tenderness with which the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n approach their Nikolaus visits to the school for disabled children (10.2.5)<sup>842</sup> do not come from without, from casually adopted explanations circulating in society at large or plucked from a book. Neither were these views transmitted from elder generations of practitioners, as all of these groups have revived the tradition in their areas.

### 12.2.3 Mummers’ Entrepreneurial Spirit

Another important theme reflecting the often tense complementary relationship between modernity and antiquity is the mummers’ entrepreneurial spirit: how they engage with and expand their communities in their efforts to promote themselves and their traditions, their thriving cyber-culture (Appendix G) providing what is probably the best example of this. Mummers’ agency manifests in how they make use of current social and economic infrastructures to communicate with each other and promote themselves and their traditions, which is a far cry from the corruption by commercial forces about which Degg and others have expressed misgivings (9.3.2, Appendix H3).<sup>843</sup> Symbiosis with commercial entities like tourist bureaux and sponsors are part of how these traditions remain viable, as the financial cost of maintaining a *Perchten* or *Krampus* group is considerable, not even taking into account the individual burden shouldered by young members assembling their own gear on their modest wages (Appendix F1).

It is precisely through modern means such as the internet and tourism that many groups popularize and promote themselves, their self-marketing an expression of agency.<sup>844</sup> In their transactional relationship with the local tourist bureau and businesses sponsoring them, groups are active agents using available resources to their advantage by acting as entrepreneurs<sup>845</sup> rather than the victims of a unidirectional exploitive situation wherein the forces of modernity (tourism, commercial interests, outsiders) are imposed on and corrupt a timeless, unchanging, “authentic” tradition that has survived from antiquity due to its pristine folk environment, a conception of rural folklife rooted in the Romanticism and continuity theory of the nineteenth century (3.1, 6.2). What *Perchten* and *Krampusse* get

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<sup>841</sup> Perchtengruppe D’Rabenstoana.

<sup>842</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht’n.

<sup>843</sup> Degg, p. 86.

<sup>844</sup> See Ohrvik and Paul Smith.

<sup>845</sup> Ohrvik, p. 583, note 2.

out of their exchange with tourist bureaux and sponsors is non-financial, but rather what they value foremost; for example, it expands and strengthens community, helping them attract greater numbers of spectators, which will ensure the perpetuation of the tradition in the long term by inspiring some children to become mummers themselves, as the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten explained.<sup>846</sup> Groups like the Perschtenbund Soj<sup>847</sup> and Rupertiperchten e. V. Ainring (9.3.1)<sup>848</sup> avail themselves of opportunities to visit schools and teach children about the true meaning of the tradition, familiarizing them with its tropes and conventions and helping them integrate it into their understanding using their everyday sensibilities apart from the glorious chaos of the parade environment. All three of these groups employ these and other strategies to keep children at the center of the tradition, making it accessible and attractive to them in the hopes of cultivating future generations of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* as well as general goodwill within the community.

In addition, the tourist-oriented performances they put on are meant for their local communities as well, where they function to build social cohesion. As in Tana Toraja and Interlaken,<sup>849</sup> these are not mutually exclusive aims, and locals are not necessarily being disempowered, exploited or misrepresented wherever the incursion of foreign visitors and obvious modern commercial influences may be found. The social element of attending parades and the sense of connection and pride in cultural heritage and regional identity for passive and active tradition-bearers alike (8.2) go a long way towards explaining these traditions' continuing relevance, as does the incorporation of modern technologies and aesthetics in order to personalize them and make them challenging and creatively interesting for the mummers themselves (7.1).

#### **12.2.4 Issues of Ownership, Agency, and Self-Representation**

Throughout we have raised the question of who is authorized to engage in this process of re-framing, selection and (re-)presentation with regards to folklore. Who may speak for a culture, or for that matter, a given tradition, and authorize change? The popular conception of "folklore" as being essentially anonymously and democratically created and maintained is something of an illusion, yet continues to inform interaction between active and passive

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<sup>846</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>847</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>848</sup> See field notes, Appendix I17.

<sup>849</sup> Adams; Bendix, 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?'

tradition-bearers, academics and non-academics, and influence cultural debates about continuity, tradition, and change.

As we have seen, it is common for contemporary *Perchten and Krampusse* to engage in a selective, often conscious process of (re)presentation of themselves and their traditions. Thus *Perchten and Krampus* groups choose from among the symbols and themes traditionally associated with their traditions those which best express the ethos that marks their individual or group's interpretation of, and approach to, being *Perchten and Krampusse*. During interviews and informal conversations, mummers discussed their approaches to the tradition, their personal experiences and perspectives on the nature of tradition, continuity, and change, expressing a variety of opinions drawn from personal experience. There were, however, a few occasions when questions asked of mummers (admittedly, generally *in situ*, when they were not available to talk at length) would be answered with sound bytes that seemed to have been kept in mind as appropriate for the press, who might need a quick description of meaning and origins before the performance. At first I aimed to pose questions in such a way that would encourage mummers to discuss their personal experiences and feelings rather than monolithic explanations of the "meaning" of the custom, fearing I would be given generic information which I either suspected or knew to be feedback. In these instances, it was precisely from television and print journalists (among other non-academic sources, such as glossy photo-essay books about Alpine traditions) that the mummers had received this information in the first place.

In time, however, I came to see my attempts to get under the carapace and discover what I thought they *really* believed to be a fundamental ethical error. The active tradition-bearer is not a passive receptacle for free-floating dead ideas; it is, after all, not as though his mind were a still pond in which an autumn leaf has come to rest. In this sense, these beliefs do not come to nest in the psyche in an entirely arbitrary way; they are consciously or unconsciously chosen and accepted for any number of reasons: peer pressure, fantasy-fulfillment, conformation of one's self-image or religious views, or because they are organized in a way that displays an aesthetic or logical pleasing harmony and unity (structural symmetry is particularly reassuring) — all of these motivations and more may result in the conclusion that an idea makes sense. A mummer may reject some ideas because they go against his *experiential* knowledge of the tradition, and accept others because they seem to resonate with or illuminate the direction he is already going in, or wishes to go in. The pre-existing personal and socio-cultural frame of reference of a given person may thus be compared to a certain type of soil unique to him, in which some seeds

will take root and others will not. Once the idea is naturalized, it is his, just as other adopted attitudes and interpretations are.

The *Perchten* and *Krampusse* I spoke with revealed themselves to be quite active and selective in what they pluck out of the air, motivated by their personal affinities and sensibilities. To presume to police their thought processes, let alone their creative engagement with their traditions, would be ludicrous and unconscionable. This is not to say that folklorism is not a real (and indeed, ubiquitous) phenomenon in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming, but rather that in practice, what we call folklorism is often so densely intertwined with what we would call authenticity<sup>850</sup> that it cannot be removed without damaging the whole; it is inoperable, if you will. In any case, we are, again, not the ones with the pruning shears. Folklorism may be ‘second-hand folklore’,<sup>851</sup> as Bendix describes it; but second-hand folklore does not necessarily mean second-rate folklore, and it need not be seen as second-class.

As we have seen, various aspects of these traditions in their contemporary manifestations reveal presumed dichotomies, between antiquity and modernity, innovation and tradition, authenticity and folklorism. The ways in which these dichotomies are constructed and explored cast light on mummers’ conceptions of tradition and authenticity as well as the ownership of cultural heritage and orthodoxy: what is the correct form of a given custom, and who has the authority to speak for, reshape, and transmit it. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* take an active role in perpetuating and popularizing these customs, not just through their participation but through their efforts to research their history and contemporaneous developments, to compare and harvest material from their own regional histories and those of neighboring areas, and draw from academic and popular sources offering origins and interpretations. The Perschtenbund Soj, for example, are developing their own archive of folk music and *Perchten*-related material.<sup>852</sup> Thus they may be said to act as curators of cultural heritage, assuming a pedagogical role and sense of responsibility to past and present generations in ways which root (or re-root) these customs in the everyday life of their communities and thus transcend the official efforts of museum curators and scholars.

Likewise, in Austria and Germany the revival and preservation of folk traditions have been bound up with contested claims of antiquity (by extension revealing readings of

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<sup>850</sup> See Bausinger, ‘Towards a Critique of Folklorism Criticism’, p. 122.

<sup>851</sup> Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, p. 7.

<sup>852</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

continuity) and consequently, questions of authenticity, and eventually reveal the selective nature of presentation and representation that follow in their wake. Clifford's observations on cultural ownership cast light on the conceptions of continuity among mummers that repeatedly emerged in my fieldwork. He recalls an account of the grandson of one of the Native Americans who performed in Buffalo Bill's show 'searching for the [...] tunic his grandfather had been forced to sell [...]'. The grandson described the significance of the tunic to him in terms that showed it to be a 'meaningful, active testimony to a living moment through the mediation of someone who did not observe and analyze but who lived the object and for whom the object lived. It scarcely matters whether the tunic is really his grandfather's'.<sup>853</sup>

This last insight illuminates the notions of cultural ownership which are at work in *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions, as in many other dialogues about folklore and culture, and relates in practice to the issue of continuity and the legitimization it is felt to provide, as various readings of cultural ownership reveal — and act as a testing-ground for — assumptions about the nature of authenticity. Clifford proceeds to relate a kind of appropriation that is, as it were, appropriate — an example of reappropriation in which the claim is justified:

Whatever is happening in this encounter, two things are clearly not happening. The grandson is not replacing the object in its original or "authentic" context. That is long past. His encounter with the painted skin is part of a modern recollection. [...] Some aspects of "cultural" and "aesthetic" appropriation are certainly at work, but they occur within a *current tribal history*, a different temporality from that governing the dominant systems [...]. In the context of a present-becoming-future the old painted tunic becomes newly, traditionally meaningful.<sup>854</sup>

My fieldwork with *Perchten* and *Krampusse* has led me to believe that they bear the same ownership of their tradition (heritage as cultural "property") that previous generations of *Perchten* did, in the same way that the Native American man in Clifford's story is the rightful owner of the tunic. Furthermore, that ownership is not invalidated by their necessarily different relationship to this property, as in addition to the fact that they are

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<sup>853</sup> Clifford, p. 71.

<sup>854</sup> Ibid.

different individuals, the difference in generations in itself creates a new context in which to relate to it, and thus a new relationship with it. It is helpful to consider with regards to contemporary groups' readings of their predecessors' values that to the extent they can identify with them, they can speak for them. In Clifford's example of the tunic, for example, what is at play is the sense in which the grandson and his grandfather share the same relationship to the tunic — in a sense, the grandson is relating to the same aspects of the tunic (relating to it as the same experience/object) as his grandfather did, in addition to the layers of signification that are unique to him. Likewise, in the end, naturalized layers of personally weighted meaning and signification have accrued to the tradition for individual mummies, informed by external influences, such as scholarly ideas circulated in the culture via the process of feedback, but by no means limited to them. Such influences are merely points of departure; in the end, the universe of personal signification is all. To paraphrase Clifford, to contemporary *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, it scarcely matters whether the tradition they engage in is their grandfather's.

### **12.3 New Directions and Indications for Future Research**

Since my fieldwork ended in 2009, many social changes have been underway in Austria and Germany. The worldwide financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 and subsequent austerity programs have rattled and destabilized the European Union, which has seen a rise in rightwing political movements and anti-immigrant sentiment, and most recently, the influx of refugees from the wars in the Middle East (discussed in 8.3) and terrorist attacks in Brussels and Paris. Today the makeup of *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups is still mostly white and culturally Catholic, like the populations of Austria and Bavaria generally. In the wake of these developments, it will be interesting to see how, if at all, these changes affect these traditions, particularly with regards to conceptions of community and identity.

The use of social media is ubiquitous now, and Facebook in particular has become a central feature of the thriving *Perchten* and *Krampus* Web culture discussed in Appendix G, increasing groups' visibility and making it easier for visitors to communicate with them via their Facebook timelines. *Perchten* and *Krampusse* continue to post videos to YouTube as well as photographs to Flickr, and these online spaces have begun to attract more international attention. The most significant manifestation of this is surely the recent explosion of interest in the *Krampus* folk-figure (though not yet *Krampus* mummings) in North America, where he is generally conceived of as “the Christmas Devil”, an anti-Santa Claus. In the American cultural climate, the *Krampus* reads to the uninitiated as a cool,



ironic, subversive take on Christmas folklore (he and Old Saint Nick are rounded down to Christmas figures, Nikolaus Day being absent from our cultural calendar) and a welcome addition to the “Bad Santa” trope.<sup>855</sup>

The increased awareness of these customs is due in part to reporting in online magazines, such as *The Atlantic*<sup>856</sup> and *National Geographic*<sup>857</sup> (which are characteristically tourist-focused and peppered with misinformation), but mostly from its incorporation into various popular-culture media. By now there are numerous examples of the *Krampus* being appropriated and repurposed in various North American popular-culture contexts, the mirror-image of Austro-Bavarian *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming absorbing American mass-cultural products into their own cultural settings and performance media, which can act in time as a kind of cultural gene-splicing. In a sense, the process is Falzone’s poaching<sup>858</sup> in reverse: a folk tradition which has itself been influenced by commercial mass culture (7.1), being coopted by Hollywood for the production of more of the same.

Notable examples include a *Krampus*-themed comic book (2013-2014)<sup>859</sup> and guest episodes on several animated television series aimed at an adult audience, *The Venture Brothers* (an early harbinger in 2004) and *American Dad* (2013).<sup>860</sup> Lacking the original religious context and pedagogical and socialization functions of the Nikolaus/*Krampus* tradition encapsulated in the catechism-interrogation, the *Krampus* appears to be Santa’s foil rather than his servant, and a particularly resentful one in the reading of fantasy artist Gerald Brom, whose book *Krampus: The Yule Lord* (2012) introduces an unusually articulate *Krampus* biding his time and plotting his revenge:

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<sup>855</sup> A comparable “naughty Nikolaus” trope is afoot in Germany. See Mezger, *Sankt Nikolaus*, pp. 268-271, where Nikolaus is discussed as a comical erotic figure.

<sup>856</sup> Alan Taylor, *The Atlantic*, ‘Krampus: Saint Nicholas’ Dark Companion’, <<http://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/12/krampus-saint-nicholas-dark-companion/100639/>>, Dec. 3, 2013, accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

<sup>857</sup> Tanya Basu, *National Geographic*, ‘Who is Krampus? Explaining the Horrific Christmas Devil’, <<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/12/131217-krampus-christmas-santa-devil/>>, Dec. 19, 2013, accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

<sup>858</sup> Falzone, p. 253.

<sup>859</sup> Brian Joines and Dean Kotz, *Krampus!*, issues 1-5 (Image Comics, 2013-2014).

<sup>860</sup> *The Venture Brothers*, ‘A Very Venture Christmas’, season 1, special episode, Comedy Central, Dec. 19, 2004; *American Dad*, ‘Minstrel Krampus’, season 10, episode 8, Fox, Dec. 15, 2013. For YouTube excerpts from these episodes, see Adult Swim, ‘Punishing the Wicked’ (*Venture Brothers*), <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n7qLbJUPC10>>, March 6, 2012, accessed Dec. 28, 2015 and ScreenCinemaClips, ‘Minstrel Krampus-You Get the Rod’ (*American Dad*), <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cJYcniZpT1Q>>, Dec. 17, 2013, accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

Santa Claus...How vile your name upon my tongue. Like acid, hard to utter without spitting. Yet I find myself capable of speaking little else. It has become my malediction, my profane mantra. [...] You have sung your last ho, ho, ho, for I am coming for your head.<sup>861</sup>

In addition, the *Krampus* has made a guest appearance as the villain of the week on two television shows featuring supernatural crime-fighters, the Canadian-produced *Lost Girl*,<sup>862</sup> which casts the *Krampus* as a twisted candy-maker foiled by a combat-ready succubus (Fig. 118), and *Grimm*,<sup>863</sup> in which the titular Grimms are a hereditary line of warriors born to fight *Wesen* (creatures) like the *Krampus* (Fig. 119). He even made a guest appearance on the nightly political satire show, *The Colbert Report* in 2009 to help enlighten host Stephen Colbert on the supposed War on Christmas bedeviling American rightwing politicians (Fig. 117).<sup>864</sup>

Finally, several *Krampus*-themed horror movies have been released recently, *Krampus: The Christmas Devil* (2013), *A Christmas Horror Story*, starring William Shatner of *Star Trek* fame (2015), and *Krampus*, which enjoyed modest success following its nation-wide theatrical release on December 5, 2015.<sup>865</sup> This is the process of feedback at work, and with folk culture influences being absorbed into commercial mass culture, the circuit is complete. This is particularly true insofar as the conception of the *Krampus* inspiring the creators of *Grimm* and the recent *Krampus* films is the controversial modern horror aesthetic described in 7.1, which is the product of American mass culture influence in the first place.

Another issue to watch, and one which is likely to arise from such fragmentary cross-cultural co-options as those described above, will be the ownership of what might be

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<sup>861</sup> Gerald Brom, *Krampus: The Yule Lord* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2012). Some of the artwork can be seen on the author's website, Brom, 'Krampus, the Yule Lord', <<http://www.bromart.com/krampus.html>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

<sup>862</sup> *Lost Girl*, 'Soylent Green is Candy', season 4, episode 8, Showcase, Jan. 2, 2014.

<sup>863</sup> *Grimm*, 'Twelve Days of Krampus', season 3, episode 8, NBC, Dec. 13, 2013. This rendering of the Brothers Grimm (implied in the case of the television series) as engaged in battle with the denizens of their *Märchen* is not original, being the premise of Terry Gilliam's 2005 film, *The Brothers Grimm* (Dimension Films, Aug. 26, 2005).

<sup>864</sup> Stephen Colbert was visited by the *Krampus* on *The Colbert Report* ('The Blitzkrieg on Grinchitude – Hallmark & Krampus', Comedy Central, Dec. 9, 2009).

<sup>865</sup> *Krampus: The Christmas Devil*, dir. by Jason Hull (Viva Pictures, Aug. 17, 2013); *A Christmas Horror Story*, dir. by Grant Harvey and Steven Hoban (Image Entertainment, Oct. 2, 2015); *Krampus*, dir. by Michael Dougherty (Universal Pictures, Nov. 30, 2015).

considered cultural “copyright” (an outgrowth of evolving perspectives on cultural property, as described by Bortolotto)<sup>866</sup> and how it affects aesthetic developments in these traditions, as well as the ways and venues in which such ownership issues are put forth; how it will affect the pedagogical strain in folklore tourism, for instance. When *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups stake a claim to these traditions by founding groups, reviving local variants (as in Golling), and creating new performances in the spirit of the old (like the Salzburger Schiachperchten’s *Perchten* play),<sup>867</sup> it illuminates the nature of folklorism (appropriated and reworked cultural material) as a legitimate source of creative culture generation in and of itself. Their activities and the warm welcome with which they are generally received by their communities shine a spotlight on the ways in which feedback works to create more culture, from revivals and reconstructions to the incorporation of foreign mass culture influences into mask design (7.1).

## 12.4 Final Thoughts

As I hope I have demonstrated, the concepts of virtuality, subjunctivity and restored behavior<sup>868</sup> may be applied to both the performance-encounter itself and the constructions of authenticity and continuity informing mummies’ understanding of these traditions and their meaning, and therefore provide a theoretical framework within which to view our findings. It is in their shared virtual and subjunctive quality that the two streams of inquiry in this study, the nature of the performance-encounter (encompassing elements of play, performance, and to a lesser extent, ritual), and the tradition/authenticity/continuity triad, come together. Just as ahistorical constructions of continuity, like tourists’ engagement with heritage sites, involves a virtual travelling from an interior ‘here’ to ‘there’,<sup>869</sup> so does the ‘transporting’<sup>870</sup> effect of the performance-encounter involve a subjectively-experienced journey into a constructed play-world (which is to say, into oneself).

At the root of both the performance-encounter and the concept of living tradition is the paradox of “fictions” generating “facts”, the ““metaphor that is meant”” referred to by

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<sup>866</sup> Bortolotto; Tauschek.

<sup>867</sup> See field notes, Appendix I9.

<sup>868</sup> Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 370; Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, pp. 82-83; Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, p. 35. See 7.2.4, 11.1, and 7.2.4, respectively.

<sup>869</sup> Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, pp. 367–380.

<sup>870</sup> Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, p. 68.

Bateson.<sup>871</sup> This is the phenomenon of virtuality, introduced in 7.2.4. Through the virtual medium of performance, one can make something real out of something make-believe, a means of achieving ““real results”” through performance, as Schechner points out (7.3.1). Likewise, we can see how the emergence of the interpersonal electricity of the performance-encounter out of display customs is a case of something “real” and “authentic” (in the sense of personally meaningful experience) created out of an artificial, externally imposed form. Constructed continuities, too may be seen as the generation of something living out of something that is itself inert matter, just a facsimile of something living. What is important in both cases is the emotional impact of the illusion, be it the play of the performance-encounter (Chapter 11) or the personal significance of Perchta’s dual aspect as a metaphor for living in harmony with nature (7.2). It is by these means that new folklore that is valid in its own right is generated from flawed and obsolete interpretive models and we see the emergence of folklore out of folklorism, in keeping with Bausinger’s observation, noted in 12.2.1.

Here, too we see the ethical ramifications of this approach for issues of ownership and authority, as it is an expression of mummers’ agency to center personalization and subjectivity in relation to their traditions, according them as much legitimacy as they do the objective values of and adherence to form and demonstrable historicity. Indeed, the latter is of no real value without the former. As Ueblelacker observes, without remaining personally relevant to the community in which it is practiced, a tradition ceases to be a living thing and becomes ‘*ein Museumstuck* [a museum piece]’; ‘*Ein Brauch der sich nicht verändert oder anpasst, der kann nicht überleben* [A custom that does not change or adapt cannot survive]’.<sup>872</sup> In light of this mandate, authenticity seems to be not a matter of the tradition being real or fake so much as *relevant*.

Furthermore, I would argue that the ways in which the mummers exercise their prerogative — with regards to their self-promotion and educational efforts (9.3.1), creative evolution in mask and performance design (Chapter 7), and the staging of revivals, for example — reveal the means by which these traditions perpetuate themselves. With respect to this, I concur with Clifford that ‘Cultural or artistic “authenticity” has as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or revival’.<sup>873</sup> In taking an active role in transmitting and popularizing these customs, *Perchten* and *Krampusse* act

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<sup>871</sup> Bateson, p. 188.

<sup>872</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>873</sup> Clifford, p. 56.

as curators of cultural heritage, assuming a pedagogical role reflecting their sense of responsibility to past and present generations in ways that root these customs in the everyday life of their communities.

In conclusion, I wish to let the mummers have the last word, for at the end of the day, they have claimed these traditions for themselves and speak for them in their own voices, which is as it should be. In the words of Wolfgang Uebelacker, ‘*Niemand kann uns verbieten einen neuen Tanz zu kreieren* [No one can forbid us to create a new dance].’<sup>874</sup>

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<sup>874</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

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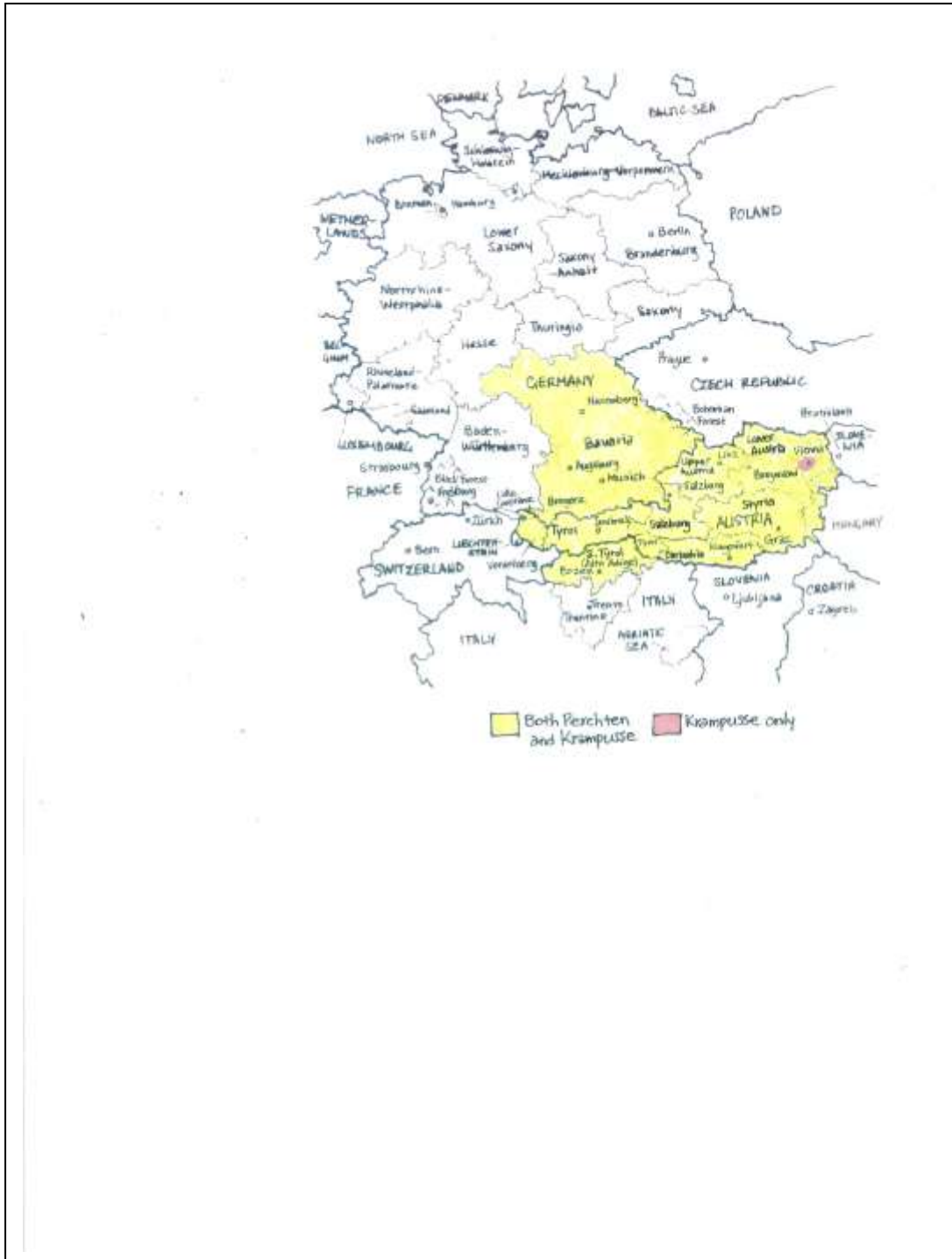
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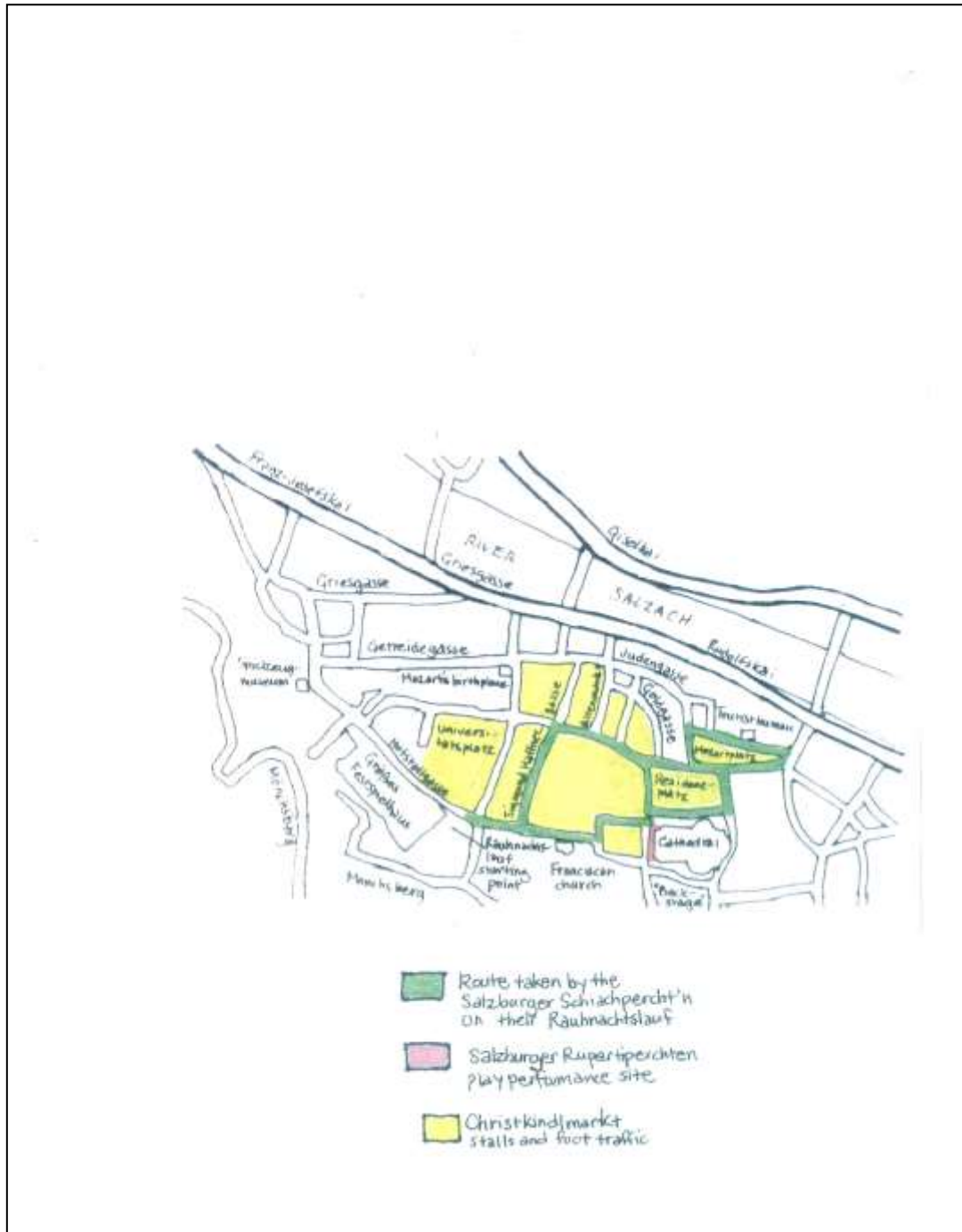
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# MAPS

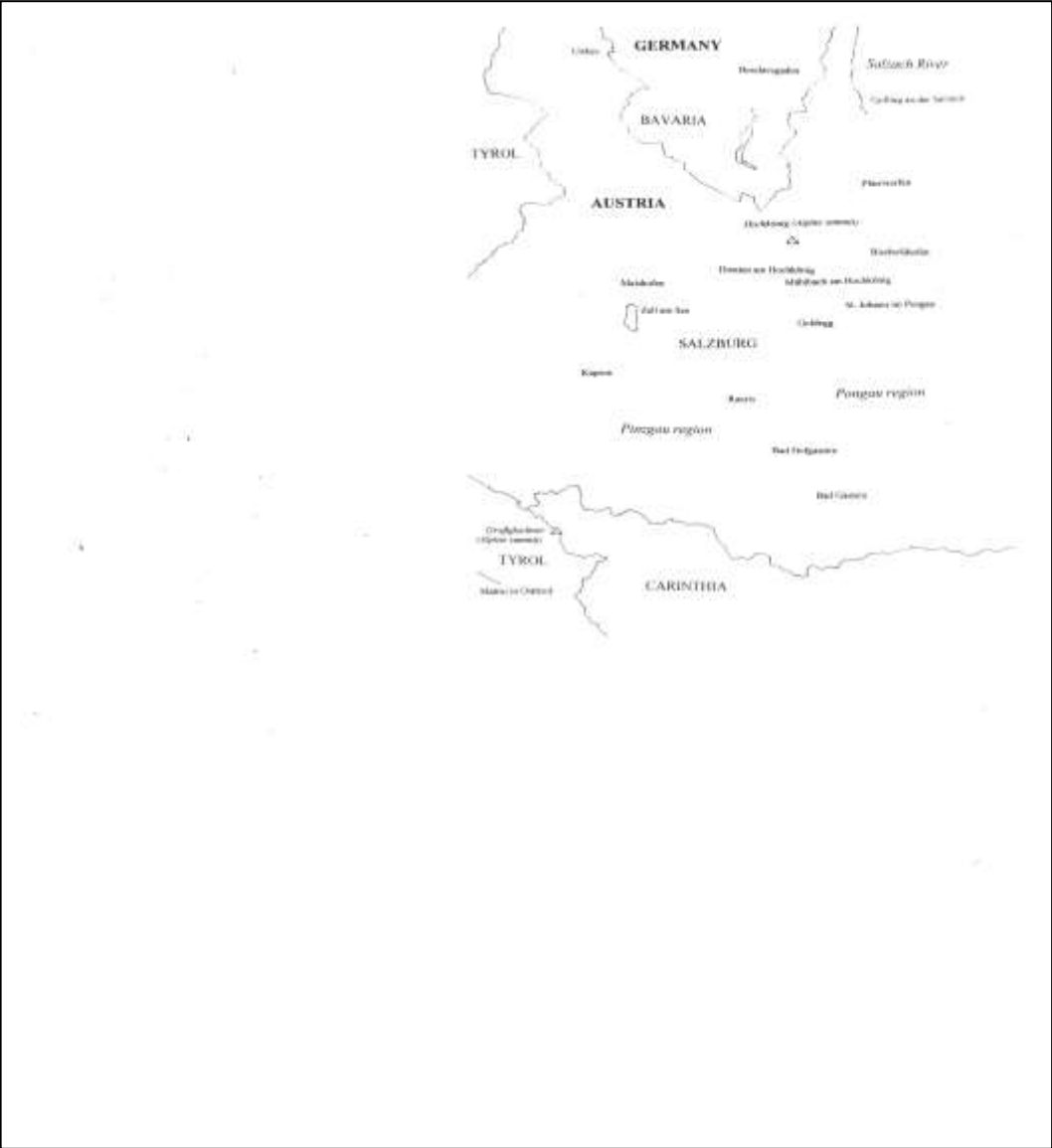
**Map 1: Current Geographical Distribution  
of *Perchten* and *Krampusse***



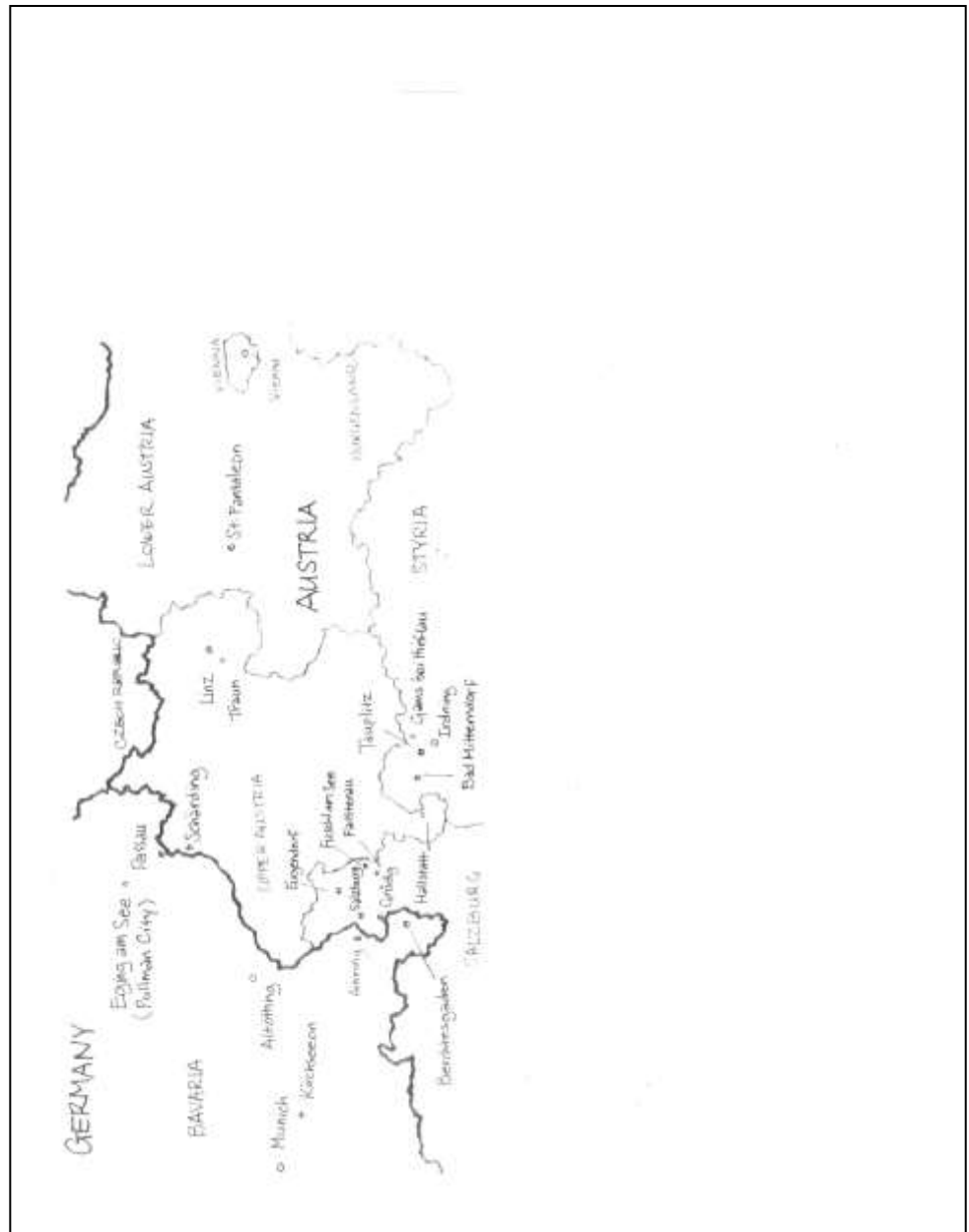
**Map 2: Salzburg's Altstadt ("old city"):**  
**Site of the *Christkindlmarkt* and the 2006 *Rauhnachtslauf***



**Map 3: The Pongau and Pinzgau Regions of Salzburg, Austria**



**Map 4: Northern Austria and Southeastern Bavaria**





## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: A Partial List of Performances Observed, 2003-2009

#### 2003:

- Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). Mühlbach am Hochkönig, Salzburg. Jan. 3, 2003
- Rauriser Schnabelperchten. *Perchtenlauf* (house visits). Rauris, Salzburg. Jan. 5, 2003
- Altenmarkt *Perchtenlauf*. Altenmarkt, Salzburg. Jan. 5, 2003
- Zeller Tresterer. *Perchtentanz*. Zell am See, Salzburg. Jan. 6, 2003

#### 2005:

- St. Pantaleon *Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). St. Pantaleon, Upper Austria. Dec. 2, 2005
- Juvavum Pass. *Tanz & Teufel* (party with play, *Freilauf*, and catechism-interrogation). The Zistelalm, the city of Salzburg. Dec. 3, 2005
- Barmstoana Perchten. *Krampuslauf* with St. Nikolaus. City of Salzburg, Salzburg. Dec. 6, 2005
- Faistenauer Krampusse. *Krampuslauf* and pub visit. Faistenau, Salzburg. Dec. 7, 2005
- Ruperti-Perchten e. V. Ainring. *Krampuskränzchen*. Altötting, Bavaria. Dec. 11, 2005
- Goldegger Perchten. *Perchtenlauf*. Goldegg, Salzburg. Jan. 1, 2005
- St. Johanner Perchten. *Perchtenlauf*. St. Johann im Pongau, Salzburg. Jan. 6, 2005
- The Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). Accompanying the Juvavum Pass as *Ordner*. Eugendorf, Salzburg, Dec. 6, 2005
- Juvavum Pass. *Krampuskränzchen*. Irish pub in the *Altstadt*, the city of Salzburg. Dec. 6, 2005
- Koppler Perchten und Krampusse. *Wilde Jagd (Perchtenlauf)*. Fuschl am See, Salzburg. Dec. 30, 2005
- Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana. *Perchtenlauf* (house visits with *Perchtenspiele*). Accompanying them as *Fackelträger* (torch-bearer). Jan. 7, 2005

#### 2006:

- Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). Pfarrwerfen, Salzburg. Jan. 1, 2006

*Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). Maishofen, Salzburg. Jan. 3, 2006

Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe. *Nikolospiel* and *Krampuslauf*. Bad Mitterndorf, Styria. Dec. 6, 2006

Broad Pass. *Perchtentanz*. Christmas Market, Innsbruck, Tyrol. Dec. 7, 2006

Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, Burghauer Burgperchten and Sighartinger Schlossteufeln. Schärddinger *Perchtenlauf*. Schärdding, Upper Austria. Dec. 8, 2006

Die Wilde Jagd. Dance and procession. Elsbethen, Salzburg. Dec. 14, 2006

Salzburger Schiachpercht'n. *Perchtenlauf* and *Perchtenspiel*. Traun, Upper Austria. Dec. 16, 2006

Salzburger Schiachpercht'n and Salzburger Rupertiperchten. *Rauhachtslauf*. Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*, city of Salzburg, Salzburg. Dec. 21, 2006

*Perchtentreffen* (multiple groups). Pullman City, a Wild West theme park, Eging am See near Passau, Bavaria. Dec. 26, 2006

## **2007:**

Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe. *Nikolospiel* and *Krampuslauf*. Bad Mitterndorf, Styria. Dec. 6, 2007

Ruperti-Pass e. V. Ainring. *Krampuskränzchen*. Wienerwald restaurant, Altötting, Bavaria. Dec. 28, 2007

Dienten am Hochkönig *Perchtenlauf*. Dienten am Hochkönig, Salzburg. Jan. 1, 2007

Pfarrwerfener *Perchtenlauf* (multiple groups). Pfarrwerfen, Salzburg. Jan. 1, 2007

## **2009:**

*Thomasnikolo* procession. Gams bei Hieflau, Styria. Dec. 21, 2009

House Visit with Catechism-Interrogation and *Buttnmandl*lauf. Berchtesgaden, Bavaria. Dec. 5, 2009

*Klaubauf*lauf and Nikolaus House Visit. Matriei in Osttirol, Tyrol. Dec. 6, 2009

## Appendix B: “Die Butzen-Bercht”

Text accompanying the Augsburg woodcut, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Translated by Cynthia Dyre-Moellenhof.

*Mum, mum, mum*

Mum, mum, mum

*Wo seyd ihr Kinder, wo?*

Where are you children, where?

*Warum versteckt ihr euch, was fliehet ihr mich so?*

Why do you hide yourselves, why flee from me so?

*Ich thu den Frommen nichts, die Bösen will ich plagen,*

I do nothing to the pious, the bad ones will I plague,

*Und sie in Lech, Mägdloch, Hundsraben, Mistgrub tragen.*

And drag them through cinders, poison leaves, dog diggings, and maggots.

*Wollt ihr auch böse seyn, faullingen und nichts thun,*

Do you, too, want to be bad, lazy, and do nothing,

*Grumpfig und muffia seyn, als wie ein pfiffigs Huhn,*

Be grumpy and out-of-sorts, like a silly goose,

*Nichts lernen in der Schul, nichts nähen oder spinnen,*

Learn nothing in school, neither sew nor spin,

*Nichts betten und aufstehn, so sollt ihr nicht entrinnen*

Neither go to bed, nor get up, so shall you not escape

*Meinem alten Besenstiel, der Peitschen und der Ruth,*

My old broomstick, the whip and the switch,

*Womit ich schlagen will euch bis aufs rothe Blut:*

With which I will beat you until you are red with blood:

*Ich will euch Händ und Füß kreuzweiß zusammenbinden,*

I will bind you together crosswise, hand and foot,

*Und werfen in den Koth, auch will ich euch anzünden*

And throw you in the dung, I will also set on fire

*Euer Zöpf und Haar, die Gesicht zerkratzen, und die Nas*  
Your braids and hair, scratch up your face, and your nose

*Abschneiden, und euch brav zerzausen: über das*  
Will I cut off, and thoroughly make a mess of you: and further,

*All' euer Dockenwerck wegnehmen, und verbrennen,*  
All of your toys will I take away and burn,

*Euer schönstes Sonntagskleid verschneiden und zertrennen,*  
Your prettiest Sunday dress will I shred and tear to pieces,

*Die Gunckl will ich so einfüllen voll mit Rotz,*  
Your spinning wheel will I so fill up with snot,

*Daß sie recht tropfen soll, wann ihr als wie ein Klotz*  
That it will truly drip, when you, like a lump,

*Zu lang im Bette slackt und schnarcht, so will ich haspeln*  
Too long in bed slack off and snore, so will I spool

*die Därme aus dem Bauch und ihn hernach mit Raspeln*  
your intestines up out of your belly and then with rasping

*Und Hecheln füllen ein. Ich will euch in ein Haus*  
And panting let it be filled. I will lock you together

*Zusammen sperren, wo ein Floh bald einer Maus,*  
In a house where a flea, soon as a mouse,

*Ein Laus bald einer Katz, in ihrer Größe gleichet,*  
A louse, soon as a cat, in size become the same,

*Die Wantze einem Hund: solch Ungeziefer schleicht*  
The fleas of a dog: such vermin will creep

*Zu Nacht in euer Bett, die Schlang soll Tisch-Gestell,*  
At night into your bed, the snake shall be the leg of your bedside table,

*Der Wurm zur Kurzweil seyn: die Bäncke und Tischgestell*  
The worm will come to entertain you: the benches and table frames

*Sind Küh- und Ochsendreck, Geißfugeln seyn die Speisen,*  
Are cow and oxen filth, goat turds are the food,

***Mein Rotz ist das Getränck. Wolt ihr euch nun erweisen***

My snot is the drink. Were you to wish to prove yourselves to be

***Zu Haus und in der Schul, gottsfürchtig, fleißig, fromm,***

At home and at school, God-fearing, hard-working, pious,

***So komm ich Butzbercht nit, mum, mum, mum, mum, mum;***

So shall I, Butzbercht not come, mum, mum, mum, mum, mum;

***Drum seydt gehorsam, still, gesellt euch zu den Frommen,***

Therefore be obedient, stay quiet, keep company with the pious,

***Daß ihr nicht dürft in Korb der Butzen-Berchte kommen.***

That you may not have to come into the basket of the Butzen-Berchte.

**Image removed from thesis version due to  
copyright restrictions.**

**Fig. 120:** “*Die  
Butzen-Bercht*”

## Appendix C: Perchta Folklore

Historical references to Perchta and similar or identical figures stem from the Hapsburg-ruled Austrian Empire (from 1867 to 1918 the Austrian-Hungarian Empire), which encompassed roughly half of Europe from 1745 to 1918. Mentions in ecclesiastical writings as well as trade and other forms of travel probably accounted for the spread of Perchta folklore throughout the Empire.<sup>875</sup> Within Austria, historical references to Perchta folklore are concentrated in Styria, Tyrol, and Carinthia (which extended to northern Slovenia, an Austrian state under the Hapsburgs from 1849 to 1918) as well as Oberkrain, also known as Carniola (an extinct region comprised of parts of present-day Slovenia), South Tyrol,<sup>876</sup> and Bohemia (today part of the Czech Republic).<sup>877</sup> Perchta folklore is also found beyond the borders of the Empire, in Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine (a German territory from 1871 to 1918), Bavaria, and Salzburg, which was part of Bavaria until the late fourteenth century.<sup>878</sup>

Accordingly, there are many regional variations in the body of Perchta folklore. In her roles of mistress of the spinning-room, enforcer of fasting imperatives, and personification of Epiphany, Perchta has a multitude of names across the German-speaking world.<sup>879</sup> In many cases it is obvious that different spellings of her name are, as Rumpf explains,<sup>880</sup> simply the result of dialect variations and the idiosyncrasies of transcription, such as Perchta/Berchtl/Peraht, but in others the names allude to the calendar date with which she is associated (Posterli, for fasting), her frightening appearance (Strägele, for witch), her duties (Frau Faste or Fronfastenwibele, for fast-enforcer), or other traits (Stempa, for her habit of stamping on children). While it is likely that many such examples are simply different names for the same figure, other name variants seem to refer to distinct figures who have been identified with one another, conflated in folk tradition and scholarship alike due to similarities in form and function. What follows is a Perchta

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<sup>875</sup> Schmidt and Broessler, pp. 15-16.

<sup>876</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 31.

<sup>877</sup> Alois John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen*, 2 vols. (vol. 2) (Prague: J. G. Calve'sche k. u. k. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung (J. Koch), 1905), pp. 11, 391.

<sup>878</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 31.

<sup>879</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>880</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

typology drawing on the representations of this folk-figure in oral and written genres; specifically, ecclesiastical writings, folktales, and verbal warnings.

### **C1. Member or Leader of a Night-Faring Supernatural Host**

Some of the earliest references to Perchta are medieval ecclesiastical writings referring to the extant folk belief that a host of supernatural beings, of which Perchta was the leader or a member, flew through the air on certain nights accompanied by or identified with pagan goddesses (particularly Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt), sinful women from the Bible (Herodias or Herodiadis), and regional supernatural folk-figures. Many of these sources condemning belief in the night-travelling host incorporated and adapted passages from Burchard of Worms' *Corrector et Medicus*, which is contained in the eighteenth book of his *Libri Decretum*, a book of canon law written between 1008 and 1012. It incorporates the c. 900 *Canon episcopi*:

*Credidistis vel ex parte aliqua transgressione huiusmodi malitias reversus Satanae praestigii delenitus phantasmata et daemones credunt, et divulgent vocem in horis noctis super excelsa quaedam animalia et Dianae innumera multitudine mulierum magna transeunt aequora mundi spatia intempestae noctis silentio, et obedieris ejus imperiis, sicut si esset nobilis et ad eam noctibus dicuntur?*

Have you believed or taken part in this kind of faithlessness that some wicked women, turning back to Satan and seduced by the illusions and phantasms of demons, believe and proclaim: in the night hours they ride on certain animals with the pagan goddess Diana and a countless multitude of women, and they cross a great span of the world in the stillness of the dead of night, and they obey her commands as if she were a noble lady, and on some nights they are called to her service?<sup>881</sup>

This complex of images was reinforced through repeated publication of the *Canon episcopi* in various sources up into the sixteenth century, including decretals and *Bußbücher* (catalogs of sins), writers elaborating upon it as they saw fit. Hans Vintler seems to allude to the *Canon episcopi* when he writes in his *Pluemen der Tugent*, a compendium of Tyrolean folk custom and belief published in Augsburg in 1411:

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<sup>881</sup> Shinnars, p. 462. Burchard of Worms's *Corrector et Medicus* is reproduced on pp. 459-472.

*und wellen vil den teufel fragen,  
wa lige golt und edel gestain.  
so haben etleich gemain  
mit der pösen Erodiana.  
so glauben vil an Diana,  
die do ain valsche gottin ist*

and many wish to ask the Devil  
where gold and gemstones lie  
so have many ignoble [people] done  
with the evil Erodiana  
so many believe in Diana,  
who is a false goddess<sup>882</sup>

Other treatments appear in St. Emmeran's fifteenth-century penitential, which refers to Perchta as one of the Three Sisters receiving food offerings and riding through the night in the company of Diana and werewolves.<sup>883</sup> In his *Tractatus de superstitionibus* (1460), Benediktbeuren also numbers Perchta among the airborne host of demonic beings abroad on January 5, and mentions that people leave tables set with food and drink for her.<sup>884</sup> Rumpf states that where Perchta is mentioned in catechisms and penitentials it is always in the context of the keeping (or rather the breaking) of the First Commandment, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.'<sup>885</sup> In *Die Hymelstrass* (1494), Stephanus Lanzkrana rails against belief in 'frawen percht', 'frawn holt', 'herodiasis', or 'dyana' as violations of the First Commandment,<sup>886</sup> and Vintler alludes to this transgression when he decries making 'das opfer den valschen gotten [offerings to false gods]' and 'alles, das man mit zauberei tuet [Everything that one does with sorcery]'.<sup>887</sup> As shown by the Benediktbeuren example

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<sup>882</sup> Vintler, p. 259, lines 7735-7740. References to *Zauberei* (sorcery), relevant to Perchta and her seasonal context as well as to folk magic and belief, are found in lines 7694 through 7995 (pp. 258-268).

<sup>883</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 89; 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 130.

<sup>884</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 129.

<sup>885</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>886</sup> Waschnitius, p. 47.

<sup>887</sup> Vintler, p. 259, lines 7725-7727.



above,<sup>888</sup> food offerings represented an example of such sorcerous practices. Like Vintler's *Pluemen der Tugent*, Martin von Amberg's late fourteenth-century *Der Gewissen Spiegel* (*The Mirror of Conscience*), which was widely read during the fifteenth century and duplicated in a 1430 Munich tract on the Ten Commandments, lists a number of magical practices, beliefs and customs frowned upon by the Church. Von Amberg warns that 'Also (*versündent sich*) auch dy an der Perchnacht der Percht lassen stenn essen oder trinkchen, das es in das selb jar wol gee und in allen dingen gelukch haben [They also sin, who leave food or drink out for the *Percht* on the *Percht* Night, so that the year will go well and [they] will have luck in all things]'.<sup>889</sup>

In his fifteenth-century *Discipuli sermones dominicales*, Johannes Herolt of Polling refers to Perchta and Diana as the same figure, leading a train of women.<sup>890</sup> Such instances of *interpretatio romana* fit comfortably within the allegorical style of medieval Church polemicists. That aside, it seems likely that these writers would have conflated these figures indiscriminately for maximum shock effect, to reinforce the impression of how evil each was, and how great their combined effect: a veritable pig-pile of demons and nightmare figures.<sup>891</sup>

## **C2. Allegorical Representations: Domina Perchta, Luxuria, and Frau Welt**

In the late Middle Ages, when allegorical treatment of moral issues was widespread in religious and secular writing, a handful of closely-related allegorical figures personifying the vices of pride, worldliness, and vanity appeared in conjunction with Perchta in *fabulae*, *exempla*, and *Lasterlehren* (teachings about vice). While the oldest documented reference to Perchta is the *Perch-Tag* mentioned in 4.1, the earliest source featuring the name "Domina Perchta" and linking it to Perchta's role as *Kinderschreck* is a thirteenth-century treatise on the seven deadly sins (*Tractatus de septem vitiis*) from Oberaltaich, Bavaria.<sup>892</sup> In this

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<sup>888</sup> Rumpf, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 129.

<sup>889</sup> Waschnitius, p. 64.

<sup>890</sup> *Ibid*; Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 91.

<sup>891</sup> Writing of the problematic nature of using the *Canon episcopi* as a factual description of extant witchcraft belief and practice as well as the hazards of accepting *interpretatio romana* at face value, Carlo Ginzburg makes an observation relevant to our topic:

To accept these analogies as proof of a continuity of beliefs would obviously be premature. The canonistic collections offer us stereotyped descriptions filtered through the eyes of outsiders. It is not easy to disentangle the attitudes of those anonymous women from the possible distortions introduced by the clerics (in *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. by Raymond Rosenthal, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), p. 91).

<sup>892</sup> Rumpf, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 124.

treatise, ‘*Berchten mit der langen Nase* [*Berchten* with the long nose]’ from the Tyrolean poem of 1393 is cited in conjunction with Bible verses, *exempla* and *fabulae* to illustrate the vices.<sup>893</sup> While the name *Domina Perchta* is used to refer to various aspects of *Perchta* (or, more precisely put, various *Perchtas*) in early sources, it is this name that is identified with *luxuria* (the vice of luxury) and the deadly sin of *vanitas* (vanity).

The author of the *Tractatus de septem vitiis* positions *Perchta* as the opposite of the Virgin Mary, complaining that young people are in the Devil’s service; they prefer dancing to church, and sing about *Domina Perchta* instead of saying the *Ave Maria*.<sup>894</sup> Elsewhere in this manuscript, *Domina Perchta* is portrayed as a Jezebel-like temptress:

*Sicut domina Perchta, quae cum deberet intrare cubiculum suum et orare deum in die dominica, vadit hue et illuc sicut Musca ostendens vultum pictum et pulchra vestimenta tendens laqueos ad capiendum animas invenum.*

*Domina Perchta*, who, instead of retiring to her chambers to pray to God on the day of the Lord, goes hither and thither like a fly [...] showing her painted face and her beautiful clothes, [and] sets a snare in order to entrap the souls of young people.<sup>895</sup>

The finery to which *Domina Percha* is addicted is compared to birds’ plumage at several points in the Oberaltaich tract (similarly, *Frau Welt* wears peacock feathers in her crown, a symbol of pride).<sup>896</sup> In this reading, plumage and fine clothing are superficial and transitory adornments, as is ultimately the flesh the soul sheds at death, which, as Rumpf points out,<sup>897</sup> is what connects *Domina Perchta* to the *vanitas* motif.

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<sup>893</sup> Ibid, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’, p. 98.

<sup>894</sup> ‘*Hodie pueri non ministrant domino, sed diabolo, prius vadunt ad choream, quam ad ecclesiam, ante sciunt cantare de domina Perchta quam dicere Ave Maria.*’ Cited in Waschnitius, p. 60. This is an intriguing reference, as it seems to allude to actual songs about *Domina Perchta* extant at the time (sadly, no such songs have survived), suggesting that she was not merely an allegorical figure created by clerics, but a more well-rounded folk-figure. This would indeed have been the case, inasmuch as *Domina Perchta* was identified with other *Perchtas*. If the reference to singing songs to *Domina Perchta* is purely allegorical, it is very densely and consistently so.

<sup>895</sup> Cited in Waschnitius, p. 60. Rumpf, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’, p. 100.

<sup>896</sup> Ibid, p. 128.

<sup>897</sup> Ibid, pp. 100-101.

This association between the notions of *vanitas* and *memento mori* links Luxuria to the figure of Frau Welt (Lady World). Sculptures of Frau Welt and Fürst Welt (Prince World) adorned church portals in Western Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth century,<sup>898</sup> when the world was seen as the domain of the “*Hauptfiend*” (Archenemy), Satan himself, and the “World” with her temptations (and the collusion of a corrupt clergy) was contrasted with the purity of the cloister.<sup>899</sup> One statue in the south portal of the Worms Cathedral dated c. 1300 portrays Frau Welt as a crowned woman from the front, but her back is rotted away, infested with what appear to be snakes, worms, and toads, symbols of evil and sin as well as death and decay in the German religious iconography of the day.<sup>900</sup> Kathleen Cohen explains that this motif was quite popular in medieval Germany, mentioning a c. 1383 panel in Minden, Westphalia showing Frau Welt next to Death with his scythe and bearing the inscription “*Vanitas vanitatum*”.<sup>901</sup> Similarly, Luxuria and Avaritia (Avarice) appeared in twelfth-century French church ornamentation in the form of snake-entwined female figures, echoing the imagery of Eve, who is likewise contrasted with Mary, even an anti-Mary in some readings.<sup>902</sup>

Insofar as Frau Welt, Luxuria, and Domina Perchta may be conflated with one another (and Rumpf assures us that they can, arguing that Frau Welt prefigures Perchta’s ambivalent quality),<sup>903</sup> this representation casts an intriguing light on Perchta’s dual aspect, which recalls the “Death and the Maiden” motif used in Renaissance art to illustrate the message at the opening of Ecclesiastes 1:2: ‘*vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* [vanity of vanities; all is vanity]’.<sup>904</sup> This motif symbolized the contrast between health, youth, and

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<sup>898</sup> Wolfgang Stammer, *Frau Welt: Eine mittelalterliche Allegorie*, Freiburger Universitätsreden, 23 (Freiburg in der Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1959), p. 15.

<sup>899</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>900</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75; Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Studies in the History of Art, 15 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), p. 81. Photographs of this statue showing front and back sides are reproduced on p. 230 of Rumpf’s *Perchten*.

<sup>901</sup> Cohen, p. 80.

<sup>902</sup> The Ave/Eva dichotomy alluded to an interpretation of Jesus and Mary as the new Adam and Eve: a chance for human beings to start afresh after the Fall through baptism and redemption (see, for example, Manuel da Costa Fontes, *The Art of Subversion in Inquisitorial Spain: Rojas and Delicado* (Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), pp. 157-158).

<sup>903</sup> Rumpf, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’, p. 117. Rumpf notes that this complex figure has echoes of Jezebel and Eve as well as Herodias (p. 114).

<sup>904</sup> Ecclesiastes 1:2, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 751. The context is

bodily and spiritual integrity (in the form of a virgin) and death and corruption (the wages of sin and the ravages of the grave). Although the natural polarities of spring and winter, life and death, youth and age favored by nineteenth-century researchers provide the most common explanation for Perchta's dual aspect, this motif, which features the juxtaposition of a beautiful young woman with a skeleton personifying Death, may be one source, if not *the* source, of this most central and defining of Perchta's characteristics.<sup>905</sup>

The allegorical figures of Frau Welt and Luxuria, like Perchta in her *Kinderschreck* guise, are concerned with shaping the character of young people, but unlike the latter are seductive and beautiful, tempting mankind with worldly pleasures to lead them into sin rather than terrifying them into virtuous behavior. Perchta's *Kinderschreck* form is outwardly monstrous, but ultimately serves the pedagogical aims of church and parents, whereas such figures as Luxuria (who, according to Rumpf, stands in for Domina Perchta in the Oberaltaich manuscript)<sup>906</sup> and Frau Welt personify the seductive illusions of 'the world', a metonym for human society, further developed over a period spanning the Middle Ages to the Baroque into allegorical figures personifying its spiritual hazards.<sup>907</sup> Insofar as they were meant to frighten people into good behavior, these allegorical representations may be considered *Kinderschreck* figures, the Perchta type to be discussed in the following section. Perchta's *Kinderschreck* persona encompasses more of her facets and forms than any other, as we shall see.

### **C3. Perchta as Belly-Slitting *Kinderschreck*: Iron Berta, Frau Faste, *Spinnstubenfrau*, and *Butzenbercht***

From the Middle Ages through the mid-twentieth century, Perchta was conceived of primarily as a *Kinderschreck*, as noted in 4.2, in both written sources and mumming

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provided in 1:4 (italics as given): 'One generation passeth away, and *another* generation cometh: but the earth abideth forever.'

<sup>905</sup> These motifs and Perchta's *Doppelaspekt* are worth considering in relation to the medieval iconography of Fortuna bifrons, the implacable, impartial personification of luck, who turns the Wheel of Fortune and is thus cyclical and associated with impermanence (further "*vanitas vanitatum*"). Like Perchta, she is portrayed as dual-aspected: rich/poor, grim/joyful, black/white.

<sup>906</sup> Rumpf, 'Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta', p. 117.

<sup>907</sup> If Frau Welt and Luxuria seem too many steps removed from Perchta to warrant comparison, it is worth remembering that there are sometimes multiple explanations for such conflation. For instance, in a given case, two or more folk-figures or traditions may have drawn their shared elements from the same source. Alternatively, the shared elements may have been transferred unconsciously from one to the other, like fleas hopping onto a new host animal. In any case, mutual exclusivity does not prevail.

portrayals. These depictions of Perchta, which have taken the form of folktales, verbal warnings, pictorial depictions, and mumming paradramas over the centuries, are deployed in the service of ensuring good behavior, particularly among children. Most of them are cautionary tales involving gruesome punishments, usually disembowelment, for violating proper observance of the Church's fast and feast days as well as seasonally-mandated social mores to do with housework and spinning. The following section will trace the development of Perchta's *Kinderschreck* personae from the Middle Ages onwards.

### C3.1 Perchta's Iron Features

Perchta is sometimes mentioned with iron features when she appears in her *Kinderschreck* role. Medieval sources refer to Perchta's long nose, iron nose, or both, and in some cases it is her gloves that are iron.<sup>908</sup> In addition to St. Emmeran's reference to Perchta's iron nose,<sup>909</sup> in a poem from Tyrol c. 1393, a father threatens his child with the horrid '*Berchten mit der langen Nase* [Berchten with the long nose]', who will come after him if he fails to clean his plate.<sup>910</sup> Martin Crusius and Sebastian Franck (both sixteenth century) refer to her as '*Bercht, fera Berta*' or '*eysene Berta*' (Iron Berta).<sup>911</sup> Grimm speculates that the iron features of '*eisernen Bertha*', alluded to in nineteenth-century threats made to misbehaving children as well as these medieval sources, may have been related to the metal implements (knife, iron chain, and plowshare) she used to perform gastrotomy (see also Appendix C3.3, following).<sup>912</sup>

The iron and long nose motifs are combined in the *Pluemen der Tugent*, where one passage states that '*etleich gelauben an die fraun, | die do haisset Percht mit der eisnen nas* [quite a few believe in the woman, | who is called *Percht* with the iron nose]'.<sup>913</sup> It is in Vintler that the earliest known pictorial representations of Perchta are to be found, and an illustration in the 1486 edition depicts her as a woman with a long, pointy blue nose (Rumpf speculates the blue color signifies iron). While the iron motif tends to be concentrated in the medieval sources, it surfaced occasionally centuries later in oral

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<sup>908</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 92.

<sup>909</sup> Ibid, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 130.

<sup>910</sup> Ibid, *Perchten*, p. 38.

<sup>911</sup> Ibid, p. 40.

<sup>912</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 170.

<sup>913</sup> Vintler, p. 261, lines 7761-7762.

<sup>914</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 88.

tradition, as in Virgen, Tyrol and Litzldorf in the Mölltal, where she was said to leave an iron glove behind in the houses she visited.<sup>914</sup>

Perchta as *Kinderschreck* is known by other names as well. The following representations of Perchta as Frau Faste, a figure linking medieval allegorical tradition and verbal legends and warnings from the early modern period, and the similar *Spinnstubenfrau*, the deadly mistress of the spinning chamber documented by folklore collectors from the Baroque through the early twentieth century, provide the best examples of Perchta as *Kinderschreck* in oral tradition.

### **C3.2. Perchta as Frau Faste: Gastrotomy and the Observance of Fasting Dictates**

The name Frau Faste appears in contexts indicating a complex general identification with Perchta centering around, but not limited to her role as enforcer of fasting dictates and allegorical representation of Church-ordained fasting. In this last respect, Frau Faste differs from the Luxuria, Frau Welt, and Domina Perchta of the Oberaltaich manuscript in that, in her guise as an allegorical figure, she represents virtue rather than vice: specifically, Church-ordained fasting throughout the year, especially during Advent, Christmas and Lent. Indeed, Frau Faste was the name given to the personification of Lent (*Fasten*), who does battle against corpulent and worldly *Karnival* in medieval allegorical tradition.<sup>915</sup>

The *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (1927-1942) also defines Frau Faste as the personification of fasting, but associates her with December fasting in particular.<sup>916</sup> Centuries after Frau Faste first appeared as the personification of Lent, this name was used for a *Kinderschreck* figure used to threaten children into observing proper eating habits in sources displaying key characteristics shared with other manifestations of Perchta. Considering how much the disciplining of children revolves around enforcing proper eating habits, it is not surprising that they should be the special recipients of Frau Faste's attention. The threat that 'Berchten with the long nose' will come after children who do not finish eating indicates an early link between Frau Faste, the personification of fasting and the more personal manifestations of Perchta/Berchten as childhood *Kinderschreck* and enforcer of social and religious mores.

As noted above, Perchta is known for slicing open the stomachs of the guilty,

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<sup>915</sup> For further discussion of the allegorical figure of Frau Faste, see Mezger's *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch*, pp. 416-417 and Rumpf's 'Der "Kampf des Karnavals gegen die Fasten" von Pieter Bruegel d. Älteren', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 40 (1986), 125-157.

<sup>916</sup> Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffmann-Krayer, eds., *Das Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols (vol. 2) (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927-1942), p. 1232.

sweeping out the contents (the excess of food upon which the victim has recently gorged) and filling up the cavity with some objectionable material (straw or refuse). Sometimes she sews it up again with a horribly oversized instrument, such as an iron chain. Duke Friedrick of Bavaria wrote in 1375 of a belief found in the hills around Traunstein:

*Perchtag wurde [...] an vielen Orten der heiligen drey Königen Tag genannt, und soll von einem fabulösen Gespenst herkommen, mit dem man am heiligen drey Königen Abend die Kinder bedrohte, dass das perche komme, die den Kindern den Bauch aufschneiden, wenn sie den Eltern ungehorsam seyn.*

*Perch Day was [...] called the Holy Three Kings' Day in many places, and a fabulous ghost is supposed to come, with whom one threatens children on Holy Three Kings eve that the perche is coming, who cuts the bellies of children open when they do not mind their parents.<sup>917</sup>*

Writing over 500 years later, Grimm related a similar scenario, proving how remarkably entrenched and specific this motif had become:

*Wenn fische und klösse fehlen: sie schneidet [...] an ihrem tag [...] den leib auf, füllt ihn mit heckerling und näht mit einer pflugschar statt der nadel, mit einer eisenkette statt des zwirns den schnitt am bauch zu [...] damit wird auch in anderen gegenden gedroht.*

When fish and dumplings [fasting foods] are lacking: on her day [...] she slices the body open, fills it with refuse and sews the belly up with a *plowshare* instead of the needle, with an *iron chain* instead of the thread [...] so it is threatened in other areas as well.<sup>918</sup>

The gastrotomy motif is accompanied by subtle suggestions of consumption and regurgitation; elsewhere, as in the medieval “Land of Cockaigne” motif, these processes of the “animal” body have provided fodder for moral allegory, “food for thought”. (In relation to this, it may be worth considering the cannibalistic implications of the mutilations carried

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<sup>917</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 43.

<sup>918</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 170. Italics and capital usage his.

out by *Kinderschreck* figures like the belly-slitting *Butzenbercht* and *Bucz* (4.3), overt in the of children who will not eat on a feast day or fast on a fast day seems to have functioned as a particularly harsh form of aversion therapy ('So you want to overstuff your belly, eh?'). In c.1907 Hrdle, Bohemia, as mentioned in 4.5.2, *Perchten* mummers appeared on Christmas Eve, miming gastrotomy with an ironic promise of relief: '*Also meldet euch, die ihr einen überfüllten Magen habt, es wird euch abgenommen, daß euch nicht schlecht wird!* [Hereby be informed, those of you who have overstuffed bellies, [the stuffing] will be taken away [...] so it will not be so bad for you!]'<sup>919</sup>

Several proverbs dealing with fasting and feasting proscriptions allude to Perchta the belly-slitter. While eating too much of the wrong foods spelled trouble at Epiphany, gorging oneself on the permitted foods was allowed, even prudent. Overstuffed bellies might attract Perchta's ire, but it was precisely the overstuffing of one's belly that assured protection from her sickle and chain. An account published c. 1782 reports that:

*Im gebirge um Traunstein sagt man den kindern am vorabend epiphaniae, wenn sie böse seien, werde die Berche kommen und ihnen den bauch aufschneiden. an diesem tage werden fette kuchen gebacken und bei den knechten heisst es, damit müsse man sich den bauch schmieren, dann werde frau Berche mit dem messer abglitschen [...].*

In the hills around Traunstein one says to the children on the eve of Epiphany, when they are bad, the *Berche* comes and cuts open their bellies. on this day greasy cakes are baked and among the farmhands it is said that one has to smear one's belly with them; then frau *Berche*'s knife will slide right off.<sup>920</sup>

Children were not the sole recipients of Frau Faste's attention. She also performed gastrotomy on people who worked too late or did not tend diligently to their labors, especially spinning and washing.<sup>921</sup> She can play the role of *Spinnstubenfrau*, as she does in an Alsatian example in which she comes across a roomful of spinners working late. She tossed three spools through the window, demanding that they be spun in full by midnight. One of the spinners outwitted her by winding flax around the spools and spinning a layer

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<sup>919</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 42.

<sup>920</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 170. Italics and capital usage his.

<sup>921</sup> Bächtold-Stäubli and Hoffmann-Krayer, pp. 1232.



over the top of that.<sup>922</sup> In a nearly identical Slovenian variant of this tale type, a woman saves herself (literally at the eleventh hour) by outwitting Perchta: on a fasting Friday before Christmas, Perchta hands her twelve spools through the window with the command that they be spun before midnight. The spinner avoids death only by wrapping tow around the empty reels and concealing it with a thin layer of thread.<sup>923</sup>

As this illustrates, the elements of spinning, demanding industry and obedience against strict time constraints, and the threat of dire punishment link Frau Faste to the *Spinnstubenfrau*, with whom the next section is concerned.

### **C3.3. Perchta as *Spinnstubenfrau***

In legends and verbal warnings dating from the Baroque through the nineteenth century, Perchta appears as the *Spinnstubenfrau*, the dreaded taskmistress of the spinning chamber. The forbidding *Spinnstubenfrau* overlaps heavily with Perchta's Frau Faste manifestation, both being belly-slitting bogey figures and enforcers of seasonal work bans and imperatives. Like Frau Faste and the *Butzenbercht*, she is a figure of fear, inducing diligence and productivity through the threat of terrifying punishments. While Frau Faste is primarily concerned with proper eating on fast and feast days by children, the *Spinnstubenfrau* supervises the labor of both girls and grown women, which was largely comprised of spinning during this period, but also included washing and other housework. Stories about spinning were used to convey attitudes towards domestic labor in general, underscoring the indefatigable work ethic (and by extension, the moral rigor) expected of girls and women, particularly during the lean winter months when Perchta appears.

The earliest documented example of Perchta as *Spinnstubenfrau* is from the late seventeenth century,<sup>924</sup> and the motif itself is thought to date back no farther than 1500, roughly when the spinning wheel was developed.<sup>925</sup> Women were certainly spinning by hand alone and in groups well before then, so it is possible that the *Spinnstubenfrau* is older than that, although Rumpf argues that the transition from portable spindle to stationary spinning wheel created the phenomenon of the spinning room (*Spinnstube*).<sup>926</sup> If the

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<sup>922</sup> Ibid, p. 1233.

<sup>923</sup> Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol, 4, pp. 274-275. See also Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 28.

<sup>924</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 42.

<sup>925</sup> Ibid, p. 49.

<sup>926</sup> Rumpf, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 118.

<sup>927</sup> Ibid.

*Spinnstubenfrau* did enter folklore with the spinning wheel, as Rumpf suggests,<sup>927</sup> then spinning, as a form of household work which would have been emphasized during the winter, when only indoor labor was possible, would have been grafted onto the existing body of folklore about Perchta visiting houses to enforce the work prohibitions and correct behavior demanded by the taboos of the season. In light of the seasonal context of these legends, it seems likely that, while industriousness was a virtue unto itself, the rush to finish the spinning was motivated by a greater imperative: the need to abstain from work at sacred times, as conceptualized in the folk-religious observance of Catholic fast and feast days and the *Rauhnächte* with which they overlapped. Accordingly, *Spinnruhe* (rest from spinning) was observed during this period.

Some folktales of Perchta as *Spinnstubenfrau* exemplify the exacting behavior demanded by the *Rauhnächte* in the person of dangerous supernatural figures who suddenly appear at that time. The *Rauhnächte*, which were perceived as a time of numinous power and danger when luck for the coming year could be preserved or lost through one's behavior, constitute the temporal threshold in these tales, the climax to which the action builds. In one example (apparently a variant of the Alsatian Frau Faste tale cited above), Perchta tests spinners during the Twelve Nights of Christmas by handing them empty spools through the window and demanding they be spun in an impossibly short time under pain of death. When the spinners inevitably fail, the spinning itself bears the brunt of the punishment; flax that arouses her ire is tangled or even 'verschmutzt [soiled]'.<sup>928</sup> Likewise, in East Franconia, Berta was said to wipe herself with the flax wound around the distaffs and smear them with her excrement,<sup>929</sup> thus echoing the *Butzenbercht's* threat to slather the spinning wheel with snot.<sup>930</sup>

Thus Perchta in the form of *Spinnstubenfrau*, like her other *Kinderschreck* manifestations, played a crucial role in the building of character, in this respect mirroring the catechism-interrogation of Nikolaus and the *Krampus*. Like them, she rewards the industrious as well as punishing the lazy. The implement of punishment and edible rewards associated with St. Nikolaus and *Krampus* (formerly also brought by house-visiting *Perchten*) are referred to in an account from Deffingen, Swabia, where children who did not

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<sup>928</sup> Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. 4, p. 274.

<sup>928</sup> Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser', p. 66.

<sup>930</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66. Though there is no documentation of it having been done, smearing flax with excrement to make girls believe Perchta had inspected it in the night and left signs of her disapproval would have been an easy and effective means of paradramatizing Perchta's house visits in absentia, just as the practice of *Einlegen* indicated that Nikolaus had stopped by.

apply themselves to spinning and studying were switched, while those who did were rewarded with nuts.<sup>931</sup> Feistritz in the Carinthian Gailtal, Perchta gifted an industrious spinner with a never-ending ball of yarn.<sup>932</sup>

Fasting and spinning, Frau Faste and *Spinnstubenfrau*, are linked by the punishment of gastrotomy, in which the belly-slitting is typically followed by disembowelment, the viscera being spooled or spun up out of the victim's body like flax onto a distaff. This act is described in the verses accompanying the woodcut of the *Butzenbercht* (4.3.4),<sup>933</sup> who is shown carrying a distaff with which to perform the deed: '*so will ich haspeln | die Därme aus dem Bauch* [so will I spool | your intestines up out of your belly]'. Smith demonstrates the relationship between spinning, housekeeping, and fasting-related infractions and the otherwise mystifying punishment of gastrotomy: 'Spin, and your guts will be spun out of your belly.'<sup>934</sup> In folktales, verbal warnings, and mumming portraying Perchta's belly-slitting function, this symbolic congruity is expressed in the mutilation of stomachs and entrails as punishment for eating-related offenses and the spooling up of guts to punish failure to either complete one's spinning work in time or keep spinning past the appointed hour. A typical example comes from nineteenth-century Mühldorf in Upper Bavaria, where girls were told: '*spinnt, sonst kommt frau Bert, schneiet euch den bauch auf, legt den haar hinein, und zündet ihn an* [*spin, otherwise frau Bert comes, cuts open your stomach, lays hair inside it, and sets it on fire*]'.<sup>935</sup> The German variants cited in the Grimms' *Deutsche Sagen* (1816) illuminate the interweaving of fasting and spinning imperatives with the gastrotomy motif in verbal warnings:

*In Schwaben, Franken und Thüringen ruft man halsstarrigen Kindern zu: 'Schweig oder die wilde Berta kommt!' Andere nennen sie Bildaberta, Hildaberta, auch wohl: die eiserne Berta. Sie erscheint als eine wilde Frau mit zottigen Haaren und besudelt dem Mädchen, das den letzten Tag im Jahre seinen Flachs nicht abspinnt, den Rocken. Viele Leute essen diesen Tag Klösse und Herring. Sonst, behaupten sie, käme die Perchta oder Prechta, schnitte ihnen den Bauch auf, nähme das Erstgenossene heraus und tue Häckerling hinein. Dann nähe sie mit einer Pflugschar statt der Nadel und mit einer Röhmkette statt des*

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<sup>931</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 43.

<sup>932</sup> Ibid, 'Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen', p. 118.

<sup>933</sup> Rumpf, 'Butzenbercht und Kinderfresser', p. 58. See also Appendix B.

<sup>934</sup> Smith, 'Perchta the Belly-Slitter and her Kin', p. 174.

<sup>935</sup> Panzer, vol. 1, p. 248. Capital usage his.

*Zwirns den Schnitt wieder zu.*

In Swabia, Franconia, and Thuringia one calls to headstrong children: ‘Hush, or the wild Berta comes!’ Others call her Bildaberta, Hildaberta, also perhaps: the iron Berta. She appears as a wild woman with shaggy hair and defiles the distaff of the girl who does not spin up her flax by the last day of the year. Many people eat *Klöße* [dumplings] and herring on this day. Otherwise, they claim, the Perchta or Prechta would come, cut open the stomach, would take out the [meal] just enjoyed and put the chopped-up bits into it. Then she would sew the slit closed again with a plowshare instead of a needle and with a [...] chain instead of twine.<sup>936</sup>

As these examples show, the act of spinning is mirrored horribly by the image of Perchta reeling up the guts of her victims. The fact that the motifs of spinning and fast-enforcing are so often intertwined in Perchta folklore may be explained in terms of a causal relationship resulting in poetic justice, meted out by Perchta as Frau Faste or *Spinnstubenfrau*. That children should be punished for eating-related transgressions by being eaten themselves is one example of the punishment fitting the crime. As Smith explains, ‘punishments meted out by supernatural figures can generally be expected to suit the offences committed’.<sup>937</sup>

Such examples as the fourteenth-century threats of the “*perche*” who slices open the bellies of disobedient children<sup>938</sup> clearly demonstrate Perchta’s usefulness for social control, particularly with regards to the disciplinary aspects of child-rearing, or *Erziehung*. As we have seen, it is with socialization rituals that much of Perchta folklore is concerned, whether it takes the form of verbal warnings, folktales, or seasonal house visits by *Perchten* mummers. While Frau Faste and the *Spinnstubenfrau* concern themselves with fasting and spinning, respectively, the third belly-slitting Perchta variant, the *Butzenbercht*, is an agent of more generalized and secularized socialization.

### **C3.4 The *Butzenbercht***

To these subtypes we can add the *Butzenbercht* of the early modern woodcut (see 4.3 and Appendix B). Despite the overarching importance of these belly-slitting representations in

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<sup>936</sup> ‘Die wilde Berta kommt’ is included in *Deutsche Sagen* by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1977), p. 184. Originally pub. 1816 or 1818. For a rare instance of a mummer portraying Perchta in her *Spinnstubenfrau* guise, see V7, 28:30-29:26.

<sup>937</sup> Smith, p. 173.

<sup>938</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 43.

mumming (see 4.5.2 and Appendix D), folktales, and verbal warnings, Perchta does not always appear in connection with children in the form of a *Kinderschreck* per se. In some instances, it is adults rather than children who encounter her during the *Rauhnächte* and are put to the test, their conduct earning them either horrifying punishments or lavish rewards. The next two types of Perchta we shall discuss, which are interrelated, are found in folk belief, seasonal customs, folktales, and verbal warnings documented in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These sources present Perchta as a terrifying figure encountered on the temporal and spatial borders of the human (and specifically Christian) world, and contain many elements characteristic of the great body of Wild Hunt folklore, which is rooted in liminal times of power (especially the Twelve Nights of Christmas) and increased contact with otherworldly beings and the dead. As we shall see, this folklore reveals a history of folk-religious treatments of medieval Catholic doctrine regarding Purgatory and the fate of the unbaptized dead, particularly the souls of unbaptized children in the case of Perchta, and further underscores the delicate balance maintained during the *Rauhnächte*, when Perchta, as the Janus-faced dispenser of luck, appears as either merciful or deadly.

#### **C4. Perchta as Leader of the Wild Hunt and *Kinderseelenschar***

Legends of the Wild Hunt are found in many variants throughout Europe, including the German-speaking countries, where it is the *wilde Jagd* (“Wild Hunt”) or the *wütendes Heer* (“Furious Host”). The medieval descriptions of Perchta as a witch-like figure flying through the night with a swarm of supernatural figures easily attached themselves to the imagery of the Wild Hunt, which eventually overflowed the borders of religious polemics to emerge in folktales and legends as well as the continuation of seasonally-anchored folk-religious customs and beliefs condemned as dangerous superstition in the medieval sources, such as leaving food offerings for Perchta during the *Rauhnächte*. Rumpf believes that the allegorical complex of Domina Perchta/Luxuria/Frau Welt shades into this other medieval treatment of Perchta, citing as support the depictions of sins and virtues as allegorical figures riding into battle on the backs of beasts in conjunction with the allusion to Diana (and, by way of Burchard, Perchta) riding through the night on animals in the *Canon episcopi*.<sup>939</sup>

The author of the *Thesaurus Pauperum* from Tegernsee (1483) mentions the terrifying Domina Perchta in a list of superstitions, and, as Rumpf explains,<sup>940</sup> it is here that several motifs characteristic of early modern Perchta legends are first mentioned,

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<sup>939</sup> Ibid, ‘Luxuria, Frau Welt und Domina Perchta’, p. 128.

<sup>940</sup> Ibid, ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’, p. 130.

particularly those mirroring the Wild Hunt. (Interestingly, the *Thesaurus Pauperum* mentions the folktale-teller herself — an old woman who has been overheard telling children stories greatly resembling the Perchta legends collected as late as the nineteenth century.)<sup>941</sup> There are several types of Perchta folklore that may be considered part of the Wild Hunt complex: tales in which she is explicitly said to lead the Wild Hunt, and those which contain elements common to the Wild Hunt, including those legends, folk belief and seasonal customs dealing with the *Kinderseelenschar*, Perchta's retinue of child souls.

In some instances, Perchta is explicitly referred to as the leader of the Wild Hunt or rides with it, variously in the company of witches, a variety of animals (some headless), skeletons, three-footed hounds, and the Devil. Some examples refer to *Hexen* riding through the air, sometimes on broomsticks.<sup>942</sup> According to one contribution to the *ÖVA* from St. Niklas, Carinthia, the Perchtl rides her broom in the “*divja jaha*”,<sup>943</sup> and Rumpf observes that people must take care to avoid encountering Perchta and the Wild Hunt, lest they be torn ‘*ins Staube und Asche* [into dust and ashes]’.<sup>944</sup> This refrain is echoed in Styrian legends in which it is said ‘*daß Perht böse Menschen, die sie in der Drkg-nacht [sic] begegnet, zerreißt oder zu Asche zerreibt* [that Perht rips apart or grinds to ash wicked people whom she encounters on Three Kings Night]’.<sup>945</sup>

Other folktales allude to the magical protection of the house door, slammed just in time to stem the terrifying flow of the otherworldly into everyday human life endemic of this liminal “time outside of time” between the old year and the new. This protection is enhanced by the employment of Christian symbols, and thus the invocation of the protection of Christ and the saints. Those lax in their Christian devotions (not heeding the bells calling the villagers to prayer, for instance) risked being swept away by the deadly forces outside the safe confines of the Christian/human world. That world was circumscribed by house walls, baptism, the consecrated ground of the churchyard, and daylight, but surrounded (and in the winter months, encroached upon) by that which was construed as the extra-Christian: the wild, natural world, populated by predatory beasts and the souls of the dead buried in unconsecrated ground, which became more dangerous (and

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<sup>941</sup> These legends and their motifs are treated in Rumpf's ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’.

<sup>942</sup> *Ibid*, p. 112.

<sup>943</sup> Wolfram, p. 44.

<sup>944</sup> Rumpf, ‘Perchta in der Sage und der mittelälterlichen Quellen’, p. 112.

<sup>945</sup> Waschnitius, p. 19.

thus powerful) at night. Reflecting folk customs and belief about the *Rauhnächte*, tension arises from transgressing the boundary between Christian/non-Christian, living/dead, civilized/wild, human/animal. One legend centers around the door as protective boundary:

*Leute, die am Vorabend des Perhtentages bis spät im Freien waren, hörten in die Ferne eine Kuhschelle. Sie liefen ins nächste Haus und kaum hatten sie die Türe zugeschlossen, als sie schon an der Haustüre pochen und kratzen hörten. "Es ist die Perchtel!" riefen sie erschrocken. Zum Glück hatte ein Bursch ein Messer, worauf der hochheilige Namen geschrieben stand; er steckte es in die Türe, worauf die Perchtel verschwand, aber am anderen Morgen fand man die Türe von oben bis unten zerkratzt.*

People who were outdoors late on the eve of *Perhten* day heard a cowbell in the distance. They ran into the nearest house and had hardly closed the doors when they heard rapping and scratching at the house doors. 'It is the Perchtel!' they cried in terror. Luckily one young man had a knife on which the sacred names were [inscribed]; he stuck it into the doors, at which the Perchtel disappeared, but on the [next] morning the doors were found scratched up from top to bottom.<sup>946</sup>

According to Waschnitius, the scratching up of the door implies that the Perchtel has taken animal form, and he believes that '*Die Glocke ist nur Reflex aus der mimischen Darstellung* [The bell is only a mirroring of the mimed representation [of her]]'.<sup>947</sup> His reference to a 'mimed representation' suggests that this rendering of the legend reflects or refers to a *Perchtel* mummer wearing bells and scratching at the door. This is intriguing, as no other surviving sources describe such a paradramatization of this scene. Was Waschnitius alluding to a source he chose not to mention in full, or was this just his theory?

In some Perchta folktales, church bells seem to signify the division between the human and the non-human, the living and the dead, Heaven-bound Christians and those who die without receiving the sacraments of baptism or the last rites:

*Frau Perchte sei eine lange, tiefverschleierte Frau mit aufgelöstem, lang herabwallendem Haar gewesen. Sie sei meist nach dem Betläuten gesehen worden, wie sie an der Spitze.*

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<sup>946</sup> Ibid, pp. 23-24.

<sup>947</sup> Ibid.

*einiger kleiner Hunde durch den mit Gestrüpp bewachsenen Gebirgsbach [...] niederstieg.*

Frau Perchte is a tall, deeply-veiled woman with long, undone hair waving down. She is mostly to be seen on the peak with some small dogs after the bell [calling people] to prayer, climbing down the mountain [...] through a ditch overgrown with scrub.<sup>948</sup>

Likewise, in some tales of the Wild Hunt, Perchta appears as a wild woman of the mountains flanked by baying hounds who are said to be the souls of unbaptized children<sup>949</sup> and referred to as the ‘innocent children’ (*die Unschuldige*); that is, the Holy Innocents, whose feast day, December 28, is one of the *Rauhnächte*. This leads us to the body of folktales in which Perchta appears in a quasi-maternal capacity, tending a flock of unbaptized child souls known as her *Kinderseelenschar*. In parts of Styria, for example, it was said that Perchtlgoba appeared ‘*als uraltes Mütterchen in sehr geflicktem Kittel mit einer Kinderschar, die ausdrücklich als die Seelenschar ungetauft verstorbenen Kinder bezeichnet wird, in der Perchtennacht [...] unziehend [as an ancient little mama in a much-patched frock with a company of children, who are explicitly identified as the host of souls of unbaptized dead children, going about [...] in the Perchten night]*’.<sup>950</sup> The relationship between the Wild Hunt and the *Kinderseelenschar* is explicit in Wälschtirol, where it is called “*Klage*” (the verb *klagen* means to wail or lament, probably a reference to the crying of the child souls).<sup>951</sup>

While they are usually encountered outdoors, Perchta and her *Kinderseelenschar* are drawn to human habitation during the *Rauhnächte*,<sup>952</sup> where they partake of the food left out for them after the household has gone to bed. As noted above in C.1, food offerings are

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<sup>948</sup> Ibid, p. 31. From Tyrol, c. 1887.

<sup>949</sup> Wolfram, ‘Percht und Perchtengestalten’, p. 44.

<sup>950</sup> Waschnitius, p. 18.

<sup>951</sup> Ibid.

<sup>952</sup> Perchta’s *Kinderseelenschar* traditionally appears around the feast of Epiphany, which commemorates the revelation of the Christ-child to the Gentiles via the visit of the Magi, suggesting that these legends may be rooted in Perchta’s position in the folk calendar. The complex of associations between Perchta as leader of the *Kinderseelenschar*, Epiphany, baptismal status, Herodias (linked through Herod to the Holy Innocents), and medieval folk-religious traditions concerning Purgatory and the Wild Hunt is too detailed to go into here, but I have elaborated upon these connections elsewhere (‘Epiphany and Baptism as Threshold States: Liminal Elements in Tales of Perchta and her Child Souls’ in *The Ritual Year 3: The Ritual Year and History. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the SIEF Working Group on the Ritual Year. Strážnice, Czech Republic, May 25-29, 2007* (Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2008), pp. 106-111).



an important element in the body of Perchta traditions and one of the longest lived; as we have seen, they are condemned in medieval writings as violations of the First Commandment, and have been documented as recently as 1964 in Styria, where the leaving out of *Perchtmilch* is used in divination.<sup>953</sup> Waschnitius includes a legend referring to this Styrian custom, in which ‘*eine Bäuerin ihnen alljährlich eine Schüssel mit süßer Milch und einigen Löffeln aufgetischt und über die Nacht stehen lassen* [every year a farmer’s wife left them a bowl with sweet milk dished up and some spoons standing overnight]’.<sup>954</sup> That the setting out of *Perchtmilch* was associated with the nocturnal perambulations of Perchta and her *Kinderseelenschar* is borne out by the rest of the legend, which shows that Perchta administers both punishments and rewards in this form as well:

*[Perchtlgoba] und ihre Kinder genossen stets einige Tropfen und zogen weiter, wofür Segen über dem Haus ruhte. Einen vorwitzigen Knecht, der sich trotz des Verbotes im Ofen versteckte und sie beobachtete, ließ sie erblinden, indem sie zu einem Kinde sagte: ‘Deck d’ Luck’n zua!’ Auf den Rat des Pfarrers versteckte sich der Knecht nach einem Jahre zur selben Zeit im Ofen und [Perchtlgoba] machte ihn wieder sehend [...].*

[Perchtlgoba] and her children always savored a few drops and moved on, wherefore blessings settled upon the house. Despite the prohibition, a meddlesome servant hid himself in the oven and observed them; she struck him blind by saying to a child: ‘Put the lights out!’ At the advice of the priest, the servant hid himself in the oven one year later at the same time, and [Perchtlgoba] made him see again [...].<sup>955</sup>

In keeping with her *Kinderschreck* manifestations, the non-Christian Perchta tests the character of those who run across her in settings outside the safe temporal and spatial boundaries of the Christian world. Like the cautionary tales about the *Spinnstubenfrau* and Frau Faste above, the legends of Perchta and her *Kinderseelenschar* emphasize the importance of observing Christian behavioral mores. Thus these legends continue the theme of tests of character and the subsequent meting out of rewards and punishments

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<sup>953</sup> Haiding, pp. 322-338.

<sup>954</sup> Cited by Waschnitius, p. 18. In this custom, the spoons are stood up resting against the bowl.

<sup>955</sup> Ibid. For further examples, see Panzer, vol. 1, pp. 247-248 and Rumpf, ‘Perchta in der Sage und in mittelalterlichen Quellen’, pp. 113-114.

characterizing earlier Perchta folklore as well as the *Perchten* mumming of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (4.3). One's reaction to the suffering of the *Kinderseelenschar* would determine whether Perchta would respond with wrath or generosity.

Legends centering the theme of compassion reveal Perchta's benevolent side. In some variants, her child souls are weighted down with jugs filled with the tears their mothers shed for them (the *Krügleinmotiv*, "little jug of tears motif").<sup>956</sup> But just as their mothers' grief could trap them in their purgatorial state, so could the giving of a name free them, the naming being tantamount to baptism, since they had died unbaptized and thus unnamed. A tale from Kallwang, Styria describes a farmer out looking for a godfather for his newborn child on *Percht* Night. He runs across Perchtlgoba with her child-souls and is taken aback by the pitiful, wretched appearance of the last child in the train. He cries out compassionately, "'O du arm's Zodawascher! [Oh, you poor little ragamuffin!]", which releases the child (thus named and claimed as a Christian soul, he is free to go to Heaven). Rather than punishing the man for costing her a child, Perchtlgoba rewards him lavishly for his kindness, blessing him and his newborn child with good fortune.<sup>957</sup>

Legends revolving around the *Spänelohnmotiv* ("wood shavings-reward" motif), mostly found in Saxony and Thuringia, also illustrate the rewards of charity. In one, Perchta's wagon breaks down while she is out roaming the night with her *Kinderseelenschar*, and a passing man stops to help repair the wheel. Perchta rewards him with the remaining wood shavings, cold comfort until they turn to gold in the morning.<sup>958</sup> Cruelty and greed, however, are met with fit punishment. In a variant from the German Vogtland, a greedy man offers to repair Perchta's plow with this in mind, but is punished for his selfish motivations a year later when Perchta delivers a hatchet blow to his neck (the *Hacklmotiv*, "hacking motif"), rendering it crooked for the rest of his life.<sup>959</sup> In one version, a maidservant sees the *Kinderseelenschar* struggling along, dragging a heavy plow behind them, and laughs at the sight, at which Perchta strikes her blind until the following Three Kings Night, when she blows into her eyes to make her see again (the *Blendungsmotiv*, "blinding motif").<sup>960</sup>

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<sup>956</sup> Waschnitius, p. 18.

<sup>957</sup> Ibid.

<sup>958</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 32.

<sup>959</sup> Ibid, p. 30.

<sup>960</sup> Waschnitius, p. 18.

## Appendix D: The Gastrotoomy Paradrama

The theme of gastrotoomy was present not only in Perchta folktales and verbal warnings, as shown in Appendix C3, but in mumming portrayals as well. In this respect, *Perchten* resembled several other European mumming traditions, namely, the Norwegian *Lussi* and the North Atlantic *grýlur*, *grøliks* and *skeklers*, who also portray frightening supernatural folk-figures (ogresses) who are female, yet embodied mostly by men.<sup>961</sup>

In 4.5, we saw how some nineteenth-century house-visiting *Perchten* called out for ‘A sausage or a boy!’ to encourage hosts to give them something to eat. Sometimes the primary objective seems to have been the collection of food rather than a protracted engagement with the householders, with the element of punishment being absent altogether. Panzer (in 1848) and von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld (50 years later) both include the firsthand account of a woman from Eschenlohe by Partenkirch in Upper Bavaria, who was elderly at the time of writing. This woman, who had once gone mumming herself, describes three impoverished women who ‘*berchten gingen* [went *berchten*]’ from house to house on Three Kings Eve:

*Sie trugen alle Drei alte Hosen, alte Jänker und über dem Kopf einen leinenen Sack mit Löchern für Mund und Augen. Eins hatte eine Kette am Gürtel, das Andere einen Hacken und das Dritte einen Besen. Kamen sie an ein Haus, so rasselten sie mit der Kette und klopften damit an die Hausthür, scharrtten mit dem Hacken auf dem Boden und kehrten mit dem Besen, Alles zu gleicher Zeit; da wußten die Leute, daß “Bercht’n” gekommen [sind], gaben Birnen, Brod oder Nudeln, worauf die Dreie weiter zogen.*

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<sup>961</sup> In Norway, the *Lussi* mummers are named for St. Lucia, and appear on her feast day, December 13. The Norwegian *Lussi* folk-figure and the comparable *Lutzl* of Burgenland, Austria, who is portrayed by male mummers called *Lutzln* (see Rumpf, *Perchten*, pp. 19, 57-58), have both “light” (young, beautiful) and “dark” (*Kinderschreck*) sides (Christine Eike, ‘Masks and Mumming Traditions in Norway: A Survey’ in *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolphs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), pp. 47-106 (66-68)).

In the North Atlantic, the folk-figure *Grýla*, an ogress ‘with fifteen tails on her’ mentioned in a thirteenth-century Icelandic source, menaces children who do not obey fasting mandates (Terry Gunnell, ‘Masks and Mumming Traditions in the North Atlantic: A Survey’ in *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area*, ed. by Terry Gunnell, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolphs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007), p. 275-326 (285; see also 299-300). *Grýla* lends her name to mummers ‘known as *grýlur* in the Faroes, *grøliks* and *skeklers* in the northern islands of Shetland, and possibly *gýros* in Orkney’ (ibid, p. 286; see also pp. 291-293).

They all three wore old trousers, old jackets and over the head a linen sack with holes for mouth and eyes. One had a chain around the waist, the other a hoe and the third a broom. They came to a house, and like so they rattled with the chain and thumped it against the house door, scratched with the hoe on the ground and swept with the broom, all at the same time; that's how the people knew that "*Bercht'n*" had come, gave pears, bread or noodles, upon which the three took off again.<sup>962</sup>

Begging in earnest for food did not end with the aftermath of the Thirty Years War and coming of industrialization. According to Schuhladen, the white-masked *Brotperchten* (bread-*Perchten*) who went door to door in 1900 on *Percht* Night did not speak, but carried a bell and a long stick with which to rap at the windows.<sup>963</sup> The *Brotperchten*, who ranged from Salzburg to Tyrol, were impoverished people who went around singly, in pairs, or in small groups well into the period between the first and second World Wars as well as during the *Notzeit* (time of need) after 1945.<sup>964</sup> The fact that food-gathering was their primary purpose is underscored by their calendrical flexibility; depending on the region, they might show up on the doorstep at any point in Advent, up to Epiphany, and even beyond.

In exchange for the charity they received, the *Brotperchten* conferred blessing on the householders, a ritualized reciprocity echoed by the visits of a different type of "poor souls" (*Armen Seelen*) who also drew close in wintertime, seeking nourishment. They, too were destitute people who subsisted on alms or other types of charity during the densely clustered holy days of the winter months. House visits by the hungry human poor seems to have been linked with the ritualized giving of blessing, which in turn may shed light on the tradition of *Perchten* wishing households throughout Salzburg '*An Fried*', *an Reim und an G'sund*' — 'Peace, harmony, and health'.<sup>965</sup>

Of the nineteenth-century *Perchten* who resemble the *Perchta* of legend, only a few are still extant: the *Schnabelperchten* of Rauris, in the Pinzgau region of Salzburg bordering

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<sup>962</sup> Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, p. 13. Capital usage his. He appears to be referencing Panzer, pp. 116-117.

<sup>963</sup> Schuhladen, 'Zur Geschichte von Perchtenbrauchen in Salzburg und Nachbargebieten bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', p. 30. See also Wolfram, 'Percht and Perchtgestalten', p. 59. The Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana also use a long stick to rap on the windows to announce their arrival (Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana).

<sup>964</sup> Wolfram, 'Percht and Perchtgestalten', p. 37.

<sup>965</sup> The term "Poor Souls" was also used for the Holy Innocents, and in Winklern, food was left out

Tyrol, the *Perchten* of Salzburg's southern Lungau region, and the *Berchten* in the northwestern Styrian county of Liezen, home also to the Nikolaus plays discussed in 5.6. In these cases, Perchta's house inspection provides the main text for the performance. The Rauriser Schnabelperchten enter houses sweeping, which constitutes a form of inspection;<sup>966</sup> if the housekeeper has left any dirt behind, they will find it then. Their punishment — today a comical and good-natured gesture extended to all present, regardless of the level of cleanliness and order — is a cursory pantomimed slicing of various parts of the body, and one of them wears a basket on his back for the abduction of naughty children (see Figs. 10-13). In the Lungau, too, '*Vermummte Gestalten, meist sind es Frauen, tauchen still und unerwartet auf, sprechen nicht und kehren mit dem Besen, damit das Glück und das Gute für das neue Jahr Platz einnehmen können* [Masked figures, mostly women, appear quietly and unexpectedly, do not speak and sweep with their brooms to make it possible to secure a place for luck and the good [of the household]].'<sup>967</sup>

Karl Haiding conducted fieldwork on *Berchten* in Liezen's Enns valley in the 1960s, and the reminiscences of a number of elderly informants established that the custom as practiced at that time had not changed much since the late nineteenth century.<sup>968</sup> These *Berchten* visited their neighbors, singly or in groups of two or three, and enacted Perchta's house inspection (though not belly-slitting). Here they generally opted to sweep the house clean themselves rather than inspect and punish, though especially poor housekeepers might find their floors strewn with ash. The mummers mostly "kept mum" as they swept the room, but would sometimes hum or make cheeping sounds,<sup>969</sup> eluding identification by concealing their ordinary voices, an alternative technique to the ingressive speech of the Christmas mummers of Newfoundland, Canada<sup>970</sup> and the 'inverse speech' or grunting used by North Atlantic mummers.<sup>971</sup> *Berchten* also disguised their identity with two forms of

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for them on their feast day (December 28), as it was elsewhere in Lower Austria on Christmas and the eve of Epiphany. *Allerseelnbrote* (All Souls bread) was collected by those Poor Souls who were still among the living, which, as Wolfram notes, they received on behalf of the dead (ibid, p. 56).

<sup>966</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>967</sup> Dengg, p. 90.

<sup>968</sup> Haiding, pp. 329-330.

<sup>969</sup> Householders also left a big bowl of *Perchtmilch* (*Perchtl* milk) on the kitchen table overnight with a spoon for each family member propped up against it. When the spoons fell over in St. Lorenze (which foretold the death of the person it belonged to within the year), it was said that '*die Percht gegessen hat* [the Percht has eaten]', while in Bad Mitterndorf, *Berchten* mummers sampled the milk on her behalf (Haiding, p. 328).

<sup>970</sup> Halpert, 'A Typology of Mumming', p. 37.

masking: either a cloth veil covering the face with holes cut for eyes, secured with a hat or a headscarf, or long hair brushed over the face, which Rumpf calls “*Haarschleiermasken*” (hair-veil masks).<sup>972</sup> As the hair-veil suggests, this custom is associated with women and girls, though not exclusively.

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<sup>971</sup> Gunnell, ‘Masks and Mumming Traditions in the *North Atlantic: A Survey*’, p. 305.

<sup>972</sup> Rumpf, *Perchten*, p. 221.

## Appendix E: The Catechism-Interrogation Ritual

As the various aspects of the catechism-interrogation discussed in 10.2 reveal, it is a complex phenomenon, and may be read as both ritual and drama. The typical sequence of events in the catechism-based Nikolaus/*Krampus* house-visit may be understood in terms of Gustav Freytag's five-part dramatic structure (1863).<sup>973</sup> According to this model, the sequence of the five-act play consists of the following elements:

1. Exposition (the introduction of the element giving rise to the rest of the drama)
2. Rising Action
3. Climax (the turning-point in the action, for better or worse)
4. Falling Action
5. Denouement (the action is resolved)

Applied to the Nikolaus/*Krampus* catechism ordeal, this sequence may be described thus:

1. Exposition (Preparation): discussion with parents prepares the child for the visit
2. Rising Action: the child's character is tested (he is made to say his catechism)
3. Climax: the child is judged
4. Falling Action: rewards or punishments are given
5. Resolution (Integration): discussion with parents helps the child integrate the visit

The mummers are not present during the first (exposition) and fifth (resolution) phases of this sequence, leaving the other players (the children and unmasked adults, usually parents) to carry the action forward. In the first phase, adults *prepare* children for what will come, gathering them in the kitchen, teasing or admonishing them, while in the fifth phase they *integrate* what has just taken place by discussing it ('Now do you see what happens to bad little boys?') before leaving the scene and dispersing the play. The fact that the masked actors are present during only three of the five phases reveals just how active the roles of the unmasked participants are, and attests to their importance in the successful unfolding of the encounter.

Considered in light of the fact that the Nikolaus/*Krampus* house-visiting tradition

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<sup>973</sup> Bloom, 1968), p. 114-115. Originally pub. in German as *Die Technik des Dramas* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1863). Freytag refers to this structure — composed of an introduction, rise, climax, fall, and catastrophe — as the 'five parts and three crises of the drama' (p. 114). This model, which is often visualized as a pyramid with the climax at the apex, was originally conceived to analyze classical drama and Shakespeare, but has been applied to other types of drama as well.

functions as ritual as well as drama, Freytag’s five-part dramatic structure may be compared to Arnold van Gennep’s three-part structure for rites of passage: rites of separation (preliminal), transition (liminal), and incorporation (postliminal).<sup>974</sup> Transposed against one another, these models might look something like this:

**Table 1: Freytag’s Five-Part Dramatic Structure with van Gennep’s Rites of Passage**

<b>Freytag’s Five-Part Dramatic Structure</b>	<b>van Gennep’s Tripartite Structure for Rites of Passage</b>
1. Exposition (Preparation): discussion with parents prepares the child for the visit	
	1. Preliminal: separation stage (mummers enter, stepping over the threshold/limen; children are left exposed to them by other adults and forced to confront them)
2. Rising Action: the child’s character is tested (he is made to say his catechism)	2. Liminal: transition stage (testing and transformation; initiation into the next level of maturity and corresponding type of participation in the custom)
3. Climax: the child is judged	
4. Falling Action: rewards or punishments are given	
	3. Postliminal: incorporation stage (mummers leave the house, stepping back over the threshold/limen)
5. Resolution (Integration): discussion with parents helps the child integrate the visit	



Accounts of the catechism-interrogation (see 10.2.1 and 11.2.2) demonstrate the important role the adult relatives play in setting the stage for the Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visit and debriefing the children afterwards: analogues to Freytag's exposition and resolution phases, respectively. In the house visit setting, this narrative trajectory assumes a considerable emotional and dramatic intensity, the five-part sequence, being both ritual and drama, building in potency with annual repetition. Once this foundation is laid, these familiar symbols and actions serve to reinforce these aims, even when encountered in partial and abbreviated forms, such as in the parade performance-encounter. Children are gradually taught by these means to internalize and develop the faculties of discipline and self-control, as demonstrated by the fact that they are treated differently by Nikolaus and the *Krampus* depending on their reaction to them; how literally they take their threats, for instance. This is largely determined by their age and therefore their level of familiarity with (and subsequent psycho-emotional integration of) the custom.

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<sup>974</sup> van Gennep, p. 11.

## Appendix F: The *Paß*: *Perchten* and *Krampus* Mumming Groups

### F1. Group Structure

Organized *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups may be called *Vereine* (clubs or associations), *Paßen*<sup>975</sup> (“passes” in the sense of mountain passes, often used for *Krampus* groups in conjunction with place names, such as the Alt Gnigler *Krampus-Perchten* Pass of Alt Gnigl, Salzburg), or simply *Gruppen* (groups). Their size varies, including anywhere from eight to thirty members, and as mentioned in 1.1, are usually young men in their teens, twenties and thirties, though more women are joining groups, donning the mask as *Engel*, *Hexen*, or even *Perchten* and *Krampusse* as well as helping behind the scenes (10.5).

Formal roles within the group may include secretary, treasurer, web designer, and leader, or *Obmann* (head man), usually a position held indefinitely by its founder or another senior member rather than by election. In some groups, such as the *Perchtengruppe* D’Rabenstona, members may switch off roles from year to year, while in others, they adopt a character and wear that mask for the duration of their involvement. Groups also typically include a number of members in supporting “backstage” roles, often friends and family of the masked members. Most commonly this means acting in the capacity of *Ordner*, sometimes also called by the English name “Security”. The *Ordner* walk alongside *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in parades, unmasked but wearing weatherbeater jackets with the group’s logo on the back, and perform a variety of essential functions. These range from technical support (lighting pyrotechnic effects like highway flares and flaming cauldrons), maintaining pacing and forward momentum (reminding mummers to move on from a protracted performance-encounter with a hand on the back), guiding them to compensate for their reduced visibility, removing obstacles in their path, and protecting both mummers and spectators by maintaining a sufficient physical boundary between them. The *Ordner* must carefully multitask during parades, keeping an eye on both mummers and the crowd at all times, which allows the former to stay in character and immerse themselves in the performance-encounter. (See 11.3.1 for further discussion of the *Ordner*’s role in the use of space and movement in the performance-encounter.)

Intergenerational hierarchies are another feature of many *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups. (Those founded most recently by very young men have of course not been around long enough to have multiple generations in their membership.) While most of the *Perchten*

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<sup>975</sup> See also Grieshofer, ‘Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinunformen in Österreich’, pp. 228-229.

and *Krampusse* are young men in their teens and twenties, groups are typically led by older men who founded them when they themselves were quite young, during the early years of the renaissance of interest in *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, c. 1970 to 2000.

In groups established a century ago or more, the keeping of the tradition (its masks as well as its leadership and the body of knowledge to be transmitted to new members) may be passed down within a single family. This is the case with the Edlinger family, who maintain the Thomasnikolo group in Gams bei Hieflau, and the Strick family, who are responsible for the Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe (in his discussion of the Styrian Nikolaus plays, Schuhladen mentions the current leader's forebear, Franz Strick, born in 1895).<sup>976</sup> In Rauris, the *Schnabelperchten* are accompanied by an older man, himself unmasked and in *Trachten*, who guides them along (their visibility is poor, as much of their route is dark and unpaved and on steep mountainsides) and periodically adjusts their masks, which are tied underneath their chins and subject to slippage throughout the night. The man playing this role may also keep the behavior of younger, rowdier members in check when needed, and maintains the pace throughout the night so that they do not linger too long at any one stop: all functions served by *Ordner* in parade environments. In their behavior-regulating role they resemble the *capitane* (captain) of Cajun Mardi Gras mummers, who cracks his whip at them when they do not behave.<sup>977</sup>

Sometimes everyday identities and relationships reinforce mumming roles, the most notable example being the portrayal of Nikolaus by one of the more mature group members (described in 10.1). In a neat meta-layer, the presence of a sober older man laying down the law and keeping the rough behavior of his subordinates in check is exemplified by Nikolaus himself. While a man may be chosen to play Nikolaus because he looks the part or is good with children, it is important that he be Nikolaus-like enough in everyday life to command respect. In Honigmann's account of Styrian *Krampusse*, for example, an older man is called upon to play Nikolaus so that he can exert his authority over the younger *Krampusse* if needed;<sup>978</sup> like the Mardi Gras *capitane*, he "cracks the whip", though here just figuratively. In groups founded during the current wave of revivals, the founder and other senior members assume the same responsibilities. As we saw in 11.2, Berger explained that their group maintains a strict no-alcohol policy during *Perchtenläufe*, and he keeps an eye on his teenage nephew, who was new keeps an eye on his teenage

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<sup>976</sup> Schuhladen, *Nikolausspiele des Alpenraumes*, p. 210.

<sup>977</sup> Lindahl, p. 58.

<sup>978</sup> Honigmann, p. 268.

nephew, who was new to the group at the time.<sup>979</sup> The Salzburger Schiachpercht'n instated a year-long probation period for new members to make certain they can adhere to the group's sobriety policy and are suited to the group and tradition overall. If their interest is too casual and their understanding of what it means to be a *Percht* superficial, there is no potential for personal growth within the group and the tradition. This is essential in groups like the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, who see becoming a *Percht* as a gradual, organic process<sup>980</sup> (6.5).

To these older men who function as keepers of the tradition, we might apply Ane Ohrvik's term "agent". Like their counterparts in the Norwegian *stjernegutter* (Star Boy) tradition, these senior *Perchten* and *Krampusse* are 'persons whose actual initiative, commitment and exertion contribute to the transmission and renewal of the tradition':

One characteristic of the agents involved seems to be a combination of some amount of historical knowledge and years of interest [...]. These requirements have been primarily set by those agents at present working actively with the training of new boys, people who wish to preserve the tradition in the future.<sup>981</sup>

Where a group's headquarters are located depends on their personal circumstances. Meeting-places vary from the neighborhood pub (where there is often a large corner table, the *Stammtisch*, reserved for monthly group meetings), as in Schärding, to a hut on the property of a senior group member, as in Kirchseeon. When masks and equipment belong to the group as communal property rather than individual members, they may be stored throughout the year in the group's headquarters or the attic of its founder and leader. The masks of long-established "historical" groups may be housed in local museums, such as Heimatmuseum Haus Strick in Bad Mitterndorf, Styria (which doubles as the headquarters for the Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe) and the Wilde Jagd in the Marmormuseum in Grödig, Salzburg. The Perschtenbund Soj take this a step further, having bequeathed their masks to the community for future generations to use.<sup>982</sup>

## **F2. Group Activities Throughout the Year**

*Perchten* and *Krampus* groups remain in contact throughout the year, and reinforce their

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<sup>979</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

<sup>980</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>981</sup> Ohrvik, p. 595.

<sup>982</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

social bonds in the off-season with recreational events such as parties and football matches coordinated with other groups. Preparation for the mumming season may also take place in summertime, such as the acting workshops the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n hold for new members. Here they teach them how to move and gesticulate to bring the *Percht* or *Krampus* personality to the fore. Non-verbal and fully masked, they rely heavily on body language to convey the nuances of character required to interact in the performance-encounter. To this end, members are filmed as they practice to help them make a connection between their subjective experience of being under the mask and how well their attempts to express the character of *Percht* or *Krampus* translate to others.<sup>983</sup>

Scheduling is of course a central concern. Long-established groups like the Rauriser Schnabelperchten and Zeller Tresterer appear in their hometowns as they have for well over a century without booking problems or competition from other groups. Such groups tend to keep to the dates generally associated with these traditions (December 5 and 6 for *Krampusse* and the Twelve Days of Christmas or just January 5 for *Perchten*). This is not the case with the newer groups, however, which (unlike those two examples) are neither unique nor established as the “official” mumming group for their locale. The fact that there are more *Perchten* and *Krampus* groups than there are performance opportunities necessitates calendrical flexibility. Due to competition for prime gigs, which has become more fierce with the increase in new groups, as Müller noted in 1999,<sup>984</sup> their appearances are likely to vary from year to year and take place in the weeks before and/or after the customary dates. Coordinating schedules and making arrangements for their events (with the hosts of Christmas markets, for example) takes considerable time and effort, and groups cannot afford to leave loose ends untied as mumming season descends. By mid-November, the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten's winter schedule is set in stone,<sup>985</sup> and it is around this time that they and many other groups hold their mask exhibitions, which prepare prospective audiences for the performances ahead.

These months of preparation are necessary, as the active season for *Perchten* and *Krampusse* is quite hectic. It typically involves a dense cluster of performances (often between five and eight) over the period of a few weeks. Groups like the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n and the Ruperti-Perchten e. V. Ainring, who go as both *Perchten* and *Krampusse*, are especially busy, as they essentially have two performance seasons back to back. This period involves an exhausting, time-consuming regimen of preparation,

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<sup>983</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>984</sup> Müller, p. 454.

<sup>985</sup> Schärddinger Teufelsperchten.

performance, and clean-up as well as the upkeep of costumes and technical gear such as flares and sound equipment, coordinating transportation to event sites, and other such considerations. In addition to needing multiple cars to transport all their members, groups may need a truck to carry their props and gear (V5, 11:48-17:20 shows the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n unloading the heavy stage set and props from their truck on the afternoon of their 2006 *Perchtenlauf* and play in Traun, Upper Austria). The mummers may ride in the back of the truck as well, costumed, roaring and howling as they make their entrance. Long days spent driving, sharing meals, loading and unloading equipment, and running in the parades solidify the social bonds within these groups, typically celebrated with a celebratory beer at the end of the night. On December 6, 2005, the Juvavum Pass kept up a convivial spirit while managing two events in one day, going from a daytime parade in Eugendorf, Salzburg to a *Krampuskränzchen* in a pub in the city of Salzburg later that night.<sup>986</sup>

As we saw in 11.4, the experience of being behind the mask, of being both the character and the human actor, is a liminal one, set apart from everyday life and yet bordered by it in time and space. This results in a kind of ritualized solidarity experienced by the group, who undergo an intense and unique experience together, one which outsiders can never truly understand. The weeks devoted to mumming and preparation, in which the daily lives of the mummers merge with the spirit of the festivities and the characters they play, may thus be characterized as a liminal period with quasi-ritualistic elements. This building sense of excitement and anticipation is akin to the '*Chlausefieber*' ("Claus fever") the Swiss *Silvesterklausen* experience in the weeks leading up to their appearances.<sup>987</sup> Müller describes the infectious nature of this period, unknowable to outsiders, during which the *Krampus* personality emerges (see also 11.4); '*das ist die Woche des wüsten Lebens* [it is the week of excessive and licentious living]'.<sup>988</sup>

While individual mumming groups function as communities within themselves, they are part of the greater *Perchten* and *Krampus* community as well, and the internet — the subject of the following appendix — provides the ultimate *Stammtisch* where they can meet and interact.

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<sup>986</sup> See field notes, Appendix I2.

<sup>987</sup> Bendix, *Progress and Nostalgia*, p. 71.

<sup>988</sup> Müller, pp. 456-457.

## Appendix G: *Perchten* and *Krampus* Cyber-Culture

The internet has of course become central to social interaction in everyday life, and this development is consequently reflected in these traditions. The plethora of *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites constitutes a communication network, and a form of community by extension. In addition, group websites function as performance spaces and sites for exposition. The ubiquity of the internet, which affords instantaneous global communication, allows *Perchten* and *Krampusse* to inspire and influence each other on an unprecedented scale, and mumming groups have been quick to realize the creative possibilities afforded by the technology.

### G1. Typical Features of Group Websites

While they vary, group websites tend to feature the same common elements:

1. *Chronik*: the history of the group and/or the tradition, where they may also articulate their interpretations, values, and motivations;
2. *Mitglieder*: members, active and inactive and their duties within the group, such as group head (*Obmann*) and secretary;
3. *Aktuelles*: current news, usually announcements about their upcoming performance dates, but sometimes also press clippings and accounts of their charity work within the community;
4. *Termine*: the dates of upcoming performances, sometimes combined with *Aktuelles*;
5. *Bilder*: photo galleries of performances and mask exhibitions as well as posed group portraits;
6. *Gästebuch*: the guest book, where visiting members of other groups as well as friends and fans can leave comments;
7. *Sponsoren*: Groups typically name and thank their sponsors, often including banners featuring their logos;

8. *Kontakt*: contact information, sometimes accompanied by information about booking a Nikolaus/*Krampus* house visit.

## G2. Web Forums

In addition to the websites and Facebook pages of individual groups, there are several Web forums dedicated to *Perchten* and *Krampusse* which enable groups to learn about and communicate with each other on a larger scale: *Krampusmania* and *Krampuszeit*.<sup>989</sup> Here announcements of interest to the *Perchten* and *Krampus* community may be featured, and one can buy and sell masks and other paraphernalia on the “Bazar” or “Marketplace” page. Banners advertising the services of professional mask-carvers and pyrotechnics suppliers are also displayed. Most importantly, these sites host discussion threads where *Perchten* and *Krampusse* can exchange opinions and seek information on various topics of interest. Groups may also issue open invitations to take part in collaborative events and field queries from prospective members in these spaces.

The latest permutation in *Perchten* and *Krampus* Web culture reflects the prominence of social media in the current online environment. Many groups have established Facebook pages since the site launched in 2004 and maintain their online presence there, using Facebook in addition to or instead of separate group websites. There they use the “Timeline” for most of their information and conversations, “Photos” for uploading photos, and perhaps a brief group description and contact information in “About”. Facebook has distinct advantages, as it is presumably lower-cost than maintaining their own websites, and they can benefit from the exposure and accessibility Facebook offers. Nevertheless, its design imposes certain limitations on their ability to use it as a performance space by expounding on group histories or offering much detailed information or personalized touches, such as animated graphics. Hence the prevalence of group Facebook pages may indicate a trend away from the use of websites as performance spaces.

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<sup>989</sup> Aitenbichler, ‘*Krampusmania*: Dashboard’; *Krampuszeit.at*, ‘*Krampuszeit*’, <<http://www.krampuszeit.at/>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 27, 2015. During my fieldwork, several other active forums and portals served this purpose. The *Teufelskreis* (“devil’s circle” or “vicious circle”) portal (defunct), founded in 2003, provided links, classifieds, and an active discussion group dedicated to topics of relevance to the community. The defunct *Perchten Österreich* forum contained webpages for 136 *Perchten*-affiliated groups representing each Austrian state, Bavaria, Italian South Tyrol, and even Switzerland, each featuring the group’s logo and portrait, brief biographies, contact information, and links to their own websites. In addition, it featured a classifieds section and recommended reading list.



### G3. Websites as Sites for Performance and Exposition

The easy availability of internet technology has galvanized *Perchten* and *Krampus* traditions, not only by facilitating instant communication but by serving as a creative medium in itself. Digital technology has played a crucial part in making these traditions attractive and viable in the current cultural climate and increasing their popularity. Such developments would seem to allay fears that ‘technology has invaded and dissolved all forms of community that support folk culture’.<sup>990</sup> Although new technologies are catalysts for change, they may foster new social networks and cultural forms as well, as they do in the case of *Perchten* and *Krampusse*. The effect the internet has had in widening the scope of the mumming community and enabling greater communication within it is evident, for instance, in Uebelacker’s comment that the availability of used masks online allows many more people to found new groups (6.3.2).<sup>991</sup>

In addition to facilitating the aims of networking, socializing, and promotion, *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites may be considered to function as performance spaces in their own right, deploying the personalized and creative use of graphic and text elements selected to present the group’s ethos and aesthetic. Just as the incorporation of theatrical special effects like pyrotechnics and blinking laser eyes enhances mummies’ capacity for creative self-expression and improvisation, so do comparable video-editing treatments and Web graphics in online settings, such as animated demon heads and flame borders, which may be incorporated into the group’s logo. This technology gives *Perchten* and *Krampusse* a great deal of control over their self-presentation, from their statements of purpose to the aesthetic reflected in the graphic elements of the site design and the masks themselves. Such elements, particularly with the inclusion of video, make it possible for them to further dramatize their self-presentation.

Photo galleries, often quite extensive, comprise the primary content of most *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites. Photographs tend to be grouped by year and usually fall into two categories: candid “action shots” taken during performances, and formal posed photos (often group portraits shot in evocative outdoor settings). Galleries devoted to mask exhibitions and informal social events such as parties, football matches, and weddings of group members may be included as well. Groups sometimes hire professional photographers and videographers to document their events; for instance, the Juvavum Pass engaged a specialist in night photography for *Tanz & Teufel* in 2005.<sup>992</sup>

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<sup>990</sup> Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, p. 23.

<sup>991</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

The accessibility of digital video equipment and editing software has made it possible for video footage to be manipulated, editing it, for example, to increase or interject a dramatic narrative (usually something along the lines of demons crawling from the depths of Hell or ancient creatures emerging from an Alpine forest to wreak havoc on a helpless village). The use of slow motion gives the viewer time to fully appreciate the mask detail, and a spooky atmosphere is created by interspersing frames of rolling mist and the moon rising through the trees and adding audio accompaniment, be it heavy metal, insane, cackling laughter, or ominous choral music. Most of the video of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* currently online is found on YouTube and ranges from simple, unedited exposition to elaborate, dramatized presentations.

Written exposition is another aspect of *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites that can be considered conscious self-presentation, if not performative. The text of the *Chronik* section varies from details of the group's founding and motives for participation (which range from fun for fun's sake to a desire to revive or preserve a valuable cultural tradition in their area), descriptions of the figures represented in the group, and statements outlining their interpretations of the tradition and their values, such as their positions on such controversial topics as the horror aesthetic (7.1) and scaring children. The Fischacher Perchten provide a characteristic example:

*Das Ziel der Fischacher Perchten ist, das Perchtenbrauchtum zu pflegen, den Nachwuchs zu fördern, neue Mitglieder zu begeistern, den Kontakt und den Gedankenaustausch mit anderen Perchtengruppen zu pflegen. Sinnlose Gewalt [...] verabscheuen wir! Uns ist es sehr wichtig das Brauchtum hochzuhalten und unkontrolliertes Dreschen und Schlagen ist nicht in unserem Sinne.*

The aim of the Fischacher Perchten is to foster the *Perchten* tradition, to encourage fresh blood, to inspire new members, to cultivate contact and exchange of ideas with other *Perchten* groups. We abhor [...] senseless violence! To us it is very important to hold the tradition high, and out-of-control thrashing around and flogging is not in our spirit.<sup>993</sup>

Their desire to reach out to other groups and prospective members is typical of *Perchten*

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<sup>992</sup> See field notes, Appendix II.

<sup>993</sup> Fischacher Perchten, 'Fischacher Perchten', <<http://www.fischacher-perchten.com/>>, accessed Dec. 27, 2015.

and *Krampusse* today, and accounts in large part for the expansion of the mumming community.

#### **G4. Exposure and Expanding Community**

Groups use Web forums and Facebook pages to network, socialize, share ideas, and debate aesthetics as well as a practical tool for planning collaborative events. (The latter is not entirely a result of the Digital Age; as demonstrated by Andree-Eysn in 4.5.1, nineteenth-century *Perchten* groups formed intra-regional alliances to plan *Perchtenläufe*.)<sup>994</sup> For some, the prospect of contact with other groups is one of the most attractive aspects of membership; they see themselves as belonging not only to their own group, but to a larger *Perchten* and/or *Krampus* community. Since 1998, the Styrian Freizeit- und Brauchtumsverein Eggersdorf has presented an annual *Krampuslauf* and cultivated a connection with neighboring Slovenia, which is home to the similar-looking *kurent* mummers. According to the English version of their mission statement, ‘Since we were around [in] 1993 in Ptuj (SLO) for [the] great driving-out of winter by the *kurent*-like figures, we are quite well-known in Slovenia and Croatia and are always receiving further invitations for appearances in these countries’.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, they ‘want to improve our contacts with other groups and unions at home and abroad’ and ‘revive other ancient customs or not to let them fall into oblivion in the future’.<sup>995</sup>

While the FUBVE website is in English and German, German-only text is more usual on *Perchten* and *Krampus* websites, as the mummers are each other’s primary intended audience. While the permanent text of the website is typically in High German, posts in guest books and Facebook timelines and discussions on internet forums are often written (phonetically) in dialect, underscoring the fact that an insider readership is assumed. Communications may be peppered with *Krampus*-specific expressions, such as “*mit höllischen Grüßen*” (“with hellish regards”) or “*teuflich gut*” (“devilishly good”), and embellished with appropriate Web graphics, such as devil-horned emoticons (Fig. 9). The consideration of insiders and outsiders among *Perchten* and *Krampusse* raises the question of how those boundaries are defined, and what to make of who and what lies beyond them in relation to these traditions.

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<sup>994</sup> Andree-Eysn, p. 163.

<sup>995</sup> Freizeit und Brauchtumsverein Eggersdorf, ‘Foundation of European Carnival Cities’, <<http://www.eggersdorfer-krampusse.at/fubve-englisch/>>, n.d., accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

## Appendix H: The Nature of Tradition

### H1. What Makes “Living Tradition”?

Eric Hobsbawm revolutionized thinking about the nature of tradition by introducing the concept of “invented tradition” in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983),<sup>996</sup> which through repetition ‘seek[s] to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past’.<sup>997</sup> It is a testament to the very useful and accurate concept of invented tradition that it invites further investigation. In a sense, the concept of invented tradition in itself implies the assumption that tradition is by nature and definition *not* invented. This begs the question: how then did it arise, and when? How far back must one go to establish the point at which something becomes a tradition, and therefore authentic?<sup>998</sup> Five years? Fifty? Four hundred? Whatever the case, the boundary that demarcates “tradition” appears to be a moving wall. Other questions remain: how can a tradition come into being if not via invention/creation? Is there not a tacit implication here that authentic traditions come into being by means of some kind of spontaneous genesis without agency? Or is it simply that we assume that if we can identify an agent and time of creation, tradition is invented, whereas it is pure, authentic tradition if we cannot identify the origins of its creation?

Upon closer examination, however, tradition reveals itself to be a construct, a process dependent upon and propelled by adaptation and flexibility, as expressed in Handler and Linnekin’s definition of tradition (cited in 7.2.4) as ‘as a symbolic process that both presupposes past symbolisms and creatively reinterprets them. [...] a process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present though making reference to the past’.<sup>999</sup> From this perspective, tradition is a self-generating, self-perpetuating, living organism, always in flux; it is an act, a verb rather than a noun. Becoming overly attached to a certain iteration of a tradition — a particular era or stylistic trope attached to it for a time, or other

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<sup>996</sup> Hobsbawm, pp. 1-14.

<sup>997</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.

<sup>998</sup> Of this Ben-Amos writes, ‘It is clear that a view restricting tradition to anonymous or consensual authorship is inadequate, and that invented tradition is simply tradition. Yet gradation only comes into being once it has entered consensual existence and been perpetuated there for a time’ (‘The Seven Strands of Tradition’, p. 97).

<sup>999</sup> Handler and Linnekin, p. 287.

aspects of context — is like mistaking one of the snake’s many shed skins for the snake itself.

Academic definitions aside, mummers do not necessarily consider innovation to be mutually exclusive with tradition. Mummers may feel a sense of fidelity to the custom itself and the community in which it is ensconced and still feel free to innovate and adapt. Generally speaking, the current generation of active tradition-bearers proceeds without permission from other members of society. Müller, for example, states:

*Mit Spruchen, wie: ‘Früher sind wir noch mit angemalten Strumpfhosen und umgedrehten Mänteln unterwegs gewesen’, versuchen Ältere uns natürlich darauf hinzuweisen, daß wir schon sehr von der heutigen Zeit korrumpierte Krampusse sind. Doch auch das stört uns nich sonderlich.*

With comments like: ‘Earlier we were still going round with painted stockings and coats reversed’, the elders naturally try to point out to us that we are very much *Krampusse* corrupted by the present age. But that [...] does not especially trouble us.<sup>1000</sup>

As noted in 12.4, Uebelacker warned that in order for a custom to avoid becoming a mere ‘*Museumstuck* [museum piece]’, it must remain useful and relevant in the present day, which requires flexibility and adaptability. When change is not allowed, ‘*Er bleibt nicht lebendig. Das ist das Problem* [It does not stay alive. That is the problem].’<sup>1001</sup> Speaking to the difference between static and kinetic tradition, he said:

*Wenn man das jetzt hier belässt, in Bayern, und man lässt es nicht entwickeln, mit der Gesellschaft mitwachsen, sich verändern, dann würde wir das konservieren. Wir erleben das zum Beispiel in den Trachtenvereinen, da ist es ganz offensichtlich ... das geht sogar in sehr große Extreme rein. Das ist für mich konserviertes Brauchtum. Es wird zwar ausgeübt, sie haben auch junge Leute dabei, aber ... es darf sich nichts verändern.*

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<sup>1000</sup> Müller, p. 452.

<sup>1001</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

If one leaves it alone now, here in Bavaria, and one does not allow it to develop, to grow along with the society, to change, then we would be conserving it. We experience that, for example, in the *Trachten* clubs; there it is quite apparent ... it can even go to a very great extreme. That is, for me, is conservative tradition. It is indeed practiced; they have young people there too, but ... it is not allowed to change at all.<sup>1002</sup>

For the Perschtenbund Soj, working within the tradition means adhering to the spirit rather than the letter (see also 6.3.3), especially when the letter is not available. Likewise, Polanec of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n is inspired by the imaginative and powerful masks of the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries,<sup>1003</sup> such as those collected by Hein and his colleagues around the turn of the last century. These masks not only look old, but *feel* old, and thus impart some of the magic of the tradition from the days when the sap of potency flowed through it freely, up from the roots of antiquity. Their power evokes a similar power in him: the spirit of the tradition. After the play the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n performed in Traun (Appendix I9), I asked Polanec how he defined the concept of "traditional". He explained that, in his opinion, the dances and plays he creates must have a relationship to the past tradition — in the case of the Traun play, the victory of life over death. However, one must know the history of the tradition to know whether such new creations have anything to do with it. Many younger groups, he explained, do not know this history. Polanec crafts new expressive forms in keeping with what he understands to be the essential function of the *Perchten* custom (which he described as *vielfach*, "multifold") in light of his years of research and personal experience. This is not a matter of following it to the letter, were it even possible to retrace it. Rather, his goal is to find its spirit, to understand and resonate with it.<sup>1004</sup>

This perspective is reflected by Handler and Linnekin's assertion that 'Traditions thought to be preserved are created out of the conceptual needs of the present. Tradition is not handed down from the past, as a thing or collection of things; it is symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present'.<sup>1005</sup> It is also echoed in Untermieder's comment that without an influx of new ideas, their club might not have come to be. Innovation has been honored in their group since its founder, his father, who respected the tradition's history:

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<sup>1002</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1003</sup> Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.

<sup>1004</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1005</sup> Handler and Linnekin, p. 280.

*‘Hat aber eigene Ideen gehabt, hat Neues zugelassen, Instrumente neu entwickelt, wo jeder heute sagt: “Das ist ja immer schon so!” Das stimmt ja gar nicht] [But [he] had his own ideas, permitted new things, developed new instruments, whereas everyone says today: “It has been this way forever!” That is not at all true].’<sup>1006</sup>*

Uebelacker ventured that resisting recontextualization and change — preserving certain aspects of the tradition reflecting the socio-cultural dynamics of the time when its currently acceptable form was fixed, such as definitions of who constitutes one’s community and the function of the custom — was not necessarily the best way to preserve the tradition itself. He recounted a conversation he had recently had with the head of another *Perchten* group, who stated that their purpose was specifically to bring luck to farmhouses, in keeping with the socio-economic realities of a century ago. They pass other houses by:

*Weil sie sagen: ‘Nur die Bauern brauchen dieses Glück, diesen Segen für das Vieh, für die Felder, für das Haus.’ Wenn es jetzt keine Bauern mehr gibt, stirbt dann das Perchtenlaufen aus? Eigentlich, ja. Es müsste sterben, nach seiner Definition. Man müsste die Gegenfrage stellen: haben die anderen Leute, die keine Bauern sind, nicht auch ein Anrecht der ein Bedürfnis, einen Bedarf?*

Because they say: ‘Only the farmers need this luck, this blessing for the cattle, for the fields, for the house.’ Now when there are no more farmers, does the *Perchten* run die out then? Actually, yes. It would have to die, according to his definition. One would have to pose the counter-question: don’t the other people, who are not farmers, also have a right, a need?<sup>1007</sup>

For the Perschtenbund Soj, a living tradition is one which is integrated into daily life, not an escape or departure from it.<sup>1008</sup>

Furthermore, it is important to remember that developments seen from outside as “modern” or “traditional” are not necessarily mutually exclusive in practice. Mummers today tend to use what they like and whatever works, untroubled by the ancient/modern dichotomy. In Mittersill in the Pinzgau, a stronghold of the baroque folk plays which have yielded some of the oldest surviving masks and scripts,<sup>1009</sup> mummers were carving their

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<sup>1006</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>1007</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1008</sup> Ibid.

own masks as recently as 1992, a holdover from old practice, but also employing the quintessentially modern “*Hellshow*” performance model as far back as 1968, anticipating its use elsewhere by 20 years or more.<sup>1010</sup>

The degree and type of change, however, makes a difference. As we saw in 7.1, Polanec’s and Mengl’s comments about the modern horror aesthetic stress the need to keep changes within bounds, to not let them go too far. This view was shared by Uebelacker, who said of tradition that:

*Bis zu einem gewissen Grad kann er sich drehen, aber wenn er sich hundertprozentig dreht, dann ist es vielleicht bald aus mit dem Brauch. Man geht zwar in die Richtung mit der [neuen Zeit] mit, aber wenn man ihn komplett verändert, dann fällt vielleicht raus, und den gibt es dann nicht mehr.*

Up to a certain degree it can shift, but when it turns a hundred percent, then it is will soon mark the end of the custom. Admittedly, one adapts and goes in the direction with the [new era], but when one alters it completely, then it may fall apart, and then there is no more.<sup>1011</sup>

Another example of inappropriate diversion from the tradition took me by surprise. While the Perschtenbund Soj reserved judgment about the variety of approaches to *Perchten* mumming, allowing for multiple valid expressions of the tradition, they cited a male stripper service called “Perchten Rent-a-Strip” as an example of deviation so far from the tradition’s *raison d’être* that it cannot properly be considered a part of it. These strippers, they said, represent not only the *Krampus*, but Nikolaus as well,<sup>1012</sup> making it clear that it is a coy cultural reference — a joke — rather than an attempt to represent these folk-figures’ customary personalities and functions. While “play with the play” can take place within the confines of conventional performances and still be considered in keeping with tradition (see, for example, 11.2.3), the strippers do not seem to have this objective. In this sense, their striptease might serve as an illustration of folklorism as decontextualization: by

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<sup>1009</sup> Hutter, *Salzburger Perchtenbrauch*.

<sup>1010</sup> Degg, p. 86.

<sup>1011</sup> Perschtenbund Soj.

<sup>1012</sup> *Ibid.*



Incorporating the *Krampus* into his act at the appropriate time of year, the stripper is not really working *within* the *Krampus*/Nikolaus tradition, but merely *alluding* to it, appropriating it for his act, which is a very different kind of performance art. From the perspective of the Perschtenbund Soj, the *Krampus* stripper represents the point at which a cultural trope has changed so much that it is essentially no longer its old self, but something different altogether.

In cases of revived traditions and other contemporary deployments of their motifs, as this example shows, it can be difficult to objectively pinpoint whether one is dealing with an old tradition simply shedding its skin or the creation of a new tradition altogether. It is precisely in this gray area that charges of folklorism typically appear. After all, it is possible that the same degree and rate of innovation and adaptation occurred in past generations as well, and that relatively sparse and sometimes biased documentation has resulted in the impression of a static, monolithic form maintained without significant variation over the centuries. In other words, this openness to change seen in modern mummers and the abundance of individual motivations and interpretations may well have been endemic to these customs all along. Although the term “tradition” has long signified stasis in popular discourses about folklore — in which it is movement as repetition rather than forward momentum, like treading water — change is in fact the device by which traditions are perpetuated, propelled forward into the next generation.

Therefore in order to understand the nature of tradition, I would argue for a flexible model of adaptation and evolution rather than a more static model of preservation versus degradation. Seen from this perspective, changes in traditions represent *recontextualization* (assigning new functions and meanings) rather than *decontextualization* (stripping them of meaning and value). Recontextualization implies shifting centers of gravity without total dissolution, and the accretion of new semantic overlays which are “translucent” and do not obscure those already present. In this light, authenticity and change need no longer be seen as mutually exclusive; folklorism can signify the more neutral value of recontextualization rather than the negative value of decontextualization. In this scenario, authenticity and change are not mutually exclusive.

## **H2. Folklorism and Feedback**

The perceived presence or absence of authenticity and debates over mummers’ right to innovate and adapt while still claiming adherence to tradition underlie the concepts of folklorism and feedback, introduced in 3.3. Writing of the ‘*Verperchtung* [Perchtenization]’ of Austria, Grieshofer outlines what he sees as the tradition-scholar’s responsibility:

*Vor unseren Augen vollzieht sich ein Prozeß, der unsere vollste Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Wir sind aufgerufen, uns diesem Phänomen zu stellen, es zu dokumentieren und zu analysieren. Und wir sollten dabei unser eigenes Tun, die Rolle der Volkskunde und die ihres Handlangers, die Heimatpflege, mit in Rechnung stellen. Denn es erscheint doch so, daß die Geister, die wir riefen, uns über den Kopf wachsen, daß sie sich nicht mehr bändigen lassen und zum folkloristischen Wildwuchs werden.*

Before our eyes a process is taking place which deserves our fullest attention. We are called to face up to this phenomenon, to document and analyze it. And we should thereby bring our own actions, the role of folklore and that of its henchmen, local historical associations, to account with it. For it appears to be the case that the spirits which we channel grow over our heads, that they do not let themselves be subdued, and [that they] are turning into uncontrolled folkloristic growth.<sup>1013</sup>

To this one might say that ‘uncontrolled folkloristic growth’ may be rampant, but it is the active tradition-bearers (in this case, the *Perchten* and *Krampusse*) who are the gardeners, and we can leave them to it. If they choose to shear it into imaginative topiaries rather than razing it to the ground, so much the better. Other people’s ideas, even demonstrably bad ones, can provide inspiration for something new, the value of which is not diminished by the fact that it is conceived of by its creator as something old. Bausinger feels that the fatal mistake folklorism makes is to take itself too seriously; regarding itself as either an absolute evil or an absolute good, it stands to smother genuine folklife. Instead, he suggests a more playful approach to folklorism, which at least allows the culture of the “folk”, such as it truly is, to breathe.<sup>1014</sup> Elements and ideas which may be regarded as folklorism are ultimately all part of the creative arsenal of the mummer.

This holds true even when one can identify specific influences that have been incorporated into mask design and mummies’ interpretations and trace them to their source. Closely related to the concept of folklorism is that of *Rücklauf*, or “feedback”, which Venetia Newall defines as the process ‘whereby scientific or pseudo-scientific insights are incorporated into the tradition-bearer’s conscious knowledge; in other words, folklore is returned to the folk’.<sup>1015</sup> Honigmann provides an example of what is likely feedback:

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<sup>1013</sup> Grieshofer, ‘Die Gestalt der Bercht und ihre Erscheinungsformen in Österreich’, pp. 229.

<sup>1014</sup> Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, p. 134.

<sup>1015</sup> Venetia Newall, ‘The Adaptation of Folklore and Tradition (Folklorismus)’, *Folklore*, 98:2

Austrians in the community we studied are quite aware of “heathen” elements being blended with Christian elements in the Saint Nicholas customs and in other traditional winter ceremonies. They believe Krampus derives from a pagan supernatural who was assimilated to the Christian devil.<sup>1016</sup>

Honigmann’s example displays the influence of the first two waves of *Volkskunde* scholarship, which reinforced and popularized the idea that folk customs were survivals of ancient native cultures, hypothesizing, for example, that the leaping dances of the *Schönperchten* derived from fertility magic.<sup>1017</sup> Summarizing a characteristic example of feedback (an Advent tradition invented in 1954), Bendix writes that:

The tendencies of the local organizers and the sympathizers among the press began moving the origin back, basing their claims on scholarly writings about similar customs elsewhere, until ties to pre-Christian customs were evident to everyone [...]. Journalists, writers of almanacs and amateur folklorists are the principal promoters of *Rücklauf*, and Moser attributes this mostly to pedagogical impulses.<sup>1018</sup>

The exchange of ideas informing conceptions of these traditions, both among mummers and the wider populace, flow freely over the borders of literature, popular culture, and what has long been designated “folk culture”. An article in Austrian daily newspaper *Der Standard* appeared in November 2005 with the title, ‘Wo die wilden Kerle tollen: Krampus und Klaubaufbehen als Albtraumfest mit oder ohne Eventcharakter [Where the wild things are: going *Krampus* and *Klaubauf* as nightmare festival with or without character of an event]’.<sup>1019</sup> Describing an East Tyrol demonstration of *Krampus* mask-carving, the writer’s

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(1987), 131-151 (p. 131). Citing Moser’s ‘Der Folklorismus als Forschungsproblem der Volkskunde’, p. 10, Bendix explains he ‘worked with the term *Rücklauf* [...] which German-speaking folklorists had coined as a label for the incorporation of “scientific or psuedo-scientific insights” into the tradition bearers’ conscious knowledge’ (‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’, p. 6).

<sup>1016</sup> Honigmann, p. 264, note 2. While glossings of Krampus as pagan in origin are far less common than they are with Perchta, Maurice Bruce provides an example of this in ‘The Krampus in Styria’, *Folklore*, 69:1 (March 1958), 45-47.

<sup>1017</sup> See, for example, Frazer, p. 243. Thus one may surmise a line of influence from these ideas (now generally discredited within academia) to popular conceptions of the ancient pagan origins of the *Perchtenlauf*.

<sup>1018</sup> Bendix, ‘Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept’, p. 6.

somewhat disparaging comment that the carver has brought along ‘100 teuflische Larven, mehr an Fantasy-Faces, Außerirdischen und Halloween orientiert als an der barocken Maskentradition [A hundred devilish masks, oriented more towards fantasy-faces, aliens, and Halloween than to the baroque mask tradition]’ displays a critical stance towards modern mass culture influences (7.1). Also noteworthy is the fact that the reporter felt competent to comment on the authenticity and thus the validity of the aesthetic of these *Krampus* masks and the permissibility of incursions into popular culture in particular. While the prevalence of interpretations formerly championed in academic circles is likely to be feedback at work, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to be sure, which in itself is a critical point. Although one cannot be sure (scholarly or pseudo-scholarly influence is most often inferred, deduced, not proven), this may represent the latest wave of feedback — a journalist emulating the critical stance of some contemporary Austrian folklorists.<sup>1020</sup>

As we have seen, the term “folklorism” refers to inauthentic, artificial representations of folklore, which implies that folklore possesses a fixed, original form which is authentic and therefore of greater value than subsequent generations, which become progressively more and more corrupted and fragmented, like photocopies or recordings on videotape. However, it can be argued that the recycling and reimagining of folklore — the *bricolage* process by which *Perchten* and *Krampusse* rework this cultural material — does not represent the fading breath of a dying tradition, but the infusion of new blood. Likewise, I would suggest that feedback (disparaged as the machinery of folklorism revealed) be viewed in a more neutral light: ‘a manifestation of the cultural recycling and circulation of ideas that goes on within any given society, a process in which all of its members are engaged’.<sup>1021</sup>

In that sense, the products of folklorism and feedback are the very means by which tradition is revived rather than the cause of its death. Whereas the modern horror aesthetic involves the incorporation of concurrent cultural influences, drawing upon past scholarship

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<sup>1019</sup> Horst Christoph, *Der Standard*, ‘Wo die wilden Kerle tollen: Krampus und Klaubaufbehen als Albtraumfest mit oder ohne Eventcharakter’, <<http://derstandard.at/2246392/Wo-die-wilden-Kerle-tollen>>, Nov. 22, 2005, accessed Nov. 27, 2015. The title appears to be a play on *Wo die wilden Kerle wohnen*, which is the German title of a popular American children’s book, Maurice Sendak’s *Where the Wild Things Are* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1963), first pub. in German as *Wo die wilden Kerle wohnen* in 1966 (Zürich: Diogenes Verlag). Sendak’s book, like some current manifestations of the *Perchten/Krampus* performance-encounter, features a child protagonist cavorting with enormous furry monsters replete with horns and fangs.

<sup>1020</sup> See, for example, Dengg and Hutter, ‘Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt’.

<sup>1021</sup> Carter, ‘Contemporary *Perchten* Masking in Austria and Bavaria’, p. 206.

and folklore creates something living and potent out of something presumed to be “dead”, cultural material which is either extinct (divested of its original purpose and value) or artificial (inauthentic). In this sense, the cycles of folklorism and feedback can be seen as having a regenerative rather than a sterilizing effect. This leads to the question of who exactly is authorized to instigate this regeneration.

### **H3. Creative Authority and Ownership of Tradition**

Claims on the authority to define, interpret, reshape and practice traditions and definitions of orthodoxy lie behind both folklorism and, in cases where those claims are contested, charges of folklorism. In instances of folklorism, the scholar (or amateur folklorist) assumes a position of authority from which he or she dictates orthodoxy to the reader, typically other scholars, but sometimes performers and the general public, proclaiming what is and what is not traditional and authentic. As Bausinger points out, charges of folklorism can amount to a kind of counter-folklorism in itself.<sup>1022</sup>

Examination of these aesthetic developments leads us to further questions about active tradition-bearers’ claims on *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming. What place, if any, does demonstrable originality or the lack thereof have in these customs? Are indications of aesthetic evolution (or, as some see it, devolution) and individual authorship — the detectable personal stamp a mummer or mask-carver makes on interpretation of meaning, performance choices, or mask design — incompatible with fidelity to tradition?

In light of these questions, labelling a mask as either original or derivative can be considered an ethical matter, since such designations revolve around assumptions about the carver’s creative process and his authority to represent a custom commonly regarded as part of a collective cultural heritage. While in the realm of “high” art originality is prized and derivativeness is not, the value of these qualities is often reversed in outsiders’ criticisms of folk art. As Dengg notes, the dominant model for the new masks created during the resurgence of interest in *Perchten* and *Krampus* mumming since the 1970s is the multi-horned *Schiachperchten* mask type found in the Pongau.<sup>1023</sup> Although he is critical of what he regards as copying (apparently viewing it with the same disdain with which it would be viewed in a fine-arts context) and applauds the handful of groups striking out in a new direction with their mask design,<sup>1024</sup> the process of artistic creation is not simply a matter of being “original” or “copying” others’ work. In practice, these qualities are typically applied

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<sup>1022</sup> Bausinger, ‘Toward a Critique of Folklorism Criticism’, p. 23.

<sup>1023</sup> Dengg, p. 90.

<sup>1024</sup> Ibid.

as value judgments after the fact by outside observers, which is much more subjective than the discrete categories of “original” and “derivative” would seem to imply.

Since we are working within a folk-cultural rather than a fine-arts context, this criticism generates special issues, and our terms need redefining. For example, whereas originality in this context implies fidelity to the high artistic standards expected of the individual artist (standards which the artist is expected to voluntarily adhere to as a matter of personal integrity), in popular folklore discourse, originality is understood as authenticity, a fidelity to tradition, which in this context implies other people (past generations of active tradition-bearers and the community at large, made up of passive tradition-bearers). In other words, mask-makers are expected to conform to styles and techniques used by previous generations of mask-carvers in their communities. Thus seeking inspiration from their forebears is seen as adhering to tradition, whereas seeking it from contemporaries in other regions or even neighboring villages (or *their* forebears) elicits charges of inauthenticity — an essentially moral judgment, since it implies that the mask-makers in question have broken rules of conduct or failed their ethical obligations to others in some way. According to this view, “folk” artists like the *Perchten* and *Krampusse* who make their own masks (and who in cases of commissioning masks may be considered artists insofar as they are involved in the design) are believed to follow essentially different rules than those of “fine” artists, who are free to seek inspiration whither they will. Folk artists are assumed to have agreed to a contract which binds them to sublimate personal inspiration when necessary in order to produce “genuine” folk art — that is, art conforming sufficiently to a set ideal (which may itself be an invented tradition, as is often the case with *Trachten*) to perpetuate the impression, or illusion, of collective, anonymous artistic agency. Thus “traditional” *Perchten* masks are conceived of as art produced by “the folk”.

What place demonstrable originality, conceived of as a superior value, in accordance with fine-arts norms, has in these folk customs remains an open question. Perhaps it is with the increase in professionalism and status among mask-carvers and the subsequent development of the masks into ‘*Prestigeobjekte* [prestige objects]’<sup>1025</sup> that the fine-arts model, and art criticism model, have come into play. In any case, in this context, the question of originality versus derivativeness — the question of the authentic versus the spurious and even fraudulent, seen through a soft lens — becomes an essentially ethical one, revolving around often mistaken assumptions about the creative process and the authority to speak for a custom commonly regarded as part of a collective cultural heritage.

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<sup>1025</sup> Hutter, ‘Die Maske im Wandel: Von ihrer Sinnentleerung bis zum Prestigeobjekt’, pp. 137-138.

## Appendix I: Field Notes

### II. Juvavum Pass: *Tanz & Teufel*

**The Zistelalm (a mountain lodge in Salzburg city), Salzburg, Dec. 3, 2005**

I've been corresponding with Max (Markus) Maislinger via email, acting as contact person for the group, to arrange to see the Juvavum Pass. He invited me to their *Tanz & Teufel* event and told me to wear warm clothes as it would be held on a mountaintop. (Bus from Mirabelkirche at 12:00.)

Well, now I'm at the *Tanz & Teufel* on the peak of the Gaisbergspitz, an Alpine summit with a ski lodge or two nestled into it. In this one, the Zistelalm, there is a large central ballroom/hall, all in wood and decorated with evergreens. Here and there are wooden *Perchten* masks on display among the evergreen boughs. I sketched a wooden devil mask hanging from the rafters in the lodge. Also there was a fur goatee under the "claw" growing out of its chin. Painted-on mask and beard, white eyes! Eyebrows and tongues carved with real leather? Animal or wooden claw as goatee? Hard to tell because it's very dark.

The hall was full; there were several other *Perchten* or *Krampus* groups there. Mostly friends and family, it seems. Most tables are reserved for guests, which included the Schoeffleut' Pass and other groups, and sprinkled around the rest of the hall were those tall tables I hate, the kind you have to stand at in bars, etc. On these tables were small flyers on the tables with business cards. At the front entrance, people at a table sold tickets and stamped our hands ("*Bezahlt*") to show we had paid. Also at the entry there were flyers on tables giving information about how we could "*bestellen*" them (book them).

After the devils jumped off the stage and began whipping everybody. I was introduced by Max to several others with, '*Sie kommt aus England und schreibt ihre Doktorarbeit über uns.*' (I had introduced myself in my initial email request for an interview as a student at the University of Sheffield.) They looked interested to see me and my reaction to the tussling — maybe nothing personal; I *think* Max had told them about me. Earlier several of them asked me if I enjoyed (*gefallen*) it (the *Teufel*).

Iris, the girlfriend of another *Krampus*, said he wouldn't even tell her what their presentation was going to be, that it's always kept a secret. Group members referred to it as '*das Show*'. These girlfriends didn't know Max, by sight, anyway, so maybe it's a big group, or they're not involved socially with the *Pass* to that extent. Or being beaten/whipped was something they seemed wary of, or thought I would be. 'Aren't you afraid of

the *Krampusse*?' one woman asked. I guess they expected me to be running away rather than towards them. That's what women are expected to do generally, it seems.

The switches were a bushy, brown bundle of twigs bound on one end. Nikolaus dispensed red cellophane bags of peanuts and oranges with a mic to the people he spoke to; they were switched and sometimes tumbled onto the floor and sat on by three *Teufel* wearing black theatrical makeup smudged on them, like Boggarts Breakfast uses, I think. [This was a Sheffield-based border Morris dance side I was a member of at the time.] They also had sharp teeth, stick-on red horns on their heads (which came off), chains around their necks and black, ragged strips (or fake fur in one case) for a loincloth over their shorts/underwear.

There was a play performed on a stage at the west of the hall: a *Teufel* visits two men (with an echo effect on their voices) who dialogue about life's suffering and sit drinking at a table. The *Teufel* appears in smoke, climbs on the table at one point, drinks with them, and at the end they throw him to the ground offstage. The *Rauferei* went from the stage onto the dance floor among the people, where they grappled with him.

Tell the *Obmann* I'm interested in the fact they're creating dramas and filming them (they had "*Night shootings*" company logo on the jacket of the photographer with extra bulbs). Can I see a video of the play and also of Nikolaus being naughty? Ask the *Obmann* about writing the play, what's the story line? Do they do that every year at *Tanz & Teufel*, or elsewhere? How do they come up with concepts for the theatrical part? [Note: I later learned this was their version of the Nikolaus play.] At the end of the play, after the devil with red and black face paint had been thrown to the floor, the *Krampusse* entered and whipped people to Bon Jovi's 'Have a Nice Day'.

During the free-for-all section when the *Krampusse* chased people around after the play, catching them in a headlock, etc., I got some photos, but also got attacked myself. I noticed a few things observing around the edges of this pretty chaotic scene. People usually squealed, cringed and ducked when *Krampusse* approached, but sometimes taunted and teased them (leading them on?). I saw one young woman smiling and beckoning a *Krampus* towards her, mirroring his gesture. (I assumed she must be his girlfriend or friend, as young women are rarely this bold when singled out for attention.) *Krampusse* often beckon people like this, though it is less (or less obviously?) flirtatious when they do it — considering that they are supposed to be devils sent to drag bad people off to Hell, they seem to be subverting the meaning of this familiar gesture. What are they inviting you to do, exactly?



When I told Iris about being seized in a headlock and spanked at the 2005 St. Pantaleon *Perchtenlauf*, she laughed and said, ‘Oh, that’s mean.’ Was it? Do people seriously object to being grabbed and whipped by *Krampusse*? Or is it just a pastiche of those emotions and reactions — role-playing, play-acting on the spectator’s part? Or both? I’ve seen it all so far: real and mock-aggression and hostility, fear, physical pain, flirtation and erotic come-ons. When one is playing a role — engaged in stylized behavior like this ritual circumscribes: ‘I am the flogging *Krampus* and you are the terrified victim’, and so forth — one can experiment silently, privately, secretly with all of these feelings without committing and without exposing any of them ... safe, for the moment, behind the masks both wear. Stylized behavior like you find in the *Krampus* ritual is a mask, too ... the mask is not just the wooden face and horns.

Later in the evening after the play and the devils jumping off the stage into the audience, Nikolaus called people up by name to stage for later to give them the same sacks of nuts, etc. we had all received earlier. They usually kneeled before him to tell him they been ‘*brav*’. Several times I heard him say, ‘*Auf die Knien* [On your knees].’ He laughed as he said this when one woman kneeled, and a *Krampus/Teufel* hit him with his switch (birch branches bundled together, in this case). A tussle ensued in which Nikolaus’s bishop’s mitre got knocked off and worn momentarily by a *Teufel* until with the use of his crook Nikolaus regained control of the *Teufeln*. These *Teufeln* seemed to be engaged in a little supplemental butt-kicking in addition to the customary switching, and Nikolaus was no different.

Later the *Obmann* sang with band to the same song as a request. The crowd called out for Bon Jovi (!) and danced hard, sang along to “Have a nice day” (they projected an image of a devil-horned yellow happy face — relevant? Or just the *Obmann*’s favorite song?). More Free Bird (the name of the band) and dancing until the end of the night (from 19:30-2:00!).

Afterwards I went outside with Max, who had grabbed me and whipped me earlier during the free-for-all after the play. He didn’t know it was me, and vice versa; we hadn’t met in person yet. ‘That was *you*?’ he asked delightedly. He gave me a tour of their masks and goat-fur costumes, set on the ground, and talked to me about their mask and costume construction. ‘*Die Pelze stinken*,’ he said, especially when they get wet; people wrinkle their noses when *Krampusse* get too close. He showed me his special *Rute*: a horse tail like most of them seem to be, but bound with a goat’s hoof and foreleg on the end as a handle, with thin leather straps to hold it with. He shook it gently at me to show me that the bones in the leg had been broken, so it was floppy and very creepy-looking. He said he likes to

approach people slowly with the hoof-end extended out to them, which ‘really freaks them out’. What people expect is to be whipped with the tail-end. I said, ‘I love it,’ and he said he did, too, but most people at the parades can’t stand it. One of the things he pointed out was that it was dangerous when people grab and pull on their horns during the parades; it can break their neck because of the way the masks are so closely fitted to the head. He became very serious and said, ‘*Das ist böse*’ — it’s bad, really bad.

## **12. Juvavum Pass: Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf***

**Eugendorf, Salzburg, Dec. 6, 2005**

Another *Krampus* group, who were waiting with us behind the shed to do the final lap of the Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf*, stood in a big circle, facing in, and shook their bells together, raising an enormous din. Once a Juvavum Pass member joined in, on the outer edge of the ring, but facing out, wagging his butt and adding the discordant, deep clunking of his cowbell [*Glocke*] to their higher, shimmering, round bells [*Schellen*], which sounded more like sleigh bells. Babsi (the mother of one of the *Krampusse* and an *Ordner*) was laughing at the sight. I felt like I immediately understood her laughter as a woman’s reaction to a display of machismo, but I felt I should ask anyway — ‘What are they doing?’ ‘*Imponieren*,’ she said — trying to impress or outdo each other. ‘They want girlfriends, but they can’t get ‘em,’ one *Krampus* sniffed dismissively.

At one point I was talking to the group’s leader, Stefan, as we watched the goings-on together. ‘Here we eat with our hands,’ he said in English with mock-seriousness. ‘We also know the pig we’re eating. Today we eat Franz.’ Later, while watching *Krampusse* make their way down the street accompanied by an industrial heavy metal soundtrack, he turned to me and said, ‘Folk music.’

## **13. Juvavum Pass: *Krampuskränzchen***

**At an Irish pub in Salzburg’s *Altstadt*, Dec. 5, following the Eugendorfer *Perchtenlauf***

The *Krampusse* burst into action to a heavy metal soundtrack, throwing themselves on patrons, sliding across tables and knocking over glasses, chasing women around the maze of tables, barstools, and support beams. It was dark, and you could barely see them coming. What makes these *Krampuskränzchen* exciting is the unexpected intimacy: people don’t know the monsters are coming, and would not necessarily choose to be there if they did. A couple of young women were shrieking in earnest, tears on their cheeks; they were genuinely terrified (or at least genuinely hysterical, hysteria being a more diffuse and complex emotion than terror). They retreated into the women’s toilet, but they were not safe there; from my position I could see a *Krampus* slam open the door, standing silhouetted in

black against the yellow walls, roaring at them as they cowered and convulsed, trapped against the stall doors.

#### **I4. The Berchtesgaden St. Nikolaus with *Krampusse* and *Buttnmandl*:**

##### **House visit with catechism-interrogation at my guesthouse, and *Buttnmandllauf* in the village center, Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, Dec. 5, 2009**

Visiting Berchtesgaden, Bavaria (close to Salzburg) on December 5, 2009 to see the straw-clad *Buttnmandl* who accompany Nikolaus there, I checked into my guesthouse at two in the afternoon only to learn that the proprietor was hurriedly preparing her children for a house visit by Nikolaus and company. At her invitation, I climbed the stairs to the second floor of the guesthouse, where the dining room used for guests was located and joined her, her five children (two girls in their late teens, two girls aged about nine and twelve, and a boy who looked to be about seven), one of their grandmothers, and three adult friends of the family, who were helping themselves to the Christmas cookies and drinks which had been set out in anticipation of the mummers' arrival. The older girls kept looking out the window in the direction of the highway which ran past the guesthouse into town. Hearing the sound of bells, everyone took their places at the table, the three children staying where they had been the whole time — tucked snugly in the corner of the room behind the table, as close to the wall as they could get. Their grandmother sat next to them, and I sat next to her, there being no traditional place assigned to folklorists/voyeurs in this configuration. The adult guests sat on the other side of the table, while the mother continued to scurry around tidying up and putting finishing touches on the refreshments and the two teenage girls watched from the window.

The mumming company finally came into view, having walked up the highway — escorted by a police car, as I later discovered (the flashing lights lent an extra festive touch to the proceedings) — and began milling around in the driveway in front of the house, where a handful of adults had gathered. One of the teenage girls ran out to put herself in harm's way, and the *Krampusse* (some of whom wore the full-body costumes and carved wooden masks familiar from Austria, but others of whom were men wearing sheepskin tunics over their street clothes and simple hood-style fur masks sprouting horns and, in one case, a brass nose-ring) reached out to oblige with soot-smearred arms. (Her older sister, who later explained to me that the *Krampusse* held no real attraction for her and that she was hoping to study in the United States, was content to watch the proceedings from the window.) The grandmother turned to the children and said quietly, 'You know, the *Krampusse* will not come near the fire,' at which the three children sitting in the corner reached out as one and pulled the large votive candle closer to them.

After a while Nikolaus knocked on the door and entered the room, flanked by three *Krampusse* and the teenage daughter who was evidently (at least for the moment) attached to one of them. (The *Buttnmandl*, due to their massive and messy straw costumes, stayed outside.) Nikolaus opened his book and peered gravely down at the children from over his spectacles. While the mother remained in the background (her role at this point seemed to be to offer hospitality, since all of her children were old enough to interact with the mummers without protection), Nikolaus began his interrogation of the children starting with the eldest, discussing the conduct of each over the past year. Meanwhile their sister continued to wrestle with her *Krampus* in the background and his fellows stood at the ready, watching the children intently. (Another glared at me through the eye holes in his fur mask throughout most of the proceedings.) One *Krampus* took the active role, dancing in place on Nikolaus's left, periodically punctuating the saint's speech by lunging diagonally over the table at the children and bringing his birch *Rute* down with a resounding *thwack*. The children flinched and grimaced every time; half, it seemed, in fun and half in earnest. After a while the grandmother reached out a hand and said firmly to the *Krampus*, '*Genug!* [Enough!]' (Nikolaus may control the *Krampusse*, but ultimately it is parental authority — here, that of the grandmother — that controls the mummers and directs the action.) Having passed the test, the children received gifts in cellophane bags — the usual assortment of nuts and chocolates, but also practical and personal gifts, like socks and shower gel — and the mummers departed with their sedate police escort, an honor usually accorded to heads of state.

Observed at the *Buttnmandllauf* in the village center up the hill, following the house visit: a woman who seemed to be in her late thirties or early forties with her young daughter. At one point she reached out for the bottom of a *Krampus* (who was standing close by with his back turned) and squeezed it emphatically. Initiating contact in this way was surprisingly daring; women typically wait for *Krampusse* to seek them out, if they do not avoid them altogether. He whirled around and began whipping her legs, giving her a much rougher and protracted beating than usual, it seemed; it didn't look like she was having fun or in control of the situation. Was he perhaps punishing her for initiating the intimacy, or for being too old to engage in such flirtatious behavior in the first place?

### **15. Young *Krampusse* (*Freilauf*)**

#### **Train Station, Bürmoos, Upper Austria, Dec. 2, 2005**

In Bürmoos, en route to St. Pantaleon in Oberösterreich on the night of Dec, 2, 2005, I saw a group of adolescent boys (10 to 14 years old?) standing on the train platform with red rubber *Krampus* masks (with black fur covering the back of the head), black "gorilla suits" with cowbells of a fitting size (not on wide leather bands, I think), and switches of bundled

twigs. One small boy (seven? eight?) wore a white-colored sheepskin tunic over street clothes, sleeves and pant-leggings. Several boys wore masks on top of their heads like hats, and several were totally out of costume. One large, rather intimidating boy with a stern glare and rosy cheeks — but no costume or mask — roared at me. Another held a bundle of twigs taped together at both ends, which I later retrieved from the railroad tracks where he had dropped it, wearing a fierce expression that was perhaps more *Krampus* steel/ferocity than teenage sullenness, which anyway is more characteristic of American than Austrian teens, and walking around the train platform, whacking things occasionally. Both boys (about 12 to 14 years old, I'm guessing) were still very much in *Krampus* character; though out of costume, they were still being *Krampusse*. This was more than just play-acting; that they would have shed when they took off their costumes. This was *Krampus*'s residual energy, I think. There were several girls about the age of this group or a little younger there, who got hit *Krampus*-style, and one got on the waiting train and pushed the "open door" button several times while the others watched — a prank, to keep the train stalled? There was a taller one with them, probably 16 to 17 years old at least, or an adult — going with them to show them how to do it, maybe. Now the remark of the salesman at the *Christkindlmarkt* made sense: kids wear the rubber masks and 'laufen in der Straße' (I had asked repeating the phrase he had used to describe adult *Läufer*). He had said yes. They had just come back from a *Lauf*, and were pouring into the Bürmoos train station (which was small!) just as I was alighting on the platform, expecting a five-minute wait for the next train.

### **16. St. Pantaleon *Krampuslauf***

**St. Pantaleon, Upper Austria, Dec. 2, 2005, from 7:00-8:00 p.m.**

I had to walk maybe a mile to the town center from the train. There didn't seem to be much in the way of streetlights, but I saw one guy getting into his suit in a lighted garage along the way. On site: lots of drunk teenagers, but also older locals, and parents with kids on shoulders. Little photography. Dim streetlights, really dark. Started on time and lasted one hour I noticed people (adults) catching passing *Krampusse* by the shoulder and recommending they turn their attentions to their friends — maybe saying, 'He's been bad!' (or so it seemed).

They sometimes come at you like they're going to hit you and you react — freeze up, cringe, etc. — then they back off. 'Psych!' as my nephew would say. Held in a gentle headlock by a *Krampus* and rocked around in the street a bit, my head pressed against his chest, I guess it was only a matter of time before one came up from behind and smacked my butt — whether with a birch *Rute* or horse tail, I was not in a position to ascertain. My

bottom had a date with destiny; looking back on it, it was like being tied to the railroad tracks with a train coming.

There were *Krampus Lebkuchen* for sale (like one in the Linzer Gasse window) and *Glühwein*. A DJ in a *Perchten* weatherbeater spoke the names of the groups into the mic over pop and house music — at one point he came out into the procession and held the mic up to a *Krampus*, who roared obligingly.

There was a fire-breather at St. Pantaleon: he took a slug of clear liquid from tall “*Lampenöl*” bottle in his hand and bent one knee slightly to blow the alcohol, kerosene, etc. up into the torch he was carrying. He wore a white hooded sweatshirt and dark pants smeared with red paint and tufts of *Krampus* fur around the edges. He looked sick, focused (transported?). [See video appendix for similar in Schärding.] Later by the train tracks in Bürmoos, I found the taped *Rute*, dropped by the young *Krampus*! O joy! Later I noticed bits of black hair stuck to the ends; if I were to rush them to the lab for DNA testing, results would surely reveal that these are *Krampus* fur.

They processed down the street, then came back again, and mingled even more with the crowd, following invitations to whack bystanders by their friends, removing masks, seeking out their own acquaintances. Very social atmosphere before and after the *Lauf*, with locals talking to each other. Nikolaus came first with his book, smiling; there was another one or two Nikolauses later; one had two young teen girls walking on either side as *Engel* (blondes, with shimmering white gowns, fluffy feather-boa wings and halos like you might see in a costume shop, and the other one had child angels, I think). One Nikolaus had a *Korblträger* (with a long, fake gray beard, Tyrolean hat and plaid shirt) from whose back-strapped basket Nikolaus withdrew a handful of what looked like candy and gave it to a child. There was a huge cage on a wagon driving by a Tyrolean *Korblträger*-type; in it, a *Krampus* rattled the bars and leapt around like the stereotypical image of the enraged gorilla. On the return trip down the street I saw in the distance that many people had joined him in the cage for the ride down the street. (There is video from Traun and Pullman City of cages like this.)

Aggressive teen boys, teens and kids nearly totally, following the procession. Folk tradition in its infinite wisdom decided to send a bunch of little boys out into the street all night to roam around with sticks hitting people — now that’s going with nature.

There was a child in a bathroom stall I heard today at the C & A department store talking to his/her mother — something about *der Krampus*; whom she/he mentioned repeatedly (in Linz, Upper Austria).

A number of fathers were watching the parade with toddlers on their shoulders. The *Perchten* sought out children most of all, and were gentle with them, while the parents looked on, smiling. Some children smiled and laughed while others looked apprehensive, but cautiously engaged with them just the same; for example, a little girl tentatively held out her hand, then withdrew it, and the *Percht* did the same, mirroring her movements and following her lead. Finally they managed to shake hands.

Here it seemed that children got more attention than anyone. *Schiachperchten* often stopped before them, peering into their faces and offering gentle handshakes. Baby carriages received the attention of several of these creatures at once. That was very interesting — the babies were surely too young to remember these encounters later. Was this about the adults interacting? Or was it a ritual that did not require the conscious “audience attention” of the child, the way it would have done if it were mere theater (which, in contrast to ritual, requires an audience)? Or was it maybe a combination of the two?

I noticed adults catching passing *Krampusse* by the shoulder, then pointing to their companions and laughing. They were saying something to the *Krampusse*, apparently recommending they turn their attention to their friends, because they were subsequently attacked to the enjoyment of all. Overall, the “punishment” seemed to be quite light-hearted. One teen boy, when approached by a *Krampus*, stuck out his tongue and wagged it back at him suggestively. (He was mirroring the appearance of the *Krampusse*, whose masks typically feature long, red, lolling tongues, one of the respects in which their appearance accords with conventional Devil iconography.) At this the *Krampus* whispered something in his ear, a sign that they knew each other. Good thing for the tongue-wagger, because if they didn’t, he was really asking for it.

One *Percht* fell on his or her knees and looked up at me like a puppy begging for a treat while I stroked its fur and laughed. Sometimes they fall on the ground and roll around at your feet and act cute, just when you’ve braced yourself for a whipping. (Funny; because of the playful, non-violent behavior I assumed this *Percht* might be a woman.)

### ***17. Kinderkrampusse: Freiläufe***

**Various locations in the city of Salzburg, Salzburg, observed Dec. 2005-2007**

I saw little boys dressed up as *Krampusse* and roaming around Salzburg at various points from 2005 to 2007. These are just a couple of examples. They wore mass-produced rubber devil masks and costumes consisting of some kind of furry material over their torsos (a sheepskin poncho or a mother’s fur vest) belted with a wide leather belt hung with bells, a miniature version of those worn by their adult counterparts, and wielded bundles of twigs

taped together at the end. One vendor in the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt* who (like party-supply and costume shops) sells these masks, bells, and other *Krampus* accessories confirmed they are worn by ‘the children who run in the street’ when I asked him.

One of these little guys was running around the square when the Salzburger Schiachpercht’n swept through (I was accompanying them, walking beside an *Ordner*). He stopped to watch them go by. I wonder what he thought about that, and whether it might encourage him to join a group like that when he’s older, or whether seeing those groups had been his inspiration in the first place ... or maybe he would have done it anyway. Certainly boys were doing this long before there were organized, semi-professional groups like there are today.

**At the *Hauptbahnhof* (main train station):**

On Nikolaus Day, Dec. 6, 2005, one of three child-*Krampusse* roaming around the market stalls outside the Salzburg train station came up to me, considering, took me by the sleeve, and tried a few whacks with his bundle of twigs, but failed to make contact, having apparently misjudged the distance, and being quite small. He held up his switch as if threatening to try again, and I started giggling, but struggled to stop, worried that it was the wrong reaction. My would-be assailant regained his equilibrium by stealing a few roasted chestnuts from a nearby vendor, who also laughed, setting my mind at ease. Walking through the old squares around the Salzburg Cathedral later that evening, I heard the jangling of cowbells in the darkness, and a young man working at a nearby *Glühwein* stand swept his female companion off her feet, shouting, ‘*Der Krampus kommt!* [The *Krampus* is coming!]' while she shrieked with mock-hysteria. The scene became all the more comical when the *Krampus* emerged from the dark alley, a tiny boy weighed down by a fur tunic, bells, and adult-sized rubber devil mask and accompanied by his father and older brother.

**In the *Altstadt*: Linzer Gasse, close to Institut and Kirche St. Sebastian, Dec. 6, 2005:**

Last night was *Krampus* Day, and I was waiting on the Linzer Gasse for the *Krampuslauf* [featuring the Barmstoana Perchten] when I saw a little boy (seven or eight years old) dressed in a furry black *Krampus* suit with a bell hanging from his leather belt, a red rubber mask topped with horns and black fur, and a bundle of twigs for a *Rute*. There was a very annoying man hovering around in the street, annoyingly close to the people waiting on the sidewalk for the *Krampuslauf* to begin, hawking some kind of cheap Christian rag like [the Jehovah’s Witnesses publication, *The Watchtower*]. This little *Krampus* trudged up to him the way kids do and hit him with his *Rute*. A handful of older people next to me made



disapproving sounds, but I cried out, ‘Super!’ lest he feel his efforts went unappreciated. And I did appreciate it.

**In the Altstadt (on Mozartstraße), Dec. 6, 2005:**

Waiting on a pedestrian lane in the old part of the city around the cathedral for the “official” (*Christkindlmarkt*-sponsored) procession of the Barmstoana Perchten’s Nikolaus and *Krampusse* to begin, I noticed a little *Krampus* who could not have been older than five coming up the street, accompanied by his mother. She drifted off to smoke a cigarette, gazing into the distance as if she had nothing to do with the proceedings, but remained close enough to keep an eye on things (about five meters away) while her little boy ran up to a pair of teenage boys and began switching them vigorously about the knees and calves with his bundle of twigs (this was as high as he could reach). They endured this with laughter and exclamations of pain which seemed to be somewhat exaggerated for their assailant’s benefit. They mostly seemed to be focused upon each other, looking up at each other and grinning, but when the little *Krampus* stopped switching them and turned away, apparently distracted, they studied him for a while. Finally, one leaned down and made a loud sound in the child’s ear that was something between a bark and a belch, which immediately spurred him back into action.

**18. Mitterndorfer Nikologruppe: *Krampuslauf***

**Bad Mitterndorf, Styria, Dec. 6, 2006 and Dec. 6, 2007**

In Bad Mitterndorf, waiting for the 2007 *Krampuslauf* to begin, several men asked me how I liked my new governor, Styrian-born movie star Arnold Schwarzenegger, and proceeded to let me in on a little secret: Schwarzenegger had visited Bad Mitterndorf several years ago, and had run as one of the *Krampusse*. They assured me that he made an exceptionally rough and mean *Krampus*; ‘he hit people really hard; he kept hitting them and hitting them’. I laughed and inadvertently accelerated the surrealism by telling them I thought they were pulling my leg, taking the chance that this English expression translated word for word into German, as so many of them do; their perplexed, anxious expressions told me, wondering if they had just been accused of an impropriety, I had guessed wrong.

Later on, accompanying the *Håbergoaß* and several *Krampusse* on a house visit on the way to the Nikolaus play site in the town center, I experienced something interesting. The oldest of the *Krampusse*, unmasked and socializing with the others, watched the youngest member of the household (a boy who looked to be about four years old) stop in surprise and stare up at me when he came into the room. This in itself was unsurprising, considering that I was the only one present he did not already know, and my speech — clumsy, accented German further garbled by my enthusiasm — must have been

incomprehensible to him. The *Krampus* bent down to catch his eye, pointing up at me and shaking him by the shoulders in a show of mock-panic, crying, ‘*Look, look!* It’s a witch! A witch! It’s an American witch!’ which made everyone laugh: a *Krampus* expressing mock-terror at the sight of something even more terrifying while the child remained stoic.

Since there was no more room on the benches around the kitchen table by the time we arrived, the *Håbergoaß* sat on a chair by the stove while I stood. Between balancing a shot glass of schnaps in the goat’s mouth — which sat perched atop his head, the mask construction being of the clacking-jaw pole-puppet type — and repeatedly asking me sit on his lap, the *Håbergoaß* proceeded to smile at me and make ribald suggestions, which I tried to deflect with earnest ethnographic inquiry. ‘Do you feel like a different person as *Håbergoaß* — two personalities behind the mask?’ I asked. ‘Come sit on my lap!’ he replied, patting his knees. I felt like I was talking to a ventriloquist and his dummy; I was interacting with both the goat and the operator of the goat. ‘Is it you, or the *Håbergoaß* speaking?’ ‘Sleep with me and find out!’ was the rejoinder, to which I was forced to utter perhaps the most absurd line of my fieldwork career: ‘I don’t sleep with goats’. Another *Krampus* responded to my earnest questioning by grinning and unzipping my jacket.

Later on during the *Freilauf* following the Nikolaus play, one very tall *Krampus* approached me, waving his birch switch threateningly. ‘*Bete*’, he growled — ‘Say your prayers’. Feeling adventurous and ready to expand my repertoire beyond screams and laughter, I dropped to my knees in the snow in front of him and folded my hands in a child’s attitude of prayer, pleading in a little voice, ‘Please, please, *Krampus* — rescue me from the Christians!’ At this he erupted into enraged cries of ‘You’re going to Hell! You’re going to Hell!’ and proceeded to flog me with his *Rute*, a cluster of birch twigs which were knobbed on the ends, like a cat-o’-nine-tails. He beat me until my knees and thighs are bloody and (as I later discovered) crisscrossed with welts and scars. I begged him to stop in German, then in English (when my German gave out), but he didn’t stop.

Was it something I said? Had I departed too much from the script, from my expected role through my awkward improvisation, and upset the action? Had our play of mock-transgression and mock-punishment turned somehow into real transgression and real punishment? This is what I think practitioners of bondage and discipline refer to as “topping from the bottom”, although, unlike in that type of ritualized role-play, there was no “safe word” I could say to make him stop.

## **19. Salzburger Schiachpercht'n: *Perchtenspiel***

### **Following their *Perchtenlauf* in Traun, Upper Austria, Dec. 16, 2006**

The play followed the *Freilauf*, which followed the parade in turn. At first it seemed that the *Freilauf* was totally undirected, but as I was washed along with it, I came to realize that they were making their way gradually to a stage they had erected on another street a few blocks away. After general festive milling around, were people getting some snacks from the *Leberkäse* truck and *Glühwein* and rock music was playing through the PA; steady drumming cut through the noise of the crowd and the *Perchten* reassembled before the stage.

The play opened with a simple setup — a table with a few chairs on the stage in front of a black backdrop, and a bed on the far side of it. A farmer (Bernd, I think, in *Trachten*, felt hat, *Lederhosen* and loden wool jacket) sitting at the table with a few little boys and a bottle of booze. The whole play was pre-recorded (Günter's voice reading? It sounded like it) and acted in pantomime. There was some ambient music underneath it as well. There wasn't much action per se for a while, as the spoken narrative pretty much carried it. I couldn't make out all of it, but it seemed loosely to have been written in the template of the Nikolaus plays, like the one at *Tanz and Teufel* had been. The plot:

The man sits drinking at the table, holding his head in his hands, exasperated and despairing. Basically had been happy living there with his two sons, but now his life is falling apart. It is winter, he is drinking himself to death, and his children are sick. At one point the older boy is put to bed because he has gotten much sicker; at this point the doctor is called (Günter) and arrives to check him out with his stethoscope. He gives the father the bad news and leaves.

The farmer goes back to drinking at the table as the wind whistles; he holds up his hands, like, 'What am I going to do?' Then with the sound of rushing wind there comes a knock on the door, and he goes to open it. In walks Frau Perchta (the same mask and costume they use in their processions), flanked by several other *Schiachperchten*. He is taken aback, but she reassures him as she introduces herself and explains that she is the life force and sacred power of nature.

Death enters in (also a character in the Nikolaus plays, where he comes in to cut the *Jedermann* character down, who is also drinking himself to death); he is a hooded skeleton with a bloody scythe. Perchta does battle with Death to Orff's *Carmina Burana*. Perchta wins, and Death sinks to the ground. She rises up dancing along with her *Schiachperchten*; they shake their bells in unison (the loud, shimmering sound produced by the round bells, the *Schellen*) in unison. (About the dance: this is a light jogging in place the *Perchten* do to

make their bells ring, but perhaps without exerting themselves too much; maximum effect for minimal physical effort?)

Then happy music (the jaws' harp was part of it) starts up as hope returns and the sick children get up from bed. They share hospitality with the *Perchten* and celebrate with them; the *Perchten* accompanying Frau Perchta remove their masks to accept a drink.

### **Informal conversation with group founder Günter Polanec in 2007:**

Günter told me on one occasion in 2007 (this was not part of a formal interview or conversation I recorded) a story about something that happened once in the middle of a *Perchtenlauf*. The context was a conversation we were having about women being able to take part in *Perchtenläufe* themselves (not just as spectators) as well as the out of control behavior the spectators can bring to it, and what the *Perchten* need to do to manage it to keep it safe for everybody (including their female members, which his group has, mostly running as *Hexen*, though they have one female *Schiachpercht* as well). Apparently several young female members who played *Hexen* had dropped out of the group because they were being molested by men at the parades, so the next time they ran, Günter dressed as a masked *Hexe* (they wear masks, so they wouldn't have known it wasn't a woman this time). One man started acting up, reaching for his "breasts" (which were padded to give the impression he was female). I asked Günter if the man was drunk. '*Leicht besoffene* [Lightly drunken/tipsy]', he said. So when this happened, Günter rammed his broomstick between the man's thighs to show him he meant business, then he pulled his mask aside to show him his face, so he knew there was another man holding him accountable. Afterwards he gave the guy a talking to; he had apparently sobered up in the meantime. Günter said he did this to show him '*Hexen können auch böse sein* [Witches can be bad, too]'.

### **I10. Salzburger Schiachpercht'n: *Rauhnachtslauf***

#### **Accompanying them through the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*, Dec. 21, 2006**

The Salzburger Schiachpercht'n let me accompany them as an *Ordner* (really more in the care of an *Ordner*, Franz, since I didn't know what I was doing) on their *Perchtenlauf* through the various squares by the cathedral in the *Altstadt* during the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt* (this was a scheduled event). [See Map 2.] I wrote in my field notes:

I'm following the Salzburger Schiach'perchten through the densely-packed market, walking with Franz, one of their security team. At one point he notices a mischievous teenager reaching out to touch the round bells on the back of one *Percht*'s belt, about to play them like a pair of bongo drums to amuse his friend, but Franz intervenes, warning him off with a stern look and a raised finger. Elsewhere the *Perchten* are behaving

surprisingly wild with the people perusing the stands at the Christmas market, pretty funny considering most of them are tourists who have no idea what's coming ... imagine, one moment you're strolling through the market fingering heart-shaped *Lebkuchen* that say "*Ich liebe dich*" ("I love you") in curly frosting, and the next moment you're lying flat on your back on the slushy cobblestones with a giant furry monster sitting on top of you.

We started out by the *Festspielhaus*, where they had pulled in in a truck with a bunch of them standing on the truck bed in costume (masks off), getting in the mood, I think; some *Perchten* "vocalizing" was going on. Shortly after we started out, we passed the Franciscan church on our left, and a monk came out the front door. He stood there in the doorway and watched us pass, looking very cross, sort of scowling at us. Franz told me about the history of persecutions of *Perchten* by the church during the Baroque era in Salzburg, and that there was sort of a long-standing natural enmity between *Perchten* and priests/monks because *Perchten* are (originally? Essentially?) pagan.

### **I11. The *Klaubauflauf* and Nikolaus House Visit In Matri in Osttirol, Tyrol, Dec. 6, 2009**

When I arrived at my guesthouse in Matri (Gästehaus Meixner) on the evening of December 6, 2009, I asked where the main event would take place. When I revealed my plans to walk there alone, the lady of the house immediately began telephoning friends to find a place where I could go for the evening to experience the tradition from indoors. Several of the men seated around the table explained that it was dangerous to go alone; I might run into *Klaubaife*. I protested that it was no big deal; after all, I thought to myself, I had by then been flogged, groped, switched, shaken, and spanked by the best. How bad could it be?

Seeing that they were not getting through to me, one of them turned on the computer and showed me video footage of *Klaubaife* in action, uploaded to YouTube. To a black metal soundtrack, one *Klaubauf* after another ran at full speed towards a row of people standing with knees bent and arms linked, braced for impact. Another outdoor scene showed *Klaubaife* coming at a table stood on edge, behind which people clustered, taking a running leap and making a spectacular stage-dive over the table onto their victims. Others ran at hapless individuals (who had accidentally on purpose managed to get in their way), hoisted them off the ground, and sent them flying through the air. 'This is what will be happening at midnight in the main square,' he explained. I had spent a whole day and over €100 on trains and taxi fare to get up the mountain, and I was in no mood to concede defeat. 'But surely when they will see I am not from here, they will go easy on me?' I asked, imagining myself hobbling down the steep, unlit street in my enormous padded coat,

grinning like a fool. ‘No, no,’ he assured me. ‘By no means.’ ‘But because I am a woman?’ ‘No, absolutely not, believe me!’

I was subsequently driven over to friends of the family, the proprietors/ inhabitants of Gästehaus Sun Matri, in whose cozy kitchen I spent the evening waiting for the arrival of St. Nikolaus. The kitchen was bustling with activity. While several relatives sat around the kitchen table drinking *Glühwein*, the woman of the house and her two young-adult daughters were busy preparing sandwiches and drinks in anticipation of their visit. The front door to the house, to which a steep path led from the street, was situated next to the wide kitchen window, which was thrust open to the night. Finally, the Nikolaus company arrived. The visit followed the contours described by Koenig, a blessing there’s more on this in Koenig; look it up). This was followed by the *Bettelleute* (cadgers), one of whom, a pink-wigged man-woman, danced on the table and shook a coin purse in our faces. The mummers then joined us around the table to socialize. Only one *Klaubauf* came in — the son of the householders. A small, fluid group of *Klaubaife* clustered under the kitchen window, drinking and chatting with the ladies of the house, who stood at the ready, asking them what they would like and handing food and drinks down to them. ‘Are they placing their drink orders?’ I asked my hostess, thinking I was making a joke. ‘Oh, no!’ she replied, aghast. ‘We do this voluntarily!’

After observing the women’s technique, I leaned out the window and attempted to strike up a conversation with the *Klaubaife*. The son had given up for the night and had his companions lower him onto his back spread-eagled so they could untie his belt and release him from his costume.<sup>32</sup> A teenage *Klaubauf* was standing in the snow about a meter below me, very drunk. Although he was swaying on his legs, he gazed at me steadily, waiting for me to speak. I asked if he wanted anything else to eat. ‘Come out here,’ he said with the placid composure which incredibly drunk people sometimes achieve. ‘No, I don’t think I should do that,’ I replied, laughing a little too brightly. ‘If anyone comes out there, you’ll throw them over your shoulder.’ ‘Come out here and I’ll throw *you* over my shoulder,’ he said.

The young women in the group invited me to accompany them to the town square for the main event, but I was unable to scale the steep snowbanks in the dark, and could not keep up with them. Shortly thereafter, the father of the family walked me back to my guesthouse, steering us uphill to the outskirts of the village to avoid attracting the attention of the *Klaubaife*, who were roaming the streets in packs, waiting for their midnight throw-down to begin. Along the way, I saw several strong-looking men slip out of sight at the sound of the bells, flattening themselves against walls and hiding in the shadows.

Later conversations with the women revealed how much they cherish the custom. They explained that they wear multiple, mismatched layers of old, ugly clothes they would not mind having torn to shreds by the *Klaubaife* (clothes from the 1970s are ideal). They look ridiculous, but that is part of the fun; in a way, they get to dress up, too. One said that every year, people pour into the hospital the following day to be treated for serious folklore-related injuries, but no one in Matriei ever tells the doctors what really happened. Echoing the clichéd excuses associated with victims of domestic abuse, she said, ‘We just say we fell down the stairs, or walked into a door. If we told anyone how we got hurt, they might put a stop to it, and we *love* the *Klaubaife*! We want to keep the custom going.’

### **I12. After the Altenmarkt *Perchtenlauf***

#### **Altenmarkt (Pongau), Salzburg, Jan. 5, 2003**

At Altenmarkt in 2005, the procession stalled by the firehouse near the end of the route. One *Håbergoaß* — a clacking-jaw goat figure operated by a single man standing upright — came up behind another paused in front of him (a four-legged *Håbergoaß* occupied by two men), and decided to use the break in momentum to improvise a brief vignette, bumping his hips against the bottom of the four-legged *Håbergoaß*, which elicited a lot of laughter from the bystanders (there were relatively few of us, as we were near the end of the parade route) and the other mummers. It may be that the *Håbergoaß* felt free to take a chance with this risqué improvisation because there were so few of us watching.

At the 2005 Goldegg *Perchtenlauf*, there was another great *Håbergoaß* experience to be had. A cluster of little boys watched, breathless with excitement, as the *Håbergoaß* (there it was a two-man costume) lifted its tail and dropped a potato out onto the frozen ground. On the train after the Altenmarkt *Perchtenlauf*, a trio of elderly men in *Trachten*, so drunk they could barely stand, noticed the black smudges on my cheek left by the blacksmith figure in the procession and converged on me, smearing the soot all over my face; one even pulled a pencil out of his pocket and, using his free hand to brace himself on my shoulder, tried to erase it without success. The black smudges (particularly amusing on a foreigner) continued to inspire flirtatious and mischievous reactions for the rest of the night, people exclaiming, ‘*Schornsteinfeger!* [Chimney sweep!]’ and ‘*Perchten!*’ and laughing uproariously. Fun, fun, fun.

### **I13. The St. Johann im Pongau *Perchtenlauf***

#### **St. Johann im Pongau, Salzburg, Jan. 6, 2005**

At the 2006 *Perchtenlauf* in St. Johann im Pongau, a chimney sweep (one of the many figures who accompany the *Perchten* there) stopped to engage me in conversation during the *Perchtenlauf*. My German was nowhere near good enough to deal with this. I could only

understand a few words; I was reduced to saying over and over, ‘*Ich verstehe nicht.*’ After repeated efforts to get through to me, the chimney-sweep got pretty frustrated and said, ‘*Doch, du verstehst schon!*’ As it turned out, he was just trying to get me to accept a shot glass of schnaps to toast the New Year, which he was periodically offering to people along the parade route.

One *Hexe* paused in front of me, stared at me, and finally tweaked my nose with a high-pitched, chattering sound. The *Perchten* do that a lot in the parades, I’ve noticed, stopping and studying people, giving a chance for tension to build and onlookers to become unsettled. Then they act suddenly, whipping or tweaking or rubbing your hair, just when you’ve gotten used to their stillness. When a *Percht* paused in front of me at one point, after a few moments I found myself searching for the eyes of the young man inside the mouth of the *Percht*, but found I felt even more nervous and anxious about meeting them. Avoiding his eyes, I finally felt his slap of his horse-hair whisk on the back of my calves. This was eerie, disorienting and beautiful. It really did feel like time stopped while that was happening.

After the procession, the streets were littered with horse poop, wood shavings, and the odd sausage. Zydeco music played at the beer and *Bosna* (sausage) booth, which had prices listed on a chalkboard with a colored chalk picture of a *Schiachpercht*. (Nice to get a little Cajun energy in there. It seemed very appropriate.) Little yellow *Perchtenlauf* stickers sold to onlookers (to defray expenses, I think) had been stamped into the snowy sidewalks.

#### **I14. *Perchtentreffen* at Pullman City**

**A *Perchtenlauf* at Pullman City, a Wild West theme park in Eging am See near**

**Passau, Bavaria, Dec. 26, 2006**

I had joined the queue for meter-long sausages after the conclusion of the *Perchtentreffen* in Pullman City when I spied an elegant elderly lady, dressed in long fur coat and fedora, settling herself on a low bench nearby. An especially imposing-looking *Krampus* (resembling a *Star Trek* Klingon with improbably long, curving horns, tall to begin with and made even taller by platform shoes) swaggered up to the bench, sat down behind the lady, and began growling and pawing her while she attempted to navigate the meter-long sausage into her mouth. Much to my surprise, she let the *Krampus* (who could easily have been her grandson) keep pawing her while she giggled and tried not to drop the sausage.

#### **I15. House-Visiting with the *Schnabelperchten***

**Rauris (Pinzgau), Salzburg, Jan. 5, 2003**



On January 5, I followed the *Schnabelperchten* on their rounds through the town. There were perhaps a dozen people waiting in front of one of the buildings on the main street (listed as their first stop on the photocopied map of their route provided by the tourist office; see Figs. 108-109). The *Schnabelperchten* announced their coming with the low, eerie, droning sound they make — ‘Cawww ... caw, caw’ — which sounded peculiarly like Gregorian chant from behind the closed door, although over the course of the evening it sounded more and more like a recording of chickens clucking, played back at half-speed to make it slower and deeper. Six *Schnabelperchten* then emerged, accompanied by an elderly man in who guided them and helped them with the practical problems created by their costume (their masks seemed to need constant adjusting; one had me hold his broom while he adjusted his). They have white, cloth-covered conical beaks covering their whole faces (they have no eyes!), reminiscent of the plague doctor masks and even more of the blue bird-demon carrying off a man in a basket in that Bosch painting. [Note: this is “The Last Judgement (Altarpiece): Detail of the Dagger” by Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1500.] The costumes are like those worn by the witches (*Hexen*) in many of the *Perchten* processions. Holding on the masks are headscarves tied under their chins, ratty patched skirts, aprons and vests worn over men’s plaid flannel shirts, long underwear, and what looked like legwarmers (but were probably thick woolen socks) worn on their arms.

They carry brooms (with which to sweep houses and pubs) and enormous wooden scissors with which to playfully slice at their victims, a remnant of Perchta’s grim belly-slitting duties. Their feet were clad in enormous plaited-straw slippers on which they half-walked, half-skated, sliding with confidence down snow banks in the dark with their arms out for balance, sort of like they’re surfing, which is cute. Technically, they may have been skiing. Technically, they may have been ski instructors; ski tourism is the main industry in Rauris. I followed at a distance, moving with the exaggerated caution of one unaccustomed to snow and ice, creeping down steep paths or (much to my embarrassment) sliding down on my bottom. So much for professional self-presentation. Later I shared this anecdote with a Styrian friend, who said they refer to that method of transportation as “*Arschfahren*” — “ass-travelling”.

What they do then is enter the houses and restaurants — they even went into a ski wear shop, which must have been surreal — and walk around sweeping, inspecting for dirt; if they find it, they slice open the bellies of the bad housekeeper with their giant scissors. Or so they say; they really just walk around cawing and sweeping while people sit there grinning, sometimes extending their giant scissors as if they’re going to slice somebody. I got sliced and poked a few times, rather good-naturedly, I thought. They slice or poke

children, too; all very gently, of course. Along the way they stop for *Glühwein* and beer at outdoor stands, and they're served refreshments in the houses they visit as well. When I asked what the house visits were about for him — why he enjoyed them — the young man grinned and said, '*Das ist irre!* [It's crazy!]' He said he liked freaking out the little kids, though in a playful, teasing way, clearly. That was the tone overall of their house visits; there was a playful, comical, tongue-in-cheek quality to it all. The slicing with the scissors was also cursory; one tourist watching them on the main street when they came out of their headquarters at the start got sliced in the belly, sort of, but it just made people laugh; it's kind of cute.

There was a toddler in one of the houses I visited with them, and she was sitting on her mom's lap on the bench behind the kitchen table, safe in her embrace (and with the table between them and the *Schnabelperchten*). When it was time to go, the last one reached across the table and grabbed her hand, pulling gently like he was going to take her with him, but she resisted, so he stopped. When he came for me with the scissors, I leaned forward and bared my throat to make it easier for him (I don't know why I did that; I guess it was what was closest, though the neck is not the traditional slicing place). Anyway, I didn't laugh or do anything too disruptive, or so I hoped; I was trying to improvise appropriately, but the truth is that I didn't know the ropes and hadn't observed others reacting enough yet to know quite how to act under the circumstances. It didn't seem to be terrible or break the momentum or energy at all, but I was still aware that it was wrong or at least a little weird, and drew too much attention to myself for that reason. Or so I thought.

Later while accompanying them between farmhouses, I asked the one really young (teenage?) one why he did it, what he liked about it (he was the only one who spoke enough English to be comfortable talking to me, so he had been dispatched to answer my questions by the group leader, the older man who was leading them around, helping with their compromised visibility, possibly, and adjusting their slipping headkerchieves periodically to keep their beak masks on. At one point one *Schnabelpercht* silently handed me his broom to hold while he adjusted his.

## **I16. Mühlbach am Hochkönig *Perchtenlauf* (Multiple Groups)**

### **Mühlbach am Hochkönig, Salzburg, Jan. 3, 2003**

At the Mühlbach am Hochkönig *Perchtenlauf* (this was a village in the hills, about a twenty-minute bus ride from the Bischofshofen train station): They started at 19:45 (darkness had fallen, "*bei der Einbruch der Dunkelheit*", around 17:00). The streets were mobbed with people, lining the main street as if for a parade. In keeping with that atmosphere, there were food and drink (mostly beer!) booths set up. I ordered a sausage. It

fell out of my pocket onto the street, so I didn't eat it (prudence). People working the booths and walking the streets with the orange-suited Mühlbach firemen and the chartreuse-vested security guards (who later functioned as Whifflers, clearing the streets, keeping the crowds back) wore weatherbeaters with the logos and names of various *Perchten* teams on the back. Some of them (and several young women and one man, who did not all appear to be working for one of the booths or teams, though they may all have been) wore "devil horns" that light up (one of the Halloween headbands that have become popular in recent years). I asked for a *Perchten* poster advertising the event, and a lady working the sausage booth gave it to me free. A DJ on a veranda over the main street blasted stupid pop music, some British and American and some in German, and a few older tunes, including one by Credence Clearwater. A couple of girls wearing the devil horn headbands walked around selling clothespins from a basket. They seemed to have a red button and something written on them. A number of the boys (teens and little ones) had ski caps with fake fur tufts sticking out the top, as if it were their hair sticking out over the top of their headbands (red, dark blue, and platinum blond; one had a pink Mohawk atop his gray ski cap). People sang along with the music: 'Hey, baby, I wanna know ... will you be my girl? (Hoo! Ha!)' Then the parade began. For the second *Perchten* group processing out, the DJ played some cheesy, awful song — "The Girl's Got Rhythm". I don't even have the heart to look it up. At the start of the parade, fireworks — little colored starbursts — exploded in the night sky in the distance. The cheesy MC announced the names of the groups (regional teams) over the top of equally cheesy Top 40, disco, pop and bad 80s hard rock (sounded like watered-down AC/DC). He played the choral version of Metallica's "Nothing Else Matters" at the top of the street as the first *Perchten* appeared, dragging an old-fashioned cart (wooden?) in their midst, led by three sweeping *Perchten*. There were many children among these *Perchten* overall, and this first group had a big one in the cart, covered by a blanket. He rose up and at his command (a gesture) the little *Percht* began beating people's legs with their whisks. A little unmasked *Hexe* with a very serious expression brushed my feet with her broom, and one of the little *Perchten* got me with his whisk, raising a cloud of dust. This was typical *Perchten* behavior, as I was soon to see: flicking people's shins with their whisks, which were mostly like horse tails, but one looked more like a cow's tail, and one which hit me felt more like a whip! Some were pretty aggressive, but others patted children's heads gently or rolled at their feet.

Soft fur! Some grabbed me by the shoulders, a few rubbed my hair, some bumped into each other. One growled at me and pulled my cap down over my eyes. *Perchten* Whifflers [*Ordner*] seemed to mind *Perchten*, too. They grabbed girls in general and whirled them around, pulling down people's hats and rubbing their heads, throwing

sawdust/wood shavings. They'd fling themselves on the ground at the feet of a child and roll around in the dust. Two rolled around on top of each other. I saw a few flaming cauldrons dragged down the street on chains. One *Percht* had a live baby in his back-basket! There were red and green highway flares lit along the street among the pyrotechnic special effects.

Often there were three *Hexen*, walking in front. Some of the *Hexen* that appeared that night were of the "Babushka" type: old women with long noses, headkerchieves, and cardigan sweaters over a humped back, some with false breasts and patched skirts, while others were more along the lines of the traditional Halloween witch with pointed black hats. All had brooms (short-handled; I noticed they were the soft-straw type, not typical modern brooms with stiff broom straw). Except for one girl in the first group, I think all had masks. Once they had run down the street, a number of the *Perchten* took their heads off and walked around. I saw one woman was a *Percht* and another a *Hexe*, and one little girl was a little *Percht*. Maintaining anonymity here is not an issue like it is in some mumming customs, like the janneys in Newfoundland, where there is a guessing-game component (that's a different context, though, being a house visit). At one point during the parade, I put my sweater hood up over my blue cap, and a man paused in front of me with a smile on his face and made the sign of the cross. (Later, getting off the train in Salzburg, an old man said something to me in German and I said, 'Sprechen Sie Englisch?' and he crossed himself. At that point, however, I was covered with sawdust which the *Perchten* had thrown on me, which made the woman working at the train station pizzeria laugh. I said, 'Perchten threw it on us,' and she seemed to understand.)

### **I17. Ruperti-Perchten e. V. Ainring: *Krampuskränzchen***

**At the Wienerwald restaurant in Altötting, Bavaria, Dec. 11, 2005**

When I spoke with Hansi and Klaus Mehlig of the Ruperti-Perchten e. V. Ainring after their *Krampuskränzchen* in Altötting, Bavaria, I conducted an informal interview which (being unplanned) I transcribed afterwards from memory. I then emailed them with my recollections of their answers with the request that they review them and make sure I had recorded their responses accurately (hoping like Elaine Lawless<sup>1026</sup> to get their 'interpretations of my interpretations', though these weren't interpretations so much as confirming my basic understanding of what they had said), and add anything they wanted.

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<sup>1026</sup> Lawless.

1. Warum sind Sie Krampusse? (Was gefällt Ihnen am Brauch so besonders? Was am Krampusbrauch ist für Sie selbst besondere wichtig und interessant?) Für Brauchtum zu pflegen', als Sie auf der Website schreiben?

**Klaus and Hansi:** So it's not lost (*verloren*). They want to preserve and perpetuate the tradition, but not just that; they also want to direct it in the right direction/preserve it in the correct form.

**Klaus adds:** In Austria it's not presented correctly. *Krampusse* and *Perchten* are confused with each other and mixed up together. In Austria everything is "*Perchten, Perchten*"; the distinctions aren't apparent. It's all mixed up together and designated as (*bezeichnet als*) "*Perchten*".

2. Was ist den Unterschied zwischen Krampusse und Perchten? Wie sollten Krampusse aussehen und auführen? Unterschiedlich als Perchten?

**Klaus:** The difference between *Krampusse* and *Perchten* is not only in function (as explained on website: my note), but in appearance and behavior as well. *Perchten* have more horns (four to six?) and don't hit people (no *Ruten*) — *es SOLL sein*. The *Perchten* help people, not punish. *Krampus* is a *strafende Figur*. *Er verkörpert das Böse*.

3. Wer ist dieser Krampus, diese alte Figur der noch so relevant ist?

**Hansi:** Repeating much the same definition from the previous answer given to the question, what is difference between *Perchten* and *Krampusse* (for which they gave definitions), Hansi said, '*Er verkörpert das Böse, und ist der Begleiter von Nikolaus.*'

4. I know you explained on the website that *Perchten* and *Krampusse* have different *Funktionen*, but often their behavior and appearance seem similar to me in the *Umzüge* I have seen, so I'm confused. *Auf der Website werden die verschiedene Funktionen der Perchten und Krampusse erklärt. Aber es erscheint mir, dass sie siehr ähnlich aufführen — zum Beispiel, die junge Frauen packen und mit Ruten schlagen und mit den Kindern spielen, usw.) Aber ist es so? Gibt es Benehmensunterschiede?*

*Auf der Website sagen Sie über Fra Perchta: 'Diese (Wintergeister wie Frau Perchta) wollten die Perchtenläufer mit möglichen grausigen Masken, lauten Glockengeläut und wilden Tänzen vertreiben, nicht aber mit bestrafendem Schlagen.' Ist das der Benehmensunterschied — die Perchten schlagen man nicht? Is their appearance and behavior the same?*

**Klaus:** *Es SOLLTE nicht sein.* They explained that in addition to behavior (*Perchten* not hitting with *Ruten*), the appearance is different, or it should be.

5. *Auf Ihrer Website sprechen Sie einein bisschen über den schlechten Ruf, der die Perchten und Krampusbräuche bekommen haben: 'Leider hat sich bei vielen eine Abneigung gegen Krampusse und Perchten eingestellt, da der Brauchtum oft missbraucht wird, den viele wissen nicht mehr, wie diesen doch schöne und für den Winter so typische Brauch entstanden ist.' Könnten Sie mir Beschreibungen oder Beispiele von Missbrauch des Brauches eben? Woher stammt/kommt dieser schlechte Ruf genau? Was wehen Sie als Missbrauch — was geht zu weit? Zu viel mit Ruten zu schlagen?*

**Klaus:** Appearance of *Krampusse* is often too modern; the faces are often too *menschlich* (human-looking).

**Hansi:** *Heutzutage sind moderne Begriffe von Angst in Krampusmasken dargestellt* (depicted); the influence is from *Harry Potter* (he mentioned *Harry Potter* several times) or *Der Herr der Ringe* (*Horrorfilme?* I asked), *usw.* These too-modern representations of fear, too-modern masks are '*den falsche Weg* [the wrong way]'. (He said this phrase rather emphatically several times.)

**Klaus:** 'Our masks are more in keeping with the older-style masks, although they are of course somewhat (*etwa*) more modern,' he conceded. The older masks were also depictions of images of fear, but not so extreme as now.

One thing that I remember that didn't make it into this list of questions and answers: I commented on their energetic pursuit and grabbing of the young waitresses and asked what that was like for them, and Hansi grinned and said yes, it's fun and exciting flirting with them and carrying on knowing that, while they won't know who he is (was) while interacting with him afterwards (once he's unmasked), he secretly knows he shared this strange sort of intimacy with them. The secret of it is part of the fun.

### **I18. Faistenauer Krampusse: Pub Visit with St. Nikolaus Faistenau, Salzburg, Dec. 7, 2005**

Upon meeting the Faistenauer Krampusse before setting out on their rounds, they brought me into the garage of an apartment building which they were using as a changing room. The space was filled with masks (balanced upright on the floor on their curving horns) and pelts, and they encouraged me to take photographs of their gear while they were effecting their transformation. While I photographed them and their gear at various stages of transfiguration and the men gradually disappeared into the devil suits, they pointed out

particular elements they admired and wanted me to notice as well: fine details of the mask-carving, bringing grimaces and snarls to life, gloves with claws made of tiny antelope horns, and the wide green suspenders holding up their goatskin trousers.

Although the Faistenauer Krampusse are now older and well-established, the acquisition and maintenance of masks and other gear is still a primary concern, having evolved into a source of ongoing pleasure and interest; one, for example, expressed particular admiration for the mask-maker's art and told me he has a new mask commissioned each year. One guy showed me his special shoe-covers (spats!), which had a curving horn on the toe, like a rhinoceros horn, and black goat fur brushed over it so you can't see the shoe underneath. We packed into several cars and drove to sites that were too far apart to walk to (pubs).

I rode with Nikolaus and another guy. Standing outside the pub they were about to enter with St. Nikolaus, the leader, Josef (then unmasked), showed me his cow's tail *Rute* and explained that they're the most painful. He was kind of quiet and soft-spoken, so between that and my lack of fluency, it was kind of difficult. I continued to ask him questions about the switches, but after he put on his *Krampus* mask he stopped speaking to me and just stood there before me. The next time I said something he lashed out lightning-fast at my legs with the cow's tail. He was right; it hurt. More of a stinging pop than the softer, swishier horse tails.

## Appendix J: Interview Questions

1. Wie ist Ihr Name, Alter, Beruf, und Rolle in der Gruppe? Woher kommen Sie ursprünglich, und wo wohnen Sie jetzt? Wann sind Sie ein Perchtenläufer geworden?
- (2. Wie würden Sie sich beschreiben? Was sind Ihre anderen Interessen und Hobbys?)
3. Wer sind die Perchten/Krampusse — was sind sie? Was genau ist ein Percht/Krampus? (Was ist die singulare Form von Perchten — Sie sind eine Percht?)
4. Haben Sie schon einmal von Frau Perchta gehört? \*Wenn nein, gibt es (noch andere) sagenhafte und magische Figuren, die im Winter erscheinen?\* Was können Sie mir über sie erzählen? Kennen Sie Erzählungen oder Märchen über sie erzählen? Wenn ja, wann und von wem haben Sie diese ursprünglich gehört?
5. Gibt es eine Verbindung zwischen Frau Perchta und den Perchten? Wenn ja, wie würden Sie diese Verbindung beschreiben? Welche Rolle spielt die Perchta im Perchtenbrauch? Bitte erzählen Sie mir über die Hexen, die den Perchtenlauf begleiten. Was ist ihre Rolle beim Perchtenlauf? Haben Sie Frau Perchta als Perchtenfigur in Ihrer Gruppe? Wie haben Sie entschieden, wie ihre Maske aussehen soll?
6. Wie würden Sie den Perchtenlauf/Krampuslauf beschreiben? Was ist das genau? Was passiert während eines Perchtenlaufes/Krampuslaufes?
- (7. Wie reagieren die Zuschauer normalerweise auf Ihre Umzüge? Welche Reaktionen gefallen Ihnen am meisten? Wie würden Sie einen besonders guten Auftritt beschreiben? Benehmen Sie sich unterschiedlich vor verschiedenen Zuschauern; zum Beispiel, mit Kindern, jungen Frauen, Bekannten, Menschen mit Kameras, usw.? Was passiert, wenn die Perchten die Zuschauer mit (Pferdeschwänzen oder Birken(?)ruten) Ruten schlagen, Mädchen packen und drehen, mit der Kindern spielen, usw.?)
8. Wie soll ein Percht/Krampus aussehen? Welche Gestalten erscheinen in Ihren Umzügen — Korbträger, Perchten, Tod, Hexen, usw.? Wie haben Sie entschieden, welche Gestalten aufgenommen werden? [Note: *aufnehmen* = to include in a group]



9. Welche Arten der Krampus-/Perchtenauftritte gibt es (heutzutage): Hausbesuche, öffentliche Umzüge in Ihrer Gemeinde, kollektive Umzüge und Perchtenshows (bitte definieren), Krampuskränzchen, Christkindmärkte, Diskopartys, Schauspiele, Maskenausstellungen, Schulveranstaltungen, usw.? Bitte beschreiben Sie diese. Was macht einen Krampus-/Perchtenauftritt gut, erfolgreich, interessant? Was passiert in diesen verschiedenen Situationen? Wie bereiten Sie sich darauf vor?

10. Wenn Sie Hausbesuche machen, wen besuchen Sie? Sind diese Menschen immer Bekannte, oder können Sie \*auch\* Unbekannte sein? Wie sehen Hausbesuche aus? Im Fall von großen Umzügen, sind die Zuschauer Touristen, Einheimische, oder eine Mischung davon?

11. \*Spielt der Tourismus eine Rolle in Ihrem Brauch überall? Was ist Ihre Meinung nach?\*

12. Könnten Sie mir die Geschichte der Tradition beschreiben? Ist Ihre Gruppe die erste hier? Was denken die Leute in Ihrer Umgebung wohl über den Brauch—bekommt der Brauch traditionell die Unterstützung von Menschen in diesem Gebiet? \*Wie alt ist der Brauch in dieser Region, und überall, glauben Sie?\*

(13. Wie würden Sie Ihre Einheimischen beschreiben? Sehen Sie sich selbst als Einheimischen, oder gut integriert?)

14. Wo sind Ihre Umzüge — wo finden sie statt? (Könnten Sie Ihren Laufweg auf diesem Stadtplan zeigen?) Fahren Sie in andere Städte und Dörfer, um Perchtenläufe zu machen? Wie weit reisen Sie außerhalb Ihrer Gemeinde, um den Perchtenlauf zu machen?

(15. Was denken Ihre Freunde und Familie über \*Ihren Perchtenlaufen\*? Sind oder waren Mitglieder Ihrer Familie oder Freunde selbst Perchtenläufer?)

16. Ich habe bemerkt, dass es viele große kollektive Krampus- und Perchtenläufe mit vielen Pässen und Perchtengruppen gibt. Nehmen Sie an solche großen Läufe teil? Haben Sie solch einen Lauf selbst organisiert? Wie sind diese geplant? Gibt es auch große Afterpartys? Wenn ja, könnten Sie diese beschreiben? Denken Sie, dass Perchtengruppen (,durch solche Kontakte und Zusammenarbeiten,) einen Einfluss auf einander haben? Wenn ja, beschreiben Sie das.

17. Was ist ein Krampus? Bitte erzählen Sie mir ein bisschen über den Krampus und den Nikolaus. Haben Sie auch an diesem Brauch teilgenommen? Bitte beschreiben Sie das.

18. Gibt es eine Verbindung zwischen Krampusse und Perchten, Krampusläufe und Perchtenläufe? Es erscheint mir, dass es viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen diese Bräuchen gibt — oder sind diese Traditionen wirklich getrennt? Was sind die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede, und was ist der Unterschied zwischen Perchten, Teufeln, und Krampusen?

(19. Spielt der Krampus- und Nikolausbrauch (\*noch\*) eine Rolle in der Kindererziehung? Könnten Sie das beschreiben? Spielt der Perchtenlauf auch eine Rolle im Leben der Kinder, oder soll er das tun? Warum (ist es wichtig, dass die Kinder den Perchtenbrauch erleben)? Haben Sie selbst als Kind den Perchtenbrauch (und/oder der Krampus-Nikolausbrauch) kennengelernt? Könnten Sie Ihre Kindheitserinnerungen beschreiben?)

(20. Gibt es Kinderschreckfiguren an die Sie sich aus Ihrer Kindheit erinnern? Wie heißen sie? Könnten Sie mir etwas über diese erzählen? Haben Sie selbst Kinder? Wenn ja, kennen sie diese Kinderschreckfiguren auch (aus Märchen, \*gesprochene\* Erzählungen, usw.)? Oder gibt es neue Kinderschreckfiguren? Glauben Sie, dass die Kinderschreckfiguren eine spezielle Rolle in der Erziehung spielen? Sehen Sie Perchten, Frau Perchta, oder den Krampus als Kinderschreckfiguren? Was denken Ihre Kinder über den Perchtenbrauch?)

(21. Welche Rolle spielt der Perchtenlauf in der Wintersaison (Ihrer Meinung nach)?)

22. Verwenden Sie den Name Rauhnächte oder Rachnächte? Was bedeutet dieser Name? Wie würden Sie die sogenannten Rauhnächten definieren? Wann finden diese statt? Welche sind die wichtigste? Macht man etwas spezielles in dieser Zeit?

(23. Wie werden die anderen Winterfeiertagen in Ihrer Region gefeiert (Krampustag, Nikolaustag, Heiligabend, Weihnacht, Silvester, und Dreikönig)? Was machen Sie und Ihre Familie während dieser Zeit (Dezember und Jänner)?)

24. Welche Namen verwenden Sie für den fünften und sechsten Jänner (zum Beispiel, Perchtentag oder Dreikönigstag)? Was passiert am Dreikönig und Dreikönigsabend bei Ihnen (in Ihrer Familie und auch allgemein in Ihrer Region)?

(25. Hat Fasching Ihre Meinung nach etwas mit diesen anderen Winterfeiertagen zu tun, oder ist das etwas wirklich Anderes? Wie wird Fasching in Ihrer Region gefeiert, und was passiert zwischen Dreikönig und Fasching? Wann fängt Fasching an — am 11. November, oder kurz bevor Aschermittwoch?)

26. Warum sind Sie ein Percht/Krampus? Was gefällt Ihnen am Brauch so besonders? Was am Krampus-/Perchtenbrauch ist für Sie selbst besonders wichtig und interessant? (Welche Rolle spielt der Brauch in Ihrem Leben? [Don't ask; this question would be answered by the previous one.])

27. Wie fühlen Sie sich, wenn Sie sich als Percht maskieren? Wie fühlen Sie sich während Ihrer Auftrittsvorbereitungen? Könnten Sie diese Erfahrungen, dieses Gefühl, beschreiben?  
\*Was ist die Stimmung eines Perchtauftrittes?\*

28. Könnten Sie mir bitte etwas über die Geschichte Ihrer Tradition erzählen? Wie alt ist diese Tradition überhaupt? Wie haben Sie ursprünglich über den Perchtenbrauch gelernt?

29. Wie würden Sie „Tradition“ und „traditionell“ definieren? Gibt es Aspekte des Brauches, die Sie als „traditionell“ und „nicht traditionell“ sehen, und warum? (Was ist Ihre Meinung zu neuen Stoffen und Techniken wie beziehungsweise Gummimasken und Handschuhe, blaue und rote Laseraugen, usw.?) Wann ist es entsprechend, den Brauch zu ändern? Was macht einen Brauch authentisch?

(30. Es erscheint mir, dass der Perchtenbrauch sehr beliebt ist. Finden Sie das auch? Ist er beliebter in einigen Dorfgemeinschaften als in anderen? Warum? Welche Rolle spielt er im Leben dieser Leute?)

31. Wie haben Sie ursprünglich diese Perchtengruppe und den Perchtenbrauch überhaupt entdeckt? Wie sind Sie ein Mitglied geworden?

32. Könnten Sie bitte Ihre Perchtengruppe beschreiben? Wie sieht die Organisation aus? Wie viele Mitglieder haben Sie und welche sind ihre Rollen in der Gruppe (administrative sowohl wie als Perchtenläufer; zum Beispiel, Kassier, Obmann, Websiteentwerfer, usw.)? Gibt es Mitglieder, die nicht als Perchten laufen? Was machen sie? (Sind sie Helfer?)

33. Wie finden Sie Ihre Gruppenmitglieder? (Gibt es einen typischen Perchtenläufer,

typische Eigenschaften usw.?) Gibt es wichtige oder typische Eigenschaften für Mitglieder, zum Beispiel, hinsichtlich des Alters, Geschlechts, Wohnorts, usw.?

34. Welche Namen verwenden Sie für Ihre Gruppe: Pass (plural ist Passen? Der oder das Pass?), Verein, Perchtengruppe?

35. Bitte beschreiben Sie mir ein typisches Jahr im Leben einer Perchtengruppe. Was passiert zwischen den Läufen und was machen Sie in der Perchtensaison? Wie bereiten Sie sich für die Wintersaison vor? Machen Sie neue Wagen und andere Ausrüstung, und vielleicht neue Masken und Kostüme? Treffen Sie sich um Auftritte zu planen, usw.?

(36. Wie planen Sie Ihre Auftritte? Arbeiten Sie manchmal mit Ihrem Tourismusbüro oder anderen Menschen zusammen? Wie erfahren andere von Ihren Auftritte — von Termine auf Ihre Website, Plakate, usw.? (Wie machen Sie Publicity?))

37. Bestellt man Ihre Gruppe für Auftritte, oder stellen Sie sich vor (zum Beispiel, wie bücht man einen Hausbesuch vom Nikolaus)?

38. Ich habe bemerkt, dass viele Perchtengruppen sich bei ihrer Sponsors auf ihrer Websites bedanken. Wie bekommt eine Perchtengruppe Unterstützung von einer Firma? (Was sind die typischen Kosten einer Perchtengruppe: zum Beispiel, Reisen, Masken, Kostüme und Ausrüstung, Security bestellen, Versicherung, oder Websitekosten)? Wie bezahlen die Mitglieder für Masken usw.?

39. Wie gründet man eine Perchtengruppe/Was muss man tun, um eine Perchtengruppe zu gründen? Was haben Sie Ihre Gruppe gegründet?

40. Wie bekommen Sie Ihre Masken, Kostüme, und Ausrüstung wie Schellen oder Glöckeln, Ruten (Pferde- oder Kuheschwänzen, oder aus Holz?), Wagen, Pyrotechnik, Hörner und Felle, usw.? Welche Arten der Ausrüstung benützen Sie? Stellen Sie diese selbst her oder gibt es Artikel, die Sie kaufen — bestellen Sie einen Maskenschnitzer, zum Beispiel? Wie ist eine Perchtenmaske gemacht? Wie ist ein Perchtenkostüm gemacht (was sind die technische Einzelheiten)? (Machen oder kaufen Sie ab und zu neue Masken? Warum?)

41. Hat Ihre Gruppe einen gewissen Charakter oder Persönlichkeit? Wie würden Sie diesen

beschreiben, und wie hat er sich entwickelt? Wie hat sich den Aussehen und Gefühl Ihrer Gruppe entwickelt, die auf Ihrer Website und in Ihrer Auftritte ausgedrückt wird? Wie entscheidet Ihre Gruppe, wie Sie sich in Auftritte vorlegen sollen (Musik, Wagen, Drama oder Choreografie, usw.), und wie sollen Ihre Masken aussehen? Gibt es gewisse Einflüsse auf dem Entwurf Ihrer Masken (zum Beispiel, von Horrorfilme, der Science-fiction, Bilder aus alten Perchtenmasken, Teufelsdarstellungen, „Role-playing games“ (Rollenspiele?), usw.)?

42. Welche Rolle spielt die Technik in Ihrer Gruppe und in dem Brauch überhaupt? Finden Sie Technik wichtig? Welche Medien benützen Sie (Multimedia auf der Website, Fotografie, Video, usw.)? Macht Ihre Gruppe Fotoshootings? Wie sind diese geplant (visuelle Begriffe, usw.), und wie werden diese Fotos verwendet (Tourismus, Publicity, auf der Website, usw.)? Fotografieren oder filmen Sie Ihre Auftritte selbst?

43. Benützen Sie Pyrotechnik? Welche (Fackeln, Feuerwerke, usw.) und wann (in welche Auftritte — große Perchtenshows, oder...)? Woher kommen diese und wie werden sie verwendet?

44. Was macht eine gute Perchtenwebsite Ihrer Meinung nach (aus)? Welchen Inhalt soll eine Perchtensite haben und was soll über die Gruppe und den Brauch zu vermittelt wird? Was ist die Funktion Ihrer Gruppewebsite und der Perchtenwebsites allgemein? Wer schaut Ihre Website, glauben Sie — für wen war sie gemacht?

45. Wie verwenden Sie das Internet für den Brauch? Sprechen Sie mit anderen Perchten in solcher Webforums wie Krampusmania, Teufelskreis, Perchten.at, usw.? (Laden Sie andere Gruppen zu gemeinsamen Auftritten ein (mit Gästebücher oder E-mail)?) Teilen Sie Banner/Links mit anderen Gruppen, kaufen oder verkaufen Sie Masken und Ausrüstung auf Perchtenwebsites? Verkauft Ihre Gruppe solche Artikel wie Jacken, Videos, usw. auf Ihrer Website oder bei Auftritten?

46. Was sind Ihre Ziele und Hoffnungen für den Perchtenbrauch? Wie wird es in (der?) Zukunft sein? (Wird er gleich bleiben, oder wird er sich verändern?) Gibt es bereits Veränderungen (new developments)?

47. Gibt es noch etwas, das Sie diskutieren oder erklären möchten? Haben Sie Fragen an mich? Vielen Dank!

## Appendix K: Interview Transcript: Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana

**Interview with Robert and Anni Faller, the Fallers' teenage son, and Elisabeth Rainer.**

**Conducted in the home of Robert and Anni Faller, Golling, Salzburg, Jan. 7, 2005.**

**Interviewed by Molly Carter. Transcribed and translated by Sarina Stützer.**

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### Transcription

[*Hintergrundgeräusche, dumpfes Sprechen*]

**Carter:** Da bin ich noch einmal, es ist sehr langsam, aber es geht jetzt.

**R. Faller:** Das ist, was wir gemacht haben. [*Sie schauen Carter ihrer Chronik*]<sup>1027</sup>

**Carter:** Okay! Das ist ganz interessant. Interessant ist auch für Leser, dass Sie diese *Chronik* haben, entwickelt, es ist wunderbar, interessant für mich, auch das man findet das relativ selten.

**A. Faller:** So detailgetreu [...].

[*Gemurmel*]

**Carter:** Oh wow, ja!

**A. Faller:** Es ist perfekt.

[*Gemurmel*]

**Carter:** Ah ja. [*Musik*] Dieses Spiel, es ist nur ein Spiel Perchtenspiel in Golling [...].

**A. Faller:** Winter- und Sommerspiel. Und meine Mutter, wie sie ein kleines Kind war, hat uns immer, meiner Tochter und mir, erzählt, dass da zu ihnen nach Hause zwei Gestalten gekommen sind. Der eine hatte einen Pelz an, und der andere war weiß angezogen und hatte einen kleinen Baum mit, mit Bändern dran, und einen Strohhut. Das hat sie uns immer erzählt. Und die Elisabeth hat sich von Karl Adrian<sup>1028</sup> einmal ein Buch gekauft, und da war das genau dokumentiert. Das waren die Alten von Hallein, die alten Schindleute, und die sind im Winter sozusagen betteln gegangen und haben dieses Spiel aufgeführt und haben

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<sup>1027</sup> Faller.

<sup>1028</sup> The play text is in Adrian, pp. 72-77.

sich damit ein Geld verdient, das ist dokumentiert.

**R. Faller:** Bei den Bauernhöfen, wenn man zu den Bauernhöfen geht, beim Bauernhof hat's immer was zu essen gegeben. Der Bauer war eigentlich der Landwirt, weil früher, da war immer der, der eigentlich zum Essen hatte. Und die armen Leute, die wenig zum Essen haben oder keine Arbeit und so, die wussten immer, beim Bauern, da kann man was bekommen, und so sind hauptsächlich dann immer Bauern besucht worden. Oder auch wegen der Fruchtbarkeit dann, wenn man so mit Fruchtbarkeit zu tun hat, beim Bauern vor allem auch für die [...]oder fürs Getreide usw. und für die Tiere eben auch das bringen [...].

**Carter:** So ist es so, dass die Veranstaltung, die Perchten haben mit diesen Lebensmitteln, sie haben etwas bekommen in [...], die einem etwas zu schenken haben, sie geben die Gaben der Fruchtbarkeit.

**R. Faller:** Genau. Für den Besuch, den die Perchtengruppe machte, bekommt sie Gaben, also Naturalien, eben hauptsächlich natürlich Essen, zu essen bekommt dann, und die machen das heute genauso noch. Es hat sich im Laufe der Jahre ... man weiß, es gibt natürlich Bräuche [...], oder es gibt Gruppen, die das nicht mehr so machen, sondern die gehen vielleicht für Geld, die wollen, dass sie Geld bekommen, das ist aber nicht der Sinn der Sache.

**Rainer:** Glück kann man nicht kaufen, man kann Glück nicht kaufen, darum darf man kein Geld nehmen.

**Fallers' son:** Alles kann man kaufen, aber Glück nicht.

**Rainer:** Das ist etwas ganz anderes, denn meistens denken die Leute, man kann Geld geben, es ist ein Umdenkprozess bei vielen Leuten.

**Carter:** So es ist geistlich [*sic*; = *geistig*] [...].

**R. Faller:** Und wir machen auch kein Event daraus. Wir machen kein Plakat, wir machen keine Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, wir haben uns ... wir gehen zu den Bauern in gewisse Gebiete, und das wechselt sich alle acht Jahre ab. Und da gehen wir vorher zu den Bauersleuten hin und fragen, ob das in Ordnung ist, wenn wir kommen. Normalerweise ist das in Ordnung, und dann dürfen wir kommen und dann den Besuch machen.

**Carter:** Diese Informationen über die Geschichte, die ich auf der Webseite gelesen habe, ich habe bemerkt, dass es viele Beispiele gibt, wo es diese starke Bindung gibt mit der Gesellschaft, mit der Gemeinschaft. Es scheint mir, dass Sie haben Unterstützung [...] für die Masken [...] die Tiere usw. für die Ausrüstungen, die Kostüme. Dann sie haben vom ersten Moment, es erscheint mir, es gibt viele Verbindungen, diese ... wie Konversation genau [...], es geht in beide Richtungen. Sie geben [Rinnen?] [...] sie geben den Brauch weiter. Ist das so, dass die Vielfalt, so [...].

**A. Faller:** Es [...] [witzig?]

**Carter:** Gibt es jetzt mehr Leute, die Zuschauerzahl, so ist es wirklich die gleiche [...].

**A. Faller:** Zuschauerzahl [...].

**R. Faller:** Bei den Bauernhöfen, die wir besuchen, die Bauersleute, die machen das natürlich, die sagen ihren Nachbarn zum Beispiel was, da kommen gleich noch die Nachbarn dazu, und das ist dann so, dass beim [Marktbauernhof?] sind vielleicht 20 Gäste da oder vielleicht 25 Gäste, die machen da so eine kleine Feier, oder machen da vielleicht so eine Feuerstelle, wo dann vielleicht Glühwein oder Tee getrunken wird auch ...

**Rainer:** ... bei den Leuten, von den Gästen, nicht von den ...

**R. Faller:** Nicht mit uns. Wir kommen dahin und besuchen das und das kann auch praktisch andere Leute mit anziehen, auch die Berührung mit den Perchten bringt ja auch Glück, und dann kann man also ... wir bringen praktisch das Glück nicht nur für den Bauern, sondern für alle Anwesenden.

**A. Faller:** Das ist die Percht, Frau Percht. Und es gibt noch Berichte vom Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, aber ich bin nicht auf die Primärquelle gekommen, ich habe es nur über eine Sekundärquelle gelesen, wo diese Percht in diesem Raum noch als helle Gestalt beschrieben wurde, im weißen Kleid. Das schreibt Hoffmann, aber ich fand nie die Primärquelle. Ich kenn sie immer nur so von der Erzählung her. Aber sie wurde hier auch im hellen Kleid, ähnlich wie Luzia, beschrieben.

**Carter:** Es gibt auch in Böhmen, jetzt Tschechien, diese Peruchta, das ist wie Percht, auch weiß gekleidet, glaube ich, ich habe keine ursprüngliche Quelle selbst gefunden. So, Sie haben diese Geschichte, diese Erzählungen von Perchta viel gehört, als Kinder oder besser

**A. Faller:** Sie hat immer, wenn man nicht sauber machte, den Bauch aufgeschnitten, wir hatten Angst! Wir mussten immer ordentlich zusammenräumen und alles, Spielsachen aufräumen, sonst kommt die Percht, schneidet den Bauch auf und näht ihn wieder zu und wirft da allen Unrat hinein.

**Carter:** Sie war ein bisschen ein Kinderschreck.

**Allgemein:** Ja ... Janusgesicht.

**A. Faller:** Es ist ein Janusgesicht. Sie straft die Faulen und sie belohnt die Fleißigen. Darum kommen Perchten nie nur hässlich oder nur schön, denn sie hat Janusgesicht, es müssen beide Elemente da sein, schön und hässlich.

**Carter:** Das war auch eine Frage, die ich gehabt habe. Es gibt diese Holzmaske von Percht, die vom Flohmarkt gekauft wird, als Einfluss, als Inspiration für Ihre eigene Perchta-Maske oder vielleicht?



**A. Fallner:** Die sind nach dem Original, diese Vogelperchten. Auch die Fetzenpercht ist nach diesem Original, und diese Percht ist nach einer Percht aus der Region. Die habe ich, die Originalmaske.

**Carter:** Ja, das war meine Frage. So das war eigentlich von Golling ...

**A. Fallner:** In der Region, ja. Sie hat hier diese große Schere, sie hat auch eine so lange Nadel, aber man sieht das auf dem Foto nicht.

**Carter:** Ein bisschen gesetzt(?) [...].

**A. Fallner:** Und dabei Fäden. Sie hatte einen weißen, einen schwarzen und einen roten Faden, für Leben, Tod, Geburt, und den Besen, um das Unglück auszukehren.

**Carter:** Stand das auch in den Erzählungen von Perchta, diese Farben?

**A. Fallner:** Aber auch im Mittelalter war die Kleidung für Hochzeit von der Braut rot, für Leben. Das hat sich lange [...]. Rot war immer Leben.

**Carter:** So das ist eigentlich eine alte, österreichische Tradition.

**A. Fallner:** Ich denke, nicht nur Österreich. Rot für Leben und Freude ist, denke ich, überall ... und irgendwann wurde es dann Weiß.

**Carter:** So die Ausrüstung von Perchta in ihre [...] und Masken, das ist [...] wie sie dargestellt wird, oder?

**A. Fallner:** ... ist so überliefert. Und wieder gesagt, es gab Quellen im 20. Jahrhundert, wo sie noch weiß gekleidet ist, aber ich habe nie die Primärquelle gefunden. Und wir kannten sie alle nur so von den Eltern. Darum ist sie so.

**Carter:** So sie kommt ins Haus, sie kehrt das Unglück aus und sie schaut auch, ist alles sauber.

**Allgemein:** Ja, ja [*Zustimmung*]

**Carter:** Wenn alles sauber ist, dann bringt das Glück.

**Rainer:** Wo wir Kinder gewesen sind, haben die Eltern immer gesagt, am 5. Jänner, das ist die letzte Raunacht, die große: Kinder, räumt zusammen, heute Nacht kommt die Percht, schneidet Euch den Bauch auf, kommt die große Schere, schmeißt den Unrat hinein und näht ihn wieder zu. In der Früh, aufgestanden, geschaut ... aaaah, Gott sei Dank. Ja, das ist wirklich wahr, jedes Jahr.

**A. Fallner:** Das ist die Mutter, sie strickte für den Winter. Den Schal [...]. Das ist das Sommer- und Winterspiel.

**Carter:** Das ist von der Kindheit, Erinnerung. [...] Diese zwei Figuren.

**A. Fallner:** Und auch der Sommer ist geschminkt. Er hat keine Maske. Das ist wichtig, dass nicht die normale Haut hier ist, auch zum Schutz für diese Menschen, die in Masken sind. Denn er hat keine. Er wäre ungeschützt, darum bekommt er Schminke. Er hat rote Wangen.

**Rainer:** Die Schminke, ich hab nur Vaseline [...]. Jedes Jahr das gleiche Theater. [...]

**Carter:** So, das Spiel, die Form, mit der Sie spielen, stammt das auch von diesen Kindheitserinnerungen?

**A. Faller:** Winter- und Sommerspiele, ja [...] teilweise den Text erzählt, wir haben das nicht gemacht. Meine Mutter, wie sie Kind war.

**Carter:** So es gibt Winter und Sommer.

**A. Faller:** Dann, was die Perchten machen, das musste neu gemacht werden. Denn von Winter ... von diesen beiden wusste man noch genau, was sie taten. Die anderen mussten wieder Rollen bekommen, was sie tun.

**R. Faller:** Der Text von den beiden, Sommer und Winter, ist auch in Büchern erhalten.

**A. Faller:** ... ist überliefert.

**Carter:** So wie ist das für Übernehmen, die Perchten hier, wie war das erschaffen oder entwickelt, das muss passen mit den Spielen. Was war der Vorsatz, wie ist das passiert?

**A. Faller:** Ich habe einen guten Freund, der sich sehr intensiv auch mit der Mythologie auseinandersetzt und ich habe durch Zufall einen alten Perchtentanz bekommen, wirklich durch Zufall. Und das war zu derselben Zeit, und wir haben gesagt, diese Melodie nehmen wir für unsere Perchte. Einen Tanz. Und dann ging es darum, noch Schritte für diesen Tanz zu suchen. Und dieser eine Freund, der sich sehr mit Mythologie und auch mit Tanzgeschichte beschäftigt, stand beratend bei und sagte: Es kann nur so sein. Und so entwickelten sich dann die Figuren und der Tanz.

**Carter:** Das ist hochinteressant, es gibt so viele verschiedene Teile. [...]

**A. Faller:** [...] Wenn etwas fehlt, dann kommt es.

**Carter:** [...] Ihr Freund hat das erschaffen, aber auch die Gemeinschaft ein bisschen [...].

**A. Faller:** Am Ende geht er zu den Bauern und sagt: Wir wünschen ein gutes neues Jahr. Und er bekommt die Gaben. Das ist hier die Kraxe.

**Carter:** Entschuldigung, wenn ich frage, Sie müssen die gleiche Frage mehrmals beantworten. Dieser Janusgesicht-Aspekt, diese beiden Aspekte von Perchta, Sommer und Winter, die zwei Saisons [*sic*; = *Saisonen*] .. es erscheint mir, dass Silvester oder diese Jahreszeit ist ihr [...]. Das alte und neue Jahr [...]. So könnten Sie mir ein bisschen weitererzählen über die Verbindung zwischen den zwei Gesichtern von Frau Perchta, die Saisons oder diese Zeit, warum dieser Brauch in dieser Zeit stattfindet. Es ist nicht eine gute Frage eigentlich.

**A. Faller:** So weit ich weiß, waren die Perchten darum in dieser Zeit, weil die Wintersonnenwende war in vielen Kulturen, das ist um die Zeit der Wintersonnenwende, die Zeit der Perchten. Und diese Zeit ist sehr finster. Und vor vielen Jahrhunderten war es eine schlimme Zeit, der Winter für die Menschen. Und sie warteten darauf, dass das Jahr wieder die Sonne, dass sie wieder steigt. Dass es ja wärmer wird. Und es gab viele

Bedrohungen im Winter. Man hatte nichts zu essen, und dadurch ist dieser Brauch so im Winter manifestiert. Denn der Sommer hatte eher etwas an Essen und an Wärme, aber der Winter war eine Bedrohung, das war gegen das Zentrum dieser Wintersonnenwende.

Darum im Winter, zu diesem Zeitpunkt.

[*Geräusch*]

**Carter:** Eigentlich war das auch eine Frage: Haben Sie gefunden, dass die Masken ihre eigene Persönlichkeiten bekommen haben?

**A. Faller:** Sie haben sie gesucht. Die Maske hat die Persönlichkeit gesucht. Sie hat sich entwickelt. Man musste nichts sagen, es war ganz klar, was. Die Vogelpercht, die geht zum Vogelhaus, zum Futterhaus und pickt Futter, als wär sie ein Vogel. Sie benehmen sich auch wie Vögel. Und diese treiben Schabernack. Und das sind diese Vögel.

**Rainer:** Die Köpfe sind das.

**A. Faller:** Es ist ein Vogel. Sie verhalten sich wie Vögel. Sie stehen auf Häuserdächern.

**R. Faller:** Oder wenn, ich als Kraxenträger, wenn ein Vogel zu mir kommt, der schleicht sich zu mir, da sag ich: Geh' weg! Und der Vogel ... wie ein Vogel.

**Carter:** Die Mitglieder ... sie haben das gegründet und entwickelt. Aber die anderen Mitglieder, sie kommen, dieser Trachtenverein ursprünglich, die anderen Mitglieder, woher [...]?

**R. Faller:** Die sind im Trachtenverein.

**Carter:** Sind alle vom Trachtenverein, die Interesse haben, die da teilnehmen, okay.

**R. Faller:** Der Trachtenverein ist halt so, das ist bei uns so von der Tradition her, im Sommer sehr viele Auftritte und im Winter eher weniger. Und da ist vom Trachtenverein dann auch das Angebot bekommen, ob wir das übernehmen wollen, machen wollen. Das war für uns auch was, wo wir im Winter was machen können, und wo wir speziell auch für unsere Leute, für Einheimische was machen können. Im Sommer ist, die Tätigkeit im Sommer, Heimatabende, ist hauptsächlich für Gäste. [...] Und da hat man etwas, was wirklich jetzt mit Brauchtum, also eine Brauchtumsgruppe, und da tun wir auch wirklich was für Brauchtum, für heimisches Brauchtum.

**A. Faller:** Für die Region.

**Carter:** So, das ist wirklich für Sie, für die Gemeinde.

**A. Faller:** Das ist immer die Beschreibung für die Figur.

**Carter:** So, Sie haben entschieden, vom Anfang alles dokumentieren.

**A. Faller:** Das war von Anfang an klar, und das hat Robert von Anfang an gemacht, weil wir gesagt haben, wenn wir es nicht von Anfang an machen, dann verlieren wir es. Und das ist der Folder. Diesen Folder bekommen die Bauern, wenn wir kommen und sagen, wir

werden dieses Jahr in dieser Gegend sein, damit sie noch einmal nachlesen können, was machen wir.

**Carter:** So, sie haben Möglichkeit, sich vorzubereiten.

**A. Fallner:** Ja genau. Und damit sie kein Geld geben. Es war am Anfang eine große Arbeit, die Menschen vom Geld zu trennen. Dass sie nicht einen Geldschein geben wollten, sondern dass sie wirklich [...] oder Fleisch oder Käse, was immer sie haben, und das geben, und kein Geld.

**Carter:** [*inaudible*]

**A. Fallner:** Es geht um Glück, man kann das Glück nicht bezahlen.

**R. Fallner:** Was wir auch gerne bekommen, ist bei uns in der Gegend, Schnaps. Was der Bauer macht, selbst gemacht.

**A. Fallner:** Es gibt dann eine große Jause, wo das dann gegessen wird.

**Carter:** Das, was man früher gesagt hat ...

**A. Fallner:** Das sagen wir jetzt auch. Die Perchten kommen zum Haus, klopfen an die Fenster, und wenn die Tür geöffnet wird, dann rufen die Perchten:

Glück hinein, Unglück heraus

Es kommt die Percht ins Haus.

Und darum auch Glück hinein, Unglück heraus.

**A. Fallner:** Und wenn das nicht alles dokumentiert worden wäre, könnte man jetzt nicht mehr. Und wir sagten, wir haben die Chance, es wirklich von Anfang an zu machen.

**Carter:** Was ist die Hoffnung, die sie hätten für diesen Brauch in Golling, was möchten sie für die Zukunft sehen?

**A. Fallner:** Es gibt, seitdem wir das machen, ein Jahr darauf begann eine Konkurrenzveranstaltung, eine Kommerzveranstaltung. Eine Gruppe aus Hallein, die einen Medienrummel macht, auch mit Perchten, aber so eventmäßig. Und es ist für die Bevölkerung sehr schwierig, es zu trennen, denn sie denken immer wieder, wir sind das. Sie mischen es. Und wir haben schon zu diesen Leuten gesagt, sie sollen aus unserer Region gehen. Sie sind hier nicht zu Hause. Aber sie schwimmen auf unserer Welle. Sie sind das Boot auf unserer Welle. [...] Und sie holen Gruppen aus Bayern und von überallher, Kärnten [...]. Es hat nichts mit hier zu tun.

**R. Fallner:** Brauchtum ist immer zeit- und ortgebunden. Ist immer zeit- und ortgebunden, das gibt keinen Sinn, wenn Brauchtum aus Golling in Tirol aufgeführt wird, das ergibt keinen Sinn. Brauchtum muss immer an dem Ort, wo es gewachsen ist, bleiben, und zu der Zeit, wo es hingehört, aufgeführt werden. Wir gehen auch nicht im Sommer mit den

Perchten, das hat keinen Sinn. Und genauso hat es keinen Sinn, in Tirol mit unseren Perchten zu gehen. In Tirol, die haben anderes Brauchtum.

**Carter:** So es konnte nicht gehen, wenn das für Touristen veranstaltet wird oder für Nicht-Einheimische, es ist außer Kontext. Was wird es dann, wenn es nicht in diesem ...

**A. Faller:** Kommerz. Und es fehlt, es fehlt [...]. Es fehlt das Leben. Das eine ist Show, das andere ist Mystik. Das ist ganz anders.

**Rainer:** Das kann man eh niemandem erklären.

**A. Faller:** Das kann man niemandem mitteilen, das muss man selber sehen.

**Rainer:** Und du hast ja gesehen, jedes Jahr, die Figuren haben sich immer anders bewegt, und immer mehr ähnlicher ... also wie, im ersten Jahr ist der Christian auch nicht der Vogel gewesen, wie du ihn dir als Vogel vorgestellt hast.

**A. Faller:** Aber es fehlt auch das Geld. Es geht nicht um Geld. Bei den anderen muss man Eintritt bezahlen. Es ist ganz anders. Der Sinn dahinter ist was anderes. Hier ist der Sinn Glück zu bringen, und dort ist der Sinn, Geld zu bekommen.

**Carter:** Ich habe dieses Gefühl von dieser [...] bekommen, dass die Gemeinschaft sich die Menschen wählen das. Sie wollen das. Sie bekommen [werden? become?] Tiere [...].

## Translation

**R. Faller:** This is what we have done. [*They show Carter their Chronicle*]

**Carter:** Okay! This is very interesting! It's also interesting for readers that you have developed this chronicle, it's wonderful, interesting for me, also that you find this kind of thing rather seldom.

**A. Faller:** So true in detail [...].

**Carter:** Oh, wow, yes!

**A. Faller:** It's perfect.

**Carter:** Ah yes.

[*Music*]

**Carter:** This play, it's only a play, *Perchten* play in Golling [...]

**A. Faller:** Winter and summer play. And my mother, when she was a little child, she always told me and my daughter, that there were two characters coming to their home. One was wearing a fur, the other was clad in white and was carrying a little tree with him, with ribbons tied to it, and a straw hat. This she always told us. And Elisabeth, she once bought a book by Karl Adrian where this was described exactly as she has been told. These were the old from Hallein, the old [*Schindleute*], and in winter they went out to, in a way, beg, and they performed this play and earned some money through this, this is documented.

**R. Faller:** When you go to the farms, at a farm there's always something to eat. The peasant, in former times, he was the one who had to eat, mostly. And the poor people, who didn't have much to eat or didn't have work or so, they knew, at the farm you can get something to eat, and so it mostly was the farmers who got visited. Or concerning fertility, if you have issues with fertility, at the farm, above all for the [...] or for the crops and for the animals.

**Carter:** So the *Perchten* with their play, they have got something [...] that have to give something to them, they give the gift of fertility in return.

**R. Faller:** Exactly. For the visit the *Perchten* group pays, they receive gifts, natural produce, mostly food, of course, and they do it like this just the same today. Over the years, you know, there are customs ... there are groups that don't do it this way, they go for money, they want to get money, but that's not the general idea.

**R. Faller:** Luck cannot be bought, you cannot buy luck, and this is why you mustn't take money for this.

**Fallers' son:** You can buy everything, except for luck.

**Rainer:** This is something completely different, because most of the time people think, they can give money. Many people have only now started to rethink this.

**Carter:** So this is spiritual? [...]

**R. Faller:** And we are not making a kind of event from this. We don't do posters, we don't do public relations, we have — We visit the farms in certain areas, and that changes every eight years. We visit the farms beforehand and ask the farm people whether it's okay for us to visit them. Usually it's okay, and we are allowed to come and pay our visit.

**Carter:** This information about the history I have read on the website, I have noticed that there are many examples where you find this strong connection with society, with the community. It seems to me that you get support [...] for the masks [...] the animals, etc., for the equipment, the costumes. You have, from the first moment, it seems to me, there are a lot of connections, these ... like conversation, it's going both ways. You give [*Rinnen?*] [...] you pass on the custom. Is it so, that the diversity [...].

**Carter:** Are there more people today, the number of spectators, is it the same ...

**A. Faller:** Number of spectators [...].

**R. Faller:** At the farms we visit, the farm people do it, of course, they tell their neighbors, for example, so the neighbors join them, and then at the farm store there are maybe 20 guests or 25 guests. They do a little something festive, or they light a small fire where maybe they drink *Glühwein* [hot wine punch] or tea ...

**Rainer:** The guests, not the ...

**R. Faller:** Not with us. We just go there and visit, and this may attract other people, to touch a Percht brings luck, too, and so you can ... we practically bring luck, not only for the farm, but for all people present.

**A. Faller:** This is the Percht, Frau Percht. There are reports from the beginning of the 20th century, but I haven't found the primary source, I have only read this in a secondary source, where the Percht in this area is described as a light-colored figure, in a white dress.

Hoffmann writes this ... but I never found the primary source. I only know her like this, from the tales. But she has been described in a light-colored dress, similar to Luzia [...]

**Carter:** There is in Bohemia, now the Czech Republic, this Peruschta, that is, like Percht, clad in white, I believe, but I couldn't find the original source. So you have heard this story, these tales about Perchta a lot when you were children, or [...].

**A. Faller:** When you didn't clean properly, she came and cut open your belly, we were afraid! We were always told to tidy up properly and everything, tidy up the toys, because otherwise the Percht will come, cut open the belly, stitches it up again, and throws in all the filth.

**Carter:** She was kind of a *Kinderschreck* [bugbear].

**All:** Yes ... Janus face.

**A. Faller:** It's a Janus face. She punishes the lazy and the rewards the hard working. That's why the Perchten never come as just ugly or just beautiful, because she has a Janus face, both elements have to be there, beautiful and ugly.

**Carter:** That's a question I had. There is this wooden Percht mask, bought at the flea market, as influence, as inspiration for your own Perchta mask or maybe...?

**A. Faller:** These are built after the original, these *Vogelperchten*. The *Fetzenpercht* is built after the original as well, and this *Percht* is built after a local *Percht*. This one I own, the original mask.

**Carter:** Yes, this was my question. So this is originally from Golling.

**A. Faller:** From the area, yes. She has these large scissors, she also has a long needle, but you cannot see it on this photo.

**Carter:** [*inaudible*]

**A. Faller:** And threads as well. She had a white, a black and a red thread, standing for life, death and birth, and the broom to sweep out bad luck.

**Carter:** Has that been written in the tales of Perchta, these colors?

**A. Faller:** In the Middle Ages the clothes for the bride at her marriage were red, meaning life. That has been long ... red always stood for life.

**Carter:** So this is an old Austrian tradition, really.

**A. Faller:** Not only Austria, I believe. Red standing for life and joy is everywhere, I believe ... and then it became white eventually.

**Carter:** So Perchta's equipment, her [...] and masks, this is [...] how she is represented, isn't it?

**A. Faller:** How it is recorded. And to mention it again, there are sources from the twentieth century where she is clad in white, but I was never able to find the primary source. And we all knew her like this from the parents. That's why she is like that.

**Carter:** So she comes to the house, she sweeps out bad luck, and she also checks, if everything is clean?

**All:** Yes, yes [*in agreement*].

**Carter:** When everything is clean, it's good luck.

**Rainer:** When we were children, the parents always told us, on January 5, the last of the *Rauhnächte*, the major one: Kids, tidy up, tonight the Percht will be coming, cutting open your bellies, using the large scissors, throws in all the filth and stitches it up again. Early in the morning, getting up, checking ... aaaah, thank god. Yes, that's really true, every year.

**A. Faller:** This is the mother, knitting for the winter. The scarf [...] this is the Summer and Winter play.

**Carter:** These are from the childhood, memories [...] these two characters.

**A. Faller:** And Summer is made up. He doesn't wear a mask. It's important that the regular skin isn't there, to protect these people in the masks. He doesn't have one, he would be exposed, therefore he gets makeup. He has red cheeks ...

**Rainer:** [*inaudible*]

**Carter:** So the play, the form from which you perform it, does this originate from these childhood memories?

**A. Faller:** Winter and Summer Play, yes [...] partly told the text, we didn't do this. My mother, when she was a child.

**Carter:** So there is Winter and Summer.

**A. Faller:** Then, what the *Perchten* do, had to be created anew. About Winter ... it was known what these two were doing. The others had to get new roles, what they do.

**R. Faller:** Their text, Summer's and Winter's, is preserved in books.

**A. Faller:** It's documented.

**Carter:** So how was it done, the *Perchten*, how were it created or developed, it had to fit in the play. What was the intent, how did it happen?

**A. Faller:** I have a good friend, who is very much into mythology, and I happened to come by an old *Perchten* dance, it was pure coincidence. This happened at the same time, and we decided to take this melody for our Perchte. A dance. And then it was about finding steps



for the dance. And this one friend, who is very much into mythology and into dancing history as well, counseled us and said: It only could have been like this. And so the characters and the dance evolved.

**Carter:** This is very interesting, there are so many different parts [...].

**A. Faller:** [...] When anything is missing, it will come.

**Carter:** [...] Your friend has created this, but the community took a little part as well. [...]

**A. Faller:** In the end he walks up to the farmer and says: We wish you a happy new year. And he gets the gifts. This here is the *Kraxe*.

**Carter:** Please excuse me, if I ask ... you have to answer the same question numerous times. This Janus face aspect, these two aspects Perchta shows, Summer and Winter, the two seasons ... it seems to me that new year or this season is her [...]. The old and the new year [...]. So could you please tell me more about the connection between Perchta's two different faces, the seasons or the time this custom takes place. It's actually not a good question.

**A. Faller:** As far as I know, the *Perchten* are connected with this time of year, because the winter solstice has been in many cultures. The time around winter solstice, that's the time of the *Perchten*. This time of year is very dark. And many centuries ago it was a hard time, winter, for human beings. They waited for the sun to rise again. To get warmer. And there were many threats in winter. There was nothing to eat, and that is why this custom is connected to winter. The summer offers more food and warmth, but winter was a threat, that was around winter solstice. Therefore in winter, at this time of year ...

**Carter:** Actually this has been a question as well: Have you found that the masks developed their own personality?

**A. Faller:** They looked for it. The mask looked for its personality. It evolved. You didn't have to say anything, it was quite clear what. The *Vogelpercht* goes to the bird house, to the bird feeder and picks at the birdseed, just like she was a bird. They behave like birds. And these behave mischievously. And these are the birds.

**Rainer:** These are the heads.

**A. Faller:** It's a bird. They behave like birds. They stand on rooftops.

**R. Faller:** Or I, as a *Kraxe* carrier, when a bird comes to me, he sneaks up to me, I say: Shoo, go away! And the bird [...] like a bird.

**Carter:** The members [...]. You have founded this and developed it. The other members, this *Trachtenverein* [costume society] originally, the other members, where [...]?

**R. Faller:** They are in the *Trachtenverein*.

**Carter:** They are all in the *Trachtenverein*, everybody interested and taking part in this, okay.

**R. Faller:** The *Trachtenverein* ... it's tradition here that the *Trachtenverein* has many appearances in summer, not so many in winter. And the *Trachtenverein* offered that we could make this. This is something where we can do something in winter, especially for our own people, for the locals. In summer, cultural evenings are mainly for the guests [...]. And so we have something regarding customs, a customs group where we really can do something for customs, for our local customs.

**A. Faller:** For the area.

**Carter:** So this is really for you, for the parish.

**A. Faller:** So this is the character description.

**Carter:** So you have decided to document everything from the beginning.

**A. Faller:** This was clear for us from the beginning, and Robert has done this from the beginning, because we knew, if we didn't do it from the beginning, we will lose it.

This is the folder. We give these folders to the farmers on our first visit, when we tell them we will be in their area this year, so they have the opportunity to read about what we are doing.

**Carter:** So they have the opportunity to prepare themselves.

**A. Faller:** Exactly. And to make sure they don't give money. In the beginning it has been a lot of work to separate this from money. To make them not want to give a banknote, but [...] or meat or cheese, whatever they have, and give that instead of money.

**Carter:** [*inaudible*]

**A. Faller:** It's about luck, you cannot pay for luck.

**R. Faller:** What we often get, here in this area, are liquors. What the farmer produces, made by themselves.

**A. Faller:** Then we have a big snack, where we eat all this.

**Carter:** What has been said in previous times ...

**A. Faller:** We still say that. The *Perchten* go to the house, knock on the windows, and when the door is opened, the *Perchten* shout:

In with luck, out with bad luck

The Percht is entering this house

And therefore it is in with luck, out with bad luck.

**A. Faller:** And if this hadn't been documented, you couldn't by now. We said, we have the chance to do this from the beginning.

**Carter:** What are your hopes for this custom in Golling, what would you like to see in the future?

**A. Faller:** When we started this, in the year after we started it, a rivalling event, a commercial event started. A group from Hallein, making a media circus, with Perchten as well, but done like an event. And it's very difficult for the people to differentiate, they often believe it's us. They mix it up. And we have told these people to leave our area. They are not at home here. But they ride our wave. They are the boat riding our wave [...]. And they bring groups from Bavaria and from everywhere else, Carinthia [...]. This has nothing to do with this area.

**R. Faller:** Customs are bound on place and time. It's always bound on place and time, it doesn't make sense to perform Golling customs in Tyrol, it doesn't make sense. Custom has to stay at the place where it evolved, and be performed at the time where it belongs. We don't go and perform with the Perchten in summer, that doesn't make sense. As it doesn't make sense to perform in Tyrol with our Perchten. They have different customs in Tyrol.

**Carter:** So it couldn't work when performed for tourists or for non-locals, it's out of context. What becomes of it, when it is not in this ...

**A. Faller:** Commerce. There is missing, there is missing [...]. Life is missing. This one is a show, the other one is mysticism. It's completely different.

**Rainer:** This can't be explained.

**A. Faller:** You can't tell this to anybody, you have to see this for yourself.

**Rainer:** And you have seen, each year, the characters moved differently every year, and getting more similar ... just like, in the first year, Christian hasn't been the bird, as you imagined him to be.

**A. Faller:** The money is missing as well. It's not about money. With the others you have to pay an admission fee. This is totally different. The underlying sense is different. Here the object is to bring luck, and there the object is to get money.

## **Appendix L: Interview Transcript: Perschtenbund Soj**

**Interview with Wolfgang Uebelacker, Hermann Untermieder, and two other unidentified members of the Perschtenbund Soj.**

**Conducted in the group headquarters in Kirchseeon, Bavaria, Germany, Jan. 7, 2006.**

**Interviewed by Molly Carter. Transcribed by Markus Lessman.**

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**Untermieder:** Ja. Ich denke, dass es ein ganz interessanter Aspekt ist, wenn Sie dieses Brauchtum ... im Heute sehen. Vieles aus diesem Brauchtum mutet sehr altertümlich an. Vieles ist in der Realität erst vor Kurzem entstanden. Sie sagen zu Recht, es gibt ein großes Interesse, ein steigendes Interesse ... an diesem Brauchtum. Das hat verschiedene Ursachen. Einmal, denke ich, weil wir Medien haben, die dieses Brauchtum weiter verbreiten. Zum anderen, denke ich, weil es möglich ist an Masken dran zu kommen, Masken zu erwerben. Es gibt Schnitzer in Österreich, dort können Sie das aus dem Internet komplett kaufen. Das macht es natürlich leichter. Oft können die Leute selber keine Masken fertigen, deswegen scheitert es daran. Jetzt kann ich es kaufen und kann selber eine Gruppe gründen. Ein anderer Aspekt ist, glaube ich, dass die Leute spiritueller werden ... danach suchen. Und das ist für mich ein Pendant zu der Entwicklung, die wir heute erleben — werden immer globaler. Und durch dieses Globaler-Werden der Welt, bekommen wir zwar immer mehr Informationen, aber wir verlieren etwas die Wurzeln. Und wenn Sie in die Geschichte von Deutschland sehen, dann sehen Sie auch, wie schwierig wir mit unseren Wurzeln mittlerweile umgehen — ich spreche nicht von Wagner, nicht von Goethe und dergleichen — es gab einen Bruch dazwischen. Und Deutschland ist sicherlich, und das muss man auch wirklich so sehen, ein Brückenkopf Amerikas geworden — in Europa. Und diese Globalität, die wir erleben, ist meines Erachtens mit eine Ursache dafür, dass die Menschen nach ihren Wurzeln suchen. Die Amerikaner machen das ja auch sehr gerne.

**Carter:** Ja, oft in Europa. Die Flugzeuge sind voll von Amerikaner, die nach Deutschland oder in andere europäische Länder kommen, um etwas zu entdecken.

**Untermieder:** Und ich möchte einen Ausdruck gebrauchen, den ich für sehr, sehr gelungen und gut finde, der auch sehr zutreffend für Ihre Arbeit sein kann, und das nennt sich: „Globale Raunacht“.

**Carter:** Globale Raunacht? Was ist das? Was könnte das sein?

**Untermieder:** Wenn wir uns mit dem Perchtenbrauchtum beschäftigen, dann beginnen wir grundsätzlich mit dem Namen. Und der Name „Perchte“ dürfte wohl von einer Figur hergeleitet werden, die nennt sich „Frau Percht“. Die dürfte Namensgeberin für diese Figuren sein. Und wenn wir diese Figur näher beleuchten, dann dürfte sie wahrscheinlich sehr alt sein und wahrscheinlich zu den Göttinnen zählen. Etwa so alt wie das Matriarchat. Und das, was wir in dieser Figur sehen, ist die Mutter Erde. Und wenn wir heute diese Figur als Mutter Erde so ansehen, die eigentlich schützende Funktion hätte, die die Menschen versorgt, mit allem was sie brauchen, aber umgekehrt die Menschen ihre Mutter so miserabel behandeln, wie wir es im Endeffekt tun, dann kann es halt auch mal passieren, dass der Frau Percht, der Mutter, auch mal die Hand ausrutscht ... dass sie zurückschlägt.

**Carter:** Wenn die Kinder sich nicht gut benehmen.

**Uebelacker:** Oder Tsunami, ein warmer Winter, Stürme, Vulkan, Umweltkatastrophen oder jetzt Erderwärmung — das ist vielleicht die „Globale Raunacht“.

**Carter:** Ah ja, globale Raunacht.

**Uebelacker:** Die schlägt zurück, die Natur.

**Carter:** [*in English:*] Global warming.

**Untermieder:** Das ist natürlich eine These. Ganz klar. Aber warum sollte man nicht auch diese These als Ansatz nehmen. Und dann stellt sich auch nicht mehr die Frage: Warum ist das heute so wichtig? oder: Warum hat das heute wieder so ein Interesse geweckt bei den Leuten? Oder: Dieses Brauchtum, warum führen wir das heute noch aus? Eigentlich ist es ja sehr alt — ich war letztes Wochenende in Österreich und habe mir dort auch eine Gruppe angesehen, die gehen nur auf Bauernhöfe und die gehen nicht zu einem anderen Haus. Die gehen nur zu Bauernhöfen und wünschen dort Glück, Segen und Fruchtbarkeit. Das ist sehr traditionell ... aber es ist etwas stehen geblieben. Denn wenn es keine Bauern mehr gibt, müssten sie eigentlich aufhören zu laufen. Da ist ein Konfliktpotenzial vorhanden. Das heißt, wenn sich dieses Brauchtum nicht entsprechend verändert und beweglich ist, dann wird sich auch ein Brauchtum zunächst konservieren und dann unter Umständen sogar aussterben. Nehmen Sie zum Beispiel die Situation der Emanzipation der Frau. Zu einer früheren Zeit gab es keine Frauen, die beim Perchtenlaufen geduldet waren.

**Carter:** Aha. Sie waren keine aktiven Teilnehmer.

**Untermieder:** Richtig.

**Uebelacker:** Unmöglich.

**Untermieder:** Wahrscheinlich im Hintergrund, aber primär durften sie nicht in Erscheinung treten. War verboten. Die Emanzipation, die Veränderung der Gesellschaft schließt Frauen nicht mehr in dem Maße aus. Wenn ein Verein, wenn ein Brauch lebendig bleiben will, muss sich auch mit der Gesellschaft arrangieren damit er lebendig bleiben kann.

**Uebelacker:** Auch Neuerungen akzeptieren.

**Untermieder:** Absolut. Und dann kommt das ins Spiel, dass man sagt ... wir haben seit langer Zeit schon Frauen bei uns im Verein. Wir waren sogar wesentlich früher dran, als andere das noch abgelehnt haben.

**Uebelacker:** Seit über 30 Jahren sind bei uns Frauen aktiv, nicht nur im Hintergrund, sondern sie nehmen aktiv am Lauf teil.

**Carter:** Und die maskieren sich.

**Uebelacker:** Genau. Und dürften ungefähr 35 Prozent ... ein gutes Drittel sind Frauen bei uns, und Mädchen ...

**Carter:** Ich habe [das] auch in Egelharting bemerkt — viele junge Mädchen. Das ist auch interessant: ein großes Spektrum.

**Uebelacker:** Ja. Eigentlich könnte man sagen bei uns von 14 bis 50. Aber der Großteil ist schon noch sehr jung. Sagen wir mal bis 25 ist eigentlich der Großteil der Aktiven, was aber auch logisch ist, weil es sehr, sehr anstrengend ist. Wir haben ja pro Lauf ... sagen wir mal, so vier, fünf Stunden sind wir unterwegs und haben zwischen 70 und 100 Tänze. Und das ist sehr anstrengend. Aber für die Jungen ist das nicht so.

**Carter:** Ja, viel Energie. Ich vermisse das ...

**Uebelacker:** Aber ein altes Brauchtum, 100, 150 Jahre irgendwo in einer Gegend ... dann, zum Beispiel in Kirchseeon 50 Jahre wieder neu entstanden, auch mit neuen Ideen. Das entwickelt sich weiter. Vor 30 Jahren dann Frauen, dann neue Tänze, neue Passen.

**Untermieder:** Neue Gruppen.

**Uebelacker:** Auch in Österreich ... neue Masken.

**Carter:** Neue Passen.

**Uebelacker:** Mit diesen neuen — ich sage es mal vorsichtig — Schreckmasken. Auch neue Einflüsse. Man muss erst einmal wieder zurecht kommen: Ist das gut, das Neue, oder schlecht? Andererseits schaden ja andere Einflüsse nicht. Und hätte es nicht andere Einflüsse gegeben, hätte es unseren Verein vielleicht nicht gegeben. Wenn sein Vater ganz, ganz alt gedacht hätte und was Neues nicht zugelassen hätte — er hat aber eigene Ideen gehabt, hat Neues zugelassen, Instrumente neu entwickelt, wo jeder heute sagt: Das ist ja immer schon so! Das stimmt ja gar nicht.

**Carter:** Das war für mich interessant zu sehen, dass es im Verein Eigenschaften gibt, die ich noch nie gesehen habe. Das ist wunderbar. Es gibt die Musik, es gibt die Tänze ... die Drudenhaxn-Tänze, die ich gesehen habe, und die Lieder und die Schönperchten, die die Glockenwagen haben, und alle zusammen diese verschiedenen Maskengestalten.

**Uebelacker:** Und die Tänze zusammen, zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen ... die Luznacht, gemeinschaftliche Tänze ... Holzmandl, Klaubauf, Schönperchten ... und, wenn verfügbar, Schlenzer — alle würden da einen Tanz Machen.

**Untermieder:** Das hat sich ja auch erst in den letzten Jahren alles zusammen entwickelt.

**Uebelacker:** Oder mit dem neuen Tanz vor zwei Jahren.

**Untermieder:** Mit mehr Tänzern oder mit mehr Personal hat man auch erst solche Gruppen machen können. Am Anfang war es nicht so. Am Anfang hat zwei Gruppen gehabt, und das war es dann. Das hat sich erst ergeben anhand der Läufer, die mehr geworden sind. Wir, vor 40 Jahren, waren 20, 25 Läufer. Heute hat man bis zu 60.

**Uebelacker:** Am Anfang — die Schönperchten hatten keine Masken.

**Untermieder:** Die Schönperchten hatten keine Masken. Glockenspiel war damals noch nicht. Das hat sich alles erst entwickelt. Endresultat sieht man heute, aber das hat sich erst im Laufe der 50 Jahre dann ergeben.

**Uebelacker:** Und was bei uns sehr wichtig ist, dass immer wieder neue Masken dazu kommen. Neu ist beispielsweise diese Holzmandl, diesen Drudenhax [...], die sind von der Maskenart, von den Gewändern komplett anders als die Klaubauf. Wenn man diese Masken anschaut — das ist alles etwas, was mit dem Wald zutun hat. Das hängt sehr mit unserem Ort zusammen. Unser Ort ist eine Rodungsinsel, das war früher alles mit Wald bedeckt und ist durch eine biologische Katastrophe — müsste man sagen — der Wald ist befallen worden von Ungeziefer, und man hat eine riesige Fläche von diesem Wald abholzen

müssen, und aus dieser Fläche ist das heutige Kirchseeon entstanden. Und deshalb gibt es diese Holzmandl eben in Kirchseeon — ganz wichtig für uns. Dagegen diese Klaubaufmasken, die da um die Frau Percht herum tanzen — da hat man ja wieder in erste Linie diese Elemente Feuer, Wasser, Erde, Luft, aber auch menschliche Eigenschaften, wie Zahnweh, Terroristen — auch ganz aktuelle Sachen — das ist ja auch immer der Fantasie von den Schnitzern überlassen. Aber eben auch Sagengestalten, wie ein Werwolf oder den Drachen oder einen Clown — es bekommen Sagengestalten menschliche Züge oder eben diese Elemente. Das ist der Grundstock von diesen Klaubaufmasken. Und da haben unsere Schnitzer ... sehr viel Fantasie und das Schöne ist, dass jedes Jahr neue Masken dazu kommen, sodass man das Ganze immer ein bisschen ausweiten kann.

**Carter:** Die Tradition hat sich verändert in einem Stil ... also, es bleibt aktuell auf diesem Weg. Ist es so, dass es neue Einflüsse gibt, die von den Maskenträgern verkörpert werden, aber [alles] zusammen verbindet mit den alten Elementen?

**Uebelacker:** Ja. Es ist auch eine Aussage dahinter und nicht nur — jetzt komme ich auf die österreichischen Krampusse mit den Schreckmasken — die haben keine Aussagen in dem Sinn. Die werden nur geschnitzt, um Angst zu schüren. Wir interpretieren das so, aber ...

**Untermieder:** Da ist es sicher so, dass die Medien eine große Rolle spielen. Ich bezeichne diese Masken als Aliens. Das ist einfach ganz logisch zu erklären: Diese Schnitzer, die sind natürlich auch beeinflusst von movies und das, was dann im Fernsehen oder im Kino vermittelt wird und Effekthascherei ist — sonst wären ja auch die Kinos nicht so voll — das setzen die dann um. Die Problematik, die dahinter steckt, ist, dass sie nicht wirklich Wurzeln haben. Wenn sie heute mit einer Krampus-Gruppe sprechen, die Masken tragen, die sie gekauft haben, werden die Ihnen nicht wirklich den Hintergrund der Maske sagen können. Wenn Sie heute nach Südamerika gehen, oder wenn sie nach Afrika gehen. Zu Eingeborenen, dann werden die Ihnen den Sinn der Maske genau erläutern können. Und das ist ein ganz wesentlicher Punkt bei der Sache. Das heißt, wir haben es eigentlich mit zwei verschiedenen Gruppen zu tun: Es gibt traditionelle ... genauso in Österreich, etwa in Bad Gastein, die gibt es nachweislich seit über 300 Jahren und da hat jede Maske ihre Bedeutung. Die Maske ist großenteils auch auf dem Bauernhof beheimatet, und der Vater gibt die Maske an den Sohn weiter.

**Uebelacker:** Die wird vererbt.

**Untermieder:** Das, was wir jetzt erleben. Hype ist vielleicht übertrieben, aber wir erleben heute, dass die Gruppen wie Pilze aus dem Boden sprießen, aber nur, um eine gewisse Effekthascherei zu erzielen.



**Uebelacker:** Die Sensation.

**Carter:** Ah, als Sensation ...

**Uebelacker:** Und der Tourismus spielt in Österreich natürlich auch eine sehr große Rolle.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist ein wichtiges Thema.

**Uebelacker:** Das ist in Österreich ein sehr großes Thema. Jetzt bei uns, explizit in Kirchseon, wir sind keine Touristengegend, absolut nicht. Es werden zwar immer mehr Zuschauer bei uns beim Lauf, aber das hat mit Tourismus in dem Sinn nichts zu tun. Den traditionellen Tourismus wie in Österreich, den gibt es in unserer Gegend nicht. Also das hängt nicht zusammen.

**Untermieder:** Das ist was anderes, wie wenn man in der Gegend um Neuschwanstein lebt.

**3. Person:** Aber du musst schon sagen, seit die Leute intensiver Fernsehen schauen, kommen die aus weiteren Gegenden, und durchs Internet, da schauen die rein, und die fahren zum Teil 50, 80 Kilometer bis zu uns und schauen zu ... und das hat es früher einfach nicht gegeben.

**Uebelacker:** Bis vor 20 Jahren haben wir eigentlich recht wenig Zuschauer gehabt. Und dann durch die Einführung des Privatfernsehens ... da hat es beispielsweise auch in München Fernsehsendern gegeben, die sehr viel regional gearbeitet haben, und durch die ist unser Bekanntheitsgrad natürlich sehr gestiegen, und jetzt natürlich mit dem Internet. Das macht natürlich sehr, sehr viel aus, da bin ich mir sicher. Unsere Zuschauerzahlen wachsen eigentlich langsam, aber stetig.

**4. Person:** Jetzt haben wir den Effekt: Es kommen die Eltern mit ihren Kindern — sind die erwachsen, werden die wiederkommen ... weil das ein Brauchtum ist, was ihnen hier gefällt ... bei den anderen, wenn ich mich da erschrecke, gehe ich da nicht mehr hin. Dann habe ich Angst. Dann werde ich das auch nicht weitererzählen ... davon bin ich überzeugt. Und man sieht es ja: Aus Kindern werden Erwachsene. Und langjährige Perchtenläufer können das feststellen, dass jetzt die vor 20 Jahren jungen Kinder jetzt Familie haben und wieder die Kinder mitnehmen werden. Und das ist Schöne, dass man hier die Akzeptanz hat und auch ein Feedback, man macht das richtig.

**Untermieder:** Und daraus könne sich dann auch neue Mitglieder rekrutieren.

**Carter:** Ja, genau. Das wollte ich fragen, woher die neuen Mitglieder kommen. Das sind die Erwachsenen mit dieser Tradition. Sie kennen das.

**Uebelacker:** Sie wachsen auf. Es gibt Kinder ... im Kindergarten in der Schule sind die Perchten bestens bekannt. Die kennen unsere Lieder, die kennen unserer Sprüche ... sie kennen die Masken — nicht alle, aber die prägnanten Masken sind allen Kindern hier geläufig. Und dann hat mir einmal eine Kindergärtnerin erzählt, wenn es schneit und dann die Kinder Schlitten fahren — jetzt kommt der Nikolaus, jetzt kommt das Christkind — aber in Kirchseeon, wenn es schneit, kommen jetzt erst einmal die Perchten. Wir haben eine sehr, sehr große Fan-Gemeinde bei Kindern, die schon mit 5, 6 Jahren sagen: Papa, später will ich bei den Perchten mitlaufen! Und das passiert auch. Das hab ich selber erlebt. Die haben dann [alles] selber gemacht, die Masken aus Karton, und die Mama muss ein Gewand machen. Da gehen die Kinder mit und irgendwann stehen sie plötzlich da und sind dabei. Das habe ich schon sehr oft erlebt.

**Carter:** Ich habe das in Egelharting gesehen — sehr viele Babys, relativ viele.

**3. Person:** Und die sind dann auch beleidigt, wenn sie nicht mitgehen dürfen. Sie sind beleidigt, wenn die Jugend nicht mitgehen darf. Wenn sie daheim eine Maske haben, eine Pappdeckel-Maske oder so, und dann darf es nicht mit, das Kind.

**Uebelacker:** Aber was bei uns natürlich auch eine große Rolle spielt, das muss ich hervorheben: Bei uns wird nicht zugeschlagen. Und es gibt sehr, sehr viele Gruppen — leider, die zuschlagen. Und das gibt es bei uns nicht.

**Carter:** Also die Perchten schlagen die Kinder nicht?

**Uebelacker:** Nein! Niemanden! Auch keine Erwachsenen! Es gibt viele Gruppen, die schlagen — mit Ruten, mit Pferdeschwänzen. Das gibt es bei uns nicht.

**3. Person:** Da wird etwas verwechselt.

**Untermieder:** Man muss natürlich sehen, das ist dieses Brauchtum, der Ursprung, welchen Sinn hat dieses Brauchtum. Und das ist sicherlich darin begraben, dass man Glück und Segen zur Familie bringt, auf den Hof bringt — also auch das Vieh, die Felder ... teilweise gingen die Perchten ja auch auf die Felder. Und ein weiterer Aspekt ist natürlich auch die Fruchtbarkeit — für den Boden, für das Vieh: viele Schafe ist viel Reichtum. Viele Kinder ist damals auch viel Reichtum gewesen. Und wenn die Perchten auf den Hof kamen und hatten Ruten dabei, dann haben sie nicht zugeschlagen, sondern sie strichen über den Bauch ... bei den Mädchen.

**Carter:** Ah ja, für die Fruchtbarkeit.

**Untermieder:** Das ist die eine Seite. Die zweite Seite ist sicherlich auch: Das waren — denn so ein Laufen ist sehr anstrengend — eine Möglichkeit für junge Burschen, mit Mädchen in Kontakt zu kommen. Heute ist das kein Problem, heute gehe ich in die Diskothek oder sonst irgendwo hin und ich hab sofort Kontakt. Das war früher anders ... das ist eher heimlich passiert — [in English:] Backstage — sodass man sagen könnte, das war eine gute Gelegenheit, sich ein Mädchen auszusuchen, mit ihr Kontakt aufzunehmen, ohne dass sie mich erkannt hat. So, das ist eine Möglichkeit gewesen. Man hat ihr dann über den Bauch gestrichen und konnte damit signalisieren: Das wäre eine Auserwählte. Oder man hat sie mit Ruß beschmiert.

**Carter:** Womit?

**Untermieder:** [In English:] When you burn wood ...

**Carter:** Ah, von verbranntem Holz ...

**Untermieder:** Ja, Charcoal. Das ist eine gute Möglichkeit gewesen, das auszuführen. Ich glaube, dass dieses Ritual heute auch noch existiert. Es hat nicht mehr die Bedeutung ... aber es ist noch vorhanden.

**Carter:** Es kann also sein, dass man ein Mädchen noch beschmiert mit diesem Stoff, aber es hat nicht mehr die Bedeutung, weil es leichter ist, in Kontakt zu kommen.

**Untermieder:** Sie können das sehen, wenn Sie junge Mädchen – 16, 17, 18 Jahre – wenn die als Besucher zu einem Laufen kommen und dann zum Beispiel von einem Maskenträger erschreckt werden ... [In English:] she runs away ... sie kommen aber wieder zurück und ziehen vielleicht ... und laufen dann wieder weg. Dieses Spiel existiert nach wie vor.

**4. Person:** Und das Schöne ist ja, wenn man eine Maske trägt, man ist ja viel hemmungsloser.

**Carter:** Mehr was?

**4. Person:** Man ist anders.

**Untermieder:** [In English:] You get another personality.

**Carter:** Ja, das würde ich gerne diskutieren: Wie ist es hinter der Maske? Was passiert da?

**Uebelacker:** Toll!

**4. Person:** Hart.

**Uebelacker:** Nicht nur für Jüngere, schon auch für Ältere: es ist ein schönes Gefühl. Man ist vielleicht auch ein wenig hemmungsloser wie sonst. Wenn man die Leute im Fasching oder im Karneval sieht, die plötzlich eine andere Identität haben durch ihre Maske, die werden auch viel hemmungsloser. Also in Deutschland ist das ganz krass. Ich weiß nicht, wie das in anderen Ländern ist, aber in Deutschland kann da so ein ganz biederer Mensch ganz plötzlich ... also so ähnlich ist das da auch — vielleicht nicht so extrem, aber für junge Leute ist das mit Sicherheit ... *ich bin ein anderer, ich habe die Maske auf, ich bin jetzt ein anderer. Ich bin hemmungsloser, ich kann auch auf die Mädchen ganz anders zugehen.* Und es ist auch, das würde ich sagen, ein Stück Stolz dabei, hier mitzumachen — gerade bei uns, weil man uns kennt, weil wir eigentlich schon einen sehr großen Bekanntheitsgrad genießen, und darum ist da schon Stolz dabei, für jeden, der hier bei uns mitlaufen.

**Carter:** Aber auch in einem gewissen Fall ... die Perchten ist in diesem Menschen, es ist diese persönliche Eigenschaft, die passt.

**3. Person:** Dann ist das eine Einheit, dann passt alles zusammen. Und viele Einheiten ergeben eine Gruppe. Wenn die Gruppe in sich auch noch zusammenpasst, das ist das Optimale. Wenn jetzt einer zum Beispiele eine riesige Maske hat, 1,50 Meter groß, dann passt die Einheit überhaupt nicht zusammen, dann passt die ganze Gruppe in sich nicht zusammen. Aber viele Kettenglieder, ergibt eine schöne Kette, sage ich jetzt mal.

**Carter:** Ah ja, Kette.

**3. Person:** Und so ist das auch mit den Perchten selbst. Das ist auch wichtig für die Schnitzer.

Wenn ich jetzt für eine Frau eine Maske schnitze, die darf nicht groß sein, die muss passen zur der Dame: zierlich, aber aussagekräftig. Damit die Dame mit der Maske etwas anfangen kann. Wir haben zum Beispiel Vogelmasken ... zierliche Maske, zierliche Person ... passt dann wieder zusammen.

**Carter:** Das ist auch eine Quelle für die Veränderung für den notwendigen [Generationswechsel]. Alle 10, 15 Jahre verändert sich alles ein bisschen, weil es neue Mitglieder gibt, die ihre eigene ...

**Carter:** Das ist interessant.

**4. Person:** Es gibt Mitglieder die mal einen Vorschlag machen und sagen: „Ich hätte gern mal einen Lux!“ Einen Lux oder ein Raubtier. Und dann versuchen unsere Schnitzer das auch so zu machen.

**Uebelacker:** Es klappt eigentlich auch immer, und das sind dann aber Masken, die die Leute nicht mehr abgeben, solange sie aktiv sind, behalten sie ihre Maske normalerweise.

**Carter:** Das gibt es also nicht, dass jemand sagt: „Ich will etwas Neues machen! Dieses Jahr will ich eine andere Art Perchten sein.“

**Uebelacker:** Das gibt es schon, die Jungen probieren schon, aber irgendwann ... wenn jemand über mehrere Jahre dabei ist ... irgendwann landet er bei seiner Maske, die ...

**Untermieder:** Dann könnte er in Kalifornien auch ein Perchtenlaufen gründen, das ist meines Erachtens möglich. Das hätte dann Wurzeln, wenn er sich mit dem Land beschäftigt, in dem er dann lebt, also mit Kalifornien ... damit es zum echten Brauchtum werden sollte, dann müsste er das Land beobachten, die Landschaft, die Menschen, die Geschichten, dann würden andere Masken entstehen und dann könnte man so ein Brauchtum, eine Art eines solchen Brauchtums sehr wohl zu einen lebendigen Brauchtum machen. Nach Amerika zu gehen und unser Brauchtum zu exportieren, und zu sagen: „Wir kennen das ja vom Little Oktoberfest“, hätte keine Wurzeln in Amerika, weil die Leute nicht mit den gleichen Problemen behaftet sind, nicht mit der gleichen Umgebung behaftet. Das ist ein ganz wichtiger Aspekt. Wenn man das jetzt hier belässt, in Bayern, und man lässt es nicht entwickeln, mit der Gesellschaft mitwachsen, sich verändern, dann würde wir das konservieren. Wir erleben das zum Beispiel in den Trachtenvereinen, da ist es ganz offensichtlich ... das geht sogar in sehr große Extreme rein. Das ist für mich konserviertes Brauchtum. Es wird zwar ausgeübt, sie haben auch junge Leute dabei, aber es darf sich nichts verändern.

**Carter:** Das ist vielleicht ein Museumsstück.

**Untermieder:** Das ist ein Museumsstück.

**Carter:** Es wie mit den guten und den bösen Aspekt.

**3. Person:** Ein Beispiel ist die Polka. Vor 150 Jahren ein Skandal, und heute ... also das gab es doch schon immer! Aber vor 150 Jahren ein Skandal.

**Carter:** Früher war das etwas zu viel, oder die jungen Leute tanzen diesen verrückten Tanz.

**Uebelacker:** So wie mit den Rolling Stones, oder die 80er Jahre mit Punkmusik [...].

**Carter:** [*inaudible*].

**Untermieder:** Ein Brauch der sich nicht verändert oder anpasst, der kann nicht überleben.

**Uebelacker:** In der Regel behält er die auch. Ganz, ganz selten, dass er die abgibt und sagt: „Ich nehme eine andere.“ Normalerweise nicht. Es gibt Leute, die über 15 Jahre, 18 Jahre in der gleiche. Und das Schöne ist, wenn dann plötzlich jemand anderes darunter steckt, dann [...] denn irgendwie identifiziert man den Menschen, der darunter steckt, mit dieser Maske und wenn die jetzt plötzlich ein anderer trägt, dann ist das schon schwierig.

**Untermieder:** Wenn der anders tanzt, irgendwas stimmt auf einmal nicht ... andere Bewegung ... das war doch 20 Jahre anders.

**Uebelacker:** Da hat der Untermieder schon recht: Man darf nicht nur die Maske sehen, sondern auch diese Person als Ganzes und auch den, der da drunter steckt. Es spielt schon eine gewisse Rolle ... nicht bei allen, aber wenn jemand länger dabei ist, dann ist das ganz sicher so ... und der ist natürlich auch stolz auf seine Maske ... das spielt auch eine sehr große Rolle.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Untermieder:** es ist ein Verschmelzen, es ist ein Prozess. Ich denke, wenn man 4 bis 5 Stunden tanzt und läuft, dann muss die Maske so passen zum Gesicht, damit ich keine Beschwerden habe. Sie darf nicht drücken ... [*In English:*] *no pressure*.

**Carter:** [Sie muss] bequem sein.

**Untermieder:** *It has to fit*. Und das ist eine Notwendigkeit. Und wie der Uebelacker sagt, es gibt dann diese Entwicklung ... irgendwann findet jeder seine Maske, die dann auch behält er dann auch gleich...das ist dann der *melting point*. Beide Charaktere verschmelzen dann auch zum Teil miteinander, und Masken haben die Eigenheit, dass sie den Träger verändern können ... seinen Charakter ... und das ist aber ein Prozess, weil, wenn ich heute 14, 15, 16 Jahre bin, dann hab ich ja noch gar nicht das Wissen, was dieser Brauch eigentlich bewirkt, das kann man auch nicht mit 14, 15, 16 Jahren [...] von mir erwarten [...]. [*no sound*] Ein ganz wichtiger Prozess ... früher ist man als Kind da mit reingewachsen. Heute passiert das wieder, weil wir mittlerweile sehr stark wieder die Jungen interessieren, und das ist einmal natürlich durch unser Wirken...das, was wir tun. Zum andren gehen wir aber auch auf Kinder und Jugendliche zu. Uebelacker ist sehr häufig mittlerweile eingeladen in Schulen und in Kindergärten, nicht nur hier im Ort, sondern das zieht immer größere Kreise, weil das Interesse steigt. Und damit kann man Kinder immer mehr für das Brauchtum interessieren, man kann sie begeistern, im besten Sinne des Wortes und man auch bewirken, das sie keine Angst davor haben ... [*In English:*] *there is no fear any more*. Das ist ein ganz, ganz wichtiger Aspekt, dass Brauchtum zum Leben gehört. Es muss in der Bevölkerung verwurzelt sein, es muss mit der Bevölkerung leben. Wenn das

etwas ist, das ich nur darbiere als Show, dann hat das nicht wirklich etwas mit Brauchtum zu tun.

**Uebelacker:** Zu wenig.

**Untermieder:** Ich kann zwar Tänze zeigen, die uralt sind. Ich kann die Pekingoper nach Europa bringen, aber das wird nur gezeigt. Das, was dort eigentlich Sinn und Brauch ist, kann hier nicht ausgeübt werden. Das wird gezeigt. Das ist ein wesentlicher Unterschied.

**Carter:** Also ist die Funktion für [...] Um Brauch zu bleiben, um echter Brauch zu sein, muss es diese Wurzeln [er]halten und in diesem [...] Kontext ... es ist interessant, es gibt Aspekte, die man verändern kann und manchmal verändern muss, aber auch etwas, das gleich bleiben muss. Was [denken] Sie darüber? Was ist der Unterschied? Wie kann man das bestimmen, wann das verändert werden muss oder kann und gleichzeitig authentisch und der richtige Brauch bleibt? Und wann wird es etwas anderes [...]. Es kann nicht überleben.

**Untermieder:** Er bleibt nicht lebendig. Das ist das Problem.

**Uebelacker:** Bis zu einem gewissen Grad kann er sich drehen, aber wenn er sich hundertprozentig dreht, dann ist es vielleicht bald aus mit dem Brauch. Man geht zwar in die Richtung mit der [neuen Zeit] mit, aber wenn man ihn komplett verändert, dann fällt vielleicht raus, und den gibt es dann nicht mehr.

**Untermieder:** Das ist so wie ich es vorhin gesagt habe mit den anderen Masken. Wenn ich Alienmasken benutze, dann mag das momentan einem Hype entsprechen und ich mag kurzfristig Erfolg haben ... aber über einen längeren Zeitraum wird er sich nicht halten, weil dieses Außergewöhnliche oder dieses Spektakuläre seinen Reiz sehr schnell verliert, weil es keine Wurzeln besitzt ... und das ist, glaub ich, der große Unterschied zu dem, was wir hier in Kirchseon ausüben, was auch in Bad Gastein oder Sankt Johann ausgeübt wird ... aber wo wir auch viele Gruppen, auch hier in Bayern, die erleben können, wie sie momentan gefragt sind, aber in drei, vier, fünf Jahren nicht mehr existent sind. Das ist vielleicht eine Art Modeerscheinung. Und es spielt natürlich auch eine Rolle, weil es in Österreich ... haben wir ja vorher schon gesagt. Es eine kleine Industrie gibt, die die Masken und Gewänder von der Stange kloppen [hauen]. Das gibt es ja, das ist ja ein Kaufhaus. Und das ist auch der Unterschied. Jeder kann das machen.

**Carter:** Ja ich habe das gehört, dass viele Maskenschnitzer, zum Beispiel im Salzburger Land, die sehr viele Bestellungen bekommen.

**Untermieder:** Oder „Rent-a-Perchtenstrip“.

**Carter:** Rent-a ... was?

**Untermieder:** Perchtenstrip in Wien.

**Carter:** In Wien? Was kann man machen? Rent-a-Perchten?

**Untermieder:** Ja, „Perchten- und Krampusstrip“.

**Carter:** Oh, [*in English:*] Stripper? Davon habe ich nichts gehört! Ein Aspekt von meinem Projekt ist zeitgenössische Darstellungen auch von Krampusse. Ein Teil von meiner Doktorarbeit ist es, den Unterschied zwischen Krampus und Perchten herauszufinden. Zum Beispiel beim Perchtenlauf sind da die kleine Kinder und sagen: „Ah, da sind diese Krampel“ [...]. Das ist auch ein Teil meiner [...]. [*Suche nach Antworten.*] Also es geht um Krampus-Erotik, oder Erotikdarstellung? Ich würde gerne wissen, was das ist. Es ist eine Stripperin. Es ist eine Frau?

**Uebelacker:** Nein. Das sind Männer.

**Carter:** Männer?

**Untermieder:** Es gibt auch sogenannte Perchten-Discos in Österreich. Da haben die ein Treffen, später dann ein großes Bierzelt und die kommen dann mit Masken und machen dann Perchten-Disco.

**Carter:** Das ist nicht so eine After[show]party nach dieser modernen Perchten-Show. Das ist etwas anderes.

**Uebelacker:** Das ist kommerziell.

**Untermieder:** Ganz offiziell. Da können auch Zuschauer rein. Darüber kann man streiten.

**Uebelacker:** Aber wenn sie die Unterschiede aufzeigen wollen zwischen Krampus und Perchten, dann müssen Sie etwas weiter zurückgehen. Die Namen „Percht“ oder „Krampus“ oder auch „Klaubauf“, ist ein dritter Name dafür, die stammen aus einer wesentlich früheren Zeit, und zur Zeit der Christianisierung war es ja so, dass was die Kirche nicht wegbrachte, nicht verbrennen konnte wie die Hexen — und die existieren ja heute noch, hat sie umgedreht. Sie haben Kirchen gebaut, wo vorher vorchristliche — ich sage bewusst nicht heidnische — sondern vorchristliche Opferstätten waren, heilige Stätten. Die Leute gingen nach wie vor auf diese Plätze, obwohl die Kirche es verboten hatte. Wenn die Kirche bemerkt hatte, dass sie es nicht verändern konnten, haben sie auf diesem Platz eine Kirche gebaut. In unserer Gegend war es so, dass man den Nikolaus, im Unterschied zu Santa Claus, den Krampus zur Seite gestellt hat, weil der Krampus in der Bevölkerung so



verwurzelt war, dass sie ihn nicht wegbringen konnten, also haben sie gesagt: „Du bist jetzt beim Nikolaus, aber Nikolaus beherrscht dich!“

**Carter:** Ah. Es gibt also eine symbolische Rollenverteilung.

**Uebelacker:** Und heute, durch die Christianisierung — zumindest haben wir das in Bayern so, aber auch in Österreich, zum Beispiel in Salzburg — haben wir den Nikolaus und mit dem Nikolaus geht ein Krampus oder mehrere Krampusse. Das würde ich in der jetzigen Zeit.

*[gap/silence]*

**Uebelacker:** Krampusse gehen mit dem Nikolaus mit, sind aber nicht Perchten. Wenn man in Österreich nach dem Unterschied zwischen Perchten und Krampus fragt, dann verweisen die auf die Anzahl der Hörner.

**Carter:** Ah, ich habe das oft gehört. Das ist der Unterschied: wie viele Hörner es gibt.

**Uebelacker:** Ich denke aber, das man einen Fehler begeht, wenn man das auf die Maske reduziert. Viel wichtiger ist die Unterscheidung bei der Ausübung des Brauches zu machen.

**Carter:** Es geht also nicht bloß um das Aussehen der Maske? Es hat ...

**Uebelacker:** Denn der Krampus geht mit dem Nikolaus mit und der Nikolaus belohnt die Kinder, der Krampus bestraft sie. Wenn wir jetzt den Nikolaus wegnehmen, dann bleibt der Krampus. Und wenn der Krampus bestraft, dann haben wir wieder die Figur der Frau Percht. Denn die Frau Percht konnte sowohl belohnen als auch bestrafen.

**Carter:** Also gibt es diese Verbindung zwischen dem Krampus und der Frau Percht. Aber stammen sie dann von der selben [Gestalt] ab?

**Untermieder:** Ja.

**Uebelacker:** Es gibt nur wieder andere Namen.

**Carter:** Also Krampus hier, und Perchten da?

**Uebelacker:** Ja.

**Carter:** Also es gibt diese Doppelfunktion: Belohnen und Strafen.

**Untermieder:** Die doppelgesichtige Frau Percht, wie sie bei uns ja in der Mitte steht mit ihren zwei Gesichtern, Teufel und Sonne, das ist im Prinzip nichts anderes als Nikolaus und Krampus. Der eine gibt ... der andere bestraft.

**Carter:** Ah, das sind also die beiden Figuren in einer Figur.

**Untermieder:** Durch ihre Doppelgesichtigkeit.

**Uebelacker:** Hell/dunkel.

**Untermieder:** Mann/Frau, das ist sogar auch in dieser Maske vereint. Vorne Mann, hinten Frau.

**Carter:** Das ist interessant [...].

**Uebelacker:** Das ist das Problem. Man kann dieses Brauchtum nicht isoliert betrachten. Das hat sehr viel mit Religion zu tun. Und wenn wir jetzt unsere Frau Percht nehmen, die gute und die böse Seite, die helle und die dunkle Seite ... und wir nehmen die helle, dann wurde dieses Gesicht mit Strahlen versehen.

**Carter:** Als Sonnengesicht.

**Untermieder:** Genau.

**Uebelacker:** Wir heute assoziieren sofort Sonne damit, und das ist auch nicht falsch, denn Sonne ist Licht. Wir finden das überall auf der Welt, dieses Symbol. Und die andere Symbolik, [die] der Dualität, die finden wir auch überall. Yin und Yang, und selbst in uns Menschen gibt es Y- und X-Chromosome. Und jede Münze hat zwei Seiten.

**Carter:** Ah, das ist sehr interessant, dass beide Gestalten in einer Gestalt verbunden sind. Es ist ... wie soll ich das ausdrücken? Es ist etwas Spezielles, wenn diese beiden Aspekte zusammen sind. Es ist ...

**Uebelacker:** Das ist eine Balance.

**Carter:** Eine Balance. Es ist etwas anderes, wie zwei Figuren, die miteinander kämpfen. Es ist ein bisschen subtiler, man geht ein bisschen tiefer.

**Untermieder:** Diese Mutter Erde, oder Frau Percht sagen wir einmal, die gibt ... meinerwegen Regen. Man braucht den Regen, damit das Zeug wächst. Wenn es zu viel regnet, dann ist das schlecht. Habe ich zu viel Sonne, ist das auch schlecht. Also sie kann uns schon bestrafen. Darum ist das auch in einer Person: sie kann beides.

**Carter:** Es scheint, das die Frage der moral[ität] etwas komplizierter ist, oder es ist auch subtil ... also sie ist nicht diejenige, die gut ist oder böse, sondern es ist kontextabhängig, wie [das Beispiel] mit der Natur.

**Uebelacker:** Es ist wie [beim] Gift: zu viel Gift ist tödlich, die richtige Dosis ist ein Gegenmittel.

**Carter:** Es ist wie in der Medizin.

**Uebelacker:** Genauso wie mit den Religionen. Der Islam an sich ist nicht schlecht, nur wenn es zu viel abgibt, dann ist das ein Problem.

**Carter:** Es ist also einzigartig. Es ist abhängig von gewissen Situationen, von gewissen Menschen? Ich denke darüber nach.

**Carter:** Welche Rolle das Benehmen, behavior, im Perchtenbrauch hat. Man kann belohnt oder bestraft werden, das ist davon abhängig wie ich mich benommen habe. Das ist für mich auch interessant. Das ist nicht nur eine passive Sache. Man kann selbst entscheiden: „Was werde ich im neuen Jahr bekommen? Was wird [für] mich kommen?“

**Uebelacker:** Aber es hat auch mit Psychologie zu tun, es hat mit Glauben zu tun. Denn es gibt Leute, die leben auch heute noch, die sind davon überzeugt, dass es wichtig ist, dass wir [alle hier auskommen?], weil das Glück, Segen, Gesundheit bedeutet.

**Carter:** Und Perchten als Besucher zu haben?

**Uebelacker:** Genau. Wenn also die Perchten nicht gekommen sind, kann das Schaden bedeuten: Hagel, Dürre, Heuschrecken wie auch immer. Wichtig ist, was ich glaube, was es mir bringt. Ich hatte eine ganz interessante Sache am letzten Wochenende. Ich habe mit dem Obmann dieser Perchtengruppe gesprochen und er hat mir erzählt, sie besuchen nur Bauernhöfe. Sie gehen an einem normalen Haus vorbei. Und sie nehmen kein Geld, sondern nur Waren.

**Untermieder:** Naturalien.

**Uebelacker:** Naturalien. Weil sie sagen: „Nur die Bauern brauchen dieses Glück, diesen Segen für das Vieh, für die Felder, für das Haus. Wenn es jetzt keine Bauern mehr gibt, stirbt dann das Perchtenlaufen aus? Eigentlich ja. Es müsste sterben, nach seiner Definition. Man müsste die Gegenfrage stellen: Haben die anderen Leute, die keine Bauern sind, nicht auch ein Anrecht der ein Bedürfnis, einen Bedarf — a demand [...].“

**Carter:** Gibt es diese [...], wurden sie befragt?

**Uebelacker:** Ich habe keine Antwort darauf bekommen. Aber, ich denke, dass das, was wir heute ausüben, egal ob man jetzt explizit daran glaubt oder nicht. Aber, dass der Sinn der dahintersteckt. Wenn ich an den Häusern in Kasern [?] besuche, ich weiß nicht, was hinter diesen Türen stattfindet, in diesen Familien, wie viele Frauen und wie viele Männer sind

unfruchtbar? Ist es nicht sinnvoll, die zu besuchen und Fruchtbarkeit zu bringen? Manchmal spielt ja bloß der Kopf nicht mit.

**Untermieder:** Die Hoffnung stirbt zuletzt.

**Uebelacker:** Also ich weiß: Da ist ein Ehepaar, die wollten eine Maske haben weil sie keine Kinder bekommen konnten. Also ich denke, die Aussage von traditionellen Perchtenlaufen, das mir sehr gut gefallen hat, hat aber auch das Problem, dass sie anfangen zu konservieren.

**Carter:** Das ist sehr interessant. Wie kommt man in die Zukunft. Wie geht man weiter.

**Uebelacker:** Und da stellt sich auch die Frage: Was für einen Sinn macht es heute, noch Perchten zu laufen? Wir leben im Internet, wir leben in einer High-Tech-Welt, wir leben mit einer medizinischen Versorgung, die es noch nie so großartig gegeben hat. Warum sollen wir noch laufen? Ich denke, es gibt einen anderen Aspekt, den wir nicht so einfach mit Worten beschreiben können. Es gibt vielleicht eine Zwischenwelt, eine andere Welt. Und es gibt vielleicht auch eine Sehnsucht nach etwas, das fortleben kann. Und ich glaube, dass das eine ganz wichtige Funktion ist, die die Perchten in der heutigen Zeit ausüben. Und wenn man diese Perchten hier als Stellvertreter der Frau Percht sieht – die Frau Percht ist eine Figur, die wir nicht greifen können — dann macht das noch mehr Sinn. Und dann hat dieses Brauchtum auch im 3. Jahrtausend eine Existenzberechtigung. [...] Ich denke, dass es auch für die wissenschaftliche Arbeit schon eine große Rolle spielt, dass man auch dieses psychologische ... psychologische Seite betrachtet. Wir haben jetzt...ich weiß nicht...hat sie ihr Buch bekommen?

**Untermieder:** Noch nicht.

**Uebelacker:** Wir haben jetzt zwei Bücher veröffentlicht. Eines beschäftigt sich mit dem Perchtenbrauch in Bayern — dieses Buch gibt auch eine Unterscheidung zwischen Brauch oder Brauchtum und Tradition. Und wir haben im Oktober ein weiteres Buch veröffentlicht, das heißt: „Frau Percht – Göttin im Exil“.<sup>1029</sup> Da geht es um die Sichtweise eines heutigen Menschen, wie er zu diesem Brauchtum steht, wie er das sieht, und dort auch der Ausspruch der globalen [...?]. Und das ist für mich eine sehr gute Begründung oder sehr, sehr gut erarbeitet und auch mit guten Beispielen unterlegt und mit einer umfangreichen Bibliothek untermauert, was dieses Brauchtum heute für eine weite

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<sup>1029</sup> Petra Bommel, Rainer Eglseher, Hans Reupold Sr., Hans Reupold Jr., and Ernst Weeber, eds., *Perchtenbrauch in Bayern: Masken, Trommeln, Gesang und Tanz — Macht und Zauber* (Kirchseeon: Perschten-Stiftung, 2004); *ibid.*, *Frau Percht: Göttin im Exil? Auf der Suche nach der Frau Percht — zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts* (Kirchseeon: Perschten-Stiftung, 2006).

Sichtweite hat. Sehr, sehr breit angelegt. Denn das, was wir wahrnehmen, wenn wir als Außenstehende plötzlich so einen Brauch sehen, sehen wir nur die Masken, wir sehen den Tanz, wir sehen die Musik — wir sind beeindruckt. Wir können aber nicht erfassen, im ersten Moment: Was ist dahinter? Weder, was hinter der Maske ist noch was der Sinn dahinter ist. Wir brauchen dafür Zeit, wir müssen uns beschäftigen. Ansonsten ist es ein Spektakel.

**Carter:** Man muss also ein intellektuelles Verständnis haben? Es sind nicht nur die künstlerischen Aspekte wichtig, sondern es ist auch das intellektuelle Verständnis wichtig, über die Geschichte, die Wurzeln?

**Untermieder:** Nicht nur Spaß haben, sondern wissen, was man tut.

**Carter:** Aha, was man meint zu tun, warum man das macht? Ah ja. Ich habe glücklicherweise jetzt diese zwei Bücher, aber ich habe sie noch nicht gelesen.

**Uebelacker:** Ah, Sie haben sie schon.

**Carter:** Ja, ich habe sie, aber ich ziehe sehr viel um — von England nach Amerika und nach Österreich — und meine Bücher sind in [Kisten], aber ich leider das erste noch nicht gelesen, und das zweite habe ich gerade an diesem [...] gekauft. Es wäre besser, wenn ich das alles erst einmal gelesen hätte ... leider ... aber ich werde [es tun]!

**Uebelacker:** Ich glaube, Sie lesen es jetzt anders. Ich bin überzeugt, Sie werden es auch anders verstehen ... nach diesem Gespräch.

**Carter:** Es ist interessant. Ich habe probiert, die Website zu lesen. Es gibt diese Perchtenstiftung hier in Kasern[?] und diese zwei Bücher. Und ich würde gerne mehr wissen über diese Bücher und über die Stiftung. Es gibt eine Aufstellung? Hier in Kasern, eine ständige Ausstellung?

**Uebelacker:** Die Stiftung ist 1991 gegründet worden, und der Grund war, dass mein Vater die Masken gefertigt hatte, damals. Da waren noch die meisten Masken von meinem Vater.

**Carter:** Er hat die gemacht.

**Uebelacker:** Er hat die geschnitzt. Und wir sind drei Kinder — ich habe zwei Schwestern — und das heißt, wir hatten uns dann diese Masken geteilt. Und wenn einer von uns nach Südafrika geht, der andere nach Australien, der dritte nach Amerika, dann sind die Masken hier weg. Dann gäbe es keine Möglichkeit, oder zur damaligen Zeit [hätte] es keine Möglichkeit gegeben, das Laufen zu realisieren. Also war die Überlegung, man gründet

eine Stiftung, und die Stiftung ist dafür verantwortlich, dass die Masken dem Verein zum Laufen zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

**Carter:** Sie sind also da für die Gemeinde. In Zukunft kann man ...

**Untermieder:** Auch in Zukunft, sollte der Verein nicht mehr existieren, bleiben diese Masken natürlich Eigentum der Stiftung. Die Gemeinde, die Kommune ist dann dafür verantwortlich. Und sollten sich wieder Leute finden, die diesen Brauch wieder aufleben lassen oder aufleben lassen wollen, dann geht die Stiftung bzw. die Kommune her und stellt diese Masken wieder zur Verfügung. So ist das in der Satzung festgelegt.

**Uebelacker:** Die können nicht mehr verschwinden, sondern diese Masken stehen immer der Öffentlichkeit zur Verfügung.

**Untermieder:** In Form einer Ausstellung, oder ..

**Uebelacker:** Momentan sind die Masken natürlich bei den Läufern, sodass wir keine Ausstellung machen können. Mittlerweile haben wir so viele Masken, dass wir einige nicht mehr zum Laufen freigeben, weil sie schon zu alt sind, und die geben wir dann ab an Ausstellungen.

**Carter:** Aber die sind da für die Gemeinde zum [...?].

**Untermieder:** Die sind auch zu wertvoll, als dass man sie zum Laufen hergibt. Vom Schnitzen her und von der Machart sind die zu wertvoll. Also es gibt bestimmte Maskentypen, wenn die kaputt gehen, dann sind sie halt kaputt, aber man möchte sie erhalten, so wie sie jetzt sind. Deswegen geben wir sie nicht mehr raus. Und damit die Leute in Kasern[?] und Umgebung noch in 30, 40 Jahren [die Masken] anschauen können, deswegen bleiben die in der Stiftung. Weil eben durch die neuen Masken, brauchen wir das nicht, dass wir die guten, die alten Masken rausgeben. Je mehr Masken wir jetzt schnitzen, desto mehr bleiben diese Typen von Masken erhalten, weil mit den [...?]. Sein Vater hat immer gesagt: „Nach 30, 35 Jahren aktivem Laufen sind die Masken kaputt. Das stimmt! Erstens: das Holz verändert sich, das Holz wird spröde, das Holz bricht immer öfter. Die machen die Umwelteinflüsse nicht mehr so mit. Gerade durch unsere Umwelt werden die immer mehr [beansprucht] — das ist ja ein Naturprodukt. Das schützen wir, indem wir es nicht mehr so oft nach außen abgeben. Wenn Holz ... dieses Holz feucht wird, kalt wird, dann sprengt es. Und je älter diese Masken werden, desto mehr Feuchtigkeit nehmen sie auf, desto öfters bricht irgendetwas. Das wollen wir vermeiden, indem es nicht nach außen kommt. Die bleiben, bei einer bestimmten Luftfeuchtigkeit, in einem Behälter drinnen und dementsprechend haben wir es auch länger zum Begutachten.

**Uebelacker:** Die Originale werden geschont. Mittlerweile sind die teilweise über 40 Jahre alt, und wir versuchen, die Originalmasken von seinem Vater immer mehr rauszunehmen aus dem Lauf. Darum wächst auch die Stiftung ständig. Die Anzahl der Masken wird jedes Jahr erweitert und so haben wir die Möglichkeit, die Originale zurückzunehmen, in der Stiftung zu lassen und eben für den Lauf die Neuen zu nehmen. So eine Maske hat nur eine begrenzte Haltbarkeit, durch die Ausdünstungen, die Temperaturunterschiede — es ist kalt, die Leute schwitzen und das Salz ... das macht die Masken kaputt, und bevor sie ganz kaputt sind, nehmen wir sie raus, und dann kommen wieder neue nach. Das ist sehr wichtig.

**Untermieder:** Wir haben ja die Möglichkeit. Wir müssen keine nachkaufen.

**Uebelacker:** Wir machen sie selber.

**Carter:** Ja, es muss so sein.

**Untermieder:** Dann gibt es wieder die österreichischen Gruppen, die es kaufen müssen, weil keiner da ist, der sie schnitzt. Aber wir haben genügend Schnitzer und haben dieses Problem nicht.

**Uebelacker:** Das ist aber vielleicht auch ein Indikator, dass man sagen kann, das ist ein gesunder Verein, weil er aus sich heraus dieses Personal stellen kann. Das heißt, wenn genügend Nachwuchs da ist, dann kann man den einen zum Beispiel dafür interessieren, dass er sich um die Instrumente kümmert, dass er die Tänze spielen lernt. Ein anderer, da haben wir ein Beispiel hier, der sich ums Schnitzen kümmert, aber aus dem Verein heraus, und nicht, dass ein Externer beauftragt wird: „Schnitz mir eine Maske!“

**Carter:** Ah, das ist auch der gleiche Kontext. Die Leute kennen einander, [sie haben das gleiche Gefühl] ...

**Uebelacker:** Wenn sie in den Schwarzwald schauen, da haben wir die schwäbisch-allemanische Fastnacht, dort gibt es professionelle Schnitzer, die für Vereine 40, 50 Masken herstellen, zum großen Teil alle identisch. Obwohl jetzt auch bereits wieder eine Rückbesinnung passiert, die Masken zu verändern, Unikate herzustellen. Das hat auch damit zu tun, weil das wesentlich traditioneller ist. Sie tragen teilweise heute Uniformen, und Uniformen mögen Frauen ja überhaupt nicht. Wenn sie heute sie heute zur Grammy-Verleihung oder zum Oscar.

**Carter:** Bitte?

**Untermieder:** Grammy Award.

**Carter:** Ah, ja.

**Uebelacker:** Wenn eine Frau das gleiche Kleid anhat.

**Carter:** Oh, das ist soweit entfernt von meiner Erfahrung.

**Uebelacker:** Was passiert? Das wäre eine Katastrophe. Deswegen ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass die Masken alle gleich waren. Es liegt natürlich schon daran, dass, wenn man einen Schnitzer hat, der für 20, 30 Leute die Masken schnitzt. Der hat seinen eigenen Stil, und dann geht es darum, wie er variiert. Sie werden feststellen, dass es zwei unterschiedliche Masken gibt, Situationen gibt. Das eine, wie es bei uns der Fall ist, sie haben unterschiedliche Masken, die ähneln sich nicht. Das ist auch in Österreich der Fall, bei manchen Gruppen, die haben verschiedene Typen. Da ist der Tod dabei, da ist ein Hanswurst dabei ... da ist ein Kraxenträger dabei und, und, und ... aber alles unterschiedliche Masken. Und dann haben wir wieder, ich nenne es einmal so, Uniformträger, die alle in den gleichen Fellgewändern herumlaufen und möglichst gleiche Masken haben. Und das ist sehr ungewöhnlich ... und da ist bereits schon ein Trend zum Spektakulären, möglichst viele Hörner, und ein Trend dahin ... sagen wir, wenn Sie heute 15, 20 gleiche Masken haben und gleiche Gewänder, dann wird diese Gruppe größer wirken, als wenn 30 mit unterschiedlichen Masken laufen. Das ist auch eine [...?]. Und ich halte diese Sachen — ich sag nicht für falsch — aber ich denke, dass diese Entwicklung hin zu uniformierten Maskenträgern nicht mehr so ursprünglich ist, denn wenn ich mir überlege, wie früher die Bevölkerung strukturiert war, geografisch, dann gibt es hier einen Bauernhof, und dann musste man eine Stunde zu Fuß gehen, und dann gab es hier eine Bahn.

**Carter:** Ja, nicht mit dem Auto.

**Uebelacker:** Und der hatte sicherlich eine andere Maske, und Tracht, die Festtracht der Frau, war mit Sicherheit eine andere als die ...

**Carter:** Der Dialekt auch manchmal.

**Uebelacker:** Die Problematik ist zu unterscheiden, ist es richtig oder falsch. Wir leben im Heute, und deswegen kann man nicht einfach sagen, diese Uniformierten, das ist grundsätzlich falsch. Das ist nicht möglich. Ich denke nur, dass die Problematik darin liegt, was machen sie.

**Carter:** Ah ja, was sie machen.

**Uebelacker:** Das ist für mich die Unterscheidung: Was üben sie aus! Wir haben die Problematik: Wir in Kasern laufen in Kasern in erster Linie. In Sankt Johann laufen die sehr



wohl von Bauernhof zu Bauernhof. Was mache ich, wenn ich jetzt in München bin? Da gibt es keine Bauernhöfe, da gibt es nur Hochhäuser. Was mache ich da?

**Carter:** Das sind nicht die Einheimischen, die mit denen man [aufgewachsen] ist. Es ist eine andere Gemeinde [Gemeinschaft?]. Was sind die Funktionen und die Möglichkeiten? Es gibt Möglichkeiten, es passiert etwas ... aber was ist das?

**Uebelacker:** Wir sehen, dass diese Gruppen dann auf Christkindlmärkten auftreten. Die Problematik ist, dass Christkindlmärkte großenteils kommerziell veranstaltet werden.

**Carter:** Auch mit den Auftritten der Perchtengruppen?

**Uebelacker:** Auch mit Auftritten. Und wenn Perchtengruppen keine andere Möglichkeiten haben, dann haben sie da die Möglichkeit, sich zu präsentieren. Das ist im Grundsatz nicht falsch. Die Frage ist: Was wird präsentiert? Es spielt dann keine Rolle, welche Masken ich trage — Schreckmasken oder Masken von uns Schönperchten – das spielt keine Rolle, sondern das, was ich mache ... das ist das Wesentliche.

**Carter:** Aber Sie haben mir gesagt, vielleicht liegen wir falsch, vielleicht wäre Peter[?] besser für das Video ... ich habe keine Ahnung.

**Untermieder:** ... ist nach wie vor besser, aber [es] ist auch teurer. Es ließe sich nicht bezahlen.

**Carter:** Ja, okay, danke für Ihre Geduld ... ich probiere das. Wenn Sie genug haben, dann ist es Okay. Ich werde Sie nicht müde machen.

**Untermieder:** Dass Sie das alles schreiben wollen!

**Carter:** Ja, das ist interessant. Ich werde viel Kaffee trinken. Also, ich glaube, ich habe alles ... es war sehr interessant, [etwas] über die Gruppe zu lernen. Ihr Vater ... wie er alles zu neuem Leben erweckt hat ... das war Mitte der 50er Jahre. Sie haben gesagt, dass er die Masken selbst geschnitzt hat, ja? Und dass es weniger Vorbilder gegeben hat, und wie es sich entwickelt hat, und wie die Masken aussehen sollten. Das ist für mich eine typisch interessante Frage: Wie entscheidet man wie die Masken aussehen sollen? Und in dieser Gruppengeschichte hatte er die [Fähigkeit?], das in die Zukunft zu bringen. Das ist interessant.

**Untermieder:** Ich glaube, wir sollten ein klein wenig in die Geschichte zurückblicken. Kirchseeon, wie der Uebelacker schon gesagt hat, ist entstanden aus einer Katastrophe. Wir hatten hier eine Nonnenraupenplage. Und die Problematik, die sich hier stellte, war, dass ein Großteil dieses Ebersberger Forstes abgeholzt werden musste. Und das konnte man nur

machen mit Menschen. Das wurde publiziert und aus verschiedenen Gegenden kamen die Leute hierher, weil sie hier Arbeit bekamen. Das war aus dem Schwarzwald genauso wie aus dem Bayerischen Wald bis herunter nach Italien, Südtirol. Und diese Leute haben stückweise, natürlich, ihr Brauchtum hierher gebracht. Es gibt wundervolle Aufzeichnungen über die Leute, wie sie hergekommen sind, woher sie kamen und wie lange sie geblieben sind. Die haben dieses — nicht wie wir es heute ausüben — zum Stück hierher gebracht. Wir wissen nicht, ob sie Holzmasken getragen haben. Das ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass sie beschmiert waren.

**Carter:** Mit Holzfarbe [*soot*] oder ...

### **3. Person:** Ruß.

**Untermieder:** ... oder Ledermasken trugen oder nur Kartoffelsäcke angezogen. Ich nehme an, dass Pelzmäntel sehr wohl benutzt wurden — Pelz ist ein uraltes Bekleidungsmittel. Man weiß nicht genau was sie wirklich gesungen haben, was sie wirklich getanzt haben. Wahrscheinlich hat sich das hier in Kirchseeon irgendwann vermengt und hat sich dann ... ein letztes großes Laufen gab es in Kirchseeon 1911, und das allerletzte dürfte 1913 gewesen sein. Zu dieser Zeit war mein Vater noch gar nicht auf dieser Welt, aber der Grund, warum sich das dann verloren hat, war der erste Weltkrieg.

**Carter:** Ja, es ist oft so mit Kriegen: alles ist ...

**Untermieder:** Genau. Die jungen Männer blieben in Frankreich und zurück blieben die Frauen. Ein Zweites tat der zweite Weltkrieg. Mein Vater hatte damals, als wieder Laufen entstanden sind — und das waren noch nicht solche Laufen, wie wir sie heute kennen, sondern das war auch eher ein Gaudium — [*In English:*] *just for fun* — und er hat es auch so beschrieben, dass es auch eher ein Belästigen der Leute war: Erschrecken, aber nicht wirklich mit Sinn. Und der damalige Kreisheimatpfleger, Dr Heinrich Kastner, der mit ihm gut befreundet war, der hat ihn darauf angesetzt und hat zu ihm gesagt: Geh' zu den alten Leuten, befrag sie, was da war. Und mit viel Mühe konnte er dann einige Sachen ausgraben. Masken gab es dann immer noch nicht. Dr Heinrich Kastner hat eine Maske erworben, die vermutlich aus dem Rottal stammt — genau weiß man es nicht, weil das ein fahrender Händler war, der diese Maske veräußert hat. Und diese Maske hat er meinem Vater gezeigt, und das war die erste Holzmaske. Diese Maske ist etwa 300 Jahre alt. Und dann ging es eben darum, diesen Brauch mit Masken zu beleben, weil eben Masken eine andere Faszination besitzen als nur reine Bemalung. Und er hat begonnen, sich zu informieren. Hätte dann auch möglichst hässliche Teufelsmasken produziert, bis sein Freund Dr Heinrich Kastner ihm gesagt hat, das glaubt er nicht, dass das der richtige Weg wäre. Er

sollte seine eigene Fantasie benutzen und im Endeffekt mit offenen Augen durch die Natur gehen. Wenn Sie heute durch Wälder gehen, dann werden Sie merken — das ist in Schottland häufig der Fall oder auch in Schweden, Norwegen, Finnland, die skandinavischen Länder – dass dort diese Wälder so urig sind, dass Sie überall Gesichter sehen.

**Carter:** Aha, man fühlt das, wenn man durch diese Wälder geht .

**Untermieder:** Und die sind da. Und das ist am Ort und daraus kann man die Fantasie, eigene Fantasie speisen. Und dann kommen solche Geschöpfe heraus.

**Carter:** Das ist also die Vorstellung, aber auch, wenn ich das richtig verstanden haben, mit dem Ort verbunden.

**Untermieder:** *[In English:] Combination between imagination, fantasy and the place.*

**Carter:** Ich glaube, das ist meine persönliche Erfahrung, ich kann das fühlen ... das ist auch auf Englisch schwierig auszudrücken ... die Masken ... es erscheint mir, dass sie eine Familie sind, die verschiedenen Arten, zum Beispiel die Schönperchten, aber es gibt ein Familiengefühl.

**Uebelacker:** Aber Sie meinen mit Familie, dass wir auch geistig irgendwie eine Einheit sind, oder wir sind alle gleich verrückt, in Anführungsstrichen, so meine ich das jetzt ... Wissen Sie, wie ich das meine? Das Verhältnis dazu. Man muss ein bisschen verrückt sein, um das zu machen. Also nicht verrückt im negativen Sinn.

**Untermieder:** Seelenverwandtschaft.

**Uebelacker:** Nicht alle, aber ein großer Teil.

**Carter:** Also für die Maskenschnitzer. Sie haben diese Masken gesehen, um auch eine Verbindung zu den alten Masken [herzustellen] ... also die eigenen Einflüsse und Ziele.

**3. Person:** Man hat einen eigenen Stil im Kopf, also eine eigene Vorgabe hat man im Kopf und nach dieser gewissen Vorgabe arbeitet man immer weiter. Man bleibt immer dieser Linie treu. Also ich würde nie auf die Aliens kommen, ich mache immer unseren Stil weiter.

**Carter:** Also ... die Persönlichkeit dieser Masken ist auch mit Ihren künstlerischen Vorstellungen, künstlerischen Energie verbunden. Aber es scheint mit, es ist auch in einem biologischen Sinn auch mit der Familie so: ich heirate jemanden und er ist mit mir in einer Familie, dann gibt es Kinder und sie sind zusammen mit den Großeltern.

**3. Person:** Das ist nichts anderes.

**Untermieder:** Das ist aber nicht nur innerhalb des Vereins, sondern die Familie wächst auch außerhalb des Vereins genauso in der Bevölkerung. Je mehr sich eine Bevölkerung mit diesem Brauchtum identifiziert, desto mehr gehört sie zu diesem Brauchtum dazu. Und das ist sehr wichtig für die Akzeptanz und für die Ausübung, denn Brauchtum kommt von brauchen ... [*In English:*] *to need* ... und wenn es nicht mehr notwendig ist ... [*In English:*] *if it is not necessary* ... dann ist es vorbei.

**Carter:** Es muss also nutzbar sein ... [*In English:*] *relevant*. Und diese Aspekte ... also, in dieser Gruppe gibt es die Tänze, die verschiedenen Lieder und die Tänze mit [Rüben?]-Hexen. Es scheint mir, dass es wichtig ist, es verschiedene Tänze gibt, und das findet während der Raunächte statt. Aber Sie haben gesagt, dass man nicht genau weiß, was das für Lieder waren — also woher stammen diese, und gibt es auch neue Ideen für Tänze, Lieder? Ist die Choreographie neu oder teilweise neu, oder [aus] alten Quellen? Woher kommen diese Ausdrücke?

**Untermieder:** Also zu den alten ist zu sagen ... die Forschungen von meinem Vater haben Bruchstücke ergeben. Diese Bruchstücke sind dann einerseits durch gewisse Logik zu ergänzen, andererseits waren sie ja zu ergänzen durch Besuch anderer Gruppen, denn dort kennt man ähnliche Lieder. Der Wortlaut ist etwas anders, der Sinn ist der gleiche. Das heißt, man hat also hier noch Fundstücke bekommen. Nehmen wir einen Perchtentanz — wir nennen ihn Salzburger, im Österreichischen nennen sie ihn Pongauer — diese Melodie ist eine der ältesten Perchtenmelodien, Tanzmelodien.

**Carter:** Was ist mit den [...?], oder ist das etwas anderes?

**Untermieder:** Das ist etwas anderes. Diese Melodie kennt man sowohl in Bayern als auch in Österreich. Dann wurden aber auch neue Kompositionen gemacht, komplett neue Übersetzungen und dazu auch neue Choreographien. Diese Choreographien lassen sich dann herstellen, wenn man bestimmte Schritte kennt, die überliefert wurden. Die integriert man dann. Dann ist sehr, sehr viel abhängig von dem Tempo des Tanzes und natürlich auch von der Melodieführung. Wir haben einen Tanz, der ohne Instrumente auskommt, das ist wiederum ein ganz klarer Spieltanz, hier wird etwas gespielt – der Verlauf der Sonne. Und diese Perchtenlaufen sind ja oft — und das was Sie das letzte Mal gesehen haben, sind Perchtenlaufen, sie nennen das aber Perchtenspiel, weil hier auch etwas gespielt wird.

**Carter:** Spielen im Sinne von Schauspiel...

**Untermieder:** ... und das ist, was das Ganze so bereichert und wo der Fantasie keine Grenzen gesetzt sind. Niemand kann uns verbieten einen neuen Tanz zu kreieren. Wichtig ist wiederum: Was steckt dahinter an Sinnggebung. Es würde jetzt keinen Sinn machen, wenn wir jetzt einen Lambada einstudieren würden — das hat mit dieser Kultur nichts zu tun. Auch Tango wäre nur bedingt einsetzbar. Wichtig ist, dass, wenn man so etwas neu entwickelt, dass man zurückblickt auf die Wurzeln, auf das, was vorhanden ist, ob ich mich daraus bedienen kann. Sie müssen sich vorstellen, es ist wie ein Musikstück: sie haben Noten, und jedes Musikstück arbeitet mit den gleichen Noten, nur die Variation macht's und die Fantasie. Denn Mozart hat anders komponiert als Beethoven, aber mit den gleichen Noten. Und das macht es dann so reichhaltig und gibt uns auch die Möglichkeit, immer wieder auch etwas Neues zu erfinden. Und dadurch bleibt es auch nicht stehen, das Brauchtum. Genauso — das passt sicherlich auch dazu — ist es mit den Instrumenten.

**Carter:** Ich habe das vorher nie gesehen, diesen Glockenwagen und so weiter, dieser Zugang mit der Musik ist etwas Spezielles für diese Gruppe, glaube ich.

**Untermieder:** Wobei es so ist, dass, wie es so häufig im Brauchtum und in der Bevölkerung geschieht. Not macht erfinderisch. Und ich habe jetzt gerade in Österreich eine Gruppe gesehen, die haben gespielt ... mit einer Trommel, mit vier Blockflöten und mit einer [Drehleier?]. Wunderbar, absolut klasse! Was machst du wenn es 15 Grad minus hat? Wie spielst du da noch? Wie hält sich der Ton? Wie oft kann er diese Blockflöte einsetzen? Einmal? Und danach ... wir laufen nur einmal im Jahr.

**3. Person:** Die braucht ein Feuer zum Beheizen.

**Untermieder:** Die Entwicklung hier war so, dass man genauso mit Blasinstrumenten versucht hat, zum Beispiel mit Klarinette.

**Carter:** Das war die erste Probe [der erste Versuch?] ... mit Blasinstrumenten.

**Untermieder:** Das war die erste ... weil diese Instrumente waren ja vorhanden, genauso wie Akkordeon. Die Problematik war: Es regnete, es schneite, es war kalt. Einmal zum Spielen zu kalt, zum anderen für die Instrumente. Und wenn sie einen Schutz drüber gelegt haben, war es nicht mehr laut.

**Carter:** Es war also diese praktische.

**Untermieder:** Es musste also ein Instrument erfunden werden mit etwas, das witterungsbeständig ist, laut ist und transportabel ist. Und wir hatten früher hier auch Viehwirtschaft, und die trugen halt Glocken, bei Wind und Wetter. Und das erste Instrument, was hier gebaut wurde, das war noch so — das hat man auch bei

Spielmannszügen — das ist hier eine Stange mit Querstangen, da waren die Glocken befestigt, aber das wurde hier in einem Schaft getragen wie eine Fahne.

**Carter:** Also ein Stock mit den Glocken dabei.

**Untermieder:** Die hat man mit einer Hand gespielt.

**Carter:** Aha, und die andere hat den Stock gehalten.

**Untermieder:** Was natürlich weder zwei Stimmen zulässt noch irgendwie Schnelligkeit. Also musste man das Ganze auf den Boden bringen. Da man aber von Haus zu Haus läuft, muss es transportabel sein, und so hat man das Ganze auf Räder gestellt.

**Carter:** Ja, und ist das mit dem Laufen, das ich zum Beispiel in Eglharting gesehen habe ... man geht von Haus zu Haus ... das ist also ein typischer Laufplan, so von Haus zu Haus zu gehen und Musik zu machen, die Tänze, die Lieder, während der Raunächte. Und ist das [verschieden]? Zu einer gewissen Raunacht tanzt man einen gewissen Tanz und zu den anderen Raunächten macht ein bisschen was anderes? Oder ist es nicht von bestimmten Raunächten abhängig, welchen Tanz und welches Lied man verwendet?

**3. Person:** Wir laufen nur in diesen Raunächten, also zu dieser Zeit. Ansonsten ist es gleich. Bei den Läufen ist jeder Lauf gleich.

**4. Person:** Nur die Vielzahl von den Tänzen ist dann abhängig von den Häusern, die Länge der Läufen ist abhängig von den Häusern. Und es hat zum Teil ergeben: Durch die Holzmandln, durch die Steckentänze entlastet man die anderen Tänzer. Also wenn jeder Tänzer bei jedem Haus immer tanzen muss, ist er nach zwei Stunden fertig. So hat er ein bisschen Pause. Also man hat es ein bisschen variiert durch die Steckentänze. Jetzt hat man natürlich als Klaubauf ... muss er nur jeden zweiten tanzen.

**Carter:** Um nicht müde zu werden ...

**4. Person:** Früher waren es weniger Häuser. Da hat man wirklich sagen können: Okay, man kann beiden jedem Haus tanzen. Heute geht das nicht mehr. Und nach fünf Stunden immer tanzen: Fertig!

**Uebelacker:** Wir haben sechs unterschiedliche Tänze. Davon sind drei mit Glockenspiel und drei sind nur mit Sprechgesang und die wechseln immer ab.

**Carter:** Also, zu jedem Auftritt kann das wechseln?

**Uebelacker:** Eigentlich sind es [sogar] sieben Tänze. Aber wir wechseln immer durch. Und das ist auch für die Zuschauer.

**Untermieder:** Abwechslungsreicher.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, abwechslungsreicher: Mal kommen da die Drudenhaxn, das nächste Mal, wenn wir kommen, haben wir da das Glockenspiel. Das wechselt natürlich immer, aber für uns intern hat die Reihenfolge mit den Raunächten überhaupt nicht zu tun. Das läuft immer nach dem gleichen Schema ab.

**Carter:** Und sind die Häuser, die Sie besuchen, ist das vorher geplant? Sie sagen: Kommt zu uns!

**Uebelacker:** Das wird vorher plakatiert ... oder ... Internet sowieso und durch die Presse geht das. Und Kirchseeon ist aufgeteilt in 11 Abschnitte, also es gibt 11 Läufe bei uns. Da weiß man, es gibt Kirchseeon-Süd, Kirchseeon-Nord ... wobei es schon eine gewisse Reihenfolge gibt. Der erste und der letzte Lauf ist immer gleich. Beginn und Ende steht immer fest. Und das andere variiert immer etwas. Aber die Leute wissen: Aha, Kirchseeon-Nord, das sind wir. Das heißt, Samstag, 30.12. sind die Perchten bei uns.

**Carter:** Also sie sagen: Kommt!

**Uebelacker:** Das legen wir fest.

**Untermieder:** Also die Besuche der Häuser ... es gibt ein paar Ausnahmen. Aber normalerweise sagen die nicht: Kommst du zu mir? Sondern wir sagen, wann wir dort vorbeikommen.

**Carter:** Und dann können sie planen.

**Untermieder:** Sie können planen, zu Hause zu sein.

**Uebelacker:** Es gibt einen Plan, dann wissen sie ... Aha! Ein Laufplan hängt aus ... und dann Presse, Internet oder Plakate, und dann wissen die Leute: Aha, am 1.12 sind sie bei uns!

**Carter:** Ah ja. Das klingt sehr praktisch. Umgekehrt wäre es ... ein bisschen blöd.

**Untermieder:** Die Problematik, die sich für uns stellt hier in Kirchseeon, ist, dass dieser Ort natürlich wächst.

**Uebelacker:** ... wird immer größer ...

**Carter:** Man arbeitet in München und lebt hier, das ist typisch.

**Untermieder:** Wenn wir früher für ein Gebiet zwei Stunden gelaufen sind, dann sind es heute drei, vier Stunden. Das ist natürlich eine enorme Belastung. Wir haben aber im Normalfall nicht mehr Zeit als, sagen wir mal, elf Läufe.

**Uebelacker:** Die Wochenenden sind voll. Und 6. Januar ist Ende.

**Carter:** Man muss also ein gewissen Zeitrahmen schaffen [einhalten?].

**Uebelacker:** Genau. Und wenn wir Pech haben, wenn Weihnachten dann auf ein Wochenende fällt, Samstag, dann fehlt.

**Uebelacker:** ... uns das, dann wird es schwierig. Dann müssen wir mal einen Freitag einbauen, aber das ist immer unser [...?], diesen Plan so schnell wie möglich zu machen und schauen, dass man alles schafft.

**Untermieder:** Wenn Sie von Raunächten sprechen, da muss man natürlich aufpassen, denn die eigentlichen Raunächte sind zwölf.

**Carter:** Es gibt zwölf Raunächte? Okay ...

**Uebelacker:** Das würde uns nicht genügen, denn wir können in erster Linie ja nur an den Wochenenden laufen. Das heißt, wir beginnen Ende November und laufen bis zum 6. Januar.

**4. Person:** Das ist nicht ganz richtig von der Zeit her — wir haben ja jetzt die Adventszeit für unsere Läufe, aber es wäre anders nicht zu schaffen ...

**Untermieder:** Wir brauchen diese Zeit, sonst könnten wir Kirchseeon nicht traditionell ...

**Uebelacker:** Es gibt zwölf Raunächte — es gibt ja 6 im alten Jahr und 6 im neuen Jahr. Und die letzte Raunacht, die wichtigste für Perchten, wäre ja vom 5. auf den 6. Januar. Aber es ist ... technisch für uns nicht machbar, es auf diese zwölf Nächte zu konzentrieren. Die Leute müssen arbeiten, wir haben nur diese Wochenenden zur Verfügung. Aber die Bevölkerung erwartet, dass wir kommen. Die erwarten das! Der überwiegende Teil. Die sind beleidigt, wenn wir nicht kommen. Die laden Besuch ein, Bekannte: Samstag kommen die Perchten, kommt! Es gibt Leute, die machen Lagerfeuer und, wenn wir kommen, Glühwein.

**Carter:** Das kann man sich vorstellen, dass es Glühwein gibt.

**Uebelacker:** Das ist immer ein Anlass, für viele Leute immer ein Anlass, Freunde und Bekannte einzuladen von Außerhalb, die Perchten anzuschauen. Und es gehört eben zur



Vorweihnachtszeit, zur Adventszeit ... da gehört das einfach dazu. Wenn wir jetzt sagen, wir schaffen es terminlich nicht, und würden ein Gebiet ausgrenzen.

**Untermieder:** Dann gibt's Ärger.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, dann gibt's Ärger.

**Carter:** Aha, das ist interessant. Die Hierarchisierung [?] der Menschen hier ... sie sagen: Wir wollen das, es gehört uns. Sie drücken das [durch?] mit ihrer [...?]. Sie sehen die Plakate usw. Sie planen, da zu sein ... also, sie identifizieren sich als die Gemeinde ... von diesem Brauch. Es ist nicht nur, dass jeder Mensch innerhalb der Grenzen dieser Gemeinde ... es gibt viele Menschen, die in Kirchseeon leben, Kirchseeon als ein offizieller Ort ... aber die Menschen *claim* [*beanspruchen*] diesen Brauch für sich selbst. Es ist nicht jeder Mensch in Kirchseeon, weil es gibt neue Bewohner, die kommen woanders her, vielleicht haben sie nicht alle Interesse, aber es gibt [andere], die spielen eine aktive Rolle in dieser Gemeinde, der „Perchtengemeinde“, oder ist das anders?

**Uebelacker:** Also für Kirchseeon ... nicht bei allen Bewohnern von Kirchseeon, aber ...

**Untermieder:** Ein Großteil der Bevölkerung identifiziert sich mit dem Brauch.

**Carter:** Und sie bekommen diese Einladung von Ihnen?

**Untermieder:** Ja.

**Carter:** Und sie haben die Möglichkeit. *Okay*, mein Großvater ist vielleicht nicht hier aufgewachsen, aber ich fühle mich jetzt als Einheimischer. Oder ist es ...

**Untermieder:** Es hat schon einen sozialen Aspekt. Also wenn wir davon gesprochen haben, dass Bewohner eines Hauses wissen, dass wir am 4. Dezember an ihrem Haus vorbeikommen, haben sie die Möglichkeit, Gäste einzuladen — Verwandte, Freunde, wie auch immer — und sie feiern ein kleines Fest. Dann hat es auch einen sozialen Aspekt. Ganz hoch interessant, weil die würden normalerweise so gar nicht kommen, aber das ist ein guter Grund, ein Anlass, die Freunde einzuladen. Man hat eine soziale Gemeinschaft. Das können die Perchten auch beleben

**Untermieder:** Hinzu kommt natürlich, dass wir durch diese Ankündigungen den Leuten genau signalisieren können, wann wir kommen. Umgekehrt wirkt sich das wiederum auf den Gemeinsinn der Gemeinde aus. das war nicht immer so. Es waren mindestens 20 Jahre notwendig, bis der Eingeborene, der Aborigine von Kirchseeon sich wirklich damit identifiziert hat. Es gab viele Leute, die dieses Brauchtum abgelehnt haben. Das hat sich aber verändert. Das hat sich auch durch die Kinder verändert, weil die Kinder [...] das hat

sich verändert interessanterweise auch durch Besucher, die aus München, Augsburg, Niederbayern oder sonst wo herkamen, oder zufällig zu Gast waren.

**Carter:** Ja, ich habe mich darüber gewundert. Es gibt Leute in den Gasthäusern ... ich sehe das oft in Österreich, man erwartet keine Perchten, man weiß nicht, dass sie existieren, aber sie sind Gäste in diesen Gasthäusern und dann gibt es etwas ...

**Untermieder:** Es gibt vielleicht eine Sache, die immer wieder zu erleben ist: Irgendwo entsteht ein neues Haus oder mehrere neue Häuser und wir kommen zum ersten Mal an dieses Haus. Wissen Sie, was die erste Reaktion normalerweise ist? Wir läuten, die machen die Türe auf, sehen diese Gestalten, knallen die Türe zu!

**4. Person:** Licht aus! Weg!

**Carter:** Sie wollen das nicht.

**Untermieder:** Dann haben die zwölf Monate Zeit, ihre Nachbarn zu befragen.

**Uebelacker:** „Was ist das?“

**Untermieder:** Die erklären ihnen das und im nächsten Jahr ist die Türe bereits offen.

**Carter:** Ah, zuerst die Erfahrung und als nächstes ...

**Uebelacker:** Die haben Angst. Sie wissen ja nicht, was kommt da auf mich zu. Laufen die ins Haus rein? Machen die mir was kaputt? Sie wissen es nicht. Und dann, nach einem Jahr — Okay! Und vor allem von diesen Leuten, habe ich festgestellt, wird man dann möglichst sehr herzlich empfangen.

**3. Person:** Das steht dann auch im Gästebuch drin.

**Untermieder:** Es ist auch die Wertschätzung, die wächst. Aber auch das braucht Zeit. Wir wissen alle — ich weiß nicht, ob Sie diesen Spruch kennen: Der Prophet im eigenen Land zählt nicht viel!

**Carter:** Nein, ich kenne das nicht.

**Untermieder:** Nein, kennen Sie nicht? Das heißt übersetzt: Dort, wo etwas entstanden ist, hat es oft nicht den Wert.

**Carter:** Ah, das ist vielleicht wie mit Künstlern: Sie sind vielleicht im [Aus]land berühmt, aber nicht zu Hause.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, genauso ist es ...

**Untermieder:** Wenn aber im Ausland eine große Begeisterung ist, dann kommt es zurück und dann hat er auch hier die Möglichkeit.

**Carter:** Ja. Was sagen Sie? Sie haben etwas wunderbares gefunden ... es ist etwas Einheimisches am Ende.

**Untermieder:** Und das verändert auch eine Gesellschaft. Es verändert die Bewohner dieses Ortes.

**4. Person:** Die Gemeinde ist vielleicht auch stolz, so etwas zu haben. Beispiel: Los Angeles, LA Lakers, *famous Basketball team*, ich bin aus Los Angeles und er ist mein Verwandter in Deutschland und ich wohne aber dort und [bin stolz auf die Lakers?]. Jetzt zieht einer her, ich bin jetzt auch an dem Ort, der Bruder ist aber in Frankfurt und er sieht einen Fernsehbericht. Er sieht uns, die Perchten, da wo ich wohne, da bin ich stolz darauf, ich freue mich, dass du das in Frankfurt gesehen hast ... und das ist auch ein Wir-Gefühl. Das [...?] ein gewisser Verein, wir machen das, aber das Umfeld, die Gemeinde, ist stolz darauf, ich gehöre ja irgendwie dazu, ich wohne ja da ... oder ich bin aus diesem Landkreis. Das ist auch schön. Das ist ein Effekt ... das erfahren wir auch des Öfteren.

**3. Person:** Das nimmt zu. Früher war das anders. Früher hat man das Ansehen nicht gehabt, weil der Verein war zwar da, aber mehr oder weniger nichtssagend. Das ist aber rapide angestiegen.

**Uebelacker:** Im Laufe der Jahre ... wir haben uns verändert — natürlich — unser Verhalten hat sich verändert, aber natürlich auch das Publikum. Jetzt sind wir wieder da, wo wir eigentlich am Anfang waren: die Leute sehnen sich eigentlich nach so etwas. Nicht nur die Kirchseeoner, für die Kirchseeoner ist das nicht mehr so spektakulär, für sie ist es Gewohnheit, aber es gehört dazu.

**Untermieder:** ... zum Jahresablauf.

Uebelacker: Genau, zum Jahresablauf gehört es dazu.

**Carter:** Es ist also ein Teil des Jahreslaufs ... vom Leben.

**Uebelacker:** ... vom Gemeindeleben, es ist ganz normal, dass in dieser Zeit.

*[a few missing seconds; no sound]*

**Untermieder:** Wie andere Leute zum Skilaufen fahren, gehen wir zum Perchtenlauf.

**Carter:** Ich weiß nicht wie ich ... ich kann nicht Skifahren, ich habe das nie gemacht, leider. Und in den Touristenbüros: Ah, Sie kommen aus den USA! Sie sind hier für Sound

of Music Tour[?] und zum Skifahren! Nein, nur für Perchten [...] — gut, ich bin da — aber wie viele Touristen? Es sind meistens die Einheimischen, die dabei sind?

**3. Person:** Die mitgehen, oder?

**Carter:** Für die Läufe ... zum Beispiel in Eglharting, waren das meistens Einheimische? Glauben Sie, dass ...

**Uebelacker:** Die Zuschauer?

**Carter:** Die Zuschauer!

**3. Person:** Nein, die kommen mittlerweile von weit her ... aus einem Umkreis von bis zu 100 Kilometer fahren die ...

**Uebelacker:** Es gibt schon auch Einheimische, die mit ihren Kindern fast bei dem Lauf dabei sind, weil die Kinder das wollen, bei den Perchten dabei zu sein, aber das ist nur vereinzelt. Aber der Großteil ist mit Sicherheit aus dem Großraum München.

**Carter:** Die Einheimischen sind also eher zu Hause.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, bis wir kommen.

**Carter:** Die warten also. Die Zuschauer sind dann wahrscheinlich von anderswo ...

**4. Person:** Mit Sicherheit! Und einen Hund haben wir, so einen kleinen Hund, der, wenn er uns hört, wenn er die Trommeln hört, dann muss er raus. Das hat uns der Besitzer gesagt. Und von den 11 Läufen ist er bestimmt 5, 6 Mal dabei.

**Uebelacker:** Der wird schwerhörig sein.

**4. Person:** Das ist ein Wahnsinn. Da hat der Besitzer gesagt, der wird unruhig, wenn er nicht raus darf. Wenn er uns hört und er darf nicht raus, ist es vorbei.

**Carter:** *Feedback* ist ganz toll.

**Uebelacker:** Jedes Mal, wenn wir vorbeigehen ... da war er dabei, beim letzten Lauf ... da haben wir wieder gesagt, unser Perchtenhund!

**4. Person:** Das ist immer interessant. Ich muss jedes Mal lachen, wenn ich den Hund sehe, weil der lebt mit uns.

**Carter:** Das ist alles so interessant.

**3. Person:** Das ist halt bei uns das Schöne, dass wir jede Sparte selber machen. Wir machen unsere Gewänder, wir machen unsere Masken, wir machen zum Teil die Musikinstrumente

selbst. Das ist einfach das Schöne an unserem Verein, weil wir halt alles machen ... wir leben mit dem ... wir leben mit dem Material.

**Carter:** Das ist ein Teil von Ihnen, das ist das alltägliche Leben.

**3. Person:** Unsere Hütte, die wurde selbst einmal aufgebaut von Mitgliedern, von Vereinsmitgliedern, und sogar umgesetzt, also das ist hier in Kirchseeon der zweite Platz ... die pflegen wir und wir schauen, dass wir das so lang wie möglich erhalten. Das gehört zum Verein dazu, und ohne die Hütte wäre der Verein nicht das, was er heute ist. Diese Kammer war der einzige Aufenthaltsraum, wo früher [...?]. Aber dieser Verein ... sein Vater hat das selber gekauft ... das ist eigentlich das, wo der Verein größer geworden ist. Jeder, der ein bisschen von Kirchseeon kennt, der kennt erst einmal den Verein und der kennt das Vereinsheim, und das ist wirklich eine alte Hütte. Die ist 350 Jahre alt.

**Carter:** Also diese Hütte gehört zu Kirchseeon und zu den Perchten?

**3. Person:** Das ist eine Einheit. Das hat es früher nicht gegeben in den Vereinen.

**Carter:** Hier stellt man also etwas her — die Kostüme, Masken usw., also als Arbeitsplatz.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, Arbeitsplatz auch.

**Carter:** Treffpunkt.

**Uebelacker:** Ja, treffen, feiern ... die ganze.

**3. Person:** Schnitzwerkstatt. Das gehört dazu.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist sehr gut. Ich habe noch eine Frage: Ich habe diese Kostüme gesehen, dieses zottigen Kostüme, das sind Perchten mit zottiger ...

**Uebelacker:** Wolle.

**Carter:** Ja, aber nicht auch aus Pelz, Stoff.

**Uebelacker:** Wolle.

**Carter:** Ah, okay, Wolle. Das ist interessant. Was ist das?

**Uebelacker:** Einfach nur praktisch.

**Carter:** Praktisch?

**4. Person:** Das ist vor gut 30 Jahren entstanden. Dadurch, dass man Freitag, Samstag, Sonntag zum Teil gelaufen sind — wir haben schlechtes Wetter gehabt, sagen wir mal am Freitag — die Gewänder sind Samstag, Sonntag nass gewesen. Nicht pflegeleicht. Und ich

war damals — ich bin sehr aktiv gelaufen, dann haben wir gesagt, wir modeln etwas um  
und versuchen ... [*Untermieder is leaving*]

## **Appendix M: Interview Transcript: Schärdinger Teufelsperchten**

**Interview with Michael Berger and Günter Gatterbauer of the Schärdinger Teufelsperchten.**

**Conducted in a downtown pub in Schärding, Upper Austria, Austria, Dec. 1, 2006.**

**Interviewed by Molly Carter. Transcribed by Markus Lessman.**

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**Berger:** Kein Problem.

**Carter:** *This is Molly Carter, interview with Schärdinger Teufelsperchten [...] in Schärding, Oberösterreich, January 10th, 2006.*

**Berger:** Michael Berger.

**Gatterbauer:** Und Günter Gatterbauer.

**Carter:** [...] Ich habe die Website gelesen, da gibt es eine kurze Geschichte über den Ursprung dieser Gruppe. Sie haben mit Krampusauftritten begonnen, Sie waren ursprünglich ein Krampusverein oder ...

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, ja. ... eine kleine Krampus-Gruppe mit ... wie viel? Sieben Leuten waren wir.

**Berger:** Sieben Mann.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, sieben Leute. Schon als kleiner Junge, mit 14, 15 Jahren ...

**Carter:** Ah, sie waren ganz jung.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, ganz jung sind wir auch schon immer am Stadtplatz herumgelaufen.

**Berger:** Mit Gummimasken [...] und künstlichen Fellen und alles das waren unsere ersten Krampusauftritte.

**Carter:** Organisiert als ein Verein.

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, Verein war es da noch nicht. [...] von Kindheit an erlebt man das mit, die Krampusnacht und die Nikolausnacht. Da wird zusammengerufen: Heut wird Krampus ge' [gegangen/gegeben?] und da gibt es noch keinen Verein, kein gar nichts. Das hat sich später ein bisserl entwickelt.

**Carter:** Das ist etwas, was die jungen Männer, die Teenies oder Kinder machen können. Aber noch nicht so formell? Man kann das nicht formell machen.

**Gatterbauer:** Kann man auch. Einfach so Freunde, unter Freunden praktisch [...].

**Carter:** Laufen wir zusammen?

**Gatterbauer:** Ja genau, Leute erschrecken, Kinder erschrecken

**Carter:** Das ist immer gut.

**Berger:** Dann haben wir früher schon immer andere Perchtengruppen gesehen, die zu Gast waren in Schaerding, und dann haben wir gesagt, wir möchten auch Holzmasken haben und die richtigen Felle dazu und das Gewand und alles was zu einer richtigen Perchtausrüstung dazugehört. Und da ist das ganze irgendwann einmal entstanden. Ich habe von einem Bekannten die ersten Holzmasken bekommen, da hab' ich selber noch nicht geschnitzt, und der war aus Ecuador, ein Holzschnitzer aus Ecuador, den hab' ich über viele Beziehungen kennengelernt und der hat mir die Masken gemacht, sieben Stück. Das war das erste Jahr, wunderbar und alles, und dann ist aber der wieder zurück nach Ecuador, und ich hab keine Masken mehr bekommen, und dann hab' ich mir eben Holz gekauft und probiert, probiert, probiert und alles. Bis dass endlich die ersten richtigen Maske fertig waren. Dann sind wir aus sieben Mitgliedern zehn Mitglieder geworden; immer jedes Jahr immer eine Steigerung.

**Gatterbauer:** Immer mehr und mehr. Mittlerweile sind wir zweiunddreißig Mitglieder, ein eigener Verein. Wir sind die jetzt Schaerding Teufelsperchten, wir sind ein eigener Verein, so wie es einen Fußballverein gibt oder einen Tennisverein, sind wir jetzt auch ein eigener Verein.

**Berger:** Richtig wir sind eingetragen als e. V., nennt man das, Abkürzung [für] eigener Verein.

**Carter:** Ich habe das „e. V.“ gesehen und habe mich gewundert: was ist das?

**Gatterbauer:** „Eigener Verein“ ist das praktisch.

**Berger:** Das ist eine Abkürzung.



**Carter:** Man musste eine neuen Maskenschnitzer finden. Ich weiß, viele Gruppen bestellen jemanden, sie finden jemanden; sie haben diese Herausforderung [...].

**Carter:** Ich glaube, Sie sind sehr künstl[erisch] ... für diese kurze Zeit ...

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, immer schon.

**Carter:** Mein älterer Bruder [...] ist Puppenspieler und Holzschnitzer, ich weiß, das ist nicht immer so leicht, so etwas zu machen. Nein, das ist nicht so leicht, nein, es ist Übung. Zeichnen wäre gut, wenn man gut zeichnen kann und dreidimensional denken.

**Gatterbauer:** Und Fantasie.

**Berger:** Fantasie brauchst [du].

**Gatterbauer:** Viel Fantasie. Es ist ja nicht einfach so, wenn man so sagt: Diese! Eher: Hier noch etwas und da noch etwas, einfach Fantasie. Vielleicht von Filmen, Fernsehehen oder so etwas ... wenn man irgendetwas sieht.

**Berger:** *Science Fiction*-Filme oder eventuell auch Horrorfilme, verschieden Masken, da kommen die Mitglieder mit Fotos.

**Berger:** Oder, sie möchten gern diese Maske haben und dann schnitze ich die, so gut es geht.

**Carter:** Das war auch eine Frage: Sind die Masken für die Mitglieder wie eine [Schild...?] ... jedes Mitglied hat eine eigene Idee?

**Berger:** Genau.

**Carter:** Sie sagen Ihnen, wie die aussehen soll.

**Berger:** Ich muss das umsetzen

**Carter:** Das ist eine Mischung aus ihrer Idee, was sie haben wollen, was Sie daraus machen.

**Berger:** Das ist mein Ding.

**Carter:** Haben die Gruppenmasken eine ...

**Berger:** Bedeutung? Symbol?

**Carter:** Das auch.

**Berger:** Ja, gewisse Masken haben die, zum Beispiel, der Tod ist dabei, der Gatterbauer hat eine Totenmaske, das ist ein Symbol von einer Maske. Dann haben wir auch einen Wolf

dabei, ein Leitwolf, das sind verschiedene. Es gibt Tiermasken oder verschiedene Masken, die nur christlich aussehen müssen.

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist zum Beispiel der Tod, das ist meine Maske. Jeder verschieden, der eine so, der andere grün ... wie ein jeder Geschmack; du hast sicherlich auch einen anderen Geschmack wie ich. Dann gehen wir zum Mike und sagen: ungefähr so stelle ich mir das vor, Mike gibt dann noch seine Ratschläge, hier noch ein bisserl so oder da noch ein bisserl anders ... wie hier zum Beispiel ... ist das der Eisbär oder der Wolf?

**Berger:** Nein, das ist der vom Gerhard.

**Gatterbauer:** Ah ja, das ist ein Wolf, ein Wolfskopf.

**Carter:** Ich finde, es gibt eine [...] Vielfalt ... viele verschiedene Aussehen ... aber es gibt noch eine Verbindung. Sie passen zusammen [...].

**Berger:** Ja, genau.

**Carter** Trotzdem verschieden.

**Berger:** Ja, immer Verschiedene. Das soll wie so ein alter Mann sein [...] wie so ein alter Mann soll das sein.

**Gatterbauer:** Komplett verschieden. Für die Fantasie gibt es keine Grenze für die Masken.

**Carter:** Ich habe gehört, dass es manche Schnitzer gibt, die haben ihren eigenen Stil, immer die gleiche ...

**Gatterbauer:** Immer eine gleiche Maske.

**Berger:** Wenn jetzt immer alle gleich aussehen, oder alle ähnlich, dann ist die Abwechslung nicht da. Das möchte ich vermeiden. Diese Maske sieht wieder komplett anders aus, wie diese Maske oder wie diese da ... es soll verschieden sein. Es gibt Maskenschnitzer ... ich kenne auch welche in der Steiermark oder eben auch in Salzburg, die haben eine Grundmaske und sie schnitzen nur diesen Stil, nur diese eine Maske, einmal dass der Mund geschlossen ist, Mit Zunge, ohne Zunge ... die Ohren ein bisschen anders, und andere Bemalung. Aber man [er]kennt, wenn man die Masken daneben liegen hat ... oder wenn eine Gruppe kommt und die Maske von dem Schnitzer kauft, sehen fast alle gleich aus. Das will ich vermeiden. Das wird zu langweilig, finde ich, auf die Dauer.

**Carter:** Ja, es gibt diese Tendenz. Es soll auf jeden Fall nicht langweilig sein (*lacht*).

**Berger:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** Aber die sind alle aus Lindenholz.

**Berger:** Die sind alle aus Lindenholz, jede Maske.

**Carter:** Da sind Glasaugen, Holzaugen, echte Hörner.

**Berger:** Nur echte Hörner. [*Alle bestellen Getränke*] Das ist verschieden, die Bemalung ... das soll immer wieder anders wirken. Und bei manchen Modellen, d[ie] vielleicht eine kleine Ewigkeit besteht, das ist normal. Das sind meine Hände, das sind die gleichen Arbeitszüge, manchmal. Aber man versucht schon in verschiedenen Arbeitsschritten etwas Neues hereinzubringen. Das kommt immer auch darauf an, was gerade „in“ ist. „*Herr der Ringe*“ war da zum Beispiel ... mit dem Ork ... ähnliche Masken.

**Carter:** Ah ja, der Ork.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau. Da haben wir ein Foto gehabt. Das war die Nase, zum Beispiel. So entsteht eine Maske, so ähnlich. Insgesamt so 35, 45 Stunden für eine Maske brauche ich.

**Carter:** Das klingt schnell, für mich. [Ich dachte], das könnte sehr lang dauern ... das ist interessant. Das ist bemalt ...

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, selbst gemalt ... handgemalt ... kein *Airbrush* ... nichts.

**Carter:** Das sieht aus wie Haut aus ... das ist nicht notwendig Holz, so künstlich. Was haben Sie gesagt ... Sie machen auch diese kleinen ...

**Gatterbauer:** ... kleine Perchten. Die sind sehr begehrte Souvenirartikel. Die fertigen wir an so über den Sommer, die wir dann im Winter verkaufen können, damit ein wenig Geld in den Verein kommt.

**Carter:** Sie haben diese Maskenausstellungen. Könnten Sie ein bisschen über die Maskenausstellung erzählen? Ich habe die selbst nicht gesehen. Ich habe das auf einer Website gefunden, aber zu spät, ich konnte nicht hier herkommen, aber für diese Maskenausstellung ... Sie waren ja da, Sie kennen das alles ... es gab diese Veranstaltung.

**Berger:** Ja, alles über Perchten bei der Ausstellung geht es hauptsächlich darum, dass die Leute sehen, wie die Masken entstehen, ich habe da eine Schnitzvorführung gemacht. Die Leute können mir über die Schulter schauen, wie ich da an einer Maske schnitze ... dann über den Verein: wie lange es den Verein gibt, wie viele Mitglieder wir sind. Überhaupt unsere Geschichte: warum wir das gerade machen, warum wir uns für das Brauchtum einsetzen ... weil vielerorts flaut das ganze ja ein bisschen ab, vor allem in gewissen Großstädten. Ich will jetzt nicht sagen, dass Schärding eine kleine Stadt ist, wir sind aber nicht groß, im Endeffekt, aber es geht darum, dass das Brauchtum erhalten bleibt. Wir sind

ja nicht bloß in Österreich unterwegs, sondern großteils auch in Deutschland. Da ist das Brauchtum überhaupt nicht so. Wir haben ganz andere Bräuche in der Winterzeit. Und da, wo wir auftreten, ist natürlich Begeisterung da von den Zuschauern. Die sagen, das ist faszinierend, und wohnen ein paar Kilometer weit weg, 50, 100 Kilometer, und da gibt es noch solche Bräuche, da finden wir Anerkennung und Lob dafür, dass wir das machen.

**Carter:** Wir war das früher? Hat es Perchtenbräuche in diesem Gebiet gegeben?

**Berger:** Es war in der Donauregion. Aus den alten Geschichtsbüchern, die ich noch habe ... die ich im Rathaus in Passau eingesehen habe ... hat es früher eine Art Perchtentreiben gegeben. Das ist aber abgeflaut. Das war in der Vorkriegszeit war das gewesen, vor dem 1. Weltkrieg war das noch. Danach ist das Ganze eigentlich gestorben. Das war im Donautal, Donaunraum herunter ist das Ganze gewesen.

**Carter:** Also es geht und es kommt zurück. Das ist auch ganz interessant ... zum Beispiel in Großbritannien gibt es viele Bräuche, die total gestorben sind.

**Gatterbauer:** Leider.

**Carter:** Es waren Maskenbräuche und so weiter. Es kam so rasch.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, das kann ganz schnell gehen.

**Carter:** Vielleicht drei Jahre, zwei Jahre ...

**Berger:** Und bei der Ausstellung sind halt die ganzen Masken da. Die ganzen Mitglieder sind da, die erklären dann den Leuten immer wieder Wissenswertes über das Brauchtum, die Entstehung des Brauchtums, die Entstehung von unserer Gruppe, weil es sind immer wieder viele Gäste da. Schärding ist ja auch eine schöne Barockstadt und wir haben ja sehr viel Tourismus hier. Und es sind eben die Gäste, die nach Schärding kommen, und gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt, zur Winterzeit, die natürlich die ganze Geschichte [kennnenlernen] wollen ... die Entstehung von den Perchten, dass das ein heidnischer Brauch ist und [dass] die Leute früher gedacht haben, dass Frau Percht zur Erde kommt mit ihren Gefolgsleuten. Und in verschiedenen Regionen war es nur armen Leuten erlaubt, das Ganze zu machen, weil die haben dann [die] Bauernhöfe besucht von Ort zu Ort und haben dann als Dankeschön etwas zu essen bekommen, Kleidung bekommen dadurch, dass sie eben in den Rauhächten die bösen Geister abgewehrt haben.

**Carter:** Aha, das war die traditionelle Funktion der Perchten ... die bösen Geister zu vertreiben.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, das ist die traditionelle Funktion. Dann gibt es wieder Ortschaften, wo es verboten war in gewissen Zeiträumen, wo die Kirche gesagt hat: „Nein, das ist Teufelsanbetung.“ Die Kirche hat es verboten, bis man einen Bischof dazu genommen hat — der war ja früher nicht dabei, der Bischof. Der heilige Nikolaus war ja erst, nachdem die Kirche eingelenkt hat, [weil] sie gegen das Volk nichts anhaben [ausrichten] kann, haben sie einen Bischof [da]zugestellt.

**Carter:** Das ist die Geschichte und die Ausstellung. Wie kommt an neue Mitglieder, oder [wie weckt man] Interesse? Nach der Ausstellung?

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, zum Beispiel Jugendliche oder Kinder. Unser Name ist schon bekannt bei Kindern, vor uns brauchen sich keine Kinder zu fürchten. Wir sind alle lieb zu den Kindern und [es ist] ganz selten, dass sich Kinder vor uns fürchten, überhaupt nicht. Es gibt andere Gruppen, die sind etwas wilder, also die etwas umherschlagen ... also, die Kinder werden verschreckt. Und wir machen genau das Gegenteil: Die Kinder sollen zu uns kommen, die Kinder sollen Freude an dem Ganzen haben, die sollen wissen, aha, das ist die Maske und die setzt der eben auf, also dass da Menschen drunter sind. Es gibt ja Kinder, die glauben, es gibt echte Perchten, das ist kein Mensch, sondern ...

**Carter:** Also das ist ein Percht, das ist nicht Günter.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. Man soll sich ja nicht fürchten vor uns ... es ist einfach ... wie soll ich sagen ...

**Berger:** Zum Bestaunen.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, zum Ansehen, zum Bestaunen, also, man soll sich nicht fürchten vor uns Perchten. Wir haben nichts Böses, überhaupt nicht. Wie gesagt, es ist eben ein Brauchtum, und darum haben wir auch die Ausstellung gemacht, damit die Kinder — genau so wie du — die Larven, die Masken anschauen können, anfassen — ah, was ist denn das — einfach Interesse wecken, und wir haben da eben viele Jugendliche, die nach der Ausstellung, wenn sie die gesehen haben, dann sagen: „Ich möchte auch ein Percht werden.“ oder „Ich möchte dazugehen [beitreten].“ Dann kommen sie zu uns, zum Verein ... wir haben praktisch im ganzen Jahr in unserem Stammlokal einmal im Monat eine Stammtisch, da kann jeder kommen, der Interesse dafür hat, und er kann sagen, okay, er möchte mal mitlaufen, er möchte das Ganze mal probieren. Dann gibt es Masken oder Felle oder Anzüge, also alles, damit er sagt, er kann es einmal probieren, er darf einmal irgendwo — ob das jetzt Schärding ist, oder egal wo — mitlaufen, damit er sieht, [wie es ist,] wenn er unter einer Maske steckt, damit er das dann auch einmal mitkriegt. Es sind eigentlich von Jahr zu Jahr

zwei bis drei Mitglieder, immer steigend ... wir sind in den letzten vier, fünf Jahren sicher um 50 Prozent gestiegen [gewachsen].

**Carter:** Ich habe das oft bemerkt. Es ist nicht nur bei Krampussen, sondern auch bei Perchten gibt es diese spezielle Verbindung mit [Beziehung zu?] Kindern ... es ist wunderbar, das anzusehen ... die Augen ... der Kinder. Vielleicht geben sie die Hand.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, die Hände ... zaghaft noch ... und wir wollen den Kindern ja praktisch die Angst nehmen, es soll sich ja kein Kind fürchten oder Ängste ausstehen, wenn es eine Maske sieht. Wenn wir unter der Maske sehen, dass ein Kind anfängt zu weinen, dann lass ich das Kind ganz gehen, Ich drehe mich dann um und gehe zu dem nächsten Kind. Ich habe nichts davon, wenn ich das Kind jetzt noch [er]schrecke und das Kind steht Ängste aus ... und das wollen wir ja nicht. Es soll schon ein wenig ängstlich, aber nichts Böses. Also wie es bei uns jetzt ist. Meine Kinder zum Beispiel, ich habe einen Sohn und ein Mädchen ... der Sohn, Perchten sind seine Lieblinge. Das Mädchen ist... na ... sie schaut zwar hin und sie weiß auch, dass ich als Papa unter dieser Maske stecke, aber sobald ich sie aufsetze, will sie es nicht.

**Carter:** Das ist so unterschiedlich? Das ist nicht nur Papa.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. Das ist wieder etwas anderes.

**Carter:** Gibt es die überall, die Unterschiede zwischen Mädchen und Jungen? Die [jungen?] Zuschauer, die kleinen Kinder ... später finde ich das bei den Teenies ... die Mädchen haben ein spezielles [...?] und die Jungen auch, aber es ist unterschiedlich. Aber was haben Sie [heraus]gefunden als typisch? Was passiert mit denen und die Unterschiede?

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist schwer zu sagen ... von Jungen oder Mädchen ... also, ich glaube, bei den Zuschauern gibt es gewisse Altersstufen, sagen wir mal, bis zu zehn Jahren oder ein bisschen mehr haben sie noch mehr Respekt als ein 50-Jähriger, der diesen Perchtenlauf besucht. Also, da ist es verschieden. Es sind teilweise fünf-Jährige dabei, die haben überhaupt keine Angst, und dann gibt es wieder fünf-Jährige, die brauchst du nicht zu berühren, die geben dir keine Hand und nichts. Da hast du keine Chance. Da ist nur der Nikolaus interessant, weil wir bei den Auftritten so kleine Nikolaussäckchen verteilen mit Süßigkeiten ... das ist dann wieder die Belohnung für die Kinder.

**Carter:** Ich habe das bei diesem Umzug gesehen. Jemand hatte einen Korb mit Süßigkeiten. Ich habe einen Jungen kennengelernt ... er hat mit [...?] ... er hat das bekommen. Er hat das sehr gut gefunden. Es gab da einen Nikolaus. In dieser Gruppe war ein Nikolaus dabei. Haben das alles Perchten?

**Gatterbauer:** Wir haben immer einen Nikolaus und einen Engel dabei. Der Nikolaus ist Pflicht normalerweise. Es gibt verschiedene Veranstaltungen, wo sie sagen, nein, sie brauchen keinen Nikolaus mehr — wie jetzt, am 5. Januar, da haben wir den letzten Auftritt gehabt, in Niederbayern in Bad Füssing und da braucht man keinen Nikolaus mehr am 5. Januar, der ist da schon gestorben, aber in den Anfangszeiten von den Auftritten oder bei den Großauftritten ... da geht es nicht ohne Nikolaus. Der muss dabei sein, vor allem auch für die Geschenke für die Kinder ...

**Carter:** Das ist interessant. Ein Korb war dabei, aber von einem Perchten getragen.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, ja genau. Der Korb wird von einem Percht getragen und der Nikolaus verteilt, verschenkt die Sackerl dann ...

**Carter:** Ja, die Kinder waren sehr, sehr fröhlich [...]. Für einen Perchtenlauf — ich habe diesen gesehen. Was soll passieren, während eines Perchtenlaufs? Was macht einen Perchtenlauf erfolgreich? Hat das mit der [Einbeziehung?] der Zuschauer zu tun oder [damit,] was man macht? Was ist typisch?

**Gatterbauer:** Was macht einen guten Perchtenlauf aus? Wie gesagt, wichtig ist, dass wir als Perchten irgendwie böse, aber es soll nicht ängstlich [Angst einflößend?] wirken. Es soll der Respekt da sein zwischen Zuschauer und Percht, aber es soll nicht zu wild zugehen, dass man sagt, so wie mit den Rossschweifen, die wir dabei haben, dass man da jetzt immer zuhaut und praktisch den anderen Leuten weh tut oder ...

**Carter:** Man soll nicht zu weit gehen.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, die Grenze sollte man einhalten können. Man sieht das — wenn ich jetzt unter der Maske stecke und ich stehe jetzt.

**Berger:** Da vor Jugendlichen. Es gibt Jugendliche, die provozieren uns als Perchten, also die fordern das heraus auf die Art: Was willst du denn!? Und schubsen und ziehen und hin und her ... dann muss man sich einfach zurückhalten. Man darf nicht böse oder aggressiv werden, sondern man muss zurückhaltend sein damit kein Ärger zwischen Zuschauer und Perchten entsteht. Es soll immer Harmonie dazwischen sein, aber irgendwie immer Respekt ... und darum ist für uns wichtig, eben was kleine Kinder anbelangt — weil wie es in Schärding ist, wir haben relativ viele kleine Kinder da[bei] — und wenn wir jetzt Ärger haben mit den kleinen Kindern, dass sich die kleinen Kinder immer fürchten, dann bleiben die Zuschauer aus. Weil die Eltern sagen auch: Mein Kind fürchtet sich – komm' ich nicht. Und wenn sich aber das Kind jetzt sagt: Das hat mir gut gefallen! Dann kommen sie immer

wieder. Und der nimmt dann Freunde mit und wieder Kinder, und so wird das mehr und immer mehr.

**Carter:** Und in 10 Jahren gibt es neue Perchten, von diesen Kindern, die diese guten Erfahrungen gemacht haben.

**Berger:** Genau. Also es soll immer der gute Eindruck übrig bleiben. Es soll nie etwas schlechtes ... also, dass man etwas schlechtes hört über uns oder generell über andere Gruppen. Weil, wenn mir das nicht gefallen hat, dann sage ich: Dann komme ich nicht mehr, dann schaue ich mir das nicht mehr an. Und wir sind mittlerweile so weit, unser Verein ist schon so weit, dass wir sagen können, wir haben so circa drei-, 3.500, 4.000 Zuschauer, rein nur am Stadtplatz in Schärding.

**Carter:** Ja es [ziemlich] klein für so viele. Ich habe das selbst gesehen. Es sind so viele Menschen.

**Berger:** Darum sagen wir, den Perchtenlauf ...

**Gatterbauer:** Das Schöne ist dann, wenn die Zuschauer nach dem Perchtauftritt oder nach Tagen oder auch Wochen noch drüber reden, wie schön das Ganze war, mit der Veranstaltung, mit dem Feuerwerk ... das ist dann für uns wieder das Schönste, was es gibt.

**Carter:** Es scheint mir, dass es ein wenig schwierig zu lernen ist. Wie lernt man, so zu sein.

**Berger:** Die Bewegungen.

**Carter:** ... wie ein Percht zu laufen ...

**Berger:** Es ist bei dem Auftritt in Schärding ein wenig anstrengend, weil er bis zu einer Stunde dauert. Das ist lang, mit den ganzen Masken. Mit dem Fell und dem schweren Gurt, wo die Glocken drum sind, oder die Schellen, die ja Lärm machen müssen. Man muss eben immer in Bewegung sein das Ganze. Einfach nur so durchgehen, als wenn man spazieren geht — das wirkt langweilig von der Optik her. Darum macht man eben die Show, dass man ein wenig springt, hüpfert oder sich gegenseitig mit einem anderen Perchten eine kleine Rangelei ... also das soll ein bisschen eine Show mit hereinbringen ... also immer richtig in Bewegung sein ... damit es nicht langweilig wird für die Zuschauer. Das geht ja hauptsächlich für uns, wie es der Gatterbauer schon gesagt hat, rein auf die Zuschauer. Das bringt uns ja nichts wenn man da vor 50 Leuten oder, wie wir es jetzt hier haben, vor fast 4.000 Leuten ... also da gibt es Unterschiede ... darum soll auch so ein Auftritt, für die ganze Gruppe, jeder Perchtengänger, der da mitmacht ... der wächst in das Ganze hinein. Es gibt garantiert keinen vorprogrammierten Bewegungsablauf ... oder, dass man sagt, man



muss einen Ablauf zeitgemäß planen. Das geht fast nicht. Man probiert es vielleicht, aber da sind so viele Sachen Ausschlag gebend — der Nikolaus bleibt bei so vielen Kinder stehen, es dauert solange, wir können nicht einfach ohne Nikolaus weitergehen. Wir müssen uns immer ein wenig im Umkreis vom Nikolaus bewegen, dass man als geschlossene Gruppe immer schön beisammen ist.

**Carter:** Ein Gefühlsplan [?].

**Berger:** Naja, es ist auch Vorbereitung. Die wenigsten Leute sehen und wissen das — deswegen machen wir ja auch die Ausstellung, wo die Hintergründe und alles beleuchtet wird. Man sieht uns ja in der Zeit, wenn der Perchtenlauf ist, von halb sieben bis halb acht sehen uns die Leute. Nur, das Davor und das Danach — das sieht keiner, das wissen nur wir, und das ist teilweise auch gut so. Wenn man bedenkt, dass jetzt schon wieder die Planungen laufen für die Saison ab November. Jetzt ist gerade alles fertig und jetzt wird schon wieder. Der Gatterbauer ist bei uns Schriftführer im Verein, und da werden jetzt schon wieder Planungen getroffen für unsere Abschlussfeier, dann Jahreshauptversammlung — das gehört zum Verein dazu, dass man eine richtig große Versammlung macht, wo dann alles besprochen wird, die ganzen Auftritte — und im Vorfeld laufen jetzt schon wieder Vorbereitungen für die nächste Saison. Es geht langsam los, aber ...

**Gatterbauer:** Im Laufe der Zeit wird das so werden, dass das — ich sage das jetzt mal in Anführungszeichen — ein „Ganzjahres-Job“. Man hat alle Monate oder alle paar Wochen ... immer wieder etwas zu tun für die neue Saison, zur Vorbereitung. Jetzt haben wir Januar, jetzt haben wir Anfang des Jahres, und wir werden Anfang November, mitte November wieder den ersten Auftritt haben. Es laufen aber jetzt schon wieder praktisch wie das Ganze ablaufen soll, das wird jetzt im Laufe der Zeit — Februar, März etwa — wir das schon wieder besprochen, damit das im November schon alles klappt. Wir haben schon circa vier bis fünf Monate Vorbereitungszeit für einen Monat. Weil wir laufen ja so von mitte November bis 5. Januar, also so circa [...] es wird immer mehr und mehr, dass die Vorbereitung immer länger wird. Je früher, um so besser. und genauso mit den Auftritten: Wenn wir von Veranstaltern, die sagen, sie wollen uns haben, schon bis spätestens August, September müssen sie mit uns schon telefonischen Kontakt aufnehmen, damit wir noch einplanen können: Geht es, oder geht es nicht mehr. Das ist aber schon, wie gesagt, August, September. Also später ist es schon schwierig, dass wir noch einen Termin frei haben.

**Carter:** Ich glaube, vielleicht ist schon schwierig bei so vielen Mitgliedern, die Arbeitszeitplanung, mit der Familie ...

**Berger:** Ja, das ist schon schwierig ...

**Carter:** Ja, das ist nicht überraschend, dass es so viel Zeit. Und neue Mitglieder? Müssen die trainiert werden? Oder ist [eher] *Training on the Job*?

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. *Learning by doing*. Das ist das einzig Wahre. Man kann Tipps geben — weil wir doch schon mittlerweile 15 Jahre Erfahrung haben mit dem Ganzen — also man kann Tipps geben, wie man sich bei gewissen [...] verhalten soll. Aber alles andere entsteht dann während des Auftritts, und es klappt bislang hervorragend, auch mit den neuen Mitgliedern. Was auch wichtig ist: *No Alcohol*, kein Alkohol! Danach ist es egal. Wenn alles vorbei ist, dann ... Halli-Galli. Aber vorher ist es Tabu. Das bringt nichts, wenn du besoffen bist, betrunken, dann gibt es Probleme. Haben wir noch nicht gehabt, die ganzen Jahre, seit uns gibt — Gott sei Dank! Da sind wir stolz darauf, und darum möchten wir das vermeiden. Wir haben ja normalerweise Mitglieder ab 18 Jahren, aber wir haben schon zwei, drei Jüngere dabei — der René, mein Neffe, war dabei, der ist 15 — aber der ist unter meiner Aufsicht, und er weiß, dass er nichts machen darf, also der muss sich wirklich ein bisschen ruhig halten, also da ist es kein Problem.

**Carter:** Es gibt so viel — ich weiß nicht, wie ich das auf Deutsch sagen soll — geistigen Kontakt zwischen Zuschauer und Perchten. Sie kennen das. Wie ist das? Was passiert da? Wie ist das emotionale Niveau? Mit Alkohol wäre das vermutlich unmöglich.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. Ohne Alkohol ist das viel besser.

**Berger:** Wie schwer ist so eine Maske? Es gibt Masken, die sind so von dreieinhalb Kilo bis 10, 12 Kilo. Es ist verschieden. Das ist meine Maske und die hat so sieben, acht Kilo.

**Carter:** Darf ich das mal? Ja, das ist schwer.

**Berger:** Und das eine Stunde auf dem Kopf tragen und noch dazu sich bewegen und alles. Es ist teilweise anstrengend.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist [...?].

**Berger:** Ich habe eine Halskrause zur Unterstützung.

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist von einem Bauhelm ein Stück herausgeschnitten ... das ist eine Snowboard-Bindung zum Verstellen, kann man zumachen.

**Carter:** Ah, für die Füße beim Snowboard.

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist Schaumstoff ... und so setzt man die jetzt auf ... gut ausgepolstert. Und das Fell hier, das ist Ziegenfell.

**Carter:** Die Geiß?

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** Die männliche Geiß.

**Gatterbauer:** So sieht die Maske innen aus. Die sind innen alle gleich ... dass sie gut gepolstert sind, dass es schön anliegt — das ist wichtig — damit die Maske nicht wackelt. Und darum sind diese Snowboard-Bindungen absolut super.

**Carter:** Das ist sehr schlau, mit der Bindung vom Snowboard.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, hier kann man es aufmachen, damit man reinschlüpfen kann.

**Carter:** Also hier diese Quadrate, diese Stücke aus Holz ... sie passen die Helme immer [an?]?

**Gatterbauer:** Diese Kopfform, diese Rundung vom Holz? Ja, das ist das Gefühl beim Schnitzen, das bringt man mit Erfahrung. Die ersten Versuche beim Schnitzen, da war die Maske ... der Holzblock so groß und die Maske so klein ... und im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt sich etwas, dass man besser reinkommt.

**Carter:** Gibt es einen körperlichen Sinn? Das ist wirklich sehr schön. Ich weiß, dass man manchmal die Perchten hässlich findet. Ich nicht! OK ...

**Gatterbauer:** Mmh ... und bei den Hörner ist das verschieden. Das sind ja Steinbockhörner ... dann da Schafbockhörner und Ziegenhörner. Also, es ist komplett verschieden.

**Carter:** Ich mag das ... wie ein Baby.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, so geht es mir auch. Absolut verrückt. Aber das muss man sein für so etwas. Wenn jemand Briefmarken sammelt und hätte zum Beispiel die Blaue Mauritius, dann wäre das die Krönung ... das ist genau dasselbe, wenn aus einem Stück Holz so etwas entsteht, wenn man so etwas aus einem stinknormalen Stück Holz macht und dann denkt man: Jetzt ist sie fertig, die Maske. Wir machen ja alles selber: Wir machen die Gewänder selber.

**Carter:** Also sie schneiden die Felle.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau ... die Felle ... das machen wir alles selber. Wir haben mittlerweile nichts mehr im Verein, was wir uns nicht selber machen würden.

**Carter:** Ja, das muss viel Arbeit sein ... auch die Gewänder und so weiter zu machen. Aber ich kann das verstehen, dass man das lieber selber macht.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, aus Leidenschaft. Da steht jedes Mitglied dahinter und engagiert sich da. Der eine ein bisschen mehr, weil er mehr Zeit hat, der andere ein bisschen weniger, weil er vielleicht von der Arbeit her nicht kann oder sonstige.

**Carter:** Eigentlich möchte ich auch fragen.

**Berger:** Den toten Seelen, die ja in den Raunächten — das ist eine Zeitrechnung aus dem heidnischen Kalender. Die haben andere Jahresanfänge gehabt wie wir zum Beispiel heute .... wir haben ja den römischen Kalender, den julianischen, glaube ich, haben wir, und der heidnische Kalender hat ja eine andere Zeitrechnung, von Wintersonnenwende bis zum Frühlingsbeginn, die Jul zum Beispiel, die Julnacht, das ist ja der Frühlingsbeginn, die ja das tote Leben erwecken soll. Und in den Raunächten — es gibt zwölf verschiedene — und eine der bekanntesten Raunächte ist eben die Christnacht ... und dann die Luzifernacht, das ist die Nacht vom 21., das ist die Wintersonnwend-Nacht, dann Die Heilige-Drei-Könige-Nacht, das ist auch eine Raunacht, genauso wie es im November die erste Raunacht gibt. Und in diesen Nächten, speziell in diesen Nächten haben sich die Leute einen Mistelzweig über die Tür gehängt und haben dann eben diese Felle, diese Masken angezogen, um die bösen Geister, die ja von der Frau Percht angeführt worden sind, zu vertreiben. Sie wollten mit Lärm und hässlichem Aussehen die Geister vertreiben. Und der Lärm ist ja heute noch immer ganz wichtig für den Auftritt, darum haben wir ja große Glocken und die Schellen, damit man vom Weiten schon hört: Die Perchten kommen. Und nach diesen Traditionen laufen auch unsere Läufe. Unsere Perchtauftritte sollen das Ganze ein bisschen darstellen ... mit dem hässlichen [...]. Von den Büchern her, die ich zu Hause habe und mich mit dem Brauchtum verbunden [beschäftigt] habe, da gibt es ja noch Sachen. Es geht ja wieder [um die] Ortsgeschichte — manche sagen, es darf nur in den Bergen geschehen, das Ganze ... wir haben ja keine so großen Berge, aber dann sage ich: Tote können überall sein — in Bergen wie auch unten im Tal. Es gibt da normalerweise keine ortsgebundenen Begrenzungen. In der Schweiz wird das wieder anders gemacht, wo da teilweise bis in den Februar, bis in den Fasching hinein mitgegangen wird, und bei uns endet es eben vom 5. auf den 6. Januar. Die Anfänge sind wieder ganz verschieden oder da wird nur zweimal im Jahr gegangen. Da ist soviel ortsgebunden, dass man wirklich aus den Büchern heraus lesen kann: Die Ortschaft hat diesen Brauch ... das ist die Überlieferung. Aber der Grundkern, die Grundsache beruht eben immer darauf, die Wintergeister zu vertreiben.

**Carter:** Das ist also die Funktion von den ganz unterschiedlichen Krampussen? Es geht nicht darum, die Perchten zu [schlagen?]?

**Berger:** Nein, das soll der Glücks- und Segensbringer sein. Wenn dir zum Beispiel ein Percht mit dem Rossschweif über die Haare fährt, will er das Böse fernhalten ... das soll es sein ... auch ein bisschen zu bestrafen ... man verbindet beides damit, aber wie der Gatterbauer schon gesagt hat, es soll sich im Rahmen halten, das Ganze [...].

**Carter:** Das ist so viel ... also, wenn es Ihnen zu viel wird.

**Berger:** Nein, wir haben Zeit.

**Carter:** Ich habe einfach irrsinniges Interesse. Also, „Perchten“ ist Plural? Ist das meistens „ein Percht“ oder „eine Percht“? Ist das die Singularform? Ist das eine Person?

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. Eine Person ist „ein Perchte“ – mit „e“ geschrieben — und mehrere sind „die Perchten“ — die Mehrzahl ist das. Können wir ruhig aufschreiben.

**Carter:** Ich möchte, dass die Grammatik korrekt ist. Das ist also.

**Gatterbauer:** Die Einzahl.

**Carter:** Ist es „eine Percht“, oder ...

**Berger:** Ja, genau. Das ist einer. Eine — eine Percht. „Ein Percht“, das ist die Einzahl, und die Mehrzahl, da schreiben wir hin „Viele“. „Viele Perchten“, das ist die Mehrzahl.

**Carter:** Also, ist es „das Percht“ oder „der Percht“?

**Berger:** „Der“ ... genau. Schreiben wir hin: „Der Percht“ ... „Der eine Percht“ und „Die vielen Perchten“, das ist eine ganze Gruppe.

**Carter:** Das ist ganz einfach, aber wichtig [...]. Ich weiß, dass es sehr viele Volkstum-Fachleute gibt, die über die Geschichte geschrieben haben usw. Es gibt viele Bücher mit Fotos, aber ich habe großes Interesse an der Meinung der Perchten ... die Ansichten, die Meinungen, was ihre Erfahrungen sind. Warum macht man das? Warum findet man das wichtig und wunderbar? Das sind die interessanten Fragen für mich. Das andere ist auch interessant, aber das hier ist wichtig. Ich weiß nicht, was man hier schon gemacht hat überall, wenn ich zum Beispiel Krampus-Websites anschau, gibt es Krampusse, Perchten, die sich selbst ausdrücken. Es gibt sehr viel. Es gibt Essays, kleine Geschichten, was sie machen: „Wir haben uns entschieden, diese Gruppe zu gründen, weil ...“ usw. Hier sind die Fotos. Das ist oft eine viel bessere Dokumentation, viel behutsamer [behandelt?] diese Information ... sie machen das selbst überall. Ich finde das — vielleicht weil ich aus den

USA bin — ich finde das speziell, dass sie diese Masken haben. Sie machen das, es ist nicht bloß passiv — sie erhalten diese Traditionen. Vielleicht sehen sie sich als [...?].

**Carter:** Ich finde diese Masken super, es gibt auch dieses Niveau. Aber ich kann das nicht in meiner Doktorarbeit schreiben ... ich liebe das ... aber das ist vielleicht die Richtung, die Grundidee [...]. Ich müsste eigentlich hier sein, um alles zu erfahren, nicht in England.

**Berger:** In Kalifornien, oder überhaupt in Amerika, gibt es ja Santa Claus, der Weihnachtsmann.

**Carter:** Ja, der Weihnachtsmann ist Santa Claus, das ist der deutsche Name ... okay, ich habe gehört, dass es ein wenig Konkurrenz mit dem Christkind gibt weil es die Geschenke bringt.

**Berger:** Ja, genau. Bei uns gibt es das Christkind und keinen Santa Claus.

**Carter:** Das hat etwas mit Werbung zu tun.

**Berger:** Ja, die Werbedinge.

**Carter:** In den USA ist es ganz verrückt geworden. Wir haben diese Santa-Claus-Sachen ab dem Spätsommer in den Geschäften. Früher war das im späten November — das ist nicht so schlimm, aber es ist immer früher.

**Berger:** Bei uns in Österreich haben wir das auch. Wenn man zu Ostern ... Osterhase, Ostereier ... ist bei uns ja auch. Jetzt ist Weihnachten vorbei — nächste, übernächste Woche, wenn man ins Geschäft geht, kommt der Osterhase, ist überall der Osterhase schon da. Da ist keine Übergang ... wenn das vorbei ist, dann haben wir ein paar Monate nichts, aber dann ist schon wieder Weihnachten.

**Carter:** Ja, die Geschäfte möchten Geld verdienen. Ich habe bemerkt, im letzten Dezember, dass es diese Krampus-Schaufenster gibt. Ich habe nicht gewusst, dass es so viel gibt ... nicht nur mit den Schokoladen und Lebkuchen, sondern auch mit Unterwäsche für Damen. In Salzburg habe ich auch ein Schaufenster gesehen: „Zum Krampus“ ... es ist verrückt. Ich möchte den großen Kontext haben. Ich höre die Kinder über den Krampus diskutieren, immer, im Zug, auf der Straße höre ich die kleinen Kinder: „Krampfl[?] ... Krampfl[?]“. Er ist da, er ist ganz wichtig ... ich habe das nicht gewusst. Es gibt vielleicht noch diesen Brauch mit den Süßigkeiten in den Schuhen.

**Gatterbauer:** In den Schuhen nicht bei uns. Wir haben die Geschenke vom Christkind unterm Christbaum, untern Tannenbaum gelegt, aber so Schuhe gibt es nicht bei uns.

**Carter:** Das ist also nicht für den Nikolaus- oder Krampustag ... es gibt keinen Schuhe.

**Gatterbauer:** So Säckchen gemacht. Ja, es gibt so Plastikstiefel, die haben sie schon.

**Berger:** Ja, das kommt auch schon wieder von Amerika ... Santa Claus ... der Stiefel, so groß und lauter Süßigkeiten drin ... und das ist alles, was bei uns praktisch am 6.

Dezember, wenn der heilige Nikolaus ... dann kriegt man das, das kriegen dann die Kinder.

**Carter:** Es gibt jetzt [...] eine Mischung von Nikolaus und Weihnachtsmann?

**Gatterbauer:** Nein.

**Carter:** Oder sind die wirklich getrennt?

**Berger:** Da hat sie gar nicht so unrecht. Nikolaus und Weihnachtsmann, das ist eigentlich im Großen eine Person: Nikolaus und Weihnachtsmann! Für uns, für mich ist das eher der Nikolaus, das ist nicht der Weihnachtsmann. Weihnachtsmann ist für schon mehr wieder amerikanisch. Das ist für mich wie mit Santa Claus, das ist also der Weihnachtsmann. Bei uns ist das einfach der Nikolaus.

**Carter:** Man erkennt das also, dass es noch diesen Unterschied gibt? Ah, das ist gut ... mit der aggressiven Werbung. Hat man Angst, dass das alles vorbei ist?

**Berger:** Naja, es wird aber so. Genauso wie es bei uns in Österreich und überhaupt in Europa mit dem Halloween [ist]. Es kommt schon immer mehr und immer mehr zu uns nach Österreich, aber für uns als Europäer [...], wir wissen eigentlich noch gar nicht so recht etwas damit anzufangen. Halloween, was ist Halloween? Aber das kommt alles aus den USA, das kommt alles aus Amerika.

**Carter:** Und das ist gruselig, oder ?

**Berger:** Das ist noch gar nicht so lange. Drei, vier Jahre etwa.

**Carter:** Ja? In diesem Gebiet gibt es das so ein paar Jahre ... mit Halloween.

**Gatterbauer:** So Geisternacht ist Halloween ... ursprünglich, oder?

**Carter:** Ich habe nicht alle Informationen. Es hat verschiedene Wurzeln eigentlich in Großbritannien, Irland.

**Gatterbauer:** Irland, glaube ich, irisch, oder?

**Carter:** Es gibt ähnliche Bräuche in [...] Großbritannien. Vielleicht habe ich das nicht verstanden, aber es sind diese [...] im November.

**Gatterbauer.** Allerheiligen ... Allerseelen.

**Carter:** In Irland gibt es das zum Beispiel. Das ist natürlich [in die] USA [gegangen], meine Vorfahren zum Beispiel [...] es gibt verschiedene ähnliche Bräuche in England, aber das ist nicht Halloween, aber jetzt bekommt England Halloween – noch einmal American nights [?]. Viele Menschen finden das problematisch, weil sie verlieren ihre eigenen [...].

**Gatterbauer:** Vor allem die alten Leute.

**Carter:** Es ist wie mit dem Weihnachtsmann ... sie vergessen die alten Lieder, wenn sie Hausbesuche machen, um Süßigkeiten zu bekommen, und sie vergessen die alten Lieder oder alten Versionen und jetzt sagen sie: „Trick or treat!“ ... Halloween ist sehr aggressiv.

**Carter:** Aber ich glaube... in den USA ist Halloween die zweitgrößte [Gelegenheit] zum Geldverdienen. Weihnachten ist die größte, dann Halloween ... es ist ganz groß, es gibt Halloween *Superstores*, zweimal so groß oder dreimal so groß wie dieses Restaurant, mit Gummimasken, mit Partysachen usw.

**Berger:** Das ist extrem.

**Carter:** Das findet man auch bei uns relativ extrem. Man kann mehr Geld verdienen in Europa zum Beispiel mit [...] usw., das ist vielleicht der Grund.

**Berger:** Kann man in Amerika?

**Carter:** Aber auch in einem gewissen Fall [Sinn?] ... die Perchten ist in diesem Menschen[?], es ist diese persönliche Eigenschaft, die passt.

**Gatterbauer:** Dann ist das eine Einheit, dann passt alles zusammen. Und viele Einheiten ergeben eine Gruppe. Wenn die Gruppe in sich auch noch zusammenpasst, das ist das Optimale. Wenn jetzt einer zum Beispiele eine riesige Maske hat, 1,50 Meter groß, dann passt die Einheit überhaupt nicht zusammen, dann passt die ganze Gruppe in sich nicht zusammen. Aber viele Kettenglieder, ergibt eine schöne Kette, sage ich jetzt mal.

**Carter:** Ah ja, Kette.

**Gatterbauer:** Und so ist das auch mit den Perchten selbst. Das ist auch wichtig für die Schnitzer.

**Berger:** Wenn ich jetzt für eine Frau eine Maske schnitze, die darf nicht groß sein, die muss passen zur der Dame: zierlich, aber aussagekräftig. Damit die Dame mit der Maske etwas anfangen kann. Wir haben zum Beispiel Vogelmasken ... zierliche Maske, zierliche Person ... passt dann wieder zusammen.



**Carter:** Das ist auch eine Quelle für die Veränderung für den notwendigen [Generationswechsel]. Alle 10, 50 Jahre verändert sich alles ein bisschen, weil es neue Mitglieder gibt, die ihre eigene. Das ist interessant.

**Gatterbauer:** Es gibt Mitglieder die mal einen Vorschlag machen und sagen: „Ich hätte gern mal einen Lux!“ Einen Lux oder ein Raubtier. Und dann versuchen unsere Schnitzer das auch so zu machen.

**Berger:** Es klappt eigentlich auch immer, und das sind dann aber Masken, die die Leute nicht mehr abgeben, solange sie aktiv sind, behalten sie ihre Maske normalerweise.

**Carter:** Das gibt es also nicht, dass jemand sagt: „Ich will etwas Neues machen! Dieses Jahr will ich eine andere Art Perchten sein.“

**Berger:** Das gibt es schon, die Jungen probieren schon, aber irgendwann landet er bei seiner Maske, die ...

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist schon, glaube ich, vor allem für die Jungen ganz ganz wichtig. Es gibt auch gewisse Masken bei uns, die sehr begehrt sind, auf die jeder einmal ... „Ah, wenn ich die mal habe, dann ...“

**Carter:** Das ist das Ziel.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau. Es gibt ganz gewisse Masken. „Dann hab’ ich es geschafft“, so ungefähr. Die Läufer behalten ihre Masken, normalerweise.

**Berger:** Die sind sehr aussagekräftig, von der Maske her. Aber dann muss der Typ, die Person dazu auch stimmen. Das heißt, Große Maske, kleiner Mann geht nicht; große Maske, großer Mann passt zusammen ... oder die Verkörperung von der Gestalt, die [die] Maske ausdrückt, muss [er] im Läufer sein.

**Carter:** Es ist nicht nur [...].

**Berger:** Zum Beispiel die Bärenmaske muss kräftig sein, der Läufer muss sich dementsprechend auch so geben.

**Carter:** Meinen Sie ...

**Berger:** Die ganze Gestalt mit der Maske, das ist eine Gestalt ... und das drückt er dann auch beim Laufen aus. Das ist wichtig. Und wenn sie eine Maske bekommen, die sie unbedingt wollen, dann muss praktisch der ganze Körper, alles, dabei sein, bei der Maske. Das ist wichtig. Das ist eine Gestalt dann, egal welche Maske er hat, aber er verkörpert diese Gestalt komplett.

**Carter:** Das ist also nicht bloß alles in der Maske, es muss auch von dem Maskenträger stammen. Er muss es innehaben.

**Berger:** Genau, dann ist es eine Einheit, dann ist er ein Läufer. Aber es dauert, bis er soweit ist. Er kann nicht heute anfangen und dann verkörpert er diese Maske. Er weiß nicht, was eigentlich diese Maske bedeutet. Das kriegt er erst im Laufe der Zeit mit. Und das ist auch wichtig für die Schnitzer, so eine Maske zu schnitzen, die auch zum Läufer passt. Das ist dann immer das kleine Spiel.

**Carter:** Also habe ich das richtig verstanden? Da gibt es also die Mitglieder und sie machen diese Maske für diesen Mann oder diese Frau, und die ist so gemacht, dass sie dieser Frau oder diesem Mann passt.

**Berger:** Zum Teil.

**Carter:** Das heißt, die Maske hat ihre eigene Identität oder Persönlichkeit, sie ist selbstständig. Sie sollten [auch] Sommerkleidung für Perchten machen, mit kurzen Haaren ... aber mit diesem Fell ist das [eher] für den Winter. Es ist zu heiß.

**Berger:** Ja, das ist heiß. Auch im Winter, wenn es draußen minus 20 Grad hat, in dem Gewand ist es heiß.

**Carter:** Ich denke manchmal, die sind so bequem.

**Gatterbauer:** Bequem sind die schon.

**Carter:** Haben Sie auch Reisen in andere Gebiete gemacht, zu anderen Veranstaltungen?

**Berger:** Ja, wir fahren schon raus.

**Gatterbauer:** Wir waren schon auch sehr weit fort, ein paar 100 Kilometer. Passau auch, Linz, das ist ganz verschieden, da fahren wir auch immer hin [...]. Ortsgebunden sind wir nicht. Die Gebiete, in die wir fahren: wo wir gerade gebucht sind, da fahren wir hin ... ob das 100 oder 200 Kilometer sind, das ist uns egal ... wo wir hinwollen, da fahren wir hin.

**Carter:** [...] Es gibt auch Zusammenarbeit Mit anderen Gruppen? [...].

**Berger:** Nicht bei jedem Auftritt, das kommt auf die Größenordnung an. Wenn man es sich in Schärding anschaut, bei so vielen Zuschauern ... da wären wir allein mit zweunddreißig Mann zu klein. Da brauchen wir andere Gruppen, die praktisch hierher kommen. Die Kontakte schließen wir über das Internet, so dass wir andere Gruppen einladen, ob sie Interesse haben, in Schärding mitzulaufen ... oder es gibt Veranstaltungen, wie das Perchten-Treffen. Da kommen 20, 30, 40 Gruppen. Da tauscht man dann Gemeinschaften

aus und, Freundschaften aus, und dann sagt man: „Ihr kommt zu uns nach Schärding, dafür kommt wir [...] in die Steiermark oder nach Salzburg oder ...

**Carter:** Man [tauscht] sich aus?

**Berger:** Ja genau, eine Hand wäscht die andere. Hauptsächlich bei den großen Perchten-Treffen, wo wirklich große Gruppen sind, aus ganz Österreich.

**Carter:** Kein Umzug? Das ist nur ein Perchten-Treffen?

**Berger:** Das ist schon ein Umzug.

**Gatterbauer:** Es gibt da diese Stadt, der Weltrekord war in der Obersteiermark in Fohnsdorf [?]. Mit 25.000 [*Zuschauern*] und über 3.000 Perchten aus ganz Österreich, aus der Schweiz sogar waren welche da, aus Südtirol.

**Carter:** In der Schweiz auch!?

**Berger:** Sogar Italien, in Italien gibt es das auch, aber nur gewisse Regionen, in der Schweiz in verschiedenen Kantonen.

**Carter:** Die heißen [...?]?

**Berger:** Die heißen manchmal Perchten, ganz verschieden, wie die heißen ...

**Carter:** Ich habe das gelesen, es gibt regionale Namen auch in Österreich ...

**Berger:** Druden, Hexen [different names] ... verschiedene Namen, [die haben alle] Holzmasken ... nur der Name ist ein bisschen anders, umgeändert worden.

**Carter:** Es ist jetzt ein bisschen koMisch Mit dieser formellen Frage.

**Gatterbauer:** Kein Problem!

**Carter:** Mich interessieren die Begriffe Tradition, traditionell, die die Perchten selbst haben. Wie würden Sie zum Beispiel diese Begriffe definieren? Was ist Tradition? Was ist traditionell? Was bedeutet das? Wie würden Sie das definieren.

**Gatterbauer:** Von der Tradition her, was noch überliefert ist. Das, was wir noch wissen, das haben wir hauptsächlich aus Büchern, aus Fachgesprächen von anderen Gruppen, die aus verschiedenen Regionen ... das wird alles überliefert ... vom Großvater, vom Urgroßvater, immer von Generation zu Generation. Es gibt gewisse Familien, die sind seit Urgedenken mit dem Perchtenbrauchtum verbunden ... der Sohn führt das weiter, der gibt das wieder an seinen Sohn, darum bleibt an verschiedenen Orten die Tradition erhalten ... manche sind dabei, die auch das Aussehen behalten möchten von ihren alten Masken. Die

würden nie etwas neues aufsetzen ... da gibt es so viele verschiedene Sachen ... nach alten Vorschriften haben die die Masken geschnitzt ... das wird überliefert ... wirklich von Familie zu Familie wird das überliefert. Und es droht nie, auszusterben. Und dann gibt es wieder Gebiete, wo das vergessen worden ist. Leider. Oder wie das bei uns war, da haben sich die jungen Leute zusammengesetzt und sagen: „Jetzt möchten wir das wieder zu machen wie früher!“ Dann fängt man an, forscht man ein bisschen teils Internet, aber am besten ist es mit Alten, die eventuell noch dabei waren oder durch Überlieferungen das Bestmögliche und so viel wie möglich herauszufinden ... so soll die Tradition erhalten bleiben.

**Carter:** [...] es gibt die Wurzeln.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, die Wurzeln, die gibt es schon. Vielerorts gibt es [allerdings] auch Gruppen, wo die Masken schon sehr reinen Zombiegesichtern ähneln ... Hautfetzen ... herunterhängende Augen ... das ist dann weniger unser Fall, und das ist auch nicht mein Fall. Das geht schon ins Groteske ... das ist sehr übertrieben. Ich will ja keinen Zombielauf mitmachen, ich will schon die Masken auch ein bisschen erhalten. Darum sind solche Sachen, naja, Geschmackssache. Oder möchtest Du mit einem halb auseinander gerissenen Schädel herumlaufen? [*lacht*]

**Carter:** Es scheint, dass ihre Gruppe eine gewisse Persönlichkeit hat.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, das stimmt. Darauf sind wir auch stolz. Jede Gruppe soll ja ein eigenes Ding darstellen. Genauso, wenn wir so einen Großauftritt haben, auf einem freien Platz zum Beispiel, da versucht man bei einer Großveranstaltung dann auch ein bisschen eine Show zu machen. Mit dem Feuerwerk zum Beispiel, weil das für die Lichteffekten und das Ganze da ist ... dann gibt es verschiedene Symboliken bei dem Perchtentanz ... das baut man auch damit ein. Da läuft man um die Feuerstelle, um das Licht wird da getanzt ... da wird rundherum gelaufen ... das muss sein, das ist Pflicht.

**Carter:** Das ist ihre Version ... innerhalb von dieser Gruppe.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, wie das von unserer Gruppe gesehen wird.

**Carter:** Wie hat sich das entwickelt? Hat man das bestimmt, oder ist das natürlich gewachsen, man hat es nicht geplant?

**Berger:** Teils, teils. ... einige Situationen sind einfach geplant, durch Erfahrungen, was andere Gruppen so gemacht haben, aber zum Großteil wie es uns gerade einfällt.

**Gatterbauer:** Eigene Ideen dazu.

**Berger:** Wie er gerade sagt, eigene Ideen ... wir könnten das einmal probieren, oder das einmal probieren ... wie sich das entwickelt ... wir sagen nicht: „Jetzt so, dann so, dann so!“ Wir haben keine gerade Linie ... wie es die Situation gerade zulässt.

**Carter:** Also, wie sich das entwickelt? Danach kann man darauf zurückschauen.

**Berger:** Genau. Für uns sind auch die Zuschauer wichtig, die uns anschauen wollen, und ob es ihnen dann gefällt. Vor zwei Jahren hatten wir einmal eine Partnergruppe ... die von den Steiermark-Perchten ... die waren bekannt für ein Krampusspiel ... die machen das schon Jahrelang ... mit Tradition. Wie lang hat das gedauert?

**Gatterbauer:** Halbe Stunde.

**Berger:** Ja, so eine halbe Stunde ... ca. dreißig Minuten, die das Spiel gedauert hat. Es war für viele Zuschauer, für Erwachsenen, die das mitverfolgt, was der da oben spricht, war es OK, aber für die kleinen Kinder war das super Klasse. Da sagen wir dann, mal eine Aufführung ist super Klasse, aber ...

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist einfach Respekt. Respekt soll einfach da sein.

**Carter:** Es gibt also den Unterschied zwischen Respekt und Angst den Sie schaffen.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau. Der soll hergestellt werden.

**Berger:** Es ist schon etwas anderes, wenn ich sage: „Ich ziehe mir jetzt das Gewand an!“ Und vor dem Auftritt setzt man sich die Maske auf und dann, so geht es zumindest mir und anderen sicherlich auch, dann bist du in einer anderen Haut drinnen. Du weißt, jetzt geht der Auftritt los, jetzt musst du dich ein wenig gut präsentieren ... musst das gut rüberbringen, und du musst auch eine wenig schauspielern. Das gehört schon ein wenig dazu, gewisse Bewegungen, wenn man zum Beispiel stehen bleibt ... für Fotos zum Beispiel stehen bleiben, gewisse Positionen, mit den Armen, oder Kinder, wenn man die mal auf den Arm nimmt und dann fotografieren lässt, das gehört schon ein wenig dazu. Und auch selbst während des Auftritts dass man ein wenig die Gangart wechselt ... ein bisschen ins Mystische, ins Drohende, aber auch wieder so: „Komm her, ich tue dir nicht!“ Das ist, wenn ich in Maske drinstecke ... wie der Gatterbauer gesagt hat, es kommt darauf an, wenn ich vor mir habe ob ich jetzt ein kleines Kind vor mir habe oder jemanden, der schon ein bisschen erwachsen ist ... und das abzuschätzen, das ist reine Gefühlssache. Da kann man nicht sagen, das musst du jetzt so machen, sondern das kommt im Laufe der Zeit. Und das ist wunderschön.

**Carter:** So soll es sein.

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, nein. Unter der Maske, da erlebt man Sachen, wie Menschen reagieren können auf solche Masken. Das ist gigantisch. Wir haben schon Erwachsene gehabt, die haben geweint und hatten Angst obwohl wir noch 10 Minuten vorher an einem Tisch gesessen haben.

**Carter:** Und danach kam es zu dieser starken Reaktion?

**Gatterbauer:** Dann sind wir rausgegangen, haben uns die Masken aufgesetzt und sind wieder zu diesem Tisch hingegangen, dann hat die geweint vor lauter Angst, obwohl sie gewusst hat, dass ich unter dieser Maske stecke.

**Carter:** Aber, der Eindruck ist so groß. Ich habe das auch gesehen, bei den ganz jungen Frauen, vielleicht 18 Jahre alt. Es gab Tränen. Die machen das nicht aus Spaß, das ist ernst, die Tränen sind echt.

**Berger:** Viele probieren auch, das zu unterdrücken, damit sie ihre Angst nicht zeigen. Das sind so Situationen ... da sollte man schon wissen, wie man reagiert...wenn man der Person schon ansieht, sie hat Angst vor mir, aber zeigt das nicht, dann ziehe ich mich schon zurück ... dann mache ich das ruhiger, und versuche der Person die Angst zu nehmen. Es gibt aber auch das Gegenteil, also diejenigen, die das herausfordern, die provozieren und dann muss man ab und zu auch mit der [...] „das Böse vertreiben“ ... nicht viel. [*lacht*]

**Gatterbauer:** Das gehört dazu.

**Berger:** Wir haben nie eine schlechte Nachricht bekommen, dass jemand böse auf uns gewesen wäre. Auch wenn man mal mit [...] zugeschlagen hat. Nein, im Gegenteil. Das war zu 90 Prozent immer lustig, auch von den Zuschauern her ... jedem kann man es nicht recht machen, es gibt immer mal schwarze Schafe. Aber 90 Prozent der Zuschauer haben viel Spaß damit.

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, nein. Das ist wichtig.

**Berger:** Und wir haben auch unseren Spaß. Wenn die Zuschauer mit Spaß reagieren, dann fühlst du dich auch wohler. Wenn du dich in so einer Menge bewegst und du merkst, dass die Zuschauer sich ein wenig.

**Gatterbauer:** Die freuen sich.

**Berger:** Ja, mit Freude. Die fühlen sich wohl, die freuen sich, haben Spaß, dann habe ich auch Spaß. Aber es gibt eben auch andere. Aber es ist schon lustig, man erlebt schon Sachen unter der Maske, wo wir schon lachen müssen unter der Maske.

**Carter:** Ja ich denke manchmal, wenn ich ein Percht [?] ... ich würde sicher sehr lachen, wenn ich das alles sehe.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, es ist schon viel Spaß dabei.

**Carter:** Sie sehen sich selbst, aber Sie wissen auch, dass Sie diese Maske [auf]haben. Es gibt das auch für die Zuschauer ... es ist persönlich [?], aber ich weiß auch, es ist ein Mensch unter der Maske. Aber später, wenn ich durch das Dorf oder die Stadt spaziere und sehen einen Mann, vielleicht war er unter einer [Maske] ... das wirkt sehr interessant auf mich [...?].

**Gatterbauer:** So soll das auch bleiben, so soll die Tradition auch erhalten bleiben. Es soll ja nicht so sein, wenn ich meine Maske aufhabe, dass jeder sagt: „Ah, das ist der Gatterbauer!“ Das ist lustig. Das ist der gewisse Punkt, wie wir am Anfang gesagt haben, den wollen wir erreichen, dass eben der Respekt da ist. Aber wenn man das weiß, da ist der Michael drunter oder da bin ich drunter, ich bin mir aber nicht ganz sicher ... es soll ein Gefühl da sein, dass, sagen wir mal, ein wenig prickelt, obwohl ich ihn ja kenne.

**Carter:** Es gibt eine [Spannung], und es ist vielleicht auch die Dunkelheit, die [mit dem Feuer verbunden ist].

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, das spielt sicherlich eine Rolle. Das soll auch erhalten bleiben. Wenn das nur noch Spaß ist, dann können wir irgendwann auch beim Fasching mitgehen können... Nur Spaß soll es eben auch nicht sein, eine gewisse Spannung soll halt einfach da sein.

**Carter:** Das ist auch eine Eigenschaft, es ist nicht nur einfach sich maskieren.

**Berger:** Genau, das soll erhalten bleiben. Das wird immer dabei sein.

**Carter:** Gibt es noch etwas, das ganz wichtig ist, das Sie erklären [könnten]? Ich möchte nicht zu viel.

**Gatterbauer:** Da haben wir gewaltig alles durchgekaut, oder?

**Carter:** Das war alles so interessant.

**Berger:** Ich denke selber schon immer ein bisschen nach, was es noch Interessantes gibt. Vielleicht, was so eine Ausrüstung kostet. Weißt du was so etwas kostet, wenn man das jetzt kauft?

**Carter:** Ich glaube, als Maskenschnitzer müssen Sie alles [kaufen] ... die Stoffe.

**Gatterbauer:** Die Felle, die Hörner ... müssen Sie alles kaufen ... das Holz auch. Aber wenn wir jetzt mal sagen, man geht zu einem bestimmten Maskenschnitzer hin, dann kann man bis zu 1000 Euro für eine Maske bezahlen.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist viel .

**Gatterbauer:** Nur die Maske. Dann kommt das Gewand hinzu. So eine Ausrüstung kann zwei, zweieinhalb Tausend Euro kann die leicht kosten ... zweieinhalb, 3.000 Dollar für eine komplette Ausrüstung.

**Carter:** Müssen die Vereine auch Pyrotechnik besorgen?

**Gatterbauer:** Das auch. Das gehört auch dazu.

**Berger:** Pyrotechnik ... dann eben für den Verein selbst aber auch Jacken, T-Shirts ... immer mit unserem Aufdruck. Das gehört einfach dazu. Dadurch, dass wir ein eigener Verein sind, gehört das einfach dazu. Und unser Auskommen haben wir auch [damit] dementsprechend. Wir haben Plakate, wir haben auch einen Kalender.

**Carter:** Ah, jeden Monat ein anderes Perchtengesicht. Ich kann das glauben ... man muss viel Geld ausgeben, viel in die Ausrüstung [investieren].

**Berger:** Und das ist nur für den Verein. Die Gelder die wir einnehmen sind nur für den Verein. Also für mich persönlich, ich selbst verdiene gar nichts.

**Gatterbauer:** Null ...

**Berger:** Ich gehe damit, weil ich Spaß daran habe, weil es mein Hobby ist, aber Einnahmen habe ich keine. Ich verdiene daran nichts.

**Carter:** Wenn man also ein bisschen Geld von dieser [...] zu erhalten ...

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist ehrenamtlich.

**Carter:** Das ist nur, um den Verein zu unterstützen.

**Berger:** Genau.

**Carter:** Das kann schwierig sein.

**Gatterbauer:** Alles ehrenamtlich.

**Carter:** Ich habe so viel gefragt — mir fallen keine Fragen mehr ein.

**Berger:** Wir haben ja auch schon alles durchgekaut.

**Carter:** Kann ich mir vielleicht noch Fotos anschauen?



**Mi:** Ja, freilich. Wann geht dein Zug?

**Carter:** Es gibt verschiedene. Ich habe keinen bestimmten. Jetzt habe ich alle Informationen bekommen für den ganzen Tag. Jetzt bin ich richtig vorbereitet. So jetzt haben wir nochmal Masken.

**Gatterbauer:** [...?]holz, fertig geschnitzt ... und das ist die Bemalung.

**Carter:** Sie haben das gleiche System ... Seite ...

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, seitlich und vorne.

**Carter:** Und die Augen, und so weiter. Die Hörner sind eingesteckt?

**Gatterbauer:** Die sind hohl innen, jedes Horn ist innen hohl, und da kommt Holz rein, verschraubt von der Seite und dann auf die Maske verschraubt.

**Carter:** Damit die fest bleiben.

**Gatterbauer:** Genau, damit die schön fest bleiben ... manchmal wackelt es auch mal.

**Carter:** Zu viel Energie, aber das geht nicht raus. Manchmal können die ganz anders aussehen auf dem Foto als beim Umzug, wenn man sich so rasch bewegt.

**Berger:** das ist Gatterbauer, der Tod.

**Carter:** Hat der Tod eine andere [...?], oder hat der die gleiche Funktion?

**Berger:** Das ist die gleiche Funktion ... Holzkrüge.

**Carter:** Für Bier.

**Gatterbauer:** Die verkaufen wir auch als Souvenir.

**Carter:** Das ist eine gute Idee. Das sind alles Mitgliedermasken.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, genau. Das war mal meine früher ... vor drei, vier Jahren habe ich die gehabt.

**Carter:** Manchmal habe ich Angst, dass, wenn ich Fotos mache, den Perchten Probleme [bereite] ... aber die Augenhöhlen sind zu klein.

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, kein Problem ... da sieht man nichts.

**Carter:** Es gibt immer Zuschauer mit Kamera, da passiert also nichts ... das ist Schwarz-Weiß.

**Gatterbauer:** Das ist die Bemalung.

**Carter:** Ist das geistlich?

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, das ist ganz normal. Wie ein Geist? *Ghost*?

**Carter:** Ja.

**Gatterbauer:** Nein, das ist ganz normal ... bisschen ausprobieren. Das ist ein Wolf.

**Carter:** Die ist etwas schwerer als die anderen Masken.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja ... die war größer.

**Carter:** Das ist nicht hohl? Die ist *solid*, aus Holz.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja, da gibt's kein Plastik, das ist alles Holz ... das hier ist das, was wir gesagt haben, die scherzen ein bisschen, die machen ein wenig Radau ... kleiner Kampf.

**Carter:** Hat das eine spezielle Bedeutung, ist es das, was Perchten machen.

**Berger:** Das ist Show.

**Gatterbauer:** Das war auch in Schärding vor zwei, drei Jahren, beim Umziehen.

**Carter:** Das ist seit 2000 in Schärding?

**Gatterbauer:** Seit 1990. 1999 war der erste Auftritt, bei der Krampusauffahrt.

**Berger:** Der erste Perchtenlauf

**Carter:** 1990 war der erste Perchtenlauf?

**Berger:** 1999. 1990 waren wir noch Krampusse und ab 1999 hatten wir dann den ersten Perchtenlauf. Da sind auch manche Fotos von der Ausstellung dabei.

**Carter:** Ich würde gerne nächstes Jahr. Sie werden nächstes Jahr eine Ausstellung haben, die würde ich gerne sehen.

**Gatterbauer:** 16., 17., 18. November, das haben wir schon ausgemacht.

**Berger:** 17., 18. November.

**Carter:** Ich habe den Fehler gemacht, dass ich zu spät nach Österreich gekommen bin. Ich war vorher in Wien, aber nicht in dieser Gegend. Ich glaube, es ist das beste, wenn ich im späten Oktober ... bessere Chancen ... das ist ein Holzbrenner.

**Gatterbauer:** Ja genau. Das ist bei der Ausstellung, da sind wir alle da. Das ist mein Schnitzwerkzeug.

**Carter:** Ja, ich habe ein paar Fotos von dieser Maske.

**Gatterbauer:** Kann man in Ruhe alles ansehen bei der Ausstellung.

## **Appendix N: Interview Transcript: Salzburger Schiachpercht'n**

**Interview with Günter Polanec and Herbert Mengl of the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n.**

**Conducted in the home of Herbert and Hannelore Mengl in the city of Salzburg,  
Salzburg, Austria, Dec. 9, 2005.**

**Interviewed by Molly Carter. Interpreted by Silvia Lenglachner. Transcribed by  
Cornelia Zepf.**

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**Carter:** Ok, so ... Ja das funktioniert. Das ist ... Das funktioniert. Jetzt müssen wir uns alle ganz gut benehmen.

**Mengl:** Ja, wir probieren es.

**Carter:** Nein, ich hoffe nicht, ich hoffe nicht.

**Mengl:** Das würde ja lustig aussehen.

**Polanec:** Naja, sonst schalten wir es zwischendurch mal aus, oder? Kurz verschnaufen. Kurze Verschnaufpause. Also die Carter schreibt wirklich so eine Art Doktorarbeit über die Geschichte.

**Mengl:** Eine Doktorarbeit?

**Lenglachner:** Ja.

**Carter:** Ja eine Doktorarbeit, aber ich finde...

**Polanec:** Naja, ich habe zwar diese Dissertation des [?], aber habe sie nicht dabei. Ich bin ja umgezogen, in mein neues Haus und ich finde die Sachen teilweise noch nicht. [*Gelächter, Lärm*] Ich habe ja eine Dissertation daheim. Und zwar hat eine Österreicherin eine Dissertation über die Perchter geschrieben, über die Frau.

**Mengl:** Das ist die Chefin.

**Polanec:** Das ist die Chefin. Die Perchte, das ist die ...

**Carter:** Das ist der Doppelaspekt.

**Polanec:** Genau, das ist der Doppelaspekt. Sie hat über das Verhältnis ‚Frau zu Perchtenbrauchtum‘ geschrieben. Und die habe ich noch Daheim. Und das ist ganz interessant! Und Du bist sowieso noch in Salzburg. Vielleicht finde ich’s noch, dann kann ich’s Dir noch zeigen oder Du kannst es Dir kopieren.

**Carter:** Hmmm. Oh! Könntest Du? Ich habe nicht alles verstanden.

**Lenglachner:** *Ok. He found a dissertation about ... from a lady. I think in Vienna. Is it right, no?*

**Polanec:** *No, no. Salzburg.*

**Lenglachner:** *Ok, yeah in Salzburg, but you found it in the library in Vienna, in der Nationalbibliothek.*

**Polanec:** Ja richtig, genau. Ja ...

**Lenglachner:** *He got it from the National Library in Vienna.*<sup>1030</sup>

**Carter:** *Oh, yes, ok.*

**Lenglachner:** *And yes ... he copied it and ...it’s about Frau Pechte and her relation to women. And he suggested that if he finds it at home, you could copy it from him.*

**Carter:** *Oh! Thank you! Ok.*

**Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Lenglachner:** Because he moved to a new house and now things are bit like ...

**Carter:** Ich verstehe das. *That’s good.* Ich habe das gleiche Problem. Ich habe immer viele Dosen mit Papier.

**Polanec:** Das sind Kartons ...

**Carter:** [...] Ich brauche das. Es ist wichtiger als Essen (Speisen). Ich muss das jedes Mal mitnehmen, mitbringen, wenn ich umziehe. Ah ... das ist komisch.

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<sup>1030</sup> In reference to Kubovsky.

**Mengl:** Ja, macht ja nichts. Ist doch egal. [*Gelächter*] Wir sind kein Faschingsumzug.

**Carter:** Ah! Es gibt kein Faschingsumzug.

**Mengl:** Kein Karneval.

**Lenglachner:** *They are no carneval group.*

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Es ist kein Karneval.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Äh, das ist die, wie soll ich sagen ... Der letzte Tag, an dem die Perchten laufen dürfen, ist der 6. Dezember. Äh, der 6. Januar. Entschuldigung.

**Carter:** Hmmm ....

**Mengl:** Das ist der 6. Januar. Das ist die letzte ‚Rauhnacht‘.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Schreibt man, hmmm ... ja ganz normal. Das ist der letzte Tag, geht bis ... der letzte Tag ist der 6. Januar.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Also die ‚Rauhnächte‘ sind ja ein Teil der Lostage, dieser Glaube von Lostagen in Österreich. Und diese sind ja regional verschieden. Das heißt, in Salzburg gibt es andere Lostage als in Kärnten, Steiermark, Tirol. Äh ... und Lostage, das ist auch so, kommen von den Bauern.

**Mengl:** Das hängt ganz viel mit der Sonne.

**Polanec:** Da passiert etwas.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Also, wenn es zum Beispiel am 28. schneit den ganzen Tag.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Ja, dann kann es sein - so sagt es die Bauernregel - dann schneit es zwei Monate lang.

**Carter:** Ja, ok.

**Polanec:** Das ist ein Lostag.

**Mengl:** Das ist aber nicht immer ganz hundertprozentig.

**Polanec:** Ja.

**Carter:** ja, ich verstehen ... aber das ist ...

**Polanec:** Aber es ist einfach dieser Glaube, genau! Oder es ist am 26 sehr warm, ja? Gutes Wetter! Dann wird die Ernte gut.

**Carter:** Aha ... aha.

**Polanec:** Verstehst Du?

**Carter:** Ah, ja! Das gibt es auch in Großbritannien, diese deutsche ...

**Polanec:** Ja, ja genau...richtig.

**Carter:** Man muss gut beachten, was passiert.

**Mengl:** Von den Bauern, von den Farmern.

**Polanec:** Ja, genau. Richtig. Daraus ... und diese ‚Rauhennächte‘ sind ja Lostage.

**Carter:** Diese Lostage sind diese Tage ... man muss sie beachten.

**Polanec:** Genau.

**Carter:** Das ist fast wie [...].

**Polanec:** ja, genau, stimmt.

**Carter:** Man muss werten, was passiert.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja genau.

**Carter:** Und das ist die Definition dieser Lostage.

**Polanec:** Ja stimmt, ja. Und daraus ... und das ist dann eine ‚Rauhnacht‘, die eigentliche Perchnacht. ‚Rauhnächte‘ gibt es ja mehr: ‚Rauhnächte‘ sind am 24. Dezember, 31. Dezember, der 1. Januar, der 6. Januar. Das sind eben solche ‚Rauhnächte‘, wo die Perchten laufen dürfen.

**Carter:** hmoooo

**Polanec:** Die ‚Haupt-Rauhnacht‘ ist die ‚Perchnacht und das ist genau die Nacht vom 5. Januar auf den 6. Januar.

**Carter:** Aha, aha.

**Polanec:** Das heißt, am 6. Januar laufen die Perchten das letzte Mal.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Da muss dann das Böse weg sein und Glück für das neue Jahr.

**Carter:** Das hängt also zusammen.

**Polanec:** Ja.

**Carter:** Das Bestimmen, ganz bewusst, was passieren wird im neuen Jahr. Der Perchtenlauf ist also ein Teil dieser ...

**Polanec:** Ja, ja genau.

**2. Person:** bis über das neue Jahr hinaus, [**Carter:** Aha] und ... dann eben bis am 6. Dezember ... und dann ist fertig.

**Carter:** Aha. Damit das neue Jahr gut beginnen kann.

**Mengl:** Ja. Eine Percht sieht zwar schrecklich aus, sollte aber — also bringt Glück.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Mengl:** Treibt das böse weg und bringt das Gute herein.

**Polanec:** Es ist ja hier richtig beschrieben. Mit Weihrauch schützt der Bauer Hof und Vieh vor nächtlichem Spuck.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Das ist genau diese Sache, warum es dieses Perchtenbrauchtum da genau gibt.

**Carter:** Diese Broschüre ...

**Polanec:** Die darfst Du Dir mitnehmen. Das ist unsere Broschüre.

**Carter:** Oh, danke. Danke.

**Polanec:** Die nimmst Du nach Amerika mit.

**Carter:** Ja, ja! Ich würde gerne Perchten in Amerika haben.

**Polanec:** Ja, wir kommen! [*Gelächter*]

**Carter:** Super.



**Polanec:** Wir fliegen!

**Carter:** Ja ...

**Mengl:** Eine E-Mail haben wir von Amerika gehabt. Ich weiss jetzt leider nicht mehr von wo das war. Jedenfalls haben die ein junges Mädchen mit 13, 14 Jahren. Haben gesagt: Wäre schön, wenn Ihr auch bei uns wärt, dann gäbe es bei uns nicht so viele böse Leute.

**Polanec:** Ja, Australien haben wir auch schon bekommen.

**Mengl:** Ja, Australien. Aber dann gäbe es nicht so viele böse Leute. Ich muss sagen, wir sind nicht, äh ... Wir schlagen nicht.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Nein, es wird also nur ... Es wird nur, nein wir dürfen nicht.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Es soll einfach nur Glück bringen.

**Polanec:** Nein, das ist ja nicht der Sinn von dem Ganzen.

**Mengl:** Das unterschätzen viele Leute. Das ist nur wenn man...

**Polanec:** Du wirst es verstehen, wenn wir jetzt tiefer gehen, wenn wir Dir heute erzählen, wir arbeiten auch mit behinderten Kindern zusammen. Mal speziell behinderte Kinder, [...?] das alle ein Foto haben wollen.

**Mengl:** Ja, das ist wirklich toll.

**Carter:** Ihr sagt also, dass wenn Du ein Percht bist, nicht schlägst. Das Schlagen ist für die Krampusse.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja. Da musst Du, man muss da aber einen Unterschied machen.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Äh, wir sind Flachgau. Also, die Geographie, Salzburg: [**Carter:** hmmm ...] Tennengau, Pinzgau. Ja, es gibt Gaue In Salzburg. Gasteiner Perchten zum Beispiel [**Carter:** hmhhh]

**Polanec:** Sehr bekannt. Die behaupten ja, dass dieses Perchtenbrauchtum vom Gebirge — heißt das bei uns — oder ...

**Mengl:** Innergebirg.

**Polanec:** ‚Innergebirg‘ — heißt das — herauskommt in die Stadt, was ja falsch ist. Stimmt nicht! Ist nachweisbar! In Salzburg hat es Perchtenbrauchtum gegeben. Das war früher polizeilich verboten.

**Carter:** In der Stadt Salzburg? Man konnte nicht, man durfte nicht.

**Mengl:** Wurde von der Polizei verboten ...

**Polanec:** ... in der Stadt Salzburg. Man durfte nicht gehen, weil dann ist man in ... Krrrrr!

**Carter:** Ja, ja ...

**Polanec:** Es war, es war, es war so.

**3. Person:** Zu erzbischöflichen Zeiten, hat es das wirklich gegeben. Und ...

**Mengl:** Weil sie Angst hatten um den Glauben.

**Polanec:** Ja. Das ist erz-, sehr katholisch.

**Mengl:** Und die Kirche hat's ja immer irgendwie, immer irgendwie mit dem einheimischen ... äh ... Glauben verbündet.

**Carter:** hmmm...

**Mengl:** Der Glaube aus dem Keltischen oder aus dem Römischen, ist ja immer irgendwie mit eingebunden worden in die katholische Kirche.

**Mengl:** Vor allem, das heißt...

**Polanec:** ...immer mit eingebunden worden.

**Polanec:** Das große Problem ist ja auch der Glaube. Der Unterschied und zwar zwischen Katholiken und Evangelischen. Es kommt ja jetzt viel aus diesem Brauchtum ja, aus dem Evangelischen.

**Carter:** Ich schwitze, ja. Ich bin so heiß. Ich habe zu viele Pullis. Ich habe fünf Pullis. *It's disgusting.* Ich entschuldige mich

**Polanec:** Kein Problem.

**Carter:** Das ist schrecklich zu sehen. Aber ja, das ist ich ... ich komme aus Kalifornien und ich bin im Schnee und ich schwitze. Ja ... ist das das richtige Wort?

**Lenglachner:** Ja, ja klar. [*Gelächter*]

**Carter:** Das ist offenbar, ich brauche keine ...

**Lenglachner:** Ja, Du brauchst mich überhaupt nicht. Ich merke schon, ich bin ganz ...

**Mengl:** Wir versuchen langsam zu Sprechen, weil das ist, das ist ... Moment mal!

**Carter:** Aber das ist gut. Ich verstehen ...

**Polanec:** Wasser.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist schrecklich. Das ist ... äh ... So ...

**Polanec:** Und in Salzburg. Salzburg ist ja immer erzkatholisch gewesen.

**Lenglachner:** Ja, so lange erz ...

**Mengl:** Ja, probiert haben sie es mal. Die Evangelischen haben es mal probiert. Es ist aber nie durchgekommen.

**Polanec:** Und es sind ja viele Dinge, die mit Weihnachten zusammenhängen: Der Adventskranz und so ... Das sind ja äußere, eigentlich, heidnische ...

**Mengl:** Der, der, der Christbaum ...

**Polanec:** Christbaum ... evangelische Geschichten. Nichts Katholisches. Das ist ja dann nur vom Volk übernommen worden.

**Mengl:** Und das Volk hat das gemacht.

**Carter:** Aha ... ja.

**Mengl:** Die meisten Kirchen in Österreich oder in ganz Europa, sind ja auf keltische Glaubens ... von keltischen Glaubensritualplätzen übernommen worden. Da haben sich die Kirchen darauf breit gemacht.

**Polanec:** Die katholische Kirche ...

**Mengl:** Da waren zuerst die Kelten, dann waren die Römer. Die Römer haben die Kelten vertrieben. Dann waren die Römer und dann ist die katholische Kirche gekommen.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Und die haben gesagt: ‚So, das ist jetzt ein keltischer Plott und da setzen wir jetzt unsere Kirche hin, unsere katholische Kirche‘.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Und nachdem das ja eigentlich ein heidnischer Brauch ist, war ja natürlich dieses Perchtenbrauchtum überhaupt nicht angesehen. Man hat für das früher absolut kein Verständnis gehabt. In der Stadt!

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Salzburg, Kaufleute, die irgendwo in der höheren Klassen waren [**Carter:** Aha.] haben für diese Sache irgendwo kein Verständnis gehabt. [**Carter:** hmmm ...] Das hat sich entwickelt im Gebirge drinnen. Und daraus ist eigentlich dieses Brauchtum entstanden. Und im Gebirge, läuft dieses Perchtenbrauchtum ja ganz anders ab. Dort wird zum Beispiel geschlagen.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Da kommt es auf das ursprüngliche wieder zurück. Da wird zugeschlagen. Da wird wirklich ... Die haben ja auch noch Ruten, also Birken- , Weidenruten. Und da wird wirklich zugeschlagen.

**Carter:** So, könntest Du mir ... ich habe nicht alles.

**Mengl:** Zugeschlagen, also da wird ...

**Carter:** Wer hat geschlagen?

**Lenglachner:** *Ok. There is a difference between the Perchten in town — in Salzburg — and in the mountain areas. [Carter: Ok ...] In the towns, there were the craftsmen and the merchants and they were not really interested in that. And also the church limited the impact in the towns.*

[Background discussion, good-bye]

**Lenglachner:** *And Polanec said that those Perchten from the countryside say that they are the original ones, but he said really that's not true. But they were prohibited in the towns, in Salzburg.*

**Carter:** Aber vielleicht sind sie trotzdem gelaufen? Vielleicht gibt es trotzdem Perchten in der Stadt? Und *anyway* .... trotzdem... [**Polanec:** Ja!] Und obwohl die Kirche nein sagt, die Polizei nein sagt, gibt es trotzdem Perchten. [**Mengl/3. Person:** Ja! Aber, aber aber ...] Aber das ist gefährlich!

**Mengl:** Das Volk, das Volk hat gesagt: ‚Ja wir wollen das.‘

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Und die Kirche hat sich angepasst.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Ja, gezwungenermaßen.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Die Kirche hat sich angepasst und das wird bei allen ... weil es waren so viele Brauchtümer ...

**Mengl:** Ostern, ist kein kirchlicher Brauchtum. Das hat die Kirche mit übernommen.

**Carter:** Und welcher Brauch ist das?

**Mengl:** Ostern.

**Lenglachner:** *Eastern, for example.*

**Carter:** Oh, Ostern. Ja, ja ...

**Mengl:** Das hat die Kirche mit übernommen, weil sie nicht aus ... also weil sie ... sie hat die Chance nicht gehabt.

**Lenglachner:** Hmmm.

**Mengl:** Sie haben ...

**Lenglachner:** *Because like the people wanted to continue with these traditions and so the church just had to give in, kind of, and said ... yeah we'll also make such a ...*

**Carter:** Leichter als kämpfen mit den Brauchtümern.

**Mengl:** Richtig, ja.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist ...

**Lenglachner:** Und *Polanec spoke of another difference between the town Perchten and the mountains.*

**Mengl:** Ja.

**Lenglachner:** In the town they don't beat people, but in the mountains they do.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja. Es wird dieses Perchtenbrauchtum am Plan — das ist im Gebirge drinnen — anders dargestellt und gemacht, wie wir es machen und wie es in der Stadt generell gemacht wird.

**Carter:** Und jetzt ist es auch so, zum Beispiel in [...] [**Mengl:** Ja.], die sich schlagen.

**Mengl/3. Person:** Ja, ja, ja.

**Carter:** Aber nicht hier. Mit diesem Verein, in der Stadt schreit man nicht weil es traditionell ist. Oder? [**Mengl:** Richtig, ja.] Oder vielleicht ... ich weiss es nicht.

**Polanec:** Naja, äh ... vielleicht. Das Problem ist ... traditionell ... äh ... Wenn wir ... wenn wir es jetzt richtig sehen möchten, dann ist es sehr wohl traditionell, dass halt — nachdem ja behauptet wird, der Perchtenbrauchtum kommt aus dem Gebirge — ist es sehr wohl traditionell, dass die schlimmen Leute mit Ruten geschlagen werden. [**Carter:** hmmm ...]

**Polanec:** Die Auffassung oder der Unterschied. Es gibt ja da ganz schreckliche Geschichten. Das kann man in diesen Büchern nachlesen, wie dieses Perchtenbrauchtum früher vollzogen wurde. Die Perchta zum Beispiel, das böse und das gute Gesicht. Ja?

**Carter:** Und diese Frau Perchta.

**Polanec:** Diese Frau Perchta. Die gute Seite ist, die Perchta — während der Bauernhof zusammengeräumt war, ordentlich zusammengeräumt war — das haben die Bauern gewusst, jetzt kommt die Perchta, ja?

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Sie müssen den Bauernhof in Ordnung halten: zusammenräumen.

**Mengl:** Sauber.

**Polanec:** Sauber, ja?

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Dann hat die Perchta Äpfel, Nüsse geschenkt. Ja?

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** War der Bauernhof aber nicht aufgeräumt, dann hat sie den Bauernhof [geschlagen /verprügelt?] zfllegt.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... So dass man ... man hat die Wahl.

**Mengl:** Und ...

**Polanec:** Genau ...

**Carter:** Man weiss vorher ...

**Mengl:** Und das zweite, wo es hieß, wo die Perchta herkommt. Das habe ich selbst nachgelesen. Das ist, hmmm ... sie verkörpert auch zum Teil die helle und die dunkle Jahreszeit: Winter/Sommer.

**Polanec:** Ja ...

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Also, die schöne Seite und die — also die helle Seite vom Jahresleben. Das ist ja immer so ein Jahreszyklus.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Mengl:** Das ist Sommer, Winter, spring ... Blödsinn, ja und Winter. Und sie verkörpert eigentlich das ganze Jahr. Die helle Zeit, wo viel Sonne ist und die dunkle Zeit, wo es eben sehr finster ist. Also ... und das verkörpert eben auch die Perchta.

**Polanec:** Den Bezug zu ...

**Lenglachner:** *She is like a personification of summer and winter.*

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Lenglachner:** *Of dark and light ... of good and bad.*

**Mengl:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** Und *yes* ... auch das Benehmen, man kann alles in Ordnung haben oder man kann falsch sein, denn man hat die zwei ...

**Mengl:** Zum Beispiel ...

**Polanec:** Zum Beispiel der Bezug zu den Kindern.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Brave Kinder wurden belohnt...

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Ja! Schlimme Kinder: Bauchaufschlitzen.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... So ist das ...

**Polanec:** Das ist ... das ist, das ist ... Genau diese, diese Doppelgleisigkeit  
[Doppelseitigkeit]: Die gute und die böse Seite der Perchta. Die schöne Maske und die ...

**Mengl:** Hell und dunkel...Es gibt kein Tag ohne Nacht.

**Lenglachner:** Hat die zwei Gesichter? Vorne und hinten oder wie?

**Mengl:** Ja, das hat sie ...

**Polanec:** Hier ist eine drinnen. Das ist nicht unsere, aber das ist ...

**Polanec:** Da ist sie, wo ist sie denn? Da, da ist sie. Das ist die Perchta. Das ist die Doppelseite. Und so eine haben wir im Verein: Also die schöne Seite, die Sonnenseite ...

**Polanec:** Und man sieht es hier ein bißchen.

**Mengl:** die schöne Seite.

**Polanec:** Die Perchtenmasken.

**Mengl:** Die haben wir eben so gemacht, damit praktisch der, der sie trägt so aufsetzen kann.  
Also ...

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Die alten Perchter, es gibt ja ... die haben eine Klappmaske. Also die setzen sie auf und klappen sie.

**Mengl:** Nur so zum Drüber ziehen.

**Polanec:** Bei uns geht es ... ja zum Drüber ziehen.

**Carter:** Mein Gesicht hier ... mein Gesicht hinter.

**Mengl:** Genau, ja.

**Carter:** Also wie war das nun, wenn die Percht in die Häuser gekommen ist, um zu belohnen oder zu bestrafen oder kontrollieren.

**Mengl:** Ja.

**Carter:** War das als Maskenbrauch oder ist das im Sagen um die beiden?

**Mengl:** Das ist Überlieferung.

**Polanec:** Das ist überliefert.

**Carter:** Also man ...



**Mengl:** Das wird immer von den alten Menschen an die jungen überliefert.

**Carter:** Also man spricht das, man erzählt es den Kindern.

**Polanec:** Ja, genau.

**Mengl:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** Frau Perchta wird kommen.

**Polanec:** Großvater, Vater ... ja, genau. Ja, ja, ja ...

**Mengl:** Das ist Überlieferung. Es ist ... ich bin jetzt jünger, wie der Polanec. Der Polanec sagt mir jetzt: „Mengl, das ist so und so und wir haben das immer gemacht.“ Dann sag' ich: Gut, das ist unser Brauch, unser Brauchtum. Wir tragen das weiter.“

**Polanec:** Das Perchtenbrauchtum hat sich ja durch so etwas, nur durch das Reden weiterentwickelt. Vom Großvater auf den Vater und vom Vater auf den Sohn. Und so hat sich das Perchtenbrauchtum ja seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, wo es eigentlich das erste Mal, [Mengl: ...wieder gekommen ist ...] ah, angefangen hat. So hat sich das entwickelt. Bis heute. [Mengl: Bis heute.]

**Carter:** Also der Anfang dieses Maskenbrauchs [Polanec: Ja.] ist welches Jahrhundert?

**Polanec:** 18. Jahrhundert.

**Carter:** 18. Jahrhundert, ok. Dort war es das erste Mal, dass man sich maskiert hat [Mengl: Ja.] als Perchten.

**Mengl:** Nein, das war schon vorher.

**Polanec:** Nein. Das war vorher. Nur, es gibt ja ...

**Mengl:** Es war nur von der katholischen Kirche verboten gewesen.

**Carter:** Aha ...

**Mengl:** Es war verboten.

**Carter:** Sich maskieren?

**Polanec:** Und dann hat es einfach. Und dann irgendwann sind dann aus der Perchta die Perchten entstanden. Dann ist dieses Perchtenbrauchtum ... dann hat es angefangen, im 18. Jahrhundert.

**Carter:** So diese Verbindung

**Polanec:** Genau.

**Carter:** Wir sind Perchten, wir sind nicht nur diese Teufel.

**Polanec:** Genau. Verkleidet. Verkleidet haben sich in den ‚Rauhnächten‘ aus diesen Umständen, wie wir zuerst gesagt haben — aus dieser Entwicklung — Leute immer.

**Carter:** Hmmm. Das ist alt, ganz alt.

**Polanec:** Man sieht es irgendwo, in dem Buch habe ich es sogar drin.

**Carter:** Aber im 18. Jahrhundert, das war der Anfang das als Perchten zu beschreiben. Wir sind Perchten.

**Mengl:** Ja genau. Ja.

**Mengl:** Zum Beispiel. Das hat es vorher schon gegeben, aber es durfte niemand. Eben wegen ...

**Carter:** Es war nicht offenbar? [**Polanec:** Es war, sie haben nur ...]

**Mengl:** Nein, nein, nein, nein ...

**Polanec:** Zum Beispiel im 19. Jahrhundert: 1905. Schiachperchten. 1905.

**Carter:** Ja, das wird so genannt [...?].

**3. Person:** Sie sahen nur anders aus, aber sie waren auch alle hinter einer Maske versteckt.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Es war halt einfach. Es hat halt einfach anders ausgesehen.

**Carter:** Ich habe nicht dieses Foto gesehen.

**Mengl:** Können wir, können wir ja den Computer herumdrehen [...?]? Ist kein Problem.

**Carter:** Danke. Ja. Es gibt so viel. Es ist schwierig, äh ...

**Mengl:** Es ist sehr, es ist sehr reichhaltig, also ... das ganze, es ist ...

**Polanec:** Es ist irrsinnig vielfältig. [**Mengl:** Ja.] Es gibt unter diesen fünf vielleicht, was haben wir? Tresterer. Das sind ja auch diese Tresterer. Die sind zum Beispiel ...

**Mengl:** Die sind gewaltig. Also die Trester waren und die haben einen Schritt ...

**Polanec:** Das sind auch Perchten ...

**Mengl:** ... gehören auch zu den Perchten dazu.

**Polanec:** Das sind die Perchtenwacher.

**Carter:** Die schönperchten.

**Polanec:** Dann gibt es die Spiegelperchten, dann gibt's die Schönperchten, mit allem drum und dran mit Schmuck und ... wo das Äußere doch wieder dazu zählt.

**Carter:** Ja, die ...

**Polanec:** Ja, genau, richtig.

**Carter:** Und die habe ich in Zell am See gesehen ...

**Polanec:** Ja, ja, genau. Fällt alles in diesen, in diesen Perchtenbrauch.

**Carter:** Aha ...

**Polanec:** Und alles mit ... es heißt ja ... mit Geläute und Gestampfe, vertreibst Du aus der Stube ... [**Mengl:** Das Böse raus.]

**Polanec:** ... das Böse.

**Carter:** So das ist die allgemeine ... [**Mengl:** Ja ...] Eigenschaft.

**Polanec:** Richtig, genau.

**Carter:** Mit Geräuschen, Schellen und so weiter.

**Polanec:** Mit Geräuschen vertreibst Du das Böse. Ja!

**Carter:** Ok. Und das ist älter als 18 hundred, als 18. Jahrhundert.

**Mengl:** Ja, richtig. Das ist ...

**Carter:** Das ist...

**Mengl:** ... viel älter...

**Carter:** Vielleicht kannst du ... [**Lenglachner:** Hmmm ...] *also in [the] 18th century.* Ich entschuldige mich, aber ich möchte sicher sein, dass ...

**Mengl:** Ich verstehe es ja, aber nur... das Problem ist nur ... das mit dem Reden ... *I can understand you, but my speaking is... ähhhhh ...*

**Carter:** *But ... so this is an old tradition in ... during the 'Rauhnächte' to dress up and so on. And to drive the evil, drive the winter out, as well ... but the... it's in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that they started being called Perchten.*

**Lenglachner:** Ja ... I understood it the same way as you did. Ist es seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, dass sie Perchten genannt werden? [**Polanec:** Ja.] Vorher nicht?

**Polanec:** Vorher, hat es noch eine andere ... es hat zum Beispiel noch andere Ausdrücke für Perchten gegeben. [**Carter:** Aha.] Die hat es halt vorher gegeben.

**Carter:** Oder vielleicht andere Namen.

**Polanec/2. Person:** Anderen Namen, ja.

**Carter:** Aber die Funktion war die gleiche.

**Polanec:** Ist die gleiche. Ja, immer die gleiche.

**Carter:** Und die Perchta: Also diese ... man sagt immer, dass die Perchta kommen und kontrollieren wird, aber ...

**Mengl:** Ja und dann ... wird man immer so klein, nachher noch. Da werden die Kinder werden klein und die Erwachsenen ... eben wie der Günter gesagt hat. Wenn nicht alles zusammengeräumt ist, wenn es in der Stube nicht sauber ist ... [**Carter:** Hmmm ...] dann werden sie so ... klein, weil dann heißt es, ja die Perchta kommt.

**Carter:** Das ist also eine Bedrohung? Ja, eine Erpressung, ja.

**Mengl:** Ja, wenn alles sauber war, dann hat ...

**Polanec:** Es gibt sehr wohl ein Ziel bei uns im Verein. Das Ziel ist, speziell jetzt bei den Kindern, ja bei den Kindern ... keine Angst zu haben, Angst muss nicht sein. Aber Respekt.

**Carter:** Aha. Ja und es gibt ja einen Unterschied.

**Polanec:** Das ... das soll es sehr wohl sein. [**Carter:** ja, ja, ja ...] Dann hat das ganze einen Sinn. Respekt soll es sein. Er kann, wenn er möchte — der Percht- böse sein. [**Carter:** Aha.]

**Mengl:** Aber er muss es nicht.

**1. Person:** Ja, Es gibt also diese, diese Wahl.

**Polanec:** Ja genau. Ja, ja, ja. Ja, ja, ja.

**Carter:** Die Kinder müssen sich entscheiden.

**Mengl:** Es ist aber nicht. Es ist nicht nur für die Kinder, sondern auch für die Erwachsenen.

**Carter:** Ja. [*lacht*]

**Mengl:** Es ist auch für die Erwachsenen. Also nicht nur für die Kinder, sondern auch für Erwachsene.

**Carter:** Hmm ...

**Mengl:** Weil wenn Du halt heute oder vorherige Woche schlimm warst, [**Carter:** ja, ich war's, ja.] ja, ja, ja, ja ...

**Carter:** Perchten wissen es schon.

**Mengl:** Kann man alles nachkontrollieren Du hast noch mindestens, mindestens, 4 Monate hast Du nicht geschrieben.

**Carter:** Hmm.

**Mengl:** Hui ... hmmm.

**Carter:** Ja, ich weiss. Das war, ich war so ganz schlecht organisiert.

**Mengl:** Vier Monate....ja es ist schrecklich.

**Polanec:** Wir haben nicht mehr daran geglaubt, gell? [**Carter:** Ja, aber ich ...]

**Mengl:** Und auf einmal hast du dann geschrieben. Ja, ich komme endlich in Salzburg.

**Carter:** Ja ... ich entschuldige mich, ich weiss, dass es ... ja ... ich fühle mich sehr schlimm.

**Mengl:** Normalerweise müsstest Du dafür [...?].

**Carter:** Ich war ganz .... *it was terribly, badly organized and I did not write for a long time and I was very slow putting it all together.*

**Lenglachner:** *Now you are here.*

**Carter:** *Yes, thank you, thank you.*

**Mengl:** Nächstes Jahr schreibst du aber schon wieder, gell?

**Carter:** Ja, ja ... aber ich habe, ich habe Dir ein bizarres Foto geschickt. Ja? Hast Du das bekommen? [**Mengl:** Hmm ...] Von mir als Morris-Tänzer. Nein.

**Carter:** Nein?

**Mengl:** Nein.

**Carter:** Nein? Oh, das war ein Computerfehler. Also ich habe probiert das zu schicken.

**Mengl:** Nein ich hab' ... Es ist, es ist, es ist etwas gekommen, aber der Anhang ist weggeblieben.

**Lenglachner:** *The attachment did not reach him. He received the mail but the attachment did not reach him.*

**Carter:** Oh! Ohhh ... Entschuldigung! Ja, ich mache diese. Ich bin in einer traditionellen, englischen Art von Volkstanz, in England. [**Mengl:** Hmmm, hmmm ...] Ja, es ist Morris-Tanz.

**Mengl:** Ja. Hmmm, hmmm ... [**Polanec:** Ja.]

**Carter:** Es gibt ... sie sind ähnlich wie Schiach und Schön.

**Mengl/3. Person:** Hmmm ...

**Carter:** Ja, die schönen sind mit den kleinen Schellen und auch in weiß gekleidet. Sehr schön und diese Bänder wie die Tresterer.

**Mengl:** Hell und dunkel.

**Carter:** Ja, ja und die anderen kommen mit Holzstöcken und schwarzartige Schichten und ganz [...?] und schmutzige und diese wie *big* [...?]. Ja ... wie ein bisschen wie *rags, big, ragged, big coats and dirty*. Ja das ist sehr traditionell, wir schlagen mit den Stöcken einander, nicht ...

**Carter:** Die Zuschauer. So dass sie, denke ich, ein bisschen wie Schiech sind, die Morris-Tänzer. Ich mag das also.

**Mengl:** Ja, aha! Das hab ich nicht bekommen ...

**Carter:** Vielleicht ...

**Mengl:** Oho! Das muss ich mir mal anschauen, wenn die Hannelore [*Mengl's wife*] nicht daheim ist.

**Carter:** Ja, Entschuldigung. Ich werde das noch einmal probieren. Es ist komisch dieses Foto.

**Mengl:** Passt!

**Carter:** Oh. Aber das ist ...

**Mengl:** Schau, wir haben da noch was.

**Carter:** Ja, auch gibt es Perchtenfreude. Ja, es ist nicht nur die, weil ich so warm bin mit die Pullis, aber auch Perchtenfreude.

**Mengl:** Ja aber eine, eine Frage, eine Frage. Äh... Wie bist Du eigentlich auf Perchten gekommen, dass Du diese Arbeit schreibst?

**Carter:** Auch, hmmm...

**Lenglachner:** How did you come to write this dissertation?

**Carter:** Zuerst habe ich zufällig eine Perchtenwebseite gesehen. Ich weiß nicht, ich kann mich nicht erinnern, wie genau. Aber ich habe diese Perchtenwebseite gesehen und diese Krampusse-Webseite gesehen. Und ich kann das nicht erklären, aber ich habe eine ganz starke Verbindung gefühlt. Oder *I felt* ...

**4. Person:** Ja, ja, doch.

**Carter:** Das ist vielleicht Californien-Sprache, *but I felt a connection, yeah?*

**Mengl:** Ja, hmmm ...

**Carter:** Ich habe, ich habe ... ein ganz starkes Interesse gehabt: Ich muss mehr lernen. Ich glaube das ist wie Instinkt oder emotional reagieren.

**Mengl:** Hmmm. ..

**Carter:** Ja, ich habe — es ist schwierig das zu erklären, auch auf Englisch, ja ...

**Mengl/3. Person:** Hmmm ...

**Carter:** Aber ich ... also in England habe ich ja studiert. Vor ein paar Jahren, bin ich nach Österreich gefahren, um Perchtenläufe zu sehen. 2002 oder so, haben Mühlbacher Kollegen, der Altmarkt und diese Geschichte [...?].

**Mengl:** Ah so. Aha ...

**Carter:** Ich war so fröhlich. Ich habe das. Ja ich finde das. Es ist hmmm ... *exciting*.

**Lenglachner:** Aufregend.

**Carter:** Ja, aufregend. Ja, hmmm... hmmm...die Reaktion der Zuschauer war ganz interessant. Die Kinder...

**Lenglachner:** Die Reaktion.

**Mengl:** Hmmm, hmmm ...

**Carter:** Der Kinder ... ja ... und diese Mischung von Freude und Furcht.

**Mengl:** Ja ...

**Carter:** Angst und alles ... man ist alles ... man ist nicht in control. Ja die Zuschauer sind ganz ...

**Lenglachner:** Ja, die Zuschauer haben die Kontrolle nicht.

**Mengl:** Die haben keine Kontrolle. Du weisst nicht, was nun auf Dich zukommt, nicht wahr.

**Carter:** Ja ... es ist ganz ...

**Mengl:** *I can understand...*

**Carter:** Ja, ja ... das ist ... mit dieser Erfahrung.

**Mengl:** Du weisst nicht, sollst Du dich jetzt fürchten, sollst Du Dich freuen oder sollst Du weglaufen.

**Carter:** Ja, genau. Oh! Ja das ist. Oh! Das ist ... diese Erfahrung die wir haben. Sicherlich bei uns gibt es diese Erfahrungen ganz oft. Ja, aber ich glaube ... aber ich konnte erkennen ... das ist meiner Meinung nach, aber ich konnte erkennen, dass es ganz wichtig war für die Leute. Sicherlich geistig spirituell, gibt es eine Erfahrung, die wichtig ist. Ich weiß nicht genau, warum oder was das ist, aber es gibt etwas, eine Kraft.

**Polanec:** Zum Beispiel wir, wir sind der Ursprung dieses Perchtenbrauchtums, dieses Perchtenlaufens war ja von Haus zu Haus und von Bauer zu Bauer. Ja? Und es war für den Bauern, so wie [...] das sieht man im Film dann schön. Es war ... dem Bauer hat es Unglück gebracht, wenn ihn die Perchten nicht besucht haben.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Das ist aber heute auch noch so.

**Polanec:** Ja, das ist heute noch so.

**Mengl:** Das ist heute noch so. Da kommt ein Perchtenhauptmann, der hat einen Sebel und der sagt dann: Gut, Du warst heute ein guter Bauer. Dann verneigen sich die ganzen Perchten.

**Polanec:** Das nennt man Referenzerweisen.



**Mengl:** Und wenn er ein schlechter Bauer war, dann sind die Perchten gar nicht zu ihm gekommen. Die Schönperchten ... und halt die ganzen Perchtenleute ... aber die Referenz erweisen, das tun eigentlich nur die Schönperchten.

**Polanec:** Und was ja früher auch war. Früher — und das kommt auch aus dem Gebirge heraus — es durften keine Frauen dabei sein.

**Mengl:** Und nur uneheliche [unverheiratete] Männer.

**Polanec:** Nur uneheliche [unverheiratete] Männer.

**Carter:** In dieser ... die Perchten waren nur Männer oder die Menschen im Bauernhaus.

**Mengl:** Hexen.

**Polanec:** Nein, nein nein ... die Perchten.

**Lenglachner:** Die Verkleideten.

**Polanec:** Ja, die Verkleideten.

**Carter:** Nur die Männer.

**Polanec:** Haben früher nur uneheliche Männer sein dürfen.

**Carter:** Also Männer, die nicht verheiratet waren.

**Mengl/3. Person:** Genau. OK.

**Carter:** OK.

**Polanec:** Jetzt ist es auch anders. Auch der Brauchtum entwickelt sich weiter. Jetzt sind auch Frauen dabei.

**Mengl:** Juhu! Da drüben sitzt schon eine ...

**Polanec:** Auch schon als Perchten jetzt. Ja. Es gibt allerdings auch heute noch Vereine, die dazu nein sagen.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Und das sind wieder diese Vereine im Gebirge drinnen.

**Carter:** ah ... im Innergebirgen aber ... die Stadtvereine haben eher Frauen.

**Polanec:** Wir haben.

**Mengl:** Wir haben auch Frauen.

**Polanec:** Wir haben ...wie war das, wir haben ... wie wir mit dem Bernd den Verein gegründet haben. Wir waren, wir haben die ersten Frauen gehabt. Da haben wir die ersten Frauen im Verein gehabt, da sind wir im Gebirge ...

**Lenglachner:** Auch als Perchten. Nicht als Hexen sondern als Perchten.

**Polanec:** Da sind wir im Gebirge drinnen gelaufen, wo sind wir da gelaufen ... in Pfarrwerfen.

**Mengl:** Weiß ich nicht.

**Polanec:** Das war vor Deiner Zeit noch.

**Mengl:** Da war ich noch nicht dabei.

**Polanec:** Und ... es gibt ja auch diese Brauchtumsforscher, ja. Brauchtumsforscher.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Und die haben geschimpft: Das geht nicht, das darf nicht sein.

**Carter:** Du hast diese Erfahrung gehabt.

**Polanec:** Ja.

**Carter:** Der Brauchtumsforscher hat dir gesagt, das geht nicht, du sollst nicht ...

**Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** Aber ich muss sagen ... ich ... das ist ... oh, Entschuldigung ... ich soll nicht so viel sagen ...

**Mengl:** Ehrlich?

**Carter:** Aber nein, nein ... ich finde das schmerzhaft. Ja, ich finde, ich fühle mich ... ja, es gibt die Bücher über Perchten? Aber ich glaube eigentlich, dass ... Euch sind die [...] weil Ihr seid die Perchter, ja? Ich glaube das sind ihre Stimmungen [Stimmen], *your voices*, ja.

**Mengl/3. Person:** Ja.

**Carter:** Eure Erfahrungen. Das ist was der Brauch bestimmt und definiert.

**Mengl:** Äh ...

**Carter:** Aber vielleicht gibt es eine Mischung, aber ich würde nie sagen, das ist falsch. Du machst das schlecht wenn ich [...?].

**Polanec:** Naja, das Problem war ja früher, ich meine ... wenn Du heute zurückschaust, zu den Bauern früher. Dann war es ja immer so. Der Mann hat die Familie ernährt. Der Mann hat etwas zu sagen und die Frau muss kochen.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Das war ja früher so.

**Mengl:** Haushalt erledigen ...

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Und die Frau ist immer praktisch hinter dem Mann gestanden.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Und deshalb gab es auch im Perchtenbrauchtum keine Frauen.

**Carter:** Ja. So das war typisch für die Gesellschaft.

**Polanec:** Genau.

**Carter:** Nicht für diesen Brauch.

**Polanec:** Genau, genau, genau. So ist es ...

**Carter:** Das ist eine gesellschaftliche ...

**Polanec:** Eine gesellschaftliche Rangordnung, die es früher im Land ...

**Mengl:** Wie es jetzt in Indien ist...

**Polanec:** ... gegeben hat. In Indien hat sich das Perchtenbrauchtum übertragen.

**Mengl:** Die Frau hat nichts zu sagen.

**3. Person:** Hat nichts zu sagen und hat auch nichts verloren beim Perchtenbrauchtum. Das widerspricht sich aber auf der einen Seite wieder, weil ja das Perchtenbrauchtum von der Perchta kommt. Das war ja eine Frau.

**Carter:** Die Perchta ist eine Frau?

**Polanec:** Das ist wieder dieser Widerspruch.

**Carter:** Aha ... Widerspruch? Ist das *contradiction*?

**Lenglachner:** Hmmm ...

**Carter:** OK.

**Polanec:** Ja? Ja...

**Carter:** So gibt es, so sind es die Perchten ... äh, die Perchten sind ... ja sie haben es auf der Webseite geschrieben, sie sind weibliche Sagengestalten? [**Mengl:** Ja.] Ist das weiblich?

**Mengl/3. Person:** Die Perchta ist weiblich.

**Carter:** Und die Perchten sind oft Männer, aber ... was stellen sie genau dar? Sind sie auch Perchten? Sind sie ... stellen sie die Perchten dar?

**Lenglachner:** *Your question is whether they are female or male?*

**Carter:** *The masked people, the Perchten, hmmm ... represent Perchta?*

**Mengl:** Die dunkle Seite des Jahres.

**Carter:** *So they are Perchta's dark face?*

**Mengl:** Ja. Die dunkle Seite des Jahres.

**Polanec:** Das Böse.

**Mengl:** Das Ganze. Nicht das Böse sondern die dunkle Seite des Jahres ...

**Polanec:** Die dunklen Nächte.

**Mengl:** ... die dunkle Seite. Weil ohne dunkle Seite, also ohne darkness, gibt es keine ... wie heißt das andere? Keine helle Seite.

**Carter:** Ja, ja... die ...

**Mengl:** Sonst gibt es keine helle Zeit.

**Carter:** Ja ... den Sommer.

**Mengl:** Ja, genau. Sie verkörpern die dunkle Seite.

**Lenglachner:** Also nicht die ganze Perchta, sondern nur die dunkle Seite von der Perchta?

**Mengl:** Die Perchta ist die Chefin. Sie verkörpert alle beide in einem.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Und dies ist die Chefin und die sagt: „So Perchten, setzt Euch hin. Und jeder Percht muss sich hinsetzen“.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Carter:** Also sie müssen hören.

**Mengl:** Perchta sagt: ‚*Sit down*‘ ...prrrrr ...aus, fertig...*or stand up*.

**Polanec:** Das ist dieses Schauspiel, das wir in Traun gemacht haben.

**Carter:** Ah ...

**Polanec:** OK?

**Carter:** OK.

**Polanec:** Tod, böse.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Ja! Perchten bringen Glück. Der Tod ist gekommen. Wollte die Überhand über die Perchten.

**Carter:** Aha, also vielleicht ein ...

**Polanec:** Das böse ... das Schauspiel böse-gut. Dann kommt die Perchta, zwingt den Tod nieder.

**Carter:** Aha ...

**Polanec:** Ja ... Tod verschwindet.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Perchta ist da.

**Mengl:** Das Glück kommt auch wieder).

**Polanec:** Glück im Traum und die Perchten helfen. Und die Perchten stehen auch wieder auf.

**Carter:** Das ist der Sieg des Glücks über das Böse.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja, ja. Genau.

**Mengl:** Die schauen zwar furchtbar aus, aber sie bringen Glück.

**Carter:** [*inaudible*]

**Mengl:** Auch ... genau. Und die Perchten, die bringen Glück.

**Carter:** Auch Glück.

**Polanec:** Ja, es hat sich ja dieser Glaube des Perchtenbrauchtums so verändert, dass die Perchten ja eigentlich Glücksbringer sind. Sie sind ja eigentlich Glücksbringer.

**Carter:** Sie sollen sein ... das ist die [...?].

**Mengl:** Richtig! Respekt und Glück.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Das maskierte, das jetzt die Form, das die mit Maske und maskiert sind, warum sie maskiert sind, das ist wieder eine ganz andere Geschichte.

**Carter:** Warum sie so maskiert sind?

**Polanec:** Ja, richtig! Das ist wieder eine ganz andere Geschichte.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Weil eigentlich waren sie ... es gibt ja diesen Film ‚Rauhnacht‘. Aber es ist die österreichische Produktion. Früher war es ja so: Wenn ein Mann im Dorf (Bursche) etwas Verbotenes tun wollte, hat er sich eine Maske aufgesetzt.

**Carter:** So when he was ... man hat gesagt.

**Polanec:** Also man muss es so sagen, Masken, ist auch schon übertrieben, weil es war früher total einfach. Er hat sein Gesicht verdeckt mit Fell, Stoff, was auch immer.

**Carter:** wenn er etwas Verbotenes tun wollte.

**Mengl/3. Person:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** So man ...

**Lenglachner:** *If he wanted to do something forbidden, he would take a mask. Some piece of clothing or whatever to hide his face.*

**Carter:** Hmmm ... ja, OK. Wie für die modernen Räuber oder so mit Skimasken oder so ...

**Mengl:** Fell, oder ...

**Polanec:** Früher war es ja so: Im Dorf hat ja jeder, jeden gekannt.

**Carter:** Aha, ja ... Also man muss das machen. Trotzdem wird man erkennen.

**Polanec:** Und wurde er trotzdem erkannt ... und da gibt es in diesem Film ‚Rauhnacht‘, in dieser Rauhnacht wird eine Frau vergewaltigt.

**Carter:** Hmmm...

**Polanec:** Ja! Das wird in diesem Film total gut gezeigt. Die Dorfbewohner erkennen ihn.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Er flüchtet.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... [*Gelächter*]

**Polanec:** Nein, nein. Es ist ein alter schwarz-weiß Film, da hat es [...?] noch gar nicht gegeben. Und ähm ... damit er sich schneller bewegen kann, als die Dorfbewohner, hat er einen ... hat er etwas gebraucht. Und das war ein Stab.

**Mengl:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Damit er über die Gräben und Zäune schneller hüpfen kann.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Schneller flüchten kann.

**Carter:** Ja, mit diesem Stock ...

**Mengl:** Ja, richtig ...

**Polanec:** Ist er trotzdem erwischt worden, dann haben sie ihn auf der Stelle erschlagen und er ist an Ort und Stelle vergraben worden.

**Mengl:** Auf keinen Friedhof gekommen.

**Polanec:** Auf keinen geweihten Boden, auf keinen Friedhof. Auch eine Art, wie das Perchtenbrauchtum entstanden ist, früher.

**Carter:** Könntest Du den letzten Teil erklären?

**Lenglachner:** OK.

**Carter:** Ja, das ist ...

**Lenglachner:** *OK, that's OK.*

**Carter:** Ich bin faul, ich höre [...?].

**Lenglachner:** *Well....what he said is that the mask have another origin. Not really to be like bringers of good luck or whatever but it was more that if a young guy wanted to do something forbidden, he would mask himself. And in this film, which is called Rauhacht, he actually a man actually rapes a woman and then he flees, because if people ... I mean . no, people still recognized who it was. So he had to flee. This is why he had this stick to flee quicker you know through all the wilderness. But if they would catch him they would just*

*kill him, by I don't know...just push him unto his head or something like that and would dig him into the ground, just where this was, where this happened. Not in a cemetery or ...*

**Carter:** Ahhhh ... so as a ... yeah, ja.

**Lenglachner:** *You know.*

**Carter:** Ja, ja [...?].

**Polanec:** Aber das ist alles schon vor dem 18. Jahrhundert. Das ist alles schon vorher passiert.

**Lenglachner:** *This was before the 18<sup>th</sup> century.*

**Carter:** OK, ja ...

**Lenglachner:** Das hat nichts mit dem Perchtenbrauchtum zu tun?

**Polanec:** Nein, nein.

**Mengl:** Doch. Das geht aus dem hervor.

**Polanec:** Aber es ist ... es ist. Es hat schon, es geht aus dem hervor. Das ist genau, wie die Carter gesagt hat. Da hat es diesen Begriff Perchten noch gar nicht gegeben.

**Lenglachner:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Aber auch daraus ist diese Geschichte entstanden.

**Carter/4. Person:** Hmmm ...

**Carter:** Also diese schrecklichen Masken, die ...

**Mengl:** Das ist auch zum Beispiel, oh, Entschuldigung ...

**Carter:** Nein, nein ... bitte.

**Mengl:** Es ist auch zum Beispiel ... die Frau Perchta hat Kinder unter sich. Hat Kinder unter sich, die nicht getauft worden sind.

**Carter:** Aha, ja ... so eine Art Beschützerin oder ...

**Mengl:** Die nicht getauft worden sind ... die nicht die Taufe erfahren, äh empfangen haben.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Das hat aber die katholische Kirche dazu gedichtet. Und da hat es dann geheißen, wenn ein Kind geboren wurde. Ein kleines Kind. Es hat keinen Namen gehabt, weil es



vorher verstorben ist, Und das war dann so: Es hat dann Seppel, oder Josef oder Alois oder wie auch immer die Namen waren, geheißten und konnte in den Himmel.

**Carter:** Aha, aber die Kinder sind zu früh gestorben ...

**Mengl:** Ja, genau. Bevor sie die Taufe empfangen haben. Bevor sie die katholische Taufe empfangen haben und jemand einen Namen gesagt hat zu demjenigen Kind. Dann hat das Kind in Himmel gehen können.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... gibt es also eine ...

**Lenglachner:** Und anders nicht?

**Mengl:** Nein.

**Lenglachner:** Und dann hat er mit der Frau Perchta mitgehen müssen, oder wie?

**Mengl:** Ja, sie sind mit der Perchta mitgelaufen.

**Carter:** Sind diese Kinder. Laufen diese Kinder mit den Perchtern?

**Mengl:** Sie gingen/gehen mit. Sie machen nichts. Das sind Kinder, Geister. Und wenn jemand einen, so einen kleinen Geist eben mit der Frau Perchta gesehen hat und hat gesagt: Grüß Dich Götter oder Mengl ... dann hat er in die ... das gehört halt praktisch dazu.

**Carter:** Aha ... so das ist also ...

**Lenglachner:** Also er ist praktisch erlöst worden?

**Mengl:** Erlöst worden. Ja, dann hat er einen Namen gehabt. Ohne Taufe konnten sie nicht in den Himmel gehen.

**Lenglachner:** Und die sind dann trotzdem in Himmel gekommen, oder wie?

**Mengl:** Wenn der einen Namen gesagt hat, wenn irgendjemand dem Kind einen Namen gegeben hat, dann konnten sie in Himmel gehen. Vorher konnten sie nicht in den Himmel gehen.

**Lenglachner:** OK. *Did you get that?*

**1. Person:** Ahhhh... I...

**Lenglachner:** *OK. The Catholic Church added that Frau Perchta comes with the unbaptized children. Because, you know in Roman Catholicism, it was that if a child died before it was baptized, it could not go to Heaven. And so if somebody — they said — that if*

*somebody sees this spirit of such a child coming with Perchta and gives it a name, calls it a name, like Fritz or whatever ... some name — this child could go to Heaven.*

**Carter:** Aha ... ja, OK. Das ist interessant. Diese ... auch hinsichtlich der bösen Menschen, zum Beispiel in dieser Erzählung dieser Menschen, der im Meer begraben ist, weil ja [...?] dieser Mensch.

**Mengl:** [*inaudible*].

**Carter:** Es ist nicht auf einem Friedhof mit beten und ge', ge' ... *blessed?* Geweiht? Nein.

**Mengl:** Geweiht.

**Carter:** *Consecrated?*

**Lenglachner/4. Person:** Geweiht, geweiht, geweiht ...

**Carter:** Geweiht. Und das ist nicht passiert und er ist da und es gibt auch diese Kinder ohne ...

**Mengl:** *This is Heaven; this is the earth and ...* es gibt auch *a middle*.

**Carter:** Ja, so sie sind wie Kinder: Halt dazwischen.

**Mengl:** Ja es gibt. Die sind halt dazwischen. Also sie kommen nicht runter und sie kommen nicht hoch. Sie sind immer irgendwo in der Mitte.

**Carter:** Und hat das auch mit den Perchtern zu tun? Sind sie auch in der Mitte? Oder ist das vielleicht ...

**Mengl:** Hmmm ... nein. Nein, nein, nein. Nur mit der Perchta selbst. Mit der Perchta.

**Carter:** Die Perchta ist ...

**Mengl:** Die Kinder, die ungetauften Kinder gehen mit der Frau Perchta und den Perchtern. Die ungetauften Kinder werden ja nicht gesegnet. Die Perchten gehen ja mit der Frau Perchta mit und das soll Glück bringen.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Mengl:** Man muss natürlich jetzt auf das Perchtenlaufen heute bezogen einen Unterschied erkennen. Es ist aus dem alten Brauchtum heraus ...

**Polanec:** Diese Figuren wie Perchter, wie Zapfenmandel, wie Habergeiss. Ja, all diese Figuren sind schwer zu erklären oder schwer zu vermitteln, damit es alle Leute verstehen. Man nimmt sie mit, weil es Traditionsfiguren sind.

**Mengl:** Weil es sie immer schon gegeben hat.

**Polanec:** Weil es sie immer schon gegeben hat. Aber dass die Frau Perchta so auftreten kann wie sie früher gewesen ist, das ist schwer. Ja? Wir versuchen es im Schauspiel. Wir machen das, also ...

**Carter:** Um das zu vermitteln ...

**Mengl:** Wir versuchen das zu vermitteln.

**Carter:** Diese älteren Begriffe von Perchten, diese alten Begriffe ...

**Mengl:** Ja, genau. Ja, ja, ja.

**Mengl:** Ja. Wir haben hier sehr viel.

**Polanec:** Wir versuchen hier immer schon.

**Mengl:** Sehr viel Sachen und Bücher und ... wo man nachschlagen kann, also wo man schauen kann, was für Masken wir benutzen und welche Maske für uns zu dem Verein dazu kommen kann. Es gibt eine ganz genaue Definition: Die Maske ist in Ordnung, die ist traditionell. Die Maske kannst Du gleich h... weg, aus ... wuiiiit!

**Carter:** So sie ...?

**Lenglachner:** *They have rules which masks and like which figures can join the group and which not.*

**1. Person:** Ah! Aha. Um die [...] *to the older one.*

**4. Person:** Ja, ja.

**Mengl:** Ja.

**Carter:** Und die ältere ist die ursprüngliche Form oder vielleicht ...

**Mengl:** Es gibt ...

**Polanec:** Es gibt, es hat ja früher einen großen Unterschied gegeben. Da hat's den, es gibt ja noch den Krampus.

**1. Person:** Ja, das ist auch meine Frage: Was ist die Verbindung zu den Krampussen und was ist der Unterschied?

**Polanec:** Ja, ja ... genau. Der Unterschied früher war ... ganz einfach. Der Krampus ist am 5. Und 6. mit dem Nikolaus gegangen.

**Mengl:** 6. Dezember.

**Polanec:** Genau, 6. Dezember. Der war Begleiter des heiligen Nikolaus.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Aus. Ja? Der Krampus hat zwei Hörner gehabt.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Ja?! Ähhhh.

**Carter:** Wer ist das hier?

**Polanec:** Das ist zum Beispiel eine Krampusmaske aus dem 18. Jahrhundert. [*Genuschel*]  
Das sind überhaupt Masken, 18. Jahrhundert.

**Carter:** Hmmm, hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Das ist eine Krampusmaske mit zwei Hörnern. Der Percht hat immer mehr Hörner.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Darum ... und immer eine ungerade Zahl, also nicht zwei, nicht vier, nicht sechs, sondern fünf oder sieben oder ... das ist der Aberglaube, ja? Ungerade Zahl. Das war früher ein ganz, ein ganz gravierender Unterschied.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... das Aussehen?

**Polanec:** Hmmm ... das Aussehen.

**Carter:** Auch die Jahreszeit? Wenn sie erscheinen? Es ist einen Monat vorher ...

**Polanec:** Ja, ja. Ganz klar. Es ist. Es haben zum Beispiel darum sind wir's ja zum Beispiel auch umgestiegen im Vereinsnamen Salzburger Schiechperchten und Krampusse. Ja? Weil wir als Verein, Salzburger Schiechperchten dürften ja eigentlich gar nicht vor der ersten ‚Rauhnacht‘ laufen.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Dürften eigentlich gar nicht laufen, weil ...

**Lenglachner:** Die erste ‚Rauhnacht‘ ist ja am 24. Dezember.

**Mengl:** Am 21. ist die.

**Polanec:** Weil ja da nur am 5. Und 6. Dezember der Krampus unterwegs ist. Diese Maske oder diese Darstellung der Maske das ist ineinander, also das ist jetzt verschwommen.

**Carter:** Das Aussehen.

**Polanec:** Das Aussehen der Maske ist verschwommen. Die Gasteiner, die haben ... wir haben Gasteiner Masken im Verein, also die ... mit vielen Hörnern darauf und die Gasteiner laufen auch noch mit vielen Hörnern. Das sind Perchten.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Das ist einfach, das ist diese alte Kultur. Da ist es, das ist so. Ja? Aber weiter in der Stadt, da ist dieses Bild der Masken verschwommen. Also die Perchten auch nur zwei Hörner. Ja? Es wird in der heutigen Zeit nicht mehr so ein so großer Unterschied gemacht.

**Carter:** Ist das typisch für die Stadtvereine oder überall?

**Mengl:** Äh ... teilweise jetzt überall.

**1. Person:** Hmmm ...

**Mengl:** Das geht dann schon Steiermark, Kärnten, Tirol und ja: Das ist es eigentlich.

**Carter:** Es gibt diese Mischung ...

**Polanec:** Hmmm, hmmm ...

**Carter:** OK.

**Polanec:** Aber wie gesagt, der Volksmund oder die Brauchtumsforscher, die Perchtenforscher sagen immer noch am 5./6. darf eigentlich nur der Krampus laufen.

**1. Person:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Nicht der Percht. Deswegen machen ja viele Vereine. Wir machen das auch, dass wir gesagt haben: OK, Salzburger Schiechperchten und Krampusse.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Proforma Verein, das ... aber es gibt keinen gravierenden Unterschied. Es gibt ja noch den Teufel, ja?

**Carter:** Hmmm ... ja.

**Polanec:** Es gilt ja auch: Krampus ist böse.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Ja! Teufel ist böse.

**1. Person:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Ja! Percht ist gut.

**Carter:** Percht ist Glücksbringer, so ...

**Mengl:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** Also die Teufel, die Krampusse sind Teufel?

**Polanec:** Hmmm...

**Carter:** Aber die Perchten sind keine Teufel. Sie sind etwas anderes.

**Mengl:** Richtig. Sie sind etwas ganz anderes. Das hat mit dem Teufel gar nichts zu tun. Das gehört nicht dazu. Also der Teufel ist ...

**Polanec:** ... ist einfach das Böse, der Krampus ist auch das.

**Mengl:** Du und Du, der Polanec und ich ... das sind zwei verschiedene Personen und zwei verschiedene Figuren.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Mengl:** Also das ist das eine und das ist das andere.

**Carter:** Hmmm, hmmm ... wenn ich diese Umzüge sehe, bin ich oft sehr verwirrt, ob das nun ein Krampus oder ein Percht ist.

**Polanec:** Ja ...

**Carter:** Also zum Beispiel in Mühlbach. Zuerst habe ich gedacht, dass die Aufführung, das Benehmen gleich ist zwischen Krampusse und Perchten. Sie sehen gleich aus. Sie benehmen sich auch gleich.

**Polanec:** In der heutigen Zeit sehen sie gleich aus und benehmen sich gleich. Stimmt.

**Mengl:** Das stimmt.

**Polanec:** Grundsätzlich kannst Du als Zuschauer nicht unbedingt erkennen, was jetzt der Unterschied ist.

**Carter:** Aber das soll nicht sein oder soll es ein Unterschied im Benehmen geben?

**Polanec:** Naja. Es soll ein Benehmens ... das ist ... was wir jetzt zum Beispiel machen, wenn wir einen Auftritt machen. So wie zum Beispiel in Traun, dass ich das erkläre. Ich selbst laufe nicht, ich erkläre, warum wir das machen.

**Carter:** Und das hast Du auf der Bühne gemacht, wo dieses Schauspiel ist.

**Polanec:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** OK. Ja.

**Mengl:** Da habe ich erklärt.

**Lenglachner:** Du bist nicht maskiert, oder wie?

**Polanec:** Nein, da bin ich dann nicht maskiert.

**Mengl:** Nein, da sieht er so aus wie jetzt.

**Polanec:** Nein, nur: Ich habe auch dort wieder festgestellt. Das interessiert die Leute. Es ist halt etwas anderes wenn Du halt von A nach B läufst. Und Du siehst einfach und Du schaust zu und siehst nun Maskierte laufen.

**Lenglachner:** Hmm ...

**Polanec:** Ja? OK, schön. Dann schaust du dir drei, vier Läufe an ... dann sagst Du: „Die Gruppe war schön, die Gruppe war nicht schön und damit hat sich’s“. Und wir machen das eben wirklich so, dass wir schauen, dass wir dieses Schauspiel machen, dass wir erklären warum die Perchter, warum Zapfenmandel ...

**Carter:** Aha ...

**Polanec:** ... warum Teufel, warum. Im Grunde genommen ist das wie Grunddaten. Was machen sie, was passiert.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Das... *very interesting point.*

**Carter:** Ganz, ja. Es gibt also diese Ähnlichkeit, aber mit Unterschieden zwischen dem Benehmen, dem Aussehen und der Funktion. [**Polanec:** Ja, ja, ja.]

**Carter:** Das Benehmen das Aussehen und die Funktion.

**Mengl:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** Das ist unterschiedlich glaube ich ...

**Polanec:** Das kannst Du als Zuschauer nicht erkennen. Es sind alle maskiert, die Masken schauen jetzt alle gleich aus.

**Mengl:** Ganz egal, ob jetzt Krampusse oder Perchten: Sind einfach jetzt gleich!

**Polanec:** Das hat sich mit der Zeit so entwickelt.

**Carter:** Achso, ja ... ah, ja.

**Polanec:** Und das ist für den Zuschauer, für den, der das Interesse hat, nicht mehr wirklich erkennbar.

**Carter:** Ja, ja, OK. Das habe ich gefunden. Ja, ja. D.h. also die Perchten in diesem Verein schlagen nicht? Ich meine die Perchten mit den Ruten? Nur die Krampusse im Verein schlagen, oder?

**Polanec:** Ja, obwohl, obwohl ... da reden wir noch 25 Stunden lang. Obwohl man ja erkennen muss, dass wir als Perchten auftreten. Krampus hat bei uns dann wirklich die Funktion, wenn wir die Hausbesuche machen, wenn wir von Haus zu Haus gehen. [**Carter:** Aha.] Dann gehe ich, also ich selbst zum Beispiel. Ich habe das gleiche Gewand, [**Carter:** Aha.] gehe aber als Begleiter des heiligen Nikolaus [**Carter:** Aha.] in die Häuser und dann bei den offiziellen Läufen als Perchten. [**Carter:** Aha.] Mit dem genau gleichen Gewand und mit der gleichen Maske. Aber die Funktion und wie ich mich benehme, wie ich bin, [**Carter:** Ja, ja, ja.] ist ein Unterschied bei dem Hausbesuch, wo der Nikolaus mitgeht und ich praktisch den Krampus verkörpere, bewege ich mich anders. Ja? [**Carter:** Aha. Ja.]

**Mengl:** Das ist die Gestik ...

**Polanec:** Die Gestik, das Schauspiel.

**Carter:** Das ist die Identität.

**Polanec:** Ja genau.

**Mengl:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** Also ich bin der Krampus und das ist meine Aufgabe. Ja?

**Polanec/Mengl:** Ja, ja. Genau.

**Carter:** Ich muss belohnen oder bestrafen.

**Mengl:** Ja, genau. Belohnen oder Bestrafen.

**Polanec:** Ich stehe, ich stehe immer hinter dem Nikolaus.



**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Der Nikolaus hat das Wort.

**Polanec:** Jetzt sitzt dieser [...?] und der Nikolaus spricht. Der Sohn ist brav, der Vater ist böse. Ich geh nun vor und grrrrrr. Da muss nun dieses Schauspiel entstehen, dass der Nikolaus die Gewalt über mich hat. [**Carter:** Aha.]

**Polanec:** Krampus zurück. [**Carter:** Aha.] OK?

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Ich bin das Böse, in dem Fall.

**Carter:** ja, ja ... deshalb ...

**Polanec:** Das ist dieses Schauspiel. Wir sind ja in der jetzigen Zeit dieses Perchtenbrauchtums eigentlich Schauspieler.

**Carter:** Aha. Das ist typisch heutzutage, oder?

**Polanec:** Ja, genau. Also es ist ... ja, genau. Sobald wir die Maske aufsetzen, sind wir ja Schauspieler. Wir sollen ja vermitteln und etwas darstellen. Wir haben zum Beispiel im Sommer ein Training gemacht. [**Lenglachner:** *Training.*]

**Carter:** *Training*, ja.

**Polanec:** Wie bewegen wir uns. Also zum Beispiel: Es ist ein Unterschied als Percht.

[Hintergrunddiskussion]

**Polanec:** Ich bin Percht. Ich bin maskiert. Du sitzt da. Ich geh zu Dir, so ... jetzt kennst Du die eine Seite. Das ist falsch.

**Carter:** So mache ich es falsch.

**Polanec:** Ja, so soll man es nicht machen. Ich bin aber jetzt maskiert. Wir haben das mit einer Kamera gefilmt.

**Carter:** Ah, ja, für dieses Training. Ja, man filmt das, um ... ja ...

**Polanec:** Dieses Schauspiel ist das Überbringen diesen Respekts.

**Carter:** Ja, man ... weil sie nicht sprechen, muss man es körperlich fühlen.

**Polanec:** Körperlich, durch Bewegung.

**Carter:** Ah, ja.

**Polanec:** Wie bewege ich mich?

**Carter:** Ja. Das ist ein Mädchen in einem [...?]. Gewand und das ist ... ja, ja ...

**Polanec:** Richtig.

**Carter:** Aber es erscheint mir, dass ... man kann das sehen.

**Polanec:** Das muss man trainieren. Das muss man trainieren. Das muss man lernen.

**Carter:** Das heißt in diesem Verein übt man. Und ihr Schauspieler sagt Euch gegenseitig: Das geht so nicht. Ich fühle das nicht richtig oder ...

**Polanec:** Ja, richtig.

**Carter:** Ah, ja! Das ist gut. Ja, OK.

**Polanec:** Man merkt das zum Beispiel, wenn junge Leute in den Verein kommen. Dann merkt man richtig, was für eine Hemmschwelle die haben. [**Carter:** Ja, ja.] Was so ein Junge mit sagen wir 13, 14, 15 Jahren [...?]. Dann werden sie ganz schwach.

**Carter:** Wenn man sich also maskiert [...?].

**Polanec:** Das kommt wirklich vor, dass wir gesagt haben: So, jetzt musst Du Dich bewegen. Dann verstehen sie es auch noch nicht. Sie kommen sich blöd vor. Sie sind ja sowieso unter der Maske. Nur wenn sie gefilmt werden, sehen sie wie blöd das aussieht und dass der Respekt [...?]. Da muss schon was da sein. Das ist ein Lernprozess und Du merkst dann, je länger sie im Verein sind, desto professioneller, desto mehr gehen sie aus sich heraus.

**Carter:** Es ist nicht nur [...?] sondern stattdessen vielleicht auch, dass die Perchter oder Krampusse von der eigenen Persönlichkeit abhängen?

**Mengl:** Es ist seine eigene Persönlichkeit [ (**Carter:** OK.) die ich kontrollieren will, denn wenn ich meine Maske aufhabe und maskiert bin, dann kann ich ja nicht sagen [...?] und batsch [...?]. [**Carter:** Hmmm ...] Wenn ich zum Beispiel keine Maske auf habe, dann gehe ich jetzt nicht einfach zu Dir oder zur Carter hin und schmeiß Euch um. Das kann ich in 1000 Jahren nicht machen. Nur, umschmeißen in dem Sinn, dass man sagt: Naja, gut. Auf der einen Seite soll es Glück bringen und auf der anderen Seite haben wir [...?] dabei.

**Lenglachner:** Das heißt die Leute richtig umschmeißen, oder was?

**Mengl:** Ja, selbstverständlich.

**Polanec:** Ja, das geht so schnell.

**Mengl:** Das geht so schnell, dass Du hinfällst. Glaub' mir ...

**Lenglachner:** Ja, das glaube ich schon.

**Mengl:** Du merkst es gar nicht und da liegst Du schon.

[*inaudible*]

**Lenglachner:** Und das ist Teil des Brauchtums, dass man die Leute umhaut?

**Mengl:** Ja schon. [...?]

**Polanec:** Da musst Du schon aufpassen, denn ein ‚Teil des Brauchtums‘ ist falsch. Ein Teil des Brauchtums ist es nicht. Wenn ich jetzt die Carter herhole und die Carter einfach so nehme und dann einfach so...so richtig bewusst auf sie zugehe. Mit mir und allen möglichen Mitteln versuche, sie soweit zu bringen, dass sie kurz vor dem ????? steht, ohne dass ich schlage, dann habe ich ja etwas erreicht. Dann habe ich ja ... [**Lenglachner:** Hmmm ...]

**Mengl:** Vielleicht wird sie dann nächstes Jahr braver.

**Carter:** Da habe ich einen langen Weg.

**Polanec:** Und zum Schluss, kriegt sie noch einen Schlag oder einen Brustschwanz?! und hört nachher, dass das Glück bringt. Dann habe ich alle Aspekte erreicht, was ich erreichen will. Auf der einen Seite der Respekt und auf der anderen Seite : Ja! Er bringt mir doch Glück.

**Mengl:** Es ist natürlich für die jungen Leute auch ...

Carter: Es ist interessant, diese Mischung . Das ganze Leben ist, wie Du erklärt hast ... mit der Dunkelheit, dem Winter. Es ist nicht nur böse, es ist auch ...

**Polanec:** Das ist kein ...

**Mengl:** Es gibt kein Licht ohne Schatten.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Es wiederholt sich immer wieder.

**Polanec:** Und um wieder auf die Perchta zurückzukommen. Der hat seinen Bauernhof zusammengeräumt. Die Perchta geht hin. Hat er seinen Bauernhof genug zusammengeräumt? Hab' ich nicht irgendetwas vergessen? Ist sie zufrieden mit mir? Ach, Gott sei Dank. Sie ist zufrieden mit mir.

**Carter:** Also man muss sich kontrollieren?

**Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Mengl:** Es ist wie mit den Hexen. Die gehören ja auch dazu. [**Polanec:** Die haben ja genau diese Funktion.] Und die haben auch so eine Funktion.

**Polanec:** Da gibt es ja zum Beispiel auch in dieser Dissertation, die Du von mir bekommst, die gute und die böse Hexe.

**Carter:** In diesem Artikel auf der Webseite.

**Polanec:** Es gibt die weisse Hexe, es gibt die rote Hexe, es gibt die schwarze Hexe.

**Lenglachner:** *The dissertation he wants to give you.*

**Carter:** Oh, OK. Ja, ja.

**Polanec:** In dieser Dissertation wird genau beschrieben, was ist eine ...

**Polanec:** ... rote Hexe, eine schwarze Hexe, eine weiße Hexe. Die weiße Hexe ist die gute Hexe. Die schwarze ist die ganz böse Hexe und dann gibt es noch die mittlere Hexe.

**Carter:** Das hat mit der Perchta zu tun?

**Polanec:** Ja, das gehört alles, alles. Das hängt alles zusammen. Darum haben wir auch Hexen im Verein.

**Carter:** Weil sie haben auch wie die Schiechperchten, wie die Perchten, es gibt diese...

**Polanec:** Die Hexen kehren. Die machen mit dem Besen Platz, kehren den Staub weg. Wo haben wir das gelesen? Hast Du mir das gesagt? Mit...wie haben wir gesagt? Du hast das gesagt...

**Mengl:** Ja, habe ich schon gesagt. [**Polanec:** ...?] Nein, weiß ich nicht mehr genau.

**Polanec:** Also sie kehren den Raum rein, damit das gute hinein kann. So ungefähr.

**Mengl:** Das wieder das Gute hinein kann.

**Polanec:** Also sie kehren praktisch den Raum rein. Sauber.

**Mengl:** Sie putzen das ganze Unglück weg und das Glück kommt. Denn wenn das Unglück nicht aus dem Haus herauskommt, kann das Glück nicht ins Haus.

**Carter:** Man muss das also machen? Sonst gibt es keinen Platz für das Glück?

**Polanec:** Ja, es gibt keinen Platz für das Glück, das heißt das Gute. Der Percht kommt mit Gestampfe und das Böse wird vertrieben, damit Platz ist für das Gute. Und die Hexe macht mit dem Besen den Raum sauber und kehrt, damit das Gute Platz hat.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Lenglachner:** *Do you understand?*

**Carter:** Also wenn die Perchta kommt und kontrolliert, ob das Haus sauber ist oder nicht, gibt es eine Verbindung mit der Sauberkeit, um bereit zu sein.

**Polanec:** Diese richtige Verbindung, Du merkst es ja selbst. Du kannst jetzt schon langsam zusammensetzen ... es ist ...

**Carter:** Ja, es kommt langsam.

**Mengl:** Noch zwei Jahre in Salzburg.

**Carter:** Ja, ich möchte gerne eine richtige Salzburgerin sein.

**Mengl:** Die Sprache müssen wir noch ein bißchen, ein bißchen üben. Das kriegen wir schon noch.

**Polanec:** Ich habe einen Engländer als Freund. Also ein Freund und der ist aus England, der ist hierher gekommen und hat hier eine Frau geheiratet. Ist Gärtner. Kommt aus London und ist dann hier Gärtner. Jetzt ist er schon 10 Jahre hier. Er kann heute noch kein gutes Deutsch.

**Carter:** Ich habe nur drei Monate Hochdeutsch [gestudiert]. Aber ich hatte keine Chance wirklich zu sprechen. In England oder den USA gibt es keine echte Chance, weil die meisten Amerikaner keine Ahnung haben. Sie haben einen starken amerikanischen oder englischen Akzent. Es ist schwierig. Aber ich will mehr üben.

**Mengl:** Ich wäre froh, wenn ich so gut Englisch schreiben könnte, wie Du mir in Deutsch zurückgeschrieben hast.

**Carter:** Schmerzhaft, ja. Dann vielleicht habe ich etwas vermisst.

**Mengl:** Das ist kein Problem, ich habe alles verstanden. Nur vier Monate.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Vier Monate. Kein Wort ... kein Wort.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Lenglachner:** Die Carter musste ja alles vorbereiten für die lange Reise, von so weit her.

**Carter:** Ja, es ist ... ich fühle mich sehr schlecht.

**Polanec:** Carter, Du musst mir eins versprechen. Die Dissertation, die musst Du mir schicken. Das, was Du schreibst.

**Carter:** Oh, oh natürlich. Absolut, werde ich machen. Ja, und ich habe auch ... wenn Du willst, kann ich Dir auch diese Aufnahme schicken, wenn das nützlich ist.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja, ja...

**Carter:** Das wird ein ganz langer Prozess sein. [...?] Ich würde das gerne machen.

**Polanec:** Also wir können dieses Thema immer ...

**Carter:** Ja, es ist immer interessanter und interessanter.

**Polanec:** Es gibt sehr viele Dinge, also zum Beispiel Masken, denn das ist schon ein großes Thema, Masken. [**Carter:** Oh, ja.] Das Tragen einer Maske ...

**Carter:** Es gibt so viel und ich glaube, ich möchte zunächst überlegen. Aber hoffentlich .... vielleicht ... gibt es einen Ausdruck , *to sleep on it?* Wie war das, darüber schlafen?

**Lenglachner:** ‚Darüber schlafen‘.

**Carter:** Ja, ich merke, dass es viele subtile Verbindungen gibt, wie kleine Flüsse. Es erscheint mir, als ob es mit der persönlichen Wahl zu tun hat. Was werde ich machen? Was muss ich machen? Aber vielleicht wird sie oder ich ... *maybe I am projecting that.* Vielleicht. [**Lenglachner:** Aha.]

**Lenglachner:** Sie ist sich nicht sicher, ob sie nur das eine projiziert oder ob sie ... das hat mit ihrer persönlichen Entscheidung zu tun.

**Carter:** Wie werde ich mich benehmen in dieser Situation oder wie wählt man? Ja, da gibt es ... vielleicht ist das zu. Nein, ich kann es nicht wirklich erklären. [...?]

**Polanec:** Wir haben schon eines festgestellt. Entweder bist Du Percht oder Du bist es nicht.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Das stimmt schon. Es hat im Grunde genommen. Es ist zwar nicht der richtige Vergleich, aber für uns beide ist es zum Beispiel wie ein Hobby, das heißt wie für einen anderen zum Beispiel Fußballspielen.

**Mengl:** Oder Modelleisenbahn.

**Polanec:** Ja, aber wir identifizieren uns mit unserem Hobby, nämlich dem Perchtenbrauchtum, sehr tief. Fußball kann man lernen, [**Mengl:** Perchtenbrauchtum ...] Perchtenlaufen kann man üben, aber wenn ich mich nicht identifiziere mit der Identität, dann bin ich kein echter Perchtenläufer.

**Carter:** Man muss das fühlen, im Herz haben.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Mengl:** Das muss hier und da drinnen sein.

**Polanec:** Das verstehen viele Leute nicht.

**Carter:** Aha. Es geht nicht nur darum, Euch zu maskieren...

**Polanec:** Ich bin ein Fußballer, oder ich bin ein Rennfahrer. Das wird von den Leuten verstanden. Ein Percht ...

**Mengl:** Wo der Unterschied aber ist ... Entschuldigung Polanec, dass ich Dich unterbreche ... Ein Unterschied ist bei dem Ganzen. Fußball ... gut.

**Polanec:** Ja, war ein schlechtes Beispiel.

**Mengl:** Fußballer ... ja gut...Die spielen immer wieder das gleiche Spiel. Bei den Perchtenvereinen früher allerdings, da versuchte man irgendetwas Neues zu erfinden, was aber mit dem Brauchtum nichts zu tun hat.

**Polanec:** Das ist dieser schwierige Prozess.

**Carter:** Also sie entwickeln etwas Neues, aber es ist nicht ...

**Polanec:** ... das mit dem Brauchtum nichts zu tun hat.

**Mengl:** Man muss sich bis zu einem, man muss sich bis zu einem ...

**Polanec:** Das sind diese Masken.

**Carter:** Das Aussehen der Maske.

**Polanec:** Das Aussehen der Maske.

**Mengl:** Man muss sich bis zu einem gewissen Grad anpassen, bis zu einem gewissen Grad.

**Carter:** Hmm..

**Mengl:** Aber es muss ja auch Grenzen geben. Es gibt eine Grenze, bis dorthin und dann ist fertig.

**Polanec:** Da ist das dann Kasperletheater, Fasching ... über dieser Grenze.

**Carter:** Das heißt also Fasching ist unterschiedlich für die Perchten?

**Polanec:** Nein. Wenn zum Beispiel ... hier sind jetzt leider keine drinnen. Es gibt zum Beispiel irgendwelche abstrakten Masken, die schon in Hollywood ...

**Mengl:** ... in *Star Trek* ...

**Polanec:** ... für Gruselfilme.

**Carter:** Wie Horrorfilme?

**Polanec:** Ja, genau. Horrormasken.

**Carter:** Das sind also auch Einflüsse auf die Perchtenmaske?

**Polanec:** Ja, also von den Schnitzern her schon.

**Mengl:** Von der Schnitzern her schon.

**Carter:** Von der Schnitzern her schon, aber ...

**Polanec:** Das wollen wir zum Beispiel nicht. Und Du merkst es bei den Kindern.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... wie?

**Polanec:** Ich habe einen kleinen Sohn, der ist sechs Jahre alt. Der fürchtet sich zum Beispiel vor diesen Gruselmasken.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Polanec:** Da fürchtet er sich, wirklich.

**Carter:** Also das ist echte Furcht.

**Polanec:** Das ist gruselig, das ist nicht schön. Das ist Horror, das ist ... da fürchtet er sich.

**Carter:** Ein sechs Jahre altes Kind ...

**Polanec:** Ja. Bei unseren Perchtenmasken, die wir haben, fürchtet er sich nicht. Er hat zwar Respekt, aber er fürchtet sich nicht.

**Carter:** Und das kommt ...

**Polanec:** Er hat keine Angst. Das was wir bis jetzt besprochen haben: Perchtenbrauchtum wie funktioniert es. Wie bringt man es den Leuten hinüber, war mein Grundgedanke: Wie bringen wir es, oder wie versuchen wir es, behinderten Kindern beizubringen? [**Carter:**



Aha.] Körperlich behinderte Kinder, geistig behinderte Kinder. Und so haben wir vor 10 Jahren zufällig Kontakt mit einem Schuldirektor bekommen, der sich für das Perchtenbrauchtum auch wahnsinnig interessiert hat. Und das war der Direktor einer Schule für behinderte Kinder. Und da haben wir gesagt wir versuchen etwas. Wir haben versucht, diesen Kindern Perchten, Krampus, Nikolaus näher zu bringen [**Carter:** Hmmm ...] und haben einfach geschaut, wie das auf diese behinderten Kinder wirkt.

**Carter:** Ja ... hmmm. Das war mal das Grundgerippe, die Idee. Ja.

**Polanec:** Wir sind seit 10 Jahren dort an diesem Kinderprojekt. Wir kennen die Kinder, wir wachsen mit den Kindern auf.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Wir sehen, was aus den Kindern wird und irgendwann ist ein Projekt entstanden. Das war eine Geschichte...wir wollen eine CD aufnehmen. Und das Geld, das wir mit dieser CD bekommen, wird gespendet. [**Carter:** Aha.] Damals wurde die Schule neu umgebaut. Das hat so 70 Millionen Euro gekostet. Wir haben, glaube ich etwa um die 10000 Euro gespendet. Die CD wird also verkauft und das ganze Geld, das wir für die CD bekommen, geht an die Schule für behinderte Kinder.

**Carter:** Ah, das ist super.

**Polanec:** Da ist die Erklärung des Brauchtums darauf. Die Texte sind alle von mir. Da gibt es ein Perchtenlied, ein Hexenlied und ein Nikolauslied.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Das wird auch von Kindern gesungen.

**Carter:** Die Kinder singen auf der CD?

**Polanec:** Wir können es vielleicht ganz kurz, ganz kurz anhören. [...?]

**Polanec:** Wir haben 200-300 CDs verkauft. [...?] Zu diesen Kindern gehen wir jedes Jahr.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Und wir haben heute so ein Dankeschön bekommen. Muss ich Euch mal zeigen, diese Fotos.

**Carter:** Nikolaus und Krampus: Herzlich willkommen!

**Polanec:** Hier sieht man, wie sie vorbereiten. Sie bereiten hier mit den Kindern sehr intensiv vor. Also das ist ganz .... also sehr intensive Geschichte und sehr anstrengend. Wir

hatten heute vor zwei Wochen in den Nachrichten einen Bericht, einen großen Bericht hierüber. Ja, hol' ihn mal. Und diese Nachrichten, haben auch diesen Hintergrund, warum wir Perchten, warum wir das machen erklärt. [**Carter:** Ah.] Und was wir vermitteln wollen.

**Carter:** Ah, man erklärt das den Kindern.

**Polanec:** Und damit diese Redakteurin ... zu der habe ich gesagt: Du musst mitgehen. Ich kann dir das nicht erklären.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Du musst dabei sein und musst einfach sehen, wie die Kinder zum Nikolaus kommen und wie sie reagieren. Wie bereiten sie sich darauf vor? Das kann man nicht erklären. Sie war dann also dabei. Und da hat sie es wirklich so geschrieben, wie sie es mitgekriegt hat, diese Redakteurin. Sie war dann eben dabei und das hier sind die Fotos, die dabei entstanden sind. Der Bernd eben als Nikolaus. Und das sind eben alles körperlich und geistig behinderte Kinder.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... und das ist der Krampus, der Nikolaus ...

**Polanec:** Ja. Und da geht auch der Krampus mit. In der Funktion als Krampus. [**Carter:** Ja.] Er ist dabei. Man kann also sagen ... der ist 18 Jahre alt, total behindert. Ich kenne ihn, diesen Jungen, jetzt schon 6 Jahre lang.

**Carter:** Hmmm ...

**Polanec:** Und da hast Du ... kriegst Du eine Beziehung. Das kann man nicht beschreiben. Also das ist ... das ist ... unmöglich.

**Carter:** Hmmm. Ja, das ist ... ich fühle das. Ja, das ist kräftig.

**Polanec:** Ja, das ist ... es ist ein Wahnsinn ... also...

**Carter:** Aber sie sind ja ... Sie erleben, sie erfahren die beiden.

**Polanec:** Ja, klar.

**Carter:** Und es gibt ... was passiert mit ... das ist so wie die klassische ...?

**Polanec:** Ja, und das ist ... was passiert? Das stimmt. Es passiert mit diesen Kindern genau das, was passieren soll. Sie haben den Respekt. Sie wissen das ist der heilige Nikolaus .

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Ich muss brav sein, ich bereite Euch vor. Die bereiten sich tatsächlich vor.

**Carter:** Aha, für dieses Treffen mit dem Nikolaus.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja. Die Lehrer sind ja ausgebildete Leute. Sie benutzen uns auch, in Anführungszeichen. Denn es gibt ja nicht nur geistig behinderte Kinder, sondern auch psychisch behinderte Kinder, die aggressiv sind und so ...

**Carter:** Hmm ...

**Polanec:** Die Lehrer benutzen den Krampus dazu und die Funktion des Krampus und sagen: Falls Du jetzt nicht brav bist, dann gibt es eine [...?]. Die Kinder verstehen das. Die Kinder machen das wirklich so. Wir sind mit ihnen ja das ganze Jahr in Kontakt. Also der Direktor ist nicht mehr derselbe, der ist jetzt in Rente gegangen. Die Rita, damals war es eine Lehrerin, als wir angefangen haben. Sie ist die Rektorin geworden. Mit ihr bin noch sehr gut in Kontakt, weil wir wissen wollen, was passiert.

**Carter:** Hmm.

**Polanec:** Also wie hat sie das weiterverfolgt? Sind die Kinder anders geworden? Die Kinder sind anders.

**Carter:** Das ist ein Zeitungsartikel über die Kinder.

**Polanec:** Salzburger Nachrichten. Die Überschrift ist also Lob, Kritik und Lehrerwunsch. Die Überschrift ist also schon genauso beschrieben, wie es tatsächlich ... hmmm.,

**Mengl:** Und da war einer dabei, der ist ... wie alt ist der Sven? Der ist 24 oder 25.

**Polanec:** Ja, das ist bei dem Jungen.

**Mengl:** Da wären wir lieber wieder raus gegangen und ... zu weinen angefangen.

**Carter:** Der Lehrer ist nicht da.

**Mengl:** Schon.

**Carter:** Ah, er ist da.

**Mengl:** Ja, er ist da.

**Carter:** Ja, doch.

**Polanec:** Selbstverständlich, selbstverständlich. Die Lehrer sind dabei.

**Carter:** Also Sie können alles zusammen sehen?

**Polanec:** Das ist der Patrick. Der ist körperlich behindert. [**Carter:** Hmmm...] Leicht geistig behindert. Was bei ihm zum Beispiel dazu kommt. Er musste zuschauen, wie seine Mutter seinen Vater erschlagen hat. Vor drei Jahren... Und jedes Mal wieder fängt er vor dem Nikolaus von seinem Vater an zu reden, der im Himmel ist. [**Carter:** Hmmm.]

**Lenglachner:** *OK. This boy is physically and mentally also disabled and he saw when his Mom killed his Dad. And so always when St. Nicolaus comes, he tells him about his Dad. I mean the boy tells St. Nicolaus about his Dad who is in Heaven and everything and so he starts crying and they also, almost start crying.*

**Carter:** Ich auch! Ich finde das auch ... das ist wirklich ... das ist was, das ist etwas wichtiges.

**Polanec:** Wahnsinn, Wahnsinn.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Was in der Zeitung auch ganz nett geschrieben ist.

**Polanec:** Wir sind die einzige Perchtengruppe, die so etwas macht und die sich dahin getraut.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Das ist auch wichtig. Dafür braucht man auch das Einverständnis der Eltern.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Mit den Lehrern, mit allen. Das ist ...

**Mengl:** Man muss eine psychologische ... man muss sich einfühlen können in das Ganze.

**Polanec:** Dann bist du gefordert als Percht oder als Krampus und Nikolaus. Das ist eine Herausforderung.

**Carter:** Das ist eine Definierung tiefer zu gehen. Das zeigt, wie dieser Brauch zu verwenden ist.

**Polanec:** Hmmm.

**Carter:** Und was er meint, was er bedeutet?

**Polanec:** Und die Kinder kommen zum Percht.

**Carter:** Aha. Sie kommen nicht zum Mengl sondern, nicht zum Lehrer, sie kommen zum Percht und zum Nikolaus?

**Polanec:** Jedes einzelne Kind kommt heraus. Liest etwas vor. Wir bekommen genau ... es wird genau geschrieben, was wir zu dem Kind sagen. Und das ist sehr wichtig. Es muss eine Bedeutung haben.

**Carter:** Es gibt also diese Struktur, die sie vorbereiten. Es wird etwas vorgelesen, vom Nikolaus oder sie...Überhaupt habe ich keine Nikolaus-Kenntnisse. Was macht man eigentlich mit dem Nikolaus usw.?

**Mengl:** St. Claus, St. Claus. Das ist bei uns der Nikolaus.

**Polanec:** Das sind zum Beispiel alles Sachen, die man ... wir sammeln ja alles. Mein nächstes Ziel, was ich machen und finden möchte, wie man ein Buch macht, mit all diesen Dingen, was da zum Beispiel ...

**Carter:** Ah, also sind sie von den Lehrern über die Kinder geschrieben? [**Polanec:** Ja, genau.] Also die Nachrichten über die Kinder, über ihr Benehmen usw. Du hast das nicht gut gemacht, du hast das gut gemacht.

**Polanec:** Richtig.

**Carter:** OK.

**Lenglachner:** Und das lest Ihr den Kindern vor?

**Polanec:** Ja.

**Lenglachner:** Der Nikolaus oder die Perchten?

**Polanec:** Nein, nein. Der Nikolaus.

**Lenglachner:** OK.

**Polanec:** Vorlesen sowieso nicht. Es wird aufgeschrieben und du musst mit den Kindern reden.

**Lenglachner/Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Die Kinder müssen mit Dir reden.

**Carter:** Es ist nicht nur, dass der Nikolaus sagt, da, da, da ,da ,da ... die Kinder müssen selbst erklären oder ...

**Mengl:** Herr Nikolaus, ich habe heute das so und so gemacht ...

**Polanec:** ... und ich kann schon so gut häkeln und ich kann schon so gut zeichnen. Es muss zum Häkeln und Zeichnen. Es muss eine Verbindung da sein. Es muss etwas entstehen.

**Carter:** Das ist nicht passiv für die Kinder?

**Polanec:** Genau.

**Mengl:** Nein, die Kinder sollen ... sie sollen nicht ...

**Carter:** Sie sehen ...

**Carter:** Sie haben Verantwortlichkeit.

**Mengl:** Sie sollen zu dir kommen. Genauso wie wenn ich mit dir jetzt gerne sprechen möchte. Aber kann ich nicht, weil der Polanec daneben sitzt. Ist auch egal. Aber die Kinder sollen selbst kommen.

**Carter:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Und sie kommen auch.

**Polanec:** Ja, sie kommen. Das ist faszinierend.

**Mengl:** Das ist interessant wenn man Kinder anschaut. Entweder mit einer körperlichen oder geistigen Behinderung. Wenn man die Kinder und ihre Augen anschaut, die die Kinder haben, ist natürlich schon gewaltig. Also ...

**Polanec:** Nur zum Beispiel ... wenn ich nur ganz kurz zitieren ... die 4S Klasse da geht es dann los: Janina, Du schreibst jeden Tag das Datum richtig an die Tafel und du kannst jetzt schon alle Monatsnamen richtig aufschreiben. Die 4S Klasse besteht aus Kindern, die ... 11, weil ...

**Mengl:** Eher so 12 Jahre ...

**Polanec:** 11-12 Jahre alt sind die Kinder. Du bist sehr hilfsbereit und hältst für Jule und Maria immer die Türen auf. Schau, dass Du beim Anziehen in der Garderobe nicht immer die Letzte bist.

**2. Person/Carter:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Man liest das nicht vor, sondern der Bernd ... er ist perfekt. Der Nikolaus bei uns ... nur der Bernd kann das machen, das traut sich kein anderer.

**Mengl:** Aber den belastet das. Das ist sehr belastend für denjenigen, der das macht. Der jetzt als Nikolaus hinkommt und sagt: Also gut, das und das und das ... das ist sehr belastend.

**Carter:** Das ist belastend, ist das...

**Lenglachner:** *It's like very exhausting, psychologically to be the Nicolaus and work with the children because you see so much of them and their stories and everything, so only one of them dares to be Nicolaus. It's Bernd. His name is Bernd.*

**Carter:** Und Bernd ist jedes Jahr der Nikolaus?

**Polanec:** Jedes Jahr, ja. Also Du bist eine sehr liebe Schüle].n. Mit dir muss die Lehrerin nicht schimpfen. Du kannst jetzt schon gut [...?.] Auch beim Lesen bist Du sehr fleißig. Wenn die Mitschüler im Sachunterricht nicht aufgepasst haben, sagst Du ihnen immer die richtige Antwort. Das sind alles solche Dinge ... seit Jahren geht das schon so.

**Mengl:** Wir haben einen Sponsor bekommen. Das ist ein Fliesenleger. Ich weiß nicht, wie das auf Englisch heißt.

**Lenglachner:** Das weiß ich auch nicht. *To lay the floors with ... not only floors, but also ...*

**Mengl:** Ja, hier ... die Fliesen hier.

**Carter:** Im Bau, diese kleinen ... ja, ja ...

**Mengl:** Ja, Fliesen.

**Carter:** *Yeah, doing tile work.*

**Mengl:** Ja, und der unterstützt uns und gibt uns 100 bis 200 Kilogramm Modellierton für diese Kinder.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Mengl:** Also ... die konnten wir dann umsonst modellieren und formen lassen.

**Carter:** Nikolausgeschenk.

**Mengl:** Und das ist wirklich. Das ist eine Sachspende, aber die ist sehr wichtig.

**Carter:** Wirklich gut.

**Mengl:** Das ist halt wirklich eine tolle Geschichte und da sage ich halt ... da haben sie etwas davon.

**Lenglachner:** Ja, da haben sie wirklich etwas davon. Das Kind muss kreativ sein.

**Mengl:** Ja, das Kind können kreativ sein und ...

**Lenglachner:** Also diese Firma hat das gemacht? *Cool* Also scheint, dass ....

**Mengl:** Ja, wie auch immer. Das wurde ja einfach so gespendet. Wir bekommen schon finanzielle Spenden. Sponsoren kommen auch noch dazu, aber es ist halt nicht so wirklich ...

**Polanec:** ... dass Du mit den Kindern etwas erreichst. Du erreichst etwas damit.

**Mengl:** Wir wollen es ja sponsern. Das Problem ist: Du kannst es eigentlich schwer vermitteln, was Du nicht selbst gesehen hast.

**Carter:** Sie haben das durchschaut? Es ist nicht nur, dass sie entschieden haben ... sie werden so reagieren. Das ist die Reaktion. Die Reaktion wird das sein. Ich mag diese Veranstaltungen, die Kinder ... es gibt Überraschungen hinsichtlich der Reaktion. Ein bisschen ... das ist nicht...

**Polanec:** Es ist genau diese Verbindung da, die wir wollen. Was wir als Perchten auch normalen Leuten ... da kommt, also voll...also wirklich diese Kommunikation, diese Verbindung, dieses Gefühl ist da. Also ganz gewaltig.

**Mengl:** Es ist auch die Rückmeldung von den Lehrern ... die ist gewaltig.

**Carter:** Später diskutiert also der Lehrer mit den Kinder was passiert ist ... und die Kinder sagen ...

**Mengl:** Der Nikolaus ist gekommen und, und, und ... es ist halt die Rückmeldung von den Lehrern ... nämlich eine ganz gewaltige und das haben wir gesehen, als wir eingeladen wurden. Also die Lehrer haben gesagt: Nächstes Mal müsst ihr unbedingt wieder kommen.

*[Hintergrunddiskussion]*

**Mengl:** Es ist von den Lehrern eigentlich auch gewaltig, ja super ... und die Kinder also ganz ...

**Polanec:** Also das Problem ist ja ...

**Mengl:** Wie soll man sagen ... Die Kinder haben eine Freude damit.

**Polanec:** Wenn wir jetzt zum Beispiel sagen, wir machen das nicht mehr oder der Verein löst sich auf oder so etwas. Im Grunde wird dann [...?].

**Mengl:** Ja, es ist ...

**Polanec:** Nicht erst ab Dezember. Ab November sind die Gedanken der Kinder schon bei uns.

**Carter:** Hmmm.



**Polanec:** Die bereiten sie seelisch, mit den Ideen schon auf uns vor.

**Mengl:** Wir haben halt gesagt, weil es Brauch ... mit dem Ton zum Töpfern ... wie sagt man denn? Wie heißt denn das wieder?

**Lenglachner:** *Pot-making. You know,, from clay?*

**Carter:** Ja wenn man ... ich verstehe. Meine Mutter macht das.

**Mengl:** Ja, genau.

**Carter:** Keramik mit ... wo sie auf dem Rad.

**Mengl:** Ja, Tassen ... und die Kinder sollen das in der Schule machen und dann wird es verkauft.

**Carter:** Hmmm.

**Mengl:** Für die Schule.

**Carter:** Hmmm ... was sie gemacht haben?

**Mengl:** Ohne, ohne, ohne ... keinen Cent bekommen wir. Das geht alles an die Schule.

**Polanec:** Weil das ist wie gesagt einfach diese Entwicklung, was wir jetzt aus diesem Brauchtum heute halt machen.

**Mengl:** Naja, mein Gott...das sind unterstützende Sachen. [**Polanec:** Ja, klar ... aber das ...] Das gehört einfach dazu. Wir schauen halt, dass wir irgendwann ... wir sind ein gemeinnütziger Verein.

**Polanec:** Ja, das stimmt. Das muss man ja sagen.

**Lenglachner:** Wie definiert sich genau ein gemeinnütziger Verein?

**Polanec:** Wir dürfen keinen Gewinn machen. Wir sind nicht auf Gewinn ausgerichtet. D.h. sobald wir auf Gewinn ausgerichtet wären, müssen wir dann finanzielle Abgaben machen. Heißt aber gleichzeitig, gemeinnütziger Verein: Sollte sich der Verein auflösen. [...?] müssen die an einen anderen Verein mit gleichwertigem Grundgedanken weitergegeben werden.

**Lenglachner:** Hmmm.

**Polanec:** Das ist in unseren Statutsauflagen.

**Mengl:** Wenn wir Minus machen, dann muss der ganze Vorstand mit seinem Privatvermögen dafür einstehen.

**Lenglachner:** Aha.

**Polanec:** [...?].

**Mengl:** Der hat die meiste Kohle, oder nicht? [**Polanec:** Ja, super.] Alle das steht im Vereinsgesetz drinnen und ich kann Dir die ...

**Lenglachner:** *I don't know, do, do you want to ...*

**Mengl:** Das steht im Internet drinnen, im Vereinsgesetz.

**Polanec:** Da muss man auch dazu sagen, wir sind in Salzburg von diesen ... es gibt ja schon sehr lange Perchtenvereine in Salzburg. Ganz früher hat es die Anifer Perchten gegeben, im Umkreis der Stadt Salzburg. Da hat es die Goldegger Perchten, die Anifer Perchten gegeben Da hat es die Untersberger gegeben und dann hat es die Rupertiperchten gegeben. Die Rupertiperchten, das war mein Verein. Aber es waren keine gemeldeten Vereine. [**Lenglachner:** Hmmm.]

**Mengl:** Das ist im Internet und da kannst Du .... jetzt weiss ich nicht, ob Du was reinstellen kannst, bei den Vereinsgesetzen ... und da stehen dann die ganzen Dinge. Steht ganz genau drinnen.

**Lenglachner:** Und wie lange hat es die schon gegeben, so ungefähr? Diese anderen Vereine von Anif?

**Polanec:** Die gibt es schon länger. Die gibt es schon ... die Anifer, die gibt es sicher schon 20 Jahre.

**Mengl:** Ich weiß es nicht. Ich müsste es eben drüben nachschauen. Ich kann es nicht genau sagen. Drüben habe ich sowieso ... ich kann es nicht ...

**Polanec:** Die ersten überhaupt waren die Anifer. Ich meine die gibt es schon 20 Jahre.

**Carter:** Diese Stadtvereine ...

**Lenglachner:** Ja, aber jetzt schau mal. Schon 20. Jahrhundert oder so und nicht irgendwie 19. Jahrhundert oder so?

**Polanec/Mengl:** Achso! Nein, nein.

**Polanec:** Nein, nein. Da gibt es ... gut, dass du das Thema ansprichst. Da gibt es in Salzburg eine ganz interessante Geschichte. Und zwar ... ich weiß nicht Carter, ob du davon schon einmal gehört hast: Die wilde Jagd. Hast Du von der schon mal etwas gehört, Carter?

**Carter:** Die wilde Jagd ...

**Lenglachner:** Das habe ich vor kurzem im Fernsehen gesehen.

**Mengl/Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Polanec:** Da muss ich jetzt Dir noch ganz kurz etwas sagen. Heute steht in den Nachrichten: Wilde Jagd von den Abersee Perchten.

**Mengl:** Die gibt es nur rund um den Untersberg.

**Polanec:** Da bin ich gespannt, was da kommt. Die wilde Jagd gibt es nur einmal. Das kann ja nicht ... Kopplerperchten! Die Kopplerperchten machen es in Fuschel ... das möchte ich mir gerne anschauen, das möchte ich wissen, was da abgeht. Die Kopplerperchten machen in Fuschel eine wilde Jagd.

**Carter:** So das ...

**Mengl:** Vielleicht verkaufen sie es auch nur unter dem Namen ...

**Polanec:** Da fängt dann wieder diese Geschichte an. Da sind noch viel mehr interessante Sachen. Die wilde Jagd ist ... sicher ...

**Mengl:** Die gibt es schon ewig.

**Polanec:** Das ist ... warte mal, die wilde Jagd gibt es jetzt schon seit Anfang 19. Jahrhundert.

**Mengl:** Nein, nein. Die gibt es schon länger.

**Polanec:** ich weiß es nicht genau, aber ...

**Carter:** Ist das direkt, oder?

**Lenglachner:** *It is at least from the beginning of the 19th century.*

**Polanec:** In der Umgebung vom Untersberg, das heißt die laufen wirklich noch von Haus zu Haus und ...

**Mengl:** Es weiß kein Mensch.

**Polanec:** ...wann die kommen. Nein! Wann schon, aber wo sie laufen, weiß niemand.

**Lenglachner:** *So they run from house to house and nobody knows where they will go.*

**Carter:** Aha. Also weiß man nicht genau, wann man sie erwartet. Vielleicht kommen sie, oder ...

**Polanec:** Ja, nein. Naja, also Insider wissen es sehr wohl. Ich habe es immer gewusst, wo.

**Carter:** Also die *insiders* wissen es schon, aber die anderen ...

**Polanec:** Die gehen wirklich von Haus zu Haus. Die Figuren, die sie da haben sind wirklich total überlieferte Figuren vom Ur,-ur,-ur,-ur,- Großvater bis heute.

**Carter:** Das ist also ...

**Polanec:** Das verändert sich nie. Das verändert sich nie. Es verändert sich die Maske nie. Es verändert sich die Figur nie. Die sind, die sehen seit ewigen Zeiten immer schon.

**Mengl:** immer gleich aus. Immer gleich aus.

**Carter:** Das ist ein Perchtenlauf?

**Polanec:** Ja. Das heißt wilde Jagd. Sie findet in Salzburg. Aber das ist schon wieder vorbei.

**Carter:** Aber das ist vorbei. Es passiert nicht mehr?

**Polanec:** Ja, die laufen.

**Lenglachner:** Die laufen Jedes Jahr.

**Polanec:** Die laufen jedes Jahr am 1 ...

**Mengl:** Nein ... am 2. Wochenende im Dezember.

**Polanec:** ... am 2 .... nein, nein. Falsch, Mengl! Nein.

**Mengl:** Am 2. Wochenende im Dezember ...

**Polanec:** Da gibt es einen bestimmten Tag. Die haben also eine ganz tief verwurzelte Tradition.

**Mengl:** Oder ist es der zweite Donnerstag im Monat. Der zweite Donnerstag im Dezember.

**Polanec:** Die haben doch irgendetwas mit Lichtmess zu tun. Die haben da ganz eigene Regeln.

**Mengl:** Mit dem kirchlichen Kalender gehen sie ... ich kenne mich da auch nicht mehr so aus.

**Polanec:** Mit dem kirchlichen Kalender hängt das zusammen. Ganz bewusst, rennen die nur an einem einzigen, ganz bestimmten Tag. Und das hat irgendwas mit [...?]. Das ist die wilde Jagd.

**Carter:** Und das ist also nicht in der Stadt nur ...

**Polanec:** Nur in den Landgemeinden rund um Salzburg.

**Mengl:** Die wilde Jagd ist rund um den Untersberg.

**Polanec:** Falsch [...].

**Mengl:** Aber normalerweise ist es rund um den Untersberg. [...]

**Lenglachner:** Möchtest Du wissen, welche Figuren bei der wilden Jagd sind?

**Carter:** Oh ja. Ja. Aber ich hoffe, dass es nicht so, nicht zu viel, zu anstrengend wird das aufzuschreiben ... Du darfst nicht, wenn ...

**Lenglachner:** Ja, nein. Das passt schon. Das Problem ist eher, ob Du es lesen kannst.

**Carter:** Das ist kein Problem. Du solltest meine Schrift sehen.

**Polanec:** Ich habe dazu zu Hause Unterlagen. Du kannst von mir alles bekommen. Nur irgendwann halt.

**Carter:** Ohhh ...

**Lenglachner:** *Polanec said he has so much material and you can have everything. If you ever ...*

**Carter:** *Oh, thank you. Das ist sicherlich für alles was ich schreibe, was ich...ja Sie können, Fotos oder.*

**Mengl:** Und bis wann musst du das alles geschrieben haben, bis wann?

**Carter:** Theoretisch habe ich noch ein Jahr. Noch ein Jahr. Aber es werden zwei oder ... noch zwei Jahre.

**Mengl:** Kommst Du nächstes Jahr wieder?

**Carter:** Ich würde gerne, ja. Nächsten Winter.

**Mengl:** Aber?

**Carter:** Ja, ich kann. Ich möchte. Ich werde sicher kommen ... nächsten Winter...

**Mengl:** Aber keine vier Monate Pause, OK?

**Carter:** Ja.

**Polanec:** Und dann taucht vielleicht noch die eine oder andere Frage auf. Also etwas interessantes. Weil fertig werden wir nie!

**Carter:** Ja, ja, ja. Man muss überlegen, nachdenken und dann kommen neue Fragen auf, wenn das OK ist.

**Polanec:** Ja, ja.

**Carter:** Super.

**Mengl:** Du kannst uns jederzeit schreiben, wenn Du zum Beispiel irgendeine Frage hast.

**Carter:** Ja.

**Mengl:** Wenn Du nicht in Salzburg bist, jederzeit schreiben und ...

**Carter:** OK, ja. Denn ich möchte Euch nicht zur Last fallen [müde/schläfrig machen].

**Polanec:** Was?

**Carter:** *I don't want to ...*

**Lenglachner:** Sie möchte Euch nicht müde machen.

**Mengl:** Ich weiß nicht, wie der Professor heißt, der mit dem [...] und mit der Brille. Das ist wirklich ganz hoch interessant. Vor kurzem habe ich mir das angeschaut. Da hat er erklärt, was eigentlich ein [...] ist.

**Lenglachner:** Ein was?

**Mengl:** Ein [...]. Das ist eigentlich nichts in der Gegend, aber es ist doch irgendetwas.

**Lenglachner:** Aha.

**Mengl:** Aber es war echt interessant und vor allem.

**Lenglachner:** Verstehst Du das?

## ILLUSTRATIONS

All photographs and drawings by Molly Carter except where otherwise noted.

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**Figs. 1-5:** Nikolaus Day: *Einlegen* Gifts and Ephemera

**Fig. 1**



**Fig. 2**



**Fig. 3**



**Fig. 4**



Figurines of Nikolaus and *Krampus* in a shop window. Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, 2009.

**Fig. 5**



An army of dried-fruit *Zwetschenkrampusse* for sale at the Salzburg *Christkindlmarkt*.

**Figs. 6-7:** The Arrival of St. Nikolaus.

**Fig. 6**



**Center:** St. Nikolaus enters the town square of Schärding, Upper Austria before the *Perchtenlauf*, 2005.

**Fig. 7**



**Right:** St. Nikolaus enters a pub with his basket full of gifts. Faistenau, Salzburg, 2005.



**Figs. 8a-8b:** *Krampus*-themed window displays in Salzburg lingerie shops. Displays feature birch switches as well as walnuts and apples, representing punishments and rewards, respectively.

**Fig. 8b**



**Fig. 8a**



**Fig. 9**

**Image removed from ethesis version due to copyright restrictions.**

A host of devil-themed emoticons (“*Smileys*” in German) of the sort commonly used in online intra-*Krampus* communications, also suitable for pairing with “*Grüße vom Krampus*” greetings sent by mobile phone (see also Figs. 101-102) (Smiley-Paradies: Das große Smiley Archiv, ‘Animierte Smileys: Teufel’, <<http://www.smiley-paradies.de/animierte-smileys/teufel.html>>, 2015, accessed Dec.17, 2015).

**Figs. 10-13:** House visit by the *Schnabelperchten* in Rauris, Salzburg, January, 2003.

**Fig. 10**



**Fig. 11**



**Fig. 12**



**Fig. 13**



**Figs. 14-23:** The *Perchtenlauf* in St. Johann im Pongau, Salzburg, 2005.

**Fig. 14**



**Fig. 15**

**Fig. 16**



**Fig. 17**



**Top:** A *Hexe* sweeps the feet of spectators.

**Right:** The *Håbergoaß* with friend.

**Fig. 18**



**Fig. 20**

**Fig. 19**



**Left:** An ÖRF (national Austrian broadcasting) cameraman films the *Perchtenlauf*. **Above:** The *schön* (beautiful) side of Frau Perchta.

**Fig. 21**



**Above:** Soot-smearing chimney sweeps toast the New Year with spectators by offering them shots of schnaps.

**Right:** Species *Tafelperchten*, genus *Jagdperchten* (“*hunting-Perchten*”). Tanned hides, antlers and taxidermically-stuffed animals form an important part of these headdresses.

**Fig. 22**



**Fig. 23**



**Left:** *Schönperchten* performing the *Reverenz* (bow) with the help of their *Gesellinnen* (“girlfriends”, men cross-dressing in female *Trachten*) during the *Perchtentanz*. The *Gesellinnen* hold up swords to support the heavy headdresses during the bow. Species *Tafelperchten* (“panel-*Perchten*”), genus *Schmuckperchten* (“jewelry-*Perchten*”, mirrors being a traditional element in these headdresses).

**Figs. 24-39: Nikolaus Day in Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, 2009.**

**Fig. 24**



Nikolaus, angel and *Krampusse* arrive outside a guesthouse and mingle with the people gathered there to see them. (The enormous, straw-clad *Buttnmandl* stay outside.)

**Fig. 25**



**Fig. 26**

**Figs. 25-31:** Nikolaus, angel and *Krampusse* enter the dining room of the guesthouse where the owner's children and friends are waiting. Nikolaus questions the children while the *Krampusse* underscore the seriousness of the matter. (Note the soot-smudged face of the teenage girl on the bottom right, who had just been whirled about in the embrace of a *Krampus*.)



**Fig. 27**



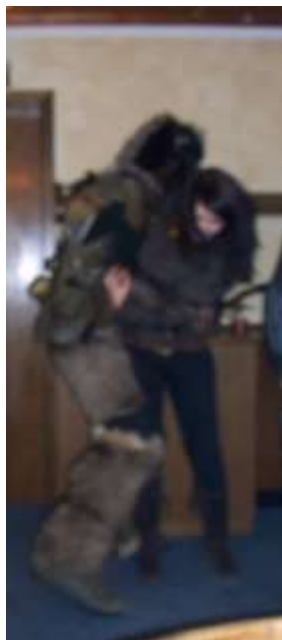
**Fig. 28**



**Fig. 29**

**Fig. 30**

**Fig. 31**





**Figs. 32-44:** *Krampusse* and *Buttnmandl* take care of business in the town center.

**Fig. 32**



The mummers wait for their police escort for the long walk along the highway to the town center.

**Fig. 33**



**Fig. 34**



**Fig. 35**



**Figs. 36-39:** *Buttnmandl* in the town center.

**Fig. 36**



**Fig. 37**



**Fig. 38**

**Fig. 39**



**Figs. 40-44:** The *Thomasnikolo* group, assembled on St. Thomas's Day. Gams bei Hieflau, Styria. 2009.

**Fig. 40**



**Fig. 41**



**Fig. 44**



**Figs. 42-44 (below):** Transformation into the beaked, bird-like *Thomashützel* (a figure in the *Thomasnikolo* group fulfilling the same comic function as the *Håbergoaß*).

**Fig. 42**



**Fig. 43**



**Center:** St. Nikolaus processes with the *Hiefler* (carrying the candles) and *Krampusse* down the hill to the village center, where locals have gathered.

**Fig. 45**

**Image removed from ethesis version due to copyright restrictions.**

The Perchtengruppe D'Rabenstoana of Golling, Salzburg. 2006. Frau Percht stands with her broom in the middle of the front row in front of Summer and Winter, flanked by the feather-covered *Vogelperchten*. (I accompanied them as a torch-bearer, front row, third from the right.) Photograph by Christiane Pedros.

**Figs. 46-54:** A *Krampuskränzchen* with the Ruperti-Pass e. V. Ainring at the Wienerwald restaurant, Altötting, Bavaria. 2006.

**Fig. 46**



**Fig. 47**



**Fig. 48**

**Center:** The group tucked postcards and explanatory information about the impending festivities and the meaning of the tradition into the menu holders on the tables. This advance notice also gave restaurant customers the opportunity to leave before the *Krampusse* descended on them.



**Fig. 49**



**Fig. 50**



**Fig. 51**



**Fig. 52**



**Fig. 53**



Fig. 54



Fig. 55: A Schiachpercht at the Perchtenlauf in Goldegg, Salzburg. 2003.





**Fig. 56:** A collaborative *Perchtenlauf* near Golling, Salzburg. 2006.



**Figs. 57-63:** *Perchtenlauf* hosted by the Salzburger Schiachpercht'n, Traun. 2006.

**Fig. 57**



**Fig. 58**



**Figs. 59-63: Running with fire.**

**Fig. 59**



**Fig. 60**



**Fig. 61**



**Fig. 62**



**Fig. 63**



**Figs. 64-67:** *Perchtenlauf* hosted by the Schärddinger Teufelsperchten, whose founder, Michael Berger, learned to carve from a South American friend. Schärdding. 2006.

**Fig. 64**



**Fig. 65**



**Fig. 66**



**Fig. 67**



**Figs. 68-71:** *Perchtenlauf* in Mühlbach am Hochkönig, Salzburg. 2003.

**Fig. 68**



**Fig. 69**



**Fig. 70**



**Fig. 71**



A double-faced mask representing Frau Perchta. The back shows her beautiful face surrounded by a sun halo.

**Figs. 72-78:** Tanz & Teufel, hosted by the Juvavum Pass. Salzburg, 2005.

**Fig. 72**



The Juvavum Pass perform a stage play based on the baroque Nikolaus plays.

**Fig. 73**



The *Krampusse* pour into the audience at the close of the play and begin the *Freilauf* phase of the performance.

**Fig. 74**



The performance-encounter.



**Fig. 75-78:** An adult version of the interrogation by St. Nikolaus and the subsequent rewards and punishments. To mete out the latter, ‘three naked devils’ were dispatched. The group leader explained, ‘This year, one of the guys couldn’t do it, so I stepped in, because people were complaining. They wanted *three* naked devils — not two — *three!*’

**Fig. 75**



**Fig. 76**



**Fig. 77**



**Fig. 78**



**Figs. 79-83:** Masks, costumes and accessories of the Faistenauer Krampusse.  
Faistenau, Salzburg. 2006.

**Fig. 79**



Custom-made mask (typical of the modern “horror” aesthetic) and leather glove.

**Fig. 80**



**Left:** The handle of this horse-tail *Rute* (switch) is a goat's hoof.

**Below, right:** A cow's tail *Rute*. This type administers the most pain.

**Fig. 81**



**Fig. 82**



**Below, left:** A horned *Krampus* toe, created by goatskin spats worn over this *Krampus*'s shoes.

**Fig. 83**



**Left:** A *Glocke* (cowbell) attached to a wide leather belt. *Glocken* produce a loud, jangling, dissonant sound. While sheepskins are also used, goat fur (shown) is the most common material for modern *Perchten* and *Krampus* costumes.

**Bottom left:** leather gloves with tiny antelope horns for claws, draped over a cow's tail *Rute*.

**Bottom right:** *Schellen* attached to a wide leather belt. These bells make a high, shimmering sound.

**Fig. 84**



**Fig. 85**



**Figs. 86-94:** *Krampus* masks, costumes and accessories of the *Thomasnikolo* group of Gams bei Hieflau, Styria in the keeping of group leader Sonja Edlinger. 2009.

**Fig. 86**



**Center right:** Nikolaus's robes.

**Center left:** *Schellen* attached to leather belts for *Krampusse*.

**Fig. 88**

**Fig. 87**



**Figs. 89-99:** *Krampus* masks in assorted materials and styles, constructed over decades.

**Fig. 89**



Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93



Fig. 94



Fig. 95

Fig. 96



Fig. 97



**Bottom left and bottom right:**  
These masks are fitted onto a builder's helmet or something comparable, which is then padded with layers of foam to ensure that it fits snugly to the head. This is probably the most common type of mask construction used today.

**Figs. 98-99: The *Håbergoaß*.**

**Fig. 98**



**Fig. 99**



**Left:** The clacking jaws of the *Håbergoaß*, revealing their hinged construction.

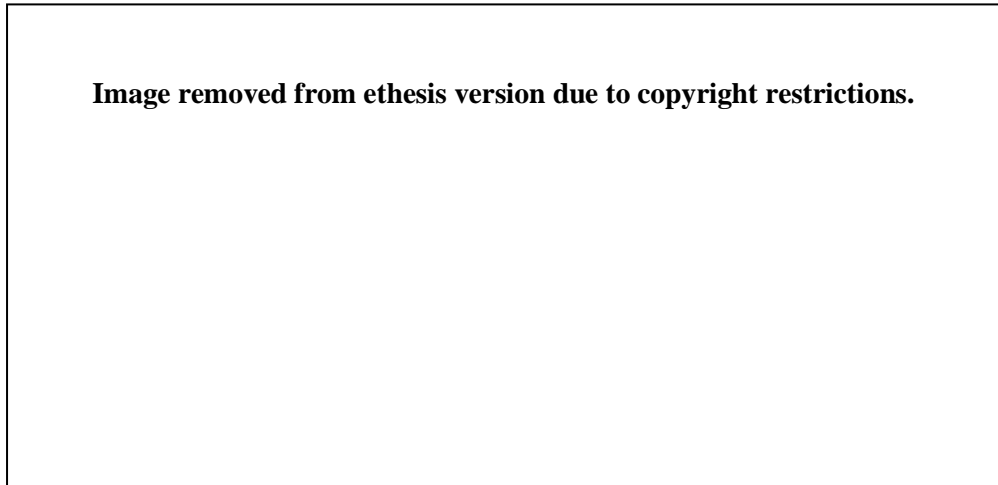
**Bottom left:** A *Krax* (basket worn strapped to the back) of the type used by some *Krampusse* and the *Schnabelperchten* of Rauris, Salzburg. A traditional accoutrement of *Perchten* and *Krampusse* in years past, the *Krax* is big enough to accommodate a small child.

**Fig. 100**



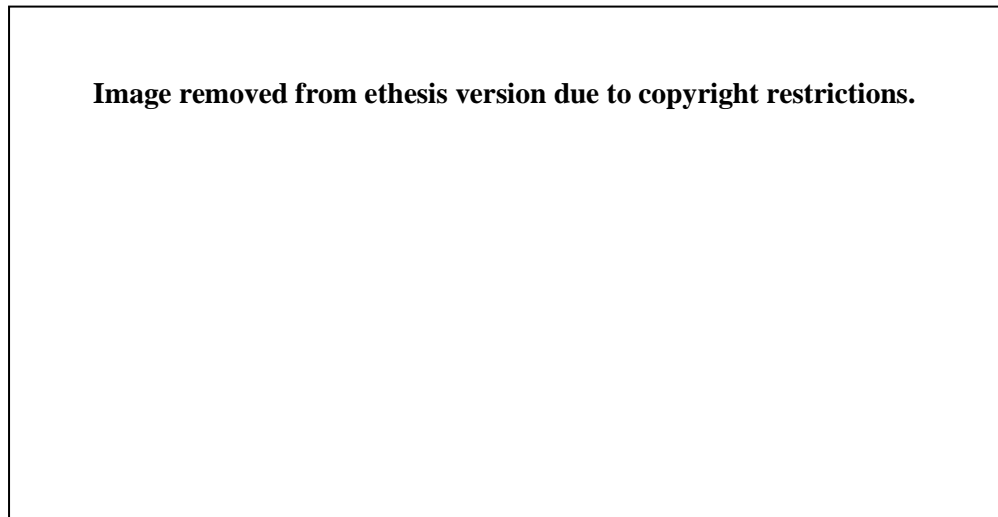
**Figs. 101-102:** “*Grüße vom Krampus*” for mobile phones.

**Fig. 101**



“*Grüße vom Krampus*” as a downloadable ring tone for mobile phones.

**Fig. 102**



Downloadable *Krampus*-themed graphics for mobile phones, a digital version of the “*Grüße vom Krampus*” greeting cards.



**Figs. 103-107:** Early masks found in Austrian museum collections.

**Fig. 103**



**Fig. 104**

**Top:** SMCA inv. nr. 644/24.  
*Krampus* mask. Hofgastein in  
the Pongau, Salzburg, c. 1900.  
Made by Anton Standteiner,  
Hofgastein. Painted linden  
wood with billy goat horns and  
lamb's hide.

**Right:** SMCA inv. nr. 171/49.  
*Hexe* mask used in folk plays.  
Ahrntal, South Tyrol, late  
eighteenth century. Painted  
wood with linen, leather,  
*papier mâché* and billy goat  
horns.



**Fig. 105**



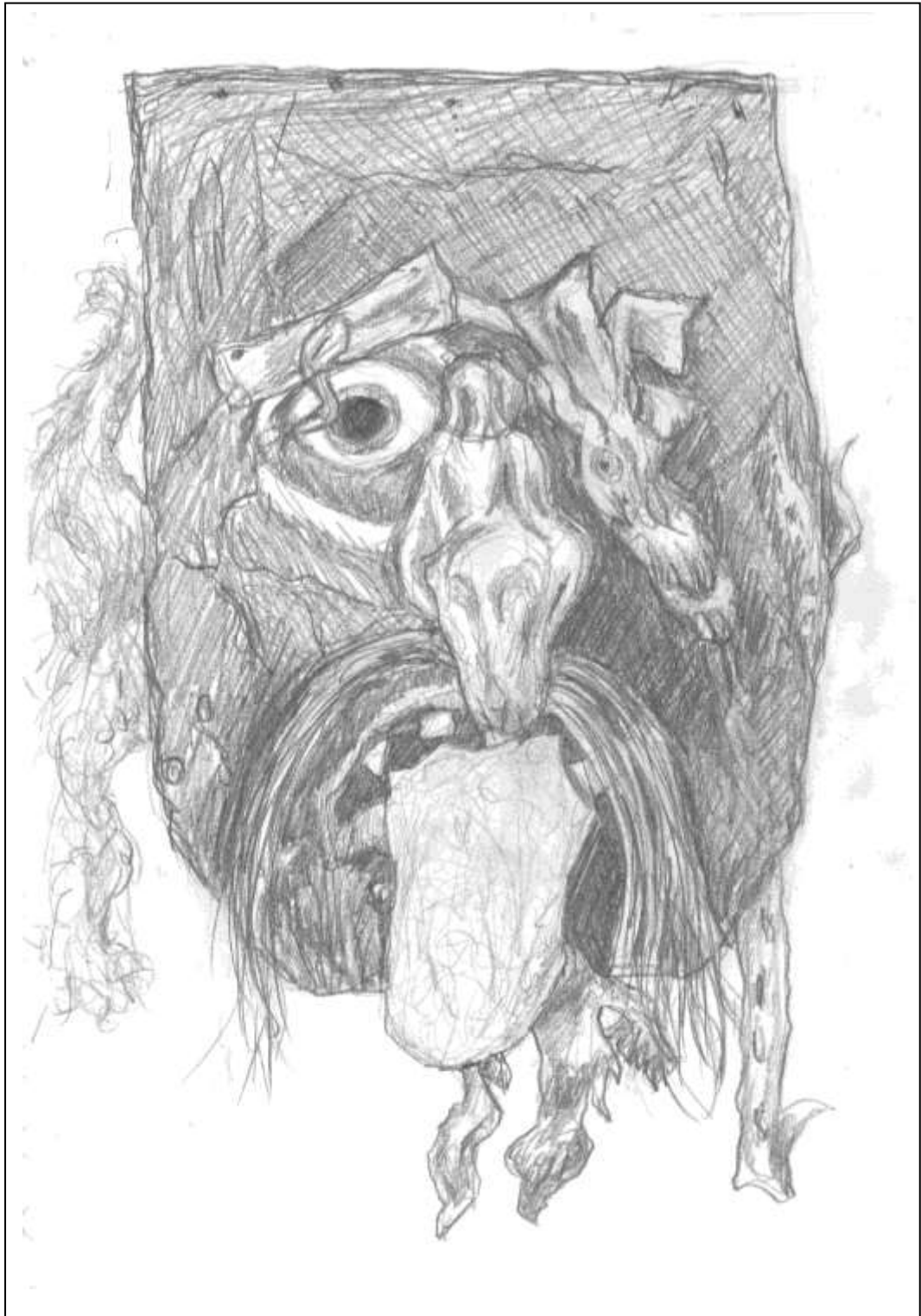
**Top:** SMCA inv. nr. 52/47. *Schiachperchten* mask. Hofgastein in the Pongau, Salzburg, c. 1900. Made by Anton Standteiner, Hofgastein. Painted spruce wood with billy goat horns and hide.

**Bottom:** SMCA inv. nr. 642/24. Fürst Luzifer (Prince Lucifer) mask used in folk plays. Salzburg, late eighteenth century. Painted Swiss stone pine wood with attached wooden ears, sheepskin, leather and paper. He sports two horns and a crown.

**Fig. 106**



Fig. 107



SMCA inv. nr. 18. *Krampus* mask, Salzburg, c. 1850.

**Figs. 108-109:** Photocopies from the tourist office in Rauris, Salzburg announcing the Rauriser Schnabelperchten's perambulations on Jan. 5, 2005.

**Fig. 108**

**Die Rauriser  
Schnabelperchten  
kommen wieder am  
Mittwoch, den  
05. Jänner 2005  
um ca. 18.<sup>00</sup>h**




Am Vorabend des Dreikönigtages gehen in Rauris die Schnabelperchten um. Wenn sie in die stillen Häuser treten, hält ihr schauriges "Qua, Qua, Qua!" durch die sauber geputzten Räume. Es sind junge Burschen, meist zu fünf, die alte, geflickte Weiberkittel anhaben und an den Füßen "Dotschen", aus Stroh geflochtene hohe Patschen, tragen. Der bewegliche Schnabel ist mit langen Holzstäben und altem Bauernleinen kunstvoll gebunden. Weiters sind sie mit einer großen Holzschere, Nadel und Zwirn, Schaufel, Besen und mit einem Buckelkorb, aus dem schon Kinderfüße ragen, ausgestattet. In den Wohnstuben suchen die Schnabelperchten nach Schmutz und Staub. Wehe, wenn sie aber Ungleiches finden, sie würden der verantwortlichen Person den Bauch aufschneiden und den ganzen Kehricht hineinschütten. Von den Hausleuten fürsorglich bewirtet, verlassen sie zufrieden wiederum das Haus, um über die verschneiten Felder zu eilen und ein andere Gehéft aufzusuchen.


Einengammene Spenden kommen einheimischen gemeinnützigen Institutionen zu Gute!

**Fig. 109**

### Schnabelperchtenlauf in Rauris, 5. Jänner 2005

- Ausgangspunkt  
Schwazerhaus (Nähe Billa)  
ca. 17.30 Uhr
- Marktstraße  
Gasthof Alpenrose  
Ca. 18.00 Uhr
- Veisnerfeldweg Rauriserhof  
Ca. 19.00 Uhr
- Gaisbachstraße  
(Faternberggut) ca. 20.00 Uhr
- Rauriserhof ± Alpina ±  
Kristall ca. 21.00 Uhr
- Marktplatz  
Ca. 22.00 Uhr





**Top:** Description of the *Schnabelperchten*'s physical appearance and activities ending with the assurance that 'Donations collected will be used for the benefit of local institutions serving the community'.

**Bottom:** Map of their route, starting and ending in the village center.

Fig. 110



Fig. 111

**Top:** Ticket for admission to the *Perchtentreffen* in the Pullman City Wild West theme park in Bavaria. 2006.

**Right:** Poster promoting the 2005 *Krampuslauf* of the Grödiger Krampusse listing their processional route through the historic *Altstadt* ("old city") of the city of Salzburg.

**Bottom:** Identification tag worn by one of the mummers participating in the 2006 *Perchtentreffen* at Pullman City.



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



**Bär und Bärenreiber**  
Der Bär, auch Tanzbär genannt, stammt aus der Zeit der Zigeuner, welche den Bären zum Tanzen gebracht haben und damit ihr Dasein bestritten haben.



**Zapfenmandl und Werchmandl**  
Zapfenmandl und Werchmandl sind ein Zeichen des Wachstums und der Fruchtbarkeit.



**Kaminkehrer**  
Der Kaminkehrer tritt als Glücksbringer für das neue Jahr auf.



**Schneidermandl und Puppenweibl**  
Das Schneidermandl ist das Symbol der Schneiderzunft und sorgt immer für lustige und boshafte Einlagen. Das Puppenweibl wirkt als Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit die Puppe den Zuschauern zu.

**Körblweibl**  
Beim Körblweibl wird der Mann von der Frau getragen und zeigt somit, dass der Mann die "Hose" an hat (das Kommando führt). Es gibt aber auch die umgekehrte Version.

**Nachtwächter**  
Der Nachtwächter zündete vor der Elektrifizierung die Straßenlaternen an und beschützte das Dorf vor Unheil und Feuer.

**Beim Perchtenlauf dürfen nur Burschen beteiligt sein!**

**Der Perchtenverein Goldegg wünscht Euch allen für das Jahr 2005**  
**AN FRIED', AN REIM UND AN G'SUND**  
Der Perchtenverein bedankt sich bei der Bevölkerung von Goldegg für die freundliche Aufnahme und bei folgenden Firmen für die Unterstützung



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e-mail: schlosserei.huber@aon.at

**Besuchen Sie uns auch auf unserer Homepage:**  
[www.sbg.at/perchtenverein-goldegg](http://www.sbg.at/perchtenverein-goldegg)

Back page of the program for the *Perchtenlauf* in Goldegg, Salzburg, Jan. 1, 2005 showing descriptions of some of the figures in the procession and the logos of several event sponsors with the caption, 'The *Perchten* club is grateful to the people of Goldegg for their friendly reception and to the following businesses for their support.'

Fig. 114

Postgebühr bar bezahlt

**MAISHOFEN**  
- Zelt am See - Saalbach -

# TRADITIONELLER PERCHTENLAUF

→ **Dienstag, 3. Jänner 2006**  
→ **um 20.15 Uhr**  
→ **am Dorfplatz Maishofen**

**über 100 Perchten!**

**Eintritt  
freil!**

**Mitwirkende:**

- Trachtenmusikkapelle Maishofen
- Die Heiligen Drei Könige, Reiter- & Schnalzergruppe
- Über 10 Perchtengruppen die Ihre Masken präsentieren
- Gestalten der Perchtenwelt, Landjugend Maishofen
- Brauchtumsmoderator Sepp Schwaiger führt durch das Programm

Auf Ihren Besuch freut sich der Tourismusverband Maishofen,  
Info: Tel.: 06542 / 68318

**MAISHOFEN**  
[www.maishofen.com](http://www.maishofen.com)



Flyer advertising the 'traditional *Perchtenlauf*' in Maishofen, Salzburg on Jan. 3, 2006. Featured elements include a choir in *Trachten*, the Three Kings and *Schnalzergruppe* (whip-cracking group) on horseback, over ten *Perchten* groups, and a 'tradition moderator' to narrate the program (effectively the master of ceremonies). The bottom caption reads, 'The Maishofen tourism bureau looks forward to your visit.'

**Fig. 115**

**Image removed from ethesis version due to copyright restrictions.**

Contact information for booking a visit from St. Nikolaus, a *Wurzlmandl* (wood spirit), and the ‘*gewünschten Anzahl an Krampussen* [desired number of *Krampusse*]’ on the website of the Atrox Pass of Tennengau, Salzburg. The menu bar on the left includes *Die Pass* [the group], *Mitglieder* [members], *Termine* [dates], *Hausbesuche* [house visits], *Bilder* [photo gallery], *Aktionen* [activities, here including press and thanks to sponsors], and *Kontakt* [contact information].

Atrox Pass Tennengau, ‘Hausbesuche’, <<http://www.atroxpass.com/hausbesuche.htm>>, n.d., accessed Dec. 28, 2015.

**Fig. 116**

**Image removed from ethesis version due to copyright restrictions.**

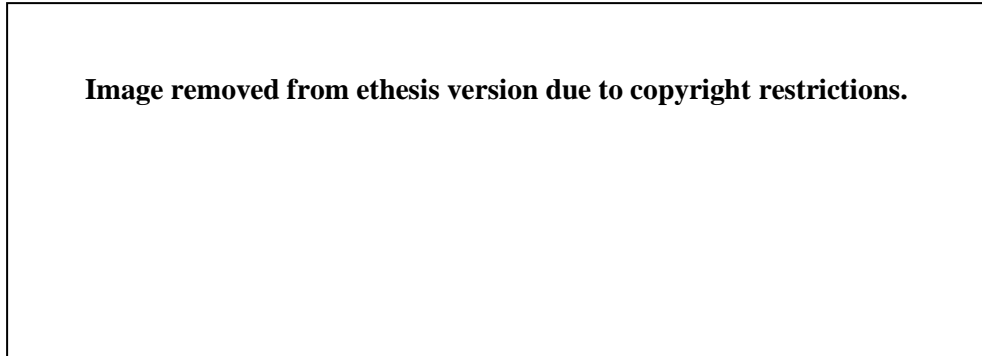
Krampusmania Web forum marketplace page, where members may post masks for sale. Forum discussions on various topics are listed in the column on the left.

Aitenbichler, ‘Marktplatz: Forum: Bazar — Masken’, <<http://www.krampusmania.com/index.php/Board/80-KM-Umfragen/>>, 2015, accessed Dec. 29, 2015.



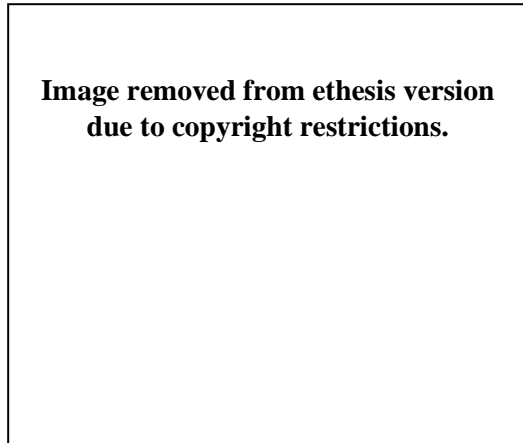
**Figs. 117-119:** The *Krampus* “feeding back” into North American popular culture.

**Fig. 117**



**Fig. 118**

**Top:** Political satirist and talk show host Stephen Colbert is visited by the *Krampus* on *The Colbert Report* (‘The Blitzkrieg on Grinchitude – Hallmark & Krampus’ (Comedy Central), Dec. 9, 2009).



**Center:** The *Krampus* as villain of the week on Canadian television show *Lost Girl* (‘Soylent Green is Candy’ (Showcase), season 4, episode 8, Jan. 2, 2014). Here he is a kindly old man who turns people into candy.

**Fig. 119**

**Right:** The *Krampus* as villain of the week on American television show *Grimm* (‘Twelve Days of Krampus’ (NBC), season 3, episode 8, Dec. 13, 2013). This *Krampus* carries a sack and is dressed like the American Santa Claus.

