

**CARNIVAL PERFORMANCE
AND
FOLK AESTHETICS
IN A FRENCH PYRENEAN BASQUE VALLEY
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:
an anthropological study**

Pedro María Fernández de Larrinoa

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns folk performance in the French Basque Pyrenees. It is based on fieldwork research which was conducted in the easternmost area of the Basque Country, a region known in the French language as *Pays de Soule* or, in Basque, as *Zuberoa*. In particular, it examines *Maskarada* performance, a genre of carnival theatre popular in the area which involves the young people of a village, who disguise and mask themselves in order to dance, sing and stage stories in a highly ritualistic way. A study of *Maskarada* performance in Zuberoa shows that meaningful changes have taken place throughout the twentieth century. These changes are reflected both in the enactment of the folk arts themselves and in the sociological characteristics of the region. Because these changes have affected indigenous understandings of carnival theatre and festivity, this thesis focuses on the changing socio-cultural criteria which lead the organisation of *Maskarada* performance in Zuberoa today. *Maskarada* performance echoes issues of social and cultural identity, publicly projecting notions of the self and otherness, as well as of gender and political awareness. This thesis takes a perspective which reveals that traditional folk arts are not fixed but dynamic, reflecting social change and the dynamics of traditional culture in rural Basque society.

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INTRODUCTION

(THE NATURE OF THIS THESIS)

I. INTRODUCTION

From June 1991 to May 1993 I conducted research on two kinds of theatrical performance which take place in a Pyrenean area on the French side of the Basque Country, called *Pays de Soule* (French) or *Zuberoa* (Basque). Historical examination indicates that these two forms of folk dramaturgy have been taking place in the area for at least two centuries (Chaho 1847, 1856; Hérelle 1925). Looking at the external aesthetic elements, as well as at the internal logic of these two types of performance, we can see that while one is closely related to rural European carnival celebrations, the other can be identified as embodying a locally structured version of a geographically and culturally much wider and extended festive genre, one which presents the life of a hero through a plot that depicts "Moors or Turks and Christians" ritual battles. These two kinds of theatrical performance are known in local speech as *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak*, respectively.

The organisation and public enactment of both *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* performances were presented before the audience and understood, by insiders and outsiders alike, as being the highest and most intricate display of Basque Souletine performative arts, traditions and folklore. Before entering the main issues of this thesis, however, a key point must be emphasised: namely, a brief historical overview shows that the rural Basque Souletine society has undergone a substantial change during this century, as have most of the rural Pyrenean and other rural European peoples, especially those termed 'mountain economy peasant communities'. Such a change has caused a significant crisis in several domains of local life and group identity, principally resulting in serious demographic decay and a subsequent disarticulation of household and village-orientated life as well as economic, religious, cultural and political life

(Bidart 1977; López Adán 1978; Xarriton 1978). This crucial change has led to the decrease in the use of the Basque language, mainly amongst young people (SIADKO 1988), and a notorious decrease in the performance of folk theatre (Fourquet 1990; Guilcher 1984; Lauburu 1987). These changes point to a moment of crisis within Basque cultural identity in Soule.

Fieldwork data and elementary historical exploration indicate that during the last two decades there has been, within several villages of the valley, a conscious attempt to bring back traditional *Maskarada* and *Pastorala* theatre plays. The aim of renewed interest in these types of performances has been a rearticulation of community and village-orientated relationships. However, along with this process of community-remaking, the former aesthetic conceptions and arrangements of Souletine folk theatre have been reformulated. In this sense, we must take into consideration the former picture, in order to grasp a deeper understanding of what it means to perform folk theatre in Zuberoa today. And it is against this overall background, therefore, that the ethnographic account offered in this thesis must be read.

II. MASKARADA PERFORMANCES

This thesis reflects on the changing aesthetic criteria and local interpretation of folk theatre in Zuberoa. In particular, it focuses on the *Maskarada* performances. Attention is paid to how locals interpret their carnival performances in relation to current geographic boundaries as well as to male/female social distinctions.

The word *Maskaradak* implies a complex of performing arts mainly carried out by young, generally unmarried men, who mask their faces, disguise their bodies, dance

and recite grotesque and coarse speeches, and chant poetry, while visiting neighbouring villages of the valley. Consequently, the study of the aesthetics involved in a *Maskarada* performance is not an easy enterprise, because a number of circumstances occur at once. Yet, regarding the verbal and visual imaginary disclosed, two main points must be emphasised: on the one hand, images of prestige, authority and power appear to be intensified before an audience; on the other, there is a playful, grotesque and ironic exhibition of images which are usually taken from everyday life and which are also drawn in such a way that they come to depict a rather deviant scene of the quotidian. Therefore, a *Maskarada* performance exhibits two key characteristics: (1) intensification of hierarchical, authoritative political meaning and (2) joyful enactment of insurgent cultural images or subversive social and political meaning. In other words, both the heightening and the transgression of cultural categories and social behaviour are portrayed throughout the Zuberoan *Maskarada*.

Similarly, in terms of bodily expressions and patterns of action, a clear distinction has to be made between the different performers. On the one hand, there are *dantza* [dancing] movements of the *gorriak* [the red team of the *Maskarada*]; and on the other hand, there are *basa* [rude, wild, never tamed] movements of the *beltzak* [the black team]. Several scholars have pointed out that these two kinds of body utterance are to be seen as mutually opposed (Hérelle 1925, Caro Baroja 1965, Fourquet 1990, Garamendi 1991). Thus, on one side, it is the members of the red team, the *gorriak*, who come to dramatise intensification of meaning by means of their activities, which are mainly conducted through dancing; on the other side, it is the members of the black team, the *beltzak*, who display subversion of meaning, primarily through their obscenities, unrefined speeches, and the enactment of uncontrolled bodily movements.

There are several smaller groups within the group known as the *gorriak* [the red team of the *Maskarada*]. A glance at their positioning in the opening of the pageantry presents us with the following sequence. Firstly, there is a group of dancers who represent five characters: a hobby horse; a cat-man; a flag bearer; a man with a horse mane stick; and a water bearer. Secondly, there are a lord and a lady. Thirdly, a male farmer and a female farmer. After these, in the fourth position, two horseshoers proceed. And finally, the jesters. The *beltzak* [the black team] is composed of the following members: a group of four gypsies; a group of four tinkers; two castrators; two knife-grinders and a doctor. These characters perform a series of well structured activities which are arranged in two main sections: one happens in the morning and the other develops in the afternoon. During the morning, a sort of "street ritualised theatre" takes place, where a number of households, as well as the authorities of the visited village are greeted and honoured. After lunch, which is provided by the host villagers, the *Maskarada* players move into the *plaza* [square] in order to enact a diversity of patterned sketches.

III. *PAYS DE SOULE OR ZUBEROA*

Zuberoa constitutes the easternmost Basque speaking geographic area. It represents eight-hundred and seven square kilometres which are crossed by the Uhaitza river. In Zuberoa there are thirty-five villages or communes, out of which twenty-eight are considered to be mountain villages. Around fifteen-thousand people live in this valley. Forty per cent of this population make their living mostly from farming and business directly related to agriculture production and about twenty-five per cent are occupied in industrial jobs (I.N.S.E.E. Institut National de la Statistique et des Études

Économiques, 1991) On the whole, Zuberoa represents an essentially rural Pyrenean landscape.

Social organisation in this valley is characterised by a network of social relationships which has been constructed upon the centrality of the *etxea*, i.e., the household. The peculiarities of this type of rural social organisation have been largely studied either by French scholars under the term of *la maison pyrenaique* (Augustin 1989, 1992), or by Spanish anthropologists and historians under the expression *la casa pirenaica* (*Coloquio Franco-Español* 1986; *Actas I Congr  ss d'Historia de la Familia* 1992). Most of the anthropological and historical work produced in the Basque language tends to use the vernacular nomenclature *baserria* and the literature written about the rural Basque society is not separated from the Pyrenean mainstream. For example, Barandiaran (1972), Caro Baroja (1971), and Douglass (1969, 1975) have submitted detailed ethnographic accounts of the rural Basque society on the Spanish side whereas examination of the Basque house on the French side is provided by Veyrin (1955) and Lauburu (1974). Specifically within Soule or Zuberoa itself, there is the ethnography supplied by Ott (1981), which provides an analysis of the distinctive social practices and cultural regulations which structure local life in the village of Santa Engrazi, located in the highlands facing the Spanish Navarra border.

In the past, four ethnographic themes have been approached by both historians and anthropologists in studying the main sociological issues characteristic of the rural Pyrenean society. These are: (1) the house; (2) the neighbourhood; (3) the kinds of patterned relationships between neighbours and (4) a notion of *Pays* linked to a wide valley or region. This simplification must not be understood as though scholars had

studied rural Pyrenean society isolated from wider processes and structures, that is to say, outside the area's own history. In this respect, the works of Caro Baroja (1974a), Arpal (1979), Terradas (1980) and Comas de Argemir and Pujadas (1985), for instance, are pertinent. Furthermore, several scholars have addressed the relationship between, on the one hand, the making of nation-states and the development of political ideologies, and their realisation in local life on the other (Bidart 1977; Zulaika 1989; Heiberg 1989; MacClancy 1999; Douglass 1998; Sahlins 1989).

The analysis of social organisation in the Pyrenees demonstrates the existence of centres and peripheries, i.e. the existence of relations of authority and subordination (or social hegemony and cultural marginality). A look at local life in Zuberoa and neighbouring areas shows three structured spheres of interaction where social relations are asymmetrical. Firstly, in global terms there has been a long process of regional marginalisation in terms of its economic, cultural and political agency, as a result of the dynamics of the formation of France as a nation-state (López Adán 1977, 1978; Xarrinton 1978; Bidart 1977). Secondly, regarding the traditional structure of authority within village social organisation and households, there are two groups whose position is marginal. There is a marginality associated with the social status of the *segundón* or *donado* [old boy], a social category of low-esteem in labour and rank division within the household, as well as in village-wide relations (Arpal 1979). Also, there is a marginality attached to the young people of the village as a group (Fdez de Larrinoa 1993a, 1994a). Thirdly, there is a specific weakness in the social structure which is expressed through gender categorisations (del Valle 1985; Lekunberri 1991; Valverde 1993; Aguergaray 1992, Fourquet 1990). It is worth noting that the *Maskaradak* have been exclusively performed by the young men of a community, who are a structurally subordinated group within the Pyrenean social organisation. Interestingly, another structurally weak group

within this system are women, who have been participating actively in the *Maskaradak* since the 1980's.

It should be emphasised that the Pyrenean social model relies on the continuity of the household over time. This idea is represented by empirical practices, as well as in symbolic and cognitive procedures. People from the Pyrenees have developed a significant inheritance strategy which consists firstly, of a single heir who inherits the property and secondly, of the immutability of the inner structure of the household. For a long time, people from the Pyrenees, and those from the *Pays de Soule*, have been thought of as acquiring social identity through the households they are attached to. *Mayorazgoa* or *primutza* [single inheritance] and *etxea* [household] are the leading conceptions upon which the small-scale, family-based farming enterprise of the Pyrenean, Basque and Souletine regions has ensured continuity over time and therefore the reproduction of the entire social system.

IV. CHANGES IN LOCAL IDENTITY

During my fieldwork I benefitted from close contact with many inhabitants of Soule, and throughout my conversations, together with my interest in local history and the biographies of people from the region, all attested to innovations in social identity and cultural performance. In this period I learned how much the memories of the collective past were present in folk theatre. As an ethnographer I could appreciate how current organisation of public performance was designed to re-establish village-orientated relationships which had almost vanished in the recent past.

To understand how folk performance is re-enacted today in Soule there are three points of reference which should be taken into account. These are firstly, the social situation in the region and how locals perceive themselves within a greater global context. Secondly, how the history of local performance may be related to more recent innovations. Finally, how such models of social organisation are reproduced as being representative of this type of social identity.

Although discernible from each other, four aspects of social identity are usually intermixed in the region of Soule. There is an individual identity derived from membership within a household. Also, there is membership in a town, and membership within a village or hamlet in the valley. Similarly, identity is generated by membership of an economic group, namely the farming community. Identity attached to membership of an ethno-linguistic group is a further distinguishing characteristic of the inhabitants of Soule. Finally, there is French national identity. Yet a key concept which defines social reality in Zuberoa today is crisis. This concept of crisis is equally applicable to the whole of the Pyrenean area, as well as to the majority of European mountain regions. Several changes have occurred in Zuberoan society and culture, which have effected shifting perceptions of local identity in terms of being: French nationals; members of a farming community and speakers of a linguistic variant.

A brief look at what happens in the homes and villages tells us that there are few marriages in the farmhouses. The implication is that there are many male bachelors within this environment. This subsequently creates a lack of continuity which gives rise to the progressive abandonment of the land. Furthermore, the traditional spaces for social relations: the village café or pub, the grocer's, the school and the various social

and religious encounters which traditionally took place in the space marked out by the village square, have gradually disappeared.

The village where I lived during my fieldwork is a paradigm of the recent economic depression: the coffee shop closure, the grocer's being shut down, and the school with very few pupils. The priest had not lived in the village for a long time and the lack of candidates for the priesthood meant that one priest had to look after the parishoners from three or four parishes at the same time, with the result that the religious services held in the village had been cut to a bare minimum, namely the Sunday service and funerals. One result of this and of the end of dancing traditional *jauziak* [jumps] in the village *plaza* [square] after the Sunday mass is that all social activities prominent in the past have been forgotten. Consequently, the space within the square appears empty, as it was once the focal point of all village activity. In part this explains why public activities within the village have become less prevalent and are, for the most part, non-existent.

This deconstruction of local social networks can be perceived as being part of the gradual integration of Soule into a state economy which marginalised the area politically, economically and culturally. Not only are houses abandoned but farmlands too, causing high rates of emigration throughout this century. Thus, we find that the valley has gone from having more than forty thousand inhabitants at the end of the last century to just fifteen thousand today. Likewise, family-based agriculture, centred on the farmhouse and its domestic group, is not operative within current economic models, which are based on agricultural companies who maintain high productivity rates. For a long time now the traditional model of the Souletine - and Pyrenean - socio-economic

structure has been unable to conform to the economic and agrarian policies of the French state and the European Union and this has led to Zuberoa becoming an economically marginal and marginalised area.

Another sphere of relations in which we can see identities being deconstructed, is the ethno-linguistic sphere. Various surveys carried out in the eighties by the sociological research group, SIADEKO, show that among young people in the region, knowledge of and fluency in the Basque language is very weak. Several factors have contributed to this fact; for example, the policies of standardisation which nation-states have tended to implement, namely the centralising and homogenising policies of the French state. To this end and especially since the Revolution of 1789, the French state has carried out an internal policy which barely takes into account the linguistic minorities of the periphery. Thus, education, the media and other channels of 'cultured' expression have evolved with an almost exclusive use of the French language. It is worth noting that it was not until the beginning of the 1990's that the Royal Academy of the Basque Language was officially recognised and that education in the Basque language was formally implemented in France. The same has occurred in the case of the evolution of the written press, radio and television in the Basque language.

With regard to ideologies and understandings of the self in wider political processes further changes have occurred. Firstly, there is the penetration of Basque nationalistic ideas in the French Basque region from the 1970's onwards (Jacob 1994). Although today, Basque nationalists of the French Basque Country do not reach the eight per cent of the votes, they are a strong voice in small villages, particularly in the countryside. During the 1970's and 1980's Basque nationalists claimed that the decline

of local economy had to be understood within a colonial frame where the French government had decided to make the Basque region a green reservoir for tourist attraction as well as a place for civil servants to retire. Basque nationalism has largely developed amongst younger villagers in farming villages of the French Basque Country as a response to the lack of jobs in the local economy. A second important change in political behaviour and definition of the self stems from the increasing influence of the green party in France. Local fears linked to conservation policies which could restrict local people's access to natural resources in the Pyrenees have led to the creation of a party named *The Party of Chase, Fishing and Tradition*. This party enjoys great popularity and political support in Zuberoa and other regions of the Pyrenees. The *Party of Chase, Fishing and Tradition* together with Basque nationalists shape two separate options which aim at defending local identity and economy from top-down state policies. At the same time, they have displaced main French national parties like R.P.R., P.S.F. and P.C.F. from local politics. In former times these parties were highly attractive to local folks. Thus, during the 1990's a new understanding of the political self has developed in Zuberoa. These new political options give more importance to local rather than to (French) nationwide issues. And, as it is the case for Basque nationalists, they even question the French national character of the region.

We might conclude that identity in Zuberoa has experienced a process of alienation. It can be seen that during this century a switch from local and peasant references to urban and nationwide cultural images has taken place (Martin 1951, Weber 1976). Yet it can also be seen that during the last decades several strategies have been developed in an attempt to end identity alienation. Thus, *herrian bizi* [to live in the village] or *laborariek bizi behar dute* [the farmers need to live] or *Euskal Herrian*

Euskaraz [in the Basque Country, Basque language] were some of the graffiti written on the walls as well as the slogans shouted out in local demonstrations of protest and social unrest during the 1970's and 1980's. These images were attempts to create a revival of identity by re-constructing the past.

Today, two areas of rural revival are emphasised. On the one hand there are the programmes developed along the lines of the late philosophy or conception of the state, namely the Welfare State and the European Union with their policies of social assistance and rural development. On the other hand there are the initiatives proposed by the local social agents themselves, who believe such proposals and policies to be directed, to a large extent, at tourism and the decimation of the agrarian sector. Some are also of the opinion that such proposals of development policies are based on general models which do not take local peculiarities into account, an opinion that matches several anthropological critiques of development (Hobart ed. 1993, Escobar 1995, Gardner & Lewis 1996, Grillo & Stirrat eds. 1997). By way of an example, within the area of agricultural and cattle-raising economic production, we can point to the formation of the agrarian union *Euskal Herriko Laborarien Batasuna, E.L.B.* [Union of Basque Farmers, U.B.F.] with the objective of defending the particularities of the region and especially to protect and empower the small family businesses which are characteristic of the area. In the field of formal education, the association *SEASKA* [cradle] functions with the aim of guaranteeing and co-ordinating education in the Basque language and attempting its integration in the public network. In addition, the radio station, *Xiberoko Boza*, has been created to promote Basque language communication. In the area of co-ordination of cultural activities the association *Uhaitza* has been formed. This association is, principally, involved in cultural weeks,

music festivals and local festivals. In the world of folklore and traditional culture, three associations have been founded: *Su Azia*, *Zuberoko Zohardia* and *Aitzindariak*. This world of traditional folklore is the subject of the following section.

V. SOULETINE FOLK THEATRE: FROM COMPETENCE TO CO-ORDINATION AND COMMUNITY-MAKING

The two major genres of folk theatre in Soule which, as I have said, are the carnival performances and the dramatisations of battles between Turks and Christians, are of an aesthetically complex elaboration. Out of a host of elements, some outstanding features within these carnival performances are costumes, masks, song, verse, sermons or speeches, dance, gesture and colour.

Since a village organises the plays and the actors have to be members of that village, it has been traditionally understood that the image and prestige of the organising village is at stake, as public performance is equivalent to village performance. It requires a huge investment of time, money and preparation, both technical and human. As a result, competitiveness between villages has dominated the organisation, promotion and aesthetic-artistic evaluation of these events. However, in the 1950's and 1960's, there was a definite decline in the organisation of these events. And within these occurrences several factors coincided. In the first place, France's participation in World Wars I and II gave rise to the inscription of the vast majority of the male population, many of whom died in the fighting. Secondly, the high rate of emigration to America and French industrial areas during the first third of the twentieth century also caused a pronounced absence of local artists. Finally, there is the penetration of urban, modern cultural values through the press, radio and television. All these factors led the

young people who remained in the valley to interpret their parents' ways - including their language - as obsolete and appropriate only of the peasantry.

Thus, there have been years in which no village organised any kind of theatrical performance, which suggests that the majority of the Souletine youth in the 1950's through to the 1970's showed no interest in promoting or even maintaining the legacy of the previous generation. It was in the 1980's that, on the initiative of some of the older dancers, an association was set up to encourage the traditional dance and folklore of Zuberoa, constituting an itinerant group of experts in the preparation of one of the fundamental aspects of Souletine theatre. Now in the 1990's, one of the visible results of this initiative is its characteristic revival. Revitalisation is also accomplished due to the demand to create these performances by the young people of the village.

One can appreciate that the history of the Souletine theatre of the 1990's is an inversion of its situation in the 1950's and 1960's. This situation is highly paradoxical, above all if we take into account that the population figures for the region today are extremely low in relation to those at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially the percentage of young people. This desire of the young people to organise and participate in traditional performances brought about the coincidence of several *Maskarada* proposals from different villages in the same year. It was understood that the coincidence of several *Maskaradak* in the very same year would encourage a self-defeating competitiveness among villages since, the population figures being low, the offer of exhibiting several *Maskaradak* in the same year would outweigh the demand of invitations. Board members of the local dancing associations, *Zuberoako Zohardia* and *Atzindariak*, as well as of the cultural centre *Uhaitza*, met several times with this

point on the agenda. They agreed to encourage villages to organise *Maskaradak* in turns, so that every year there would be one *Maskarada* performance.

Some Zuberoans, thinking that this revival was a consequence of the young people's ephemeral curiosity, rather than their actual commitment to traditional arts, decided that villages should schedule their performances only after previous consultation. Thus, some sectors of the region have argued that the effort and energy of the villages today should be more measured, and that there is no point in several villages organising the performance in the same year if there is none the following. One informant expressed himself on this point in the following way:

we are few and weak, we should not compete amongst ourselves, we shouldn't perform four or five *Maskaradak* or two or three *Pastorala* plays a year as in our grandparents' times, but rather one *Maskarada* and one *Pastorala* play. We should take it in turns, talk to each other and co-ordinate ourselves, otherwise we will wear ourselves out, we won't have the strength (quote from my fieldnotes).

I have affirmed that the reason for revitalisation is a desire to learn, in the case of the young people, and the desire to teach, in the case of the older people, the secrets and artistic techniques of the different versions of traditional theatre. So now we must ask: what is it that has kindled afresh this desire of an unprecedented interest in the organisation of popular theatre in Zuberoa? Although the answer is complex, there are a series of elements which can provide some clues. One of these is the explanation given by the current organisers themselves. As one informant said to me:

in the organisation and celebration of our traditional theatre we once again bring together the young and the old, we promote social relations within the village and with neighbouring villages and we create a space of cohabitation in which the language of public expression is *uskara* [the Basque language].

It is equally noteworthy that organisers insist on distinguishing between folklorism and culture, underlining that Souletine theatre is not folklorism but culture.

Informants defined a public performance as folkloric if its realisation was not the outcome of a community-orientated workshop. They also stressed the importance of *Maskarada* performance as a genuine vehicle to reinforce social ties within a village and between villages in the valley, as well as promoting the development of the Basque language among the young people. The present organisers and participants in Souletine theatre define themselves as cultural instigators since their objectives consist of creating a space for social relations and cultural dynamics amongst the inhabitants of the different villages of the area, permitting the re-activation and re-organisation of local life and at the same time, promoting the use of the local language.

By way of recapitulation it can be affirmed that the study of Souletine folk theatre shows we have an example of the way in which rural society creates a serious attempt at the re-shaping and re-construction of social relations. As a consequence of the penetration of modern and urban cultural norms and economic models, village networks weakened or disappeared, and are now being activated through the promotion of cultural means of expression inherent and historically rooted in rural society. Yet, in the process, these performances have come to be reformulated.

VI. ORGANISATION OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is organised into three main parts with an additional introduction and conclusion. Part I is entitled *Preliminary notes on the Basques of Zuberoa and their performing arts* and consists of two chapters: *Zuberoa, a socio-historical background* (Chapter I) and *A description of the folk arts of Maskarada performances* (Chapter II). Chapter I presents Zuberoa and the *dramatis personae* in numbers and statistics. It shows that Zuberoa is a tiny Basque region with a small population. However, several

cultural characteristics clearly distinguish it from its neighbours, as people from Zuberoa speak a peculiar variety of the Basque language as well as holding a widespread reputation as performers of their own folk arts.

Chapter I focuses on Zuberoan society, particularly on demographic, economic and linguistic changes during the twentieth century. It gives a detailed account of administrative divisions, population rates and the numbers of the active population and speakers of the Souletine Basque dialect. As my study of folk theatre in Zuberoa is based upon concrete *Maskarada* performances I followed in the field, Chapter I supplies further sociological data on the villages whose *Maskaradak* I attended, which are Muskildi, Altzükü and Eskiula. This sociological study of Zuberoa depicts a region with a large number of aged persons and few young people. It also shows a linguistic gap between generations and economic activities as mostly farmers and people over their forties and fifties use Basque as a regular vehicle of communication. This information is particularly relevant to an understanding of folk theatre in Zuberoa since the *Maskaradak* are performed by the young people of a village and several characters require a high command of the Basque language. In symbolic terms, carnival performance dramatises renewal and vitality of life, society and culture. Paradoxically, Zuberoan society is old and it is declining. Young people have little fluency in their parents' language, for which organisers of the *Maskaradak* often have difficulties in recruiting skilful people in the arts of storytelling and dialogue improvisation with the audience.

Chapter II presents the performing arts of *Maskarada* in words and in images. Therefore, it is a description of the aesthetics of *Maskarada* performance which

enumerates the characters of the ritual to then explain what they are understood to be in emic terms. Two main groups are distinguished in *Maskarada* performance: the *gorriak* [reds] and the *beltzak* [blacks]. Both reds and blacks are two groupings of actors which are each composed of several performers whose ritual tasks vary. On the whole, members of the red team are expert dancers whereas members of the black team are skilful orators. Actors perform their arts under express invitation by neighbouring villages in the valley and they follow a patterned sequence of activities. Chapter II describes these activities as well as the costumes and masks used by the performers. Also, it gives examples of the verbal arts involved in *Maskarada* performance. Along with the literary description of the performing arts of *Maskarada*, several diagrams have been included throughout the text in an attempt to better explain the units and sequences of the ritual. Similarly, at the end of the chapter there is a selection of pictures which illustrates the aesthetics of the performance. Consequently, Chapter II delineates an image of a *Maskarada* on stage, whereas Chapter I is a sociocultural portrayal of local actors and audience.

Part II is titled of *The social construction of tradition*, and furnishes a deeper study of Zuberoan society and culture as it examines rural life and folk performance in Zuberoa both ethnographically and theoretically. There is view by which rural and farming ways of life are seen as 'traditional' just as cultural events in the country are named 'folklore'. **Part II** analyses the meaning attached to the words tradition and folklore, firstly, by discussing the model of social organisation in Zuberoa from a comparative perspective and secondly, by discussing several approaches to the study of festive behaviour and ritual masquerading. Therefore, **Part II** incorporates two chapters: *Forms of traditional social organisation in the Pyrenees and in rural Basque*

society (Chapter III); and *Carnival celebration and folk theatre as tradition* (Chapter IV).

Chapter III examines social reproduction in the Pyrenees where household inheritance, formal transmission of authority within the domestic group and marriage happen almost simultaneously. This occurs by means of a juridical disposition called *ahal poderoso* or *capitulaciones matrimoniales* (Costa et al. 1902). This chapter underlines that marriage is a significant act in rural society for it dramatises continuity in the household. This is well illustrated in the works by Bourdieu (1962, 1972a) on rural Béarn, an area neighbouring Soule. Bourdieu stresses that not only does the Pyrenean heir symbolise the empirical continuity of the house but likewise the continuity of the local peasant community as a whole. Because the marriage of the heir is of prime political concern in local life, the position of the heir, usually a young male of the domestic group, is an important one. The rules guiding the election of an heir for the continuity of the household differ slightly according to their specific application in each valley. In some areas it is the first-born of the household who is chosen as the heir and they may be either male or female. In other places it is the eldest son who inherits and in others preference is given to whomever the older couple considers to be the most suitable of possible heirs. Whatever the procedure for election, the fact is that most heirs are male. Therefore most marriages are virilocal.

Anthropologists and social historians have distinguished four realms of socioculturally structured relationships in the Pyrenean region. These are the household; the neighbourhood; the valley and the state. These realms of social relationships have shaped meaningful spaces to which local people refer in order to

achieve identity. The latter is well illustrated by the fact that Pyrenean households hold names which are commonly used in order to identify their occupants. Thus, most farmers and families from Zuberoa and other Basque and Pyrenean areas are known by the name of the household they dwell in, rather than by a family or given name. Likewise, nicknames are assigned to villages. Nicknames are supposed to describe a distinctive personality attached to the inhabitants of a village. Local people enjoy telling stories which supposedly demonstrate the accuracy of the names given to neighbouring villages. Dwelling in a particular valley also carries a sound sense of belonging and collective identity. Several features show the latter. Firstly, there is the development of linguistic dialects parallel with valley-bounded geographic divisions. Secondly, Pyrenean valleys have held separate juridical dispositions and administrative statuses which have allowed them to interact among themselves as autonomous entities. Thirdly, valleys distinguish themselves from each other in the realm of folklore and ritual festivity as well, for instance by exhibiting different styles of costume, dance and tune playing. These all give the inhabitants of a valley a sense of self-awareness. Alongside the household, the village and the valley, there is the state. Villages, towns and valleys have articulated their relationships with the state in different ways, according to historical periods and conceptions of the state. Therefore, the development of national and statewide identities have followed different rhythms and encountered separate responses in the Pyrenees (Gómez-Ibáñez 1975, Douglass 1998, Sahlins 1998).

Chapter III is a review of how local as well as British and American anthropologists have studied household, village, valley and state relationships in Pyrenean and rural Basque society. Some scholars have addressed the way social relationships are articulated within the household and between neighbours in a village.

Within Basque studies, instances of this focus are provided by Douglass (1969) and Ott (1981) who have underlined that household and village relationships are based on systems of exchange and rotation. Other anthropologists have addressed the way local life articulates itself within wider social and political processes, a question which has been approached from several viewpoints as shown in works by Bidart (1977), Zulaika (1989), Heiberg (1989), Urla (1988), Douglass (1975, 1976, 1998), Sahlins (1989, 1998), MacClancy (1999).

In Chapter III it is argued that several descriptions of rural life have given rise to a timeless notion of rural social organisation as well as contributing to a 'frozen' and static image of social relationships in the country. This is particularly true when we encounter monographs by Barandiarán (1972), Barandiarán et al. (1978), Etniker ed. (1993), Douglass (1969) and Ott (1981). As a critique of ahistorical and motionless views of rural ways of life and traditions, Chapter III further continues with a brief examination of alternative understandings of the term tradition as proposed by Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983) Williams (1980) and O'Brian & Roseberry (1991). Finally, Caro Baroja's work is discussed as a local example of historically framed analysis of Basque ethnography. Chapter III concludes with a picture of recent transformations within the domestic group as women no longer marry into farming households, causing several strategies to be employed to ensure continuity of the household. Just as the Pyrenean social organisation is not able to reproduce itself over time, so the means to express symbolically social and cultural continuity have changed.

Accordingly, Chapter III shows that new forms of local organisation and symbolic representation are emerging in Zuberoa, which are different to those

understood as traditional. By approaching these different social forms, this chapter is concerned with ethnographic descriptions where aspects of the household, the village, the *Pays*, and the nationstate are examined alongside nationalistic claims and the building of the European Union. An analysis of social organisation in Zuberoa, from a perspective which involves the structural levels of the house, the village, the valley and the state, makes it explicit that under the term Zuberoan or Souletine there is more than one way of being and expressing identity.

Chapter IV is a social analysis of festive behaviour. It departs from an examination of the role assigned to dancing in rural Basque society and proceeds with a review of the main theoretical approaches to folklore studies, then to relate the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* to a widespread festive behaviour characteristically carried out in winter time. Chapter IV studies the features of these festivals vis-à-vis the aesthetics and ritual arts of *Maskarada* performance. A discussion of former studies of *Maskarada* performance closes the chapter. On the whole, Chapter IV is an overview of carnival performance as it is understood by anthropologists and researchers of popular culture. From a close examination of *Maskarada* performance it seems that this festivity shares many similarities with other Euro-Mediterranean rural festivals. These similarities can be confirmed in that these festivals dramatise particular relations between nature and culture; male adolescents are given full protagonism; they reflect a syncretism of religious ideas, calendars and worldviews; there is a large use of zoomorphic masks and heavy consumption of meat and spirits is involved with aggressive behaviour being excused.

Scholars have interpreted carnival in different ways. For example, first approaches to carnival have stressed that they constitute surviving examples of ancient religious rituals (Frazer 1913). It has also been pointed out that carnival celebration reflects a system of beliefs based on folk interpretations of agricultural cycles (Gaignebet 1974). Some authors have seen medieval versions of Roman Saturnalia, now framed, on the one hand, around a notion of foulness, and on the other, in relation to Christian Lent or the Muslim feast of Sacrifice (Caro Baroja 1965, Heers 1983, Burke 1978, Hammoudi 1993). Within British anthropology the legacy of the so-called Manchester School brought about explanations of carnival-like symbolic inversions within a theory of social catharsis (Gluckman 1963, 1965). In opposition to the latter idea of carnival as ‘a escape goat’ there are essays akin to Bhaktin’s (1969) notion of ‘the world upside down’, which presents carnival as a critique of social order. Finally, other anthropologists have stated that, instead of either expressing social order or contesting it, carnival festivities display the capability of social groups to manipulate ritual symbols in order to display an alternative view of society (Backcock ed. 1978; Cohen 1974, 1982).

Chapter IV introduces the reader the study of ritual aesthetics such as dancing, masquerade, singing and storytelling, for these absorb most of the energy involved in *Maskarada* performance. The extraordinary aesthetic efficacy in ritual action is well portrayed in Kapferer’s (1983) examination of exorcism and healing in Sri Lanka which are rites whose aesthetic elements (music, song, drums, dance and drama) “effect key transitions and transformations in identity, experience, meaning and action” (Kapferer 1983: xiii). Since *dantza* [dances], *kantoiak* [songs], *sonua* [music], *phredekiak* [oratory] and *maskak* [masks] are key aesthetic figures in Zuberoan carnival

drama, Chapter IV explains the importance of aesthetic exhibition and movement in ritual performance. Most researchers of *Maskarada* performances have largely focussed on dancing. As a consequence, little research has been done on the other aesthetic elements characteristic of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak*.

Dance implies qualified movement, which is often accompanied with sound or songs and is performed with distinctive costume. This is the case in Zuberoa. Yet this thesis is relatively unconcerned with describing the structural or morphological features of Zuberoan ritual dancing. Rather, it is concerned with folk dancing as deliverer of particular social meanings from actors to audience and vice versa. In this process, music is of capital importance, as in Zuberoa each group of actors has its own melodies, tunes and rhythms. Music betrays what is going on during the performance. Research on music and ritual performance has stressed that music modifies participants' self-awareness. Music confers, in ritual space and time, a sense of self aside from the everyday. As Rouget has put it: "it [music] indicates that something is happening in the here and now; that time [and space] is being occupied by an action being performed, or that a certain state rules over the beings present (Rouget 1985:121).

Animal or other disguises in ritual and festive behaviour have been the subject of detailed examination by anthropologists. Dumézil (1929) and Catwe (1978) are two examples of how scholars have approached the use of animal masks and disguises in European celebratory contexts. Anthropologists have underlined that masks and special costumes are often used in conjunction with processes of change in social status either of particular individuals or of groups. Thus, masquerade has been studied as informing on cultural ambiguities and paradoxes as well as on social boundaries (Gell 1985,

Crocker 1982, Napier 1986). Studies on ritual masquerade in Europe have shown that masks conceal or transform social identity in a way that they challenge cultural rules and understandings of law, order and etiquette (Bakhtin 1968, Bristol 1985, Burke 1978, Cox 1969, Heers 1983, Le Roy Ladurie 1979, Poppi 1994). Furthermore, an analysis of masquerade (and popular culture, in general) in peasant European societies implies a study of the relations between church, civil authority and peasantry. In sum, **Part II** is written to show that in Zuberoa both rural social organisation and carnival performance are dynamic realities which must be approached in relation to wider processes, these being social, cultural, economic and political.

Part III is named *Cultural performance and social identity*. It contributes to this thesis with specific ethnographic analyses of *Maskarada* performance. My examination of folk theatre in Zuberoa draws very much upon a drama analogy which has been discussed by scholars such as Geertz (1972, 1980), Turner (1957, 1974), Cohen (1974), MacAloon (1987) Goffman (1959) and Hymes (1975). In sociology, Goffman (1959) represents a radical use of the drama analogy as he saw theatre everywhere in everyday life. He analysed face-to-face encounters and considered it important to distinguish 'on-stage' from 'back-stage' social behaviour, as he defined human beings as role-players who are preoccupied with the presentation of shifting facets of the self, according to social context. Within social anthropology, Turner's work on social change and conflict instituted the term 'social drama', which he used to describe social disturbances and disputes as processes involving a regular sequence. Therefore, he used a drama analogy to study how conflicts are resolved within a village. Cohen (1974) has proposed the term 'key dramatic performance' to express that social groups are able to manipulate significant cultural symbols by means of which they

become visible and acquire public identity. On a different plane, other anthropologists have followed upon Geertz's (1972) interpretation of the Balinese cockfight as 'social meta-commentary' or 'people telling stories about themselves' in order to approach cultural performance in terms of 'culture in action' (Manning ed.1983).

MacAloon (1987) has suggested that Geertz's and Goffman's theories of performance are extreme formulations as they either say that all human behaviour is 'staged cultural performance' (Geertz 1980) or that 'social life is an endless theatrical performance' (Goffman 1959). He has considered it more interesting the way Hymes (1975) understands the study of performance. In my ethnographic analysis of the *Maskaradak* of Zuberoa I have adopted Hymes's notion of 'performance as responsibility'. In other words, in the performance of folk drama in Zuberoa, actors and organisers assume responsibility for an audience and for a 'tradition', i.e. for what Zuberoans call *üsanxa zaharrak* [old customs]. This means that performing folk theatre in Zuberoa involves a particular kind of ritual knowledge which has to be 'taught', 'learned' and 'passed on' from generation to generation and 'displayed' following precise rules and conventions. **Part III** contains ethnographic accounts which reflect on the kind of sociocultural responsibilities for audience and for tradition implied by young people of a village performing in a *Maskarada*. As the social praxis and public enactment of ritual knowledge effects its renewal (Bourdieu 1972b; Sahlins 1981, 1985), ritual performance dramatises a tension between views of how a tradition must be exhibited publicly. In this sense, **Part III** analyses the performance of *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa as shaping a public arena, whereby contrasting social groups, economic interests, gender categories and local politics are at play. That is to say, this thesis considers of much interest the study of folk drama in relation to gender, history,

local politics and economic groups. Performance and folk drama must be understood as collective activities where symbols are displayed and selectively interpreted by actors and audience. To this end, ritual aesthetics play a crucial role. In this thesis ritual aesthetics are not considered to be exclusively coercion and constraint, as Bloch (1989) has stated in his study of music, dance and ritual oratory, but as a vehicle for metaphoric expression about society and culture. The latter view is particularly correct once we agree that performances effect separate messages according to the way they are publicly 'framed' (Goffman 1975; Handelman 1977, 1990; Turner 1982). Carnival is playfully performed ritual action and so is *Maskarada* performance in Zuberoa. Following Handelman (1977), play and ritual are perceived as different orders of reality in form, content and logic of composition, although, he further argues, the contrast between play and ritual is not a contrast between, on the one hand, play understood as unserious and untrue and on the other, ritual understood as serious life. On the contrary, Handelman affirms that both play and ritual are serious human activities. Within a play frame 'make-believe' is the message. However, within a ritual frame the message is 'let us believe'. Handelman concludes that ritual and play are similar domains of experience. Yet both are mutually exclusive, according to the way they relate themselves to social order, which they both influence.

There are three chapters in **Part III: *Masks, symbols and ritual structure in Maskarada performance*** (Chapter V); *On gender boundaries and carnival celebration: the ethnography of the new performers* (Chapter VI); and *Folk performance and the shaping of cultural communities* (Chapter VII). Chapter V analyses how *Maskarada* performances project images of inclusion and exclusion. I examine how social and cultural barriers are drawn and surmounted within *Maskarada* ritual performance since

Maskarada performances unfold distinctions between social groups by means of grouping them according to their economic activity or by placing them within a social milieu. An examination of the inner structure of *Maskarada* performance shows that Zuberoan folk theatre dramatises both cultural and political boundaries and bridges. Likewise, it portrays particular understandings of the relationship between nature and culture. However, special attention is paid to inner ritual action and political symbols which are displayed within *Maskarada* folk theatre, for they articulate relations between territory, local identity, politics and cultural performance. Carnival performance in Soule demonstrates that there are a variety of social identities at issue.

Chapter VI approaches several gender issues from the point of view that women have acquired public protagonism in *Maskarada* performances since the 1980's. Yet women's involvement in the *Maskaradak* has concerned ritual meaning and authenticity. Even though women have been able to perform and to enter into *Maskarada* dancing and acting, their participation has been resisted by men because of male control over the public sphere. On the whole, Pyrenean dance-events are patterned upon highly structured and restricted ideals which echo masculinity. I will argue that the contemporary carnival *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa reflect a number of issues which point to changing gender categories and notions. Therefore, Chapter VI describes the leading social and cultural schemes by which local audiences have judged the increasing presence of actresses and female dancers in the *Maskaradak* of the 1980's and 1990's.

Women's involvement in folk theatre contrasts with their attitude in the realm of traditional social organisation where women's attitude is one of desertion and wilful abandonment. Thus, Chapter VI must be read in relation to several arguments exposed

in Chapter III, which are summarised as follows. Masculinity is structurally privileged in rural Basque society and in the Pyrenees. Two ethnographic examples studied by Valverde (1993) and Medio Cachafoiro (1986) illustrate how such a structural masculinity is still dominant even in those places and cases where female heirs are recognised, i.e. where either the norm of strict primogeniture prevails or there is no male descendant in the domestic group. The emphasis on masculinity in the enactment of structural reproduction and continuity contrasts radically with the dramatisation of continuity within the cosmological and cognitive realms of social experience. In these realms women and femininity assume the central roles. Several authors have made an interpretation of this. For instance, Ortiz-Osés (1978) has approached it from a Jungian perspective to conclude that Basque mythology is a pre-Indo-European and pre-patriarcal mythology. However, del Valle et al. (1985) have studied the centrality of women in Basque cosmology from an understanding of myth based on the theories of Malinowski, and concluded that the Basque images of women in cosmological discourse must be seen as a charter by which gender inequalities in social organisation are culturally and ideologically granted.

Women are also centre stage when enacting a special ritual in the village church called *sepultura*. In this ritual women are supposed to renew the links between, on the one hand, the living members of a domestic group in a household and on the other, buried members of the same household. Therefore, in rural Basque society there are two realms where women acquire full protagonism. The first is where they express spiritual links, which happens inside the village church and the other is concerned with myth and imagery (Barandiaran 1972, Douglass 1969, Duvert 1992). However, they are given little acknowledgement in public places and activities (del Valle et al. 1985,

Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991, Larrañaga 1995). Ethnographic accounts and personal experience in the field show women in social organisation as structurally weak (Díez, Mauleón & Goñi 1992, Lekunberri 1991), while also being located strongly within mythological narratives and religious ritual.

Gender and female positions in society have been studied from several perspectives. Earlier inquiry studied gender differences alongside pairs of opposition in social organisation (for instance, private versus public social spaces) or in the logic of knowledge (namely, understandings of the body as cultural versus natural). Later approaches to gender have followed other directions as they have focussed on issues of exploitation, alienation and spheres of prestige and exchange (Ortner 1974, Meillassoux 1975, MacCormack & Strathern 1980, Ortner & Whitehead 1981, Moore 1988). A study of women's attitudes towards their position in the domestic group, within traditional social organisation in Basque society, shows that women have rejected it, as they have deserted farming households. Women tend not to marry farmers, a fact which has resulted in a significant number of households lacking descendants, while others have become empty and abandoned. However, women's attitude towards public performance is of invasion as women have become very active protagonists in carnival performance. This runs contrary to hegemonic (male) views, as local experts consider women not to be suitable performers. This is why I refer to women's involvement in *Maskarada* performance as 'ritual heterodoxy'.

Indarra [strength] (Ott 1992) is a local notion which is referred to when challenging the authenticity of the *Maskaradak* performed by women. The point is whether in traditional Zuberoan society ritual action in carnival time and particularly the

expression of the control of *indarra* [strength], are indicating a privileged locus (Sahlins 1976) where specific classificatory criteria impose themselves on a whole cultural system. At the same time, the question arises as to what extent such a (traditional) locus which expresses masculinity has been displaced (Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994).

Chapter VII looks outside the ritual structure of *Maskarada* by examining aspects of the community in relation to it. In this chapter I examine the *dramatis personae* of performance and how actors and audience are part of particular aspects of the community. Chapter VII analyses how social groups relate themselves to folk theatre and geographically grounded distinctions, showing that there are various forms of public identity, whether contested or acknowledged. In such a study of folk theatre, I rely on ethnographic data gathered from areas which share cultural, social or administrative borders with *Pays de Soule*. In particular, I study how cultural communities come into being by means of partaking in Zuberoan folk theatre either as an audience or as a player. Chapter VII describes a number of villages from outside Zuberoa which have a share in Souletine folk theatre. These villages are located in Nafarroa Behea and *Pays de Béarn*, regions linguistically and administratively separate from Zuberoa. This chapter also describes the various ways to establish formal community boundaries and social networks in a village, folk theatre being one of them. I argue that in Zuberoa a special sense of community-belonging develops from participating in folk theatre. This is so because the organisation of folk theatre in Zuberoa follows the principles of *hartu-emon* [reciprocity], *ūngūria* [circularity] and *aldikatzia* [rotation] whose efficacy has been studied in household relationships and funeral ceremony (Douglass 1969, Ott 1981), but never discussed in contexts of public festivity and playful celebration. Finally, Chapter VII analyses an ongoing shift in

Maskarada audiences as there is an increasing interest by Spanish Basques in Zuberoan folk theatre. Thus, the renewal of folk performance in Zuberoa profits from Basque cultural references wider than those of *Pays de Soule* and nearby villages.

Finally, there is the conclusion which is a summation of both the ethnographic accounts and the main lines of argumentation presented throughout the thesis. However, they are presented in a new way, for they are discussed again under other headings. This final section attempts to summarise all of the previous arguments made about gender, performance and representation in relation to *Maskarada* ritual. The conclusion reflects on the production and reproduction of cultural performance in rural society, a reflection which is grounded on the ethnography supplied by the inhabitants of Zuberoa and their characteristic folk theatre.

VII. METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on library and fieldwork research. In its realisation I have relied both on research in the region carried out by other scholars and on original data of my own. The discussion on Pyrenean, Basque and Souletine social organisation (Chapters I and III) is grounded in several sources. Firstly, between October 1990 and May 1991 I wrote a thesis proposal for which I conducted specific library research on the Pyrenees and Soule. I visited several centres of the Basque Country, both in Spain and France. In particular, I consulted the libraries in the *Universidad de Deusto*, the *Diputación de Vizcaya*, the *Museo Histórico de Vizcaya* and the *Universidad del País Vasco*, all in Spain. In France I consulted the *Musée Basque de Bayonne*. Finally, in England I consulted *The London School of Economics*. Secondly, between September 1992 and May 1993 I consulted several library sources in the *Université de Pau et des*

Pays de l'Adour which was sixty kilometres from my fieldwork base in Muskildi, Zuberoa. I visited the library at the *Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour* once every two weeks. My knowledge of rural Basque society is also taken from personal fieldwork carried out in Zuberoa where I lived between June 1991 and May 1993. I rented a house where I resided myself, although I visited my neighbours regularly in order to participate in their farming activities and social life. Previous to this field experience in Zuberoa, I already had practical knowledge of a farming community. I had lived with a family of farmers in a Spanish Basque village called Alkiza, where I spent twenty months of fieldwork research during 1993-1995 which then went towards an M.A. degree in Social Anthropology which was granted by the *Univesidad del País Vasco* in 1985 (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991). Therefore, my discussion of farming households and rural organisation in Zuberoa benefits both from field experience of my own, in several farming villages in Spain and France, and from experiences by other scholars I have come across through their written accounts.

My study of folk theatre in Zuberoa (Chapters II, IV and Part III) started in 1987 when I first attended a *Maskarada* performance. During January and February of that year I resided in Muskildi where the young people had organised a *Maskarada*. My first fieldnotes and interviews on Zuberoan folk drama go back to those months. Also, I recorded a video of the performance given by Muskildi in the village of Sohüta. When writing my thesis proposal between 1990 and 1991, I conducted library research on folk theatre in Zuberoa, mainly in the centres mentioned above. But it was in the field, during June 1991 and May 1993, that I acquired a deeper knowledge of folk theatre in Zuberoa.

At the time I entered the field (late June, 1991), people in Muskildi were extremely busy in the organisation of a *Pastorala* performance which had been scheduled to be performed on the last Sunday of July. I began my fieldwork by attending the rehearsals. These took place on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. As an observer I endeavoured to describe the atmosphere. As a participant, I contributed with my labour in setting up the stage and the rows and in other manual aspects of organisation. My participation grew after the second performance (August 1991), as I was formally invited to join the performers as *artzaina* [sheep herder], which I accepted. From that day on my place in the rehearsals was that of an apprentice of *Pastorala* folk theatre. Therefore, I was taught how to move across the stage and initiated in the rules and conventions which guide a *Pastorala* play. I participated, in my small role as an actor, in the performances given by Muskildi in Donibane Loitzune [Saint Jean de Luz], a fishing village in the French Basque Country which attracts many tourists; in the Spanish Basque town of Arrasate [Mondragón]; in the best known theatres of the Spanish Basque Country, the *Victoria Eugenia* and the *Arriaga* theatres, in San Sebastian and Bilbao respectively. This experience gave me the opportunity to study relevant aspects of folk theatre in Zuberoa. Firstly, I was able to learn about the training of a *Pastorala* performer. Secondly, I could study first-hand the back stage atmosphere as well as actors' commentaries on their work. Finally, I could examine the interaction between actors and audiences in several cultural locations: within *Pays de Soule*; in a French Basque tourist context outside Zuberoa; and in Spanish Basque urban milieus.

In the autumn of 1991 it was common knowledge in Zuberoa that the villages of Altzükü and Eskiula were planning their *Maskaradak* to be played throughout the winter of 1992. I made arrangements for me to be allowed to follow the rehearsals in

situ. I attended most training and preparations in these two villages, for which I drove my car from Muskildi. I was given permission to take photographs and to record parts of the rehearsals. Once more, I interviewed trainers and trainees about their roles in and responsibilities to the performance. Between January and May 1992, Sunday by Sunday, I followed all the performances by Altzükü and Eskiula, which I recorded. At the same, I collected several life stories of former but well-known dancers and performers from these and other villages.

In the spring of 1992 I asked for permission to attend rehearsals for a *Pastorala* play to be performed by the villagers of Santa Engrazia in July and August 1992. Participants in this event met on Saturdays. I was allowed in as an observer. I took notes and recorded several phases of the training. As usual, I conducted interviews. I undertook the study of the preparations for this *Pastorala* play in Santa Engrazia in relation to my notes on the *Pastorala* play performed by Muskildi a year before. In July I attended the performance, as well as gathering from the audience as many comments and criticisms as I could. In the autumn of 1992 I followed the rehearsals for a *Maskarada* by the village of Urdiñarbe and its performances during the winter of 1993. In 1993 I spent two days in Bilbao with *Maskarada* performers from Altzükü who had been invited by the town council of Bilbao to perform a *Maskarada*. I spent another two days in Basauri, a Spanish Basque industrial town, again with *Maskarada* performers from Altzükü who were invited to stage a *Maskarada* performance.

Being in Zuberoa, I interviewed common people as well as people recognised in Soule as experts in the local arts of folk theatre. Also, I collected articles and opinions expressed in the French, Basque and Spanish media. I speak Basque as a second

language, which I learnt during my first fieldwork experience in Alkiza, Spain. In Soule I used the Basque language as a vehicle of communication on a daily basis. Yet, it took me several months to catch up with the peculiarities of the Basque Souletine dialect. Although I was fluent in *gipuzkera* [the Basque dialect of Gipuzkoa] as well as in *euskera batua* [standardised Basque], mutual understanding was not easy as speakers of *zuberera* [Souletine Basque dialect] and speakers of *gipuzkera* and *euskera batua* do not share the same phonetics, declensions and verbal systems, and lexis. In order to learn Souletine Basque I took classes in a *Gau Eskola* [evening Basque school for mature students] in Maule which is five kilometres from Muskildi. Another strategy I employed was to transcribe the sermons, songs and stories which I had recorded during the rehearsals and performances and study their dialectical characteristics with the help of dictionaries and Souletine Basque speakers.

I came back to the Anthropology Department, L.S.E., University of London, in October 1993, where I started to write this thesis. Having brought with me to London such an amount of notes and information concerning the performing arts of the Souletines, I decided, after consultation with supervisors and other members of the Department, to make *Maskarada* performance as it relates to social change and cultural identity the focus of my analysis.

PART I

**(PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE BASQUES OF ZUBEROA AND
THEIR PERFORMING ARTS)**

CHAPTER I

ZUBEROA: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. THE FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY: GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

The French Basque Country occupies 2962 square metres where 249,642 people live. Therefore, there is a population density of 84 inhabitants per square metre. The French Basque Country is composed of three provinces, Lapurdi, Nafarroa Behea and Zuberoa. Of the three Zuberoa is the smallest as it represents 26,51% of the French Basque territory. From the coast to the north of the French Basque Country there is the region of Gascony and the administrative *département* named *Landes*. To the west there is the Bay of Biscay and to the east the *Pays de Béarn*. Lastly to the south, there are the Spanish Basque provinces of Gipuzkoa and Nafarroa.

Within the French administration there are several divisions such as *départements*, cantons and *communes*. The French Basque Country is in the department number sixty-four, known as *département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques*. Further divisions within this *département* are: *la préfecture de Pau*, *la sous-préfecture de Bayonne* and *la sous-préfecture d'Oloron*. The provinces of Lapurdi and Nafarroa Behea belong to the *sous--préfecture de Bayonne* whereas Zuberoa is attached to the *sous-préfecture d'Oloron*. Cantons are the next administrative subdivisions in France. There are two cantons in Zuberoa: the canton of Maule and the canton of Atharratze. *Les communes* [villages] come after the cantons. In Zuberoa nineteen *communes* belong to the canton of Maule whereas fifteen are located in the canton of Atharratze. There are eight *communes* which are linguistically Souletine but attached to cantons other than Maule or Atharratze. These are Eskiula (canton of Olorón) and Arrokiaga, Domezain, Gestas, Lohitzun, Ozarain and Pagola (canton of Saint Palais, which is known as Donapaleu in Basque).

THE BASQUE COUNTRY

BAY OF BISCAY

FRANCE





ZUBEROA

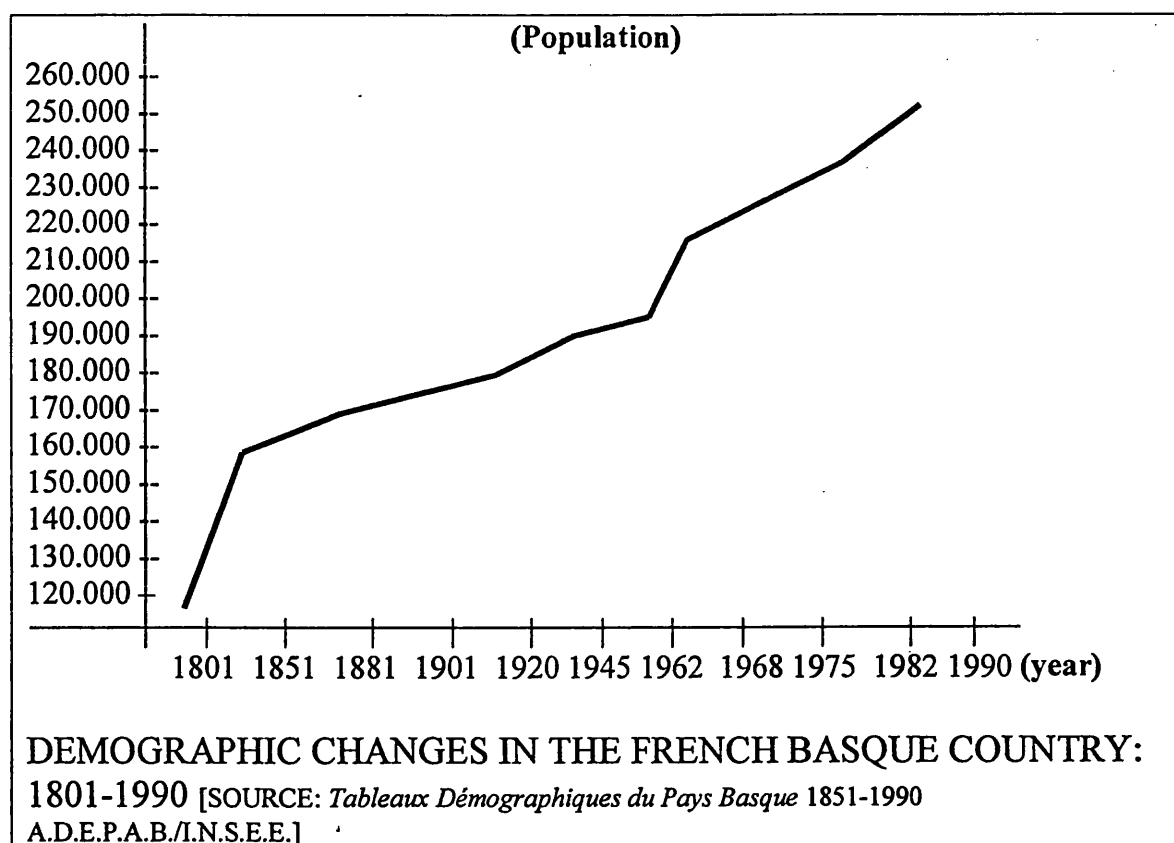


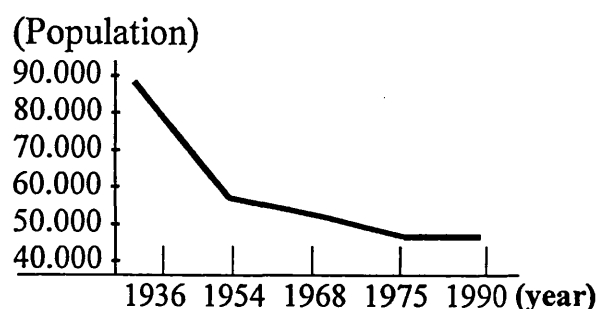
Bordering areas between Zuberoa, Béarn and Nafarroa Behea



Soule valley or Zuberoa

An examination of the evolution of the French Basque population indicates a significant growth during the twentieth century, although two demographic tendencies are perceptible. One happens on the coast where the main cities, industries, tourism and job opportunities are concentrated. This has made the coastal area a centre of attraction, with the result that seventy-one per cent of the French Basque population resides in the cities and towns of the coast, such as Hendaia [Hendaye], Donibane Lohitzun [Saint Jean de Luz], Biarritz [Biarritz], Baiona [Bayonne] and Angelu [Anglet]. On the other hand, in the countryside, small scale, family farming businesses are the most common economical features. The countryside is also characterised by a strong drop in population which is reflected in that only twenty-one per cent of the French Basque inhabitants of the French Basque region reside inland.





DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE: FRENCH BASQUE PROVINCES OF NAFARROA BEHEA AND ZUBEROA (1936-1990) [SOURCE: *Tableaux Démographiques du Pays Basque 1851-1990* A.D.E.P.A.B./I.N.S.E.E.]

II. NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ZUBEROA

According to the name given to the river that comes down the valley from the highlands of the Pyrenees, Zuberoa or *Pays de Soule* is also known either as *Vallée du Saison* (French) or *Uhaitz Handia* (Basque). Yet local Basque speakers prefer to say *Xiberua* while the French use the term *La Soule*. Defined as Basques, the inhabitants of this valley distinguish themselves from their Occitanian and Navarrese Basque neighbours in a variety of ways. Historical, linguistic, ecological, social, political and cultural reasons are at play.

Firstly, the landscape in Zuberoa is significantly different from the rest of the Basque Country. Due to its closer proximity to the high peaks of the Pyrenees, the landscape is abrupt. Even the formal aesthetics and architectural design of the house follow the patterns found in the contiguous *Pays de Béarn* (Baeschlin 1968, Caro Baroja 1971, Lauburu ed. 1979, Yrizar 1965). Secondly, the Basque dialect spoken in

Zuberoa is remarkably distinct even from those dialects spoken in the nearby Basque valleys of Navarra (Bonaparte 1883, Gèze 1873, Laffite 1975). Thirdly, although carnival and folk theatre are common practices in most rural European areas, they are performed in distinctive ways in Zuberoa where singing styles as well as dancing steps and choreographies are closer to Béarnese folklore than to the Basque (Guilcher 1984). Finally, administrative divisions have historically set Zuberoa apart from the rest of the French Basque Country. Thus, whereas the two other French Basque provinces of Lapurdi and Nafarroa Behea has long formed part of the chamber of commerce of Bayonne, Zuberoa has belonged to the chamber of commerce of Pau until 1992. Questions of public order are channelled through the subprefecture of Oloron, Béarn. The local newspaper, *Sud-Ouest*, has separate editions for Béarn and the Basque Country. Zuberoa is included in the Béarn edition. These circumstances have forged a Basque identity which clearly distinguishes *zuberotarrak* [Basques from Zuberoa] from other Basques. Furthermore, when referring to Basques of other areas, Basques from Soule commonly employ a pejorative word, *manexa*, instead of *euskalduna* [the Basque term for Basque].

Historical records document Zuberoa as being part of the Viscounty of Soule since 1023. After being under the influence of the Kingdom of Navarra, in the eleventh-century the Viscounty of Soule passed on to the king of England until 1451. Then it became attached to the French crown. Up until the French Revolution in 1789 Zuberoa was allowed to have its own legislative institutions and self-sovereignty, not without trouble. Known as *fors* or *foruak*, this political and administrative autonomy was based on the rights over the use and property of the valley's mountain land, as well as preserving the household-orientated local economies. The Revolution of 1789 did

not back these legal and political uses. Instead it followed a policy towards the privatisation of communal land, together with changing the inheritance practices in the region. Moreover, the new parliament approved laws in support of agricultural initiatives, whereas the legal system of the *Ancien Régime* supported livestock, a main economic activity in Zuberoa. The Revolution brought about a decline of local influence and power (Bidart 1977). At the same time, a process of political and economic centralisation took place. Thus, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries valley and household relationships entered a new frame of social relationships in Zuberoa

According to López Adán (1977, 1978), Zuberoan merchants, lawyers and noblemen controlled the Revolution. That is to say, in order to gain the use of the land and keep the new inheritance regulations, many small households and estate owners had to borrow money. And because they could not afford the mortgages, they fell into debt. As a result a nascent bourgeoisie connected to the property and maintaining economic control over the land appeared in Zuberoa. Consequently, agrarian ideology attached to this bourgeoisie developed. This ideology idealised farming landscapes and economic activities by depicting self-subsistence households as the virtuous Basque, in opposition to industrial workers who were seen as foreign competitors and cultural enemies. By creating this agrarian ideology the new bourgeoisie protected itself from possible social problems derived from class formation and confrontation (Bidart 1977, López Adán 1977, 1978). Since Zuberoa stood at the periphery of regionally, nationally and worldly economic transactions, this land-attached bourgeoisie reinforced itself while farm tenants became impoverished.

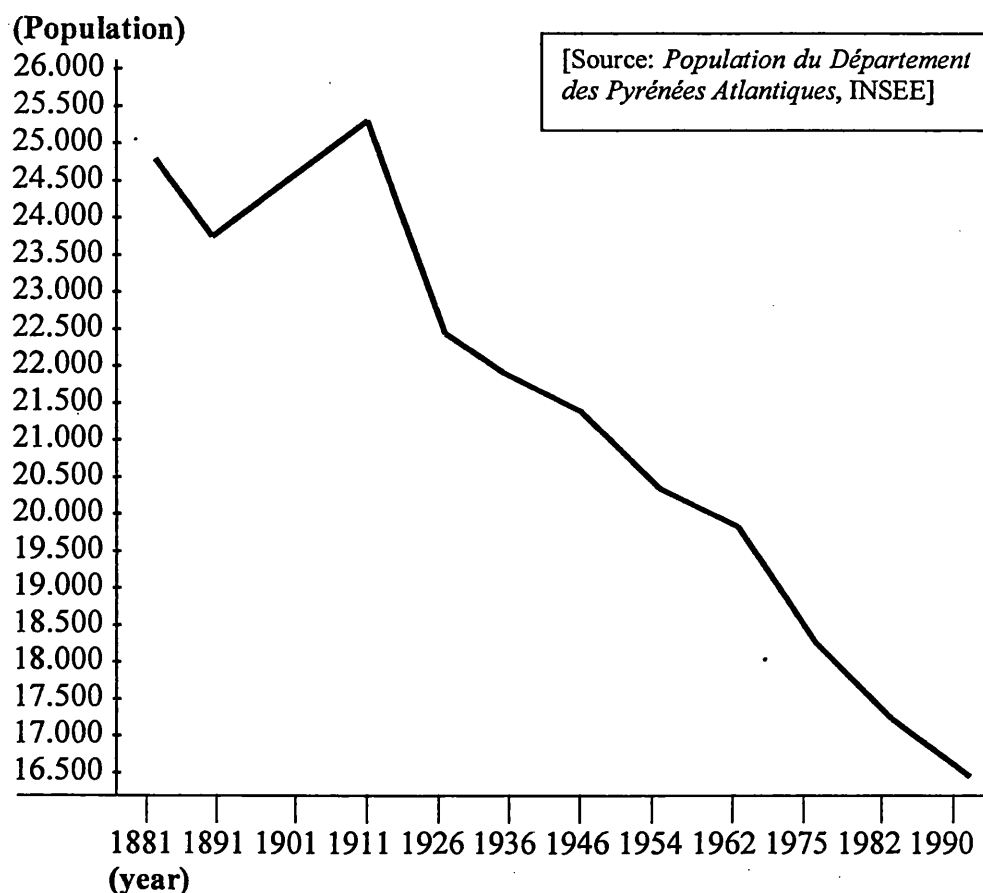
López Adán (1977, 1978) has argued that the twentieth century has inherited the

social and economic structures of the nineteenth, which have lately begun to show themselves in a novel manner. Urban ideas about the nature of ownership, already well based in the coastal French Basque Country, are now being accepted by inland Basques, who come to think of their homesteads, not as a priceless legacy to be maintained, but as a commodity to be exploited and some locals have expressed their militant disagreement with this change of mentality. But there is no industrialisation process in Zuberoa and development is directed towards green tourism. The result is that today Zuberoa is a region in crisis both demographically and economically as well as culturally.

III. A DEMOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO ZUBEROA

Demographic and migration rates reflect the diminishing of farming, in as much as Zuberoa had a high number of inhabitants in 1846 (about fifty thousand people). This number has been falling ever since. Today there are around fifteen thousand people living in the valley. The French Basque Country had the highest French migration rates between 1857 and 1877. Thirty thousand people left Zuberoa between 1834 and 1894. And nineteen thousand four hundred and sixteen Zuberoans left their valley during 1897-1921 (Kanblong 1958).

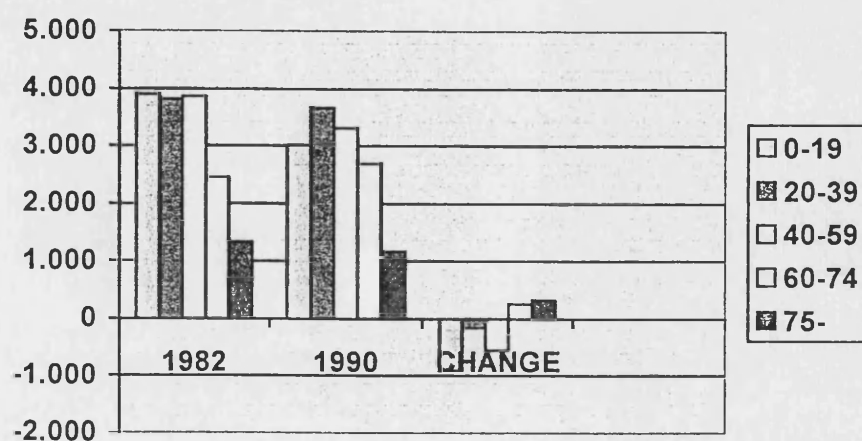
Figures show that population has decreased 5.03% in Zuberoa between 1982 and 1990. Moreover, the last publication by I.N.S.E.E. (*Institut national des études de la statistique et économiques*) corroborates that the growth of population has been negative in Zuberoa and neighbouring areas during the 1990's. Thus, between 1990 and 1999 there has been a drop of 4.56% in the canton of Maule while the population in the canton of Atharratze has diminished by 7.36%.



DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN ZUBEROA: 1881-1990

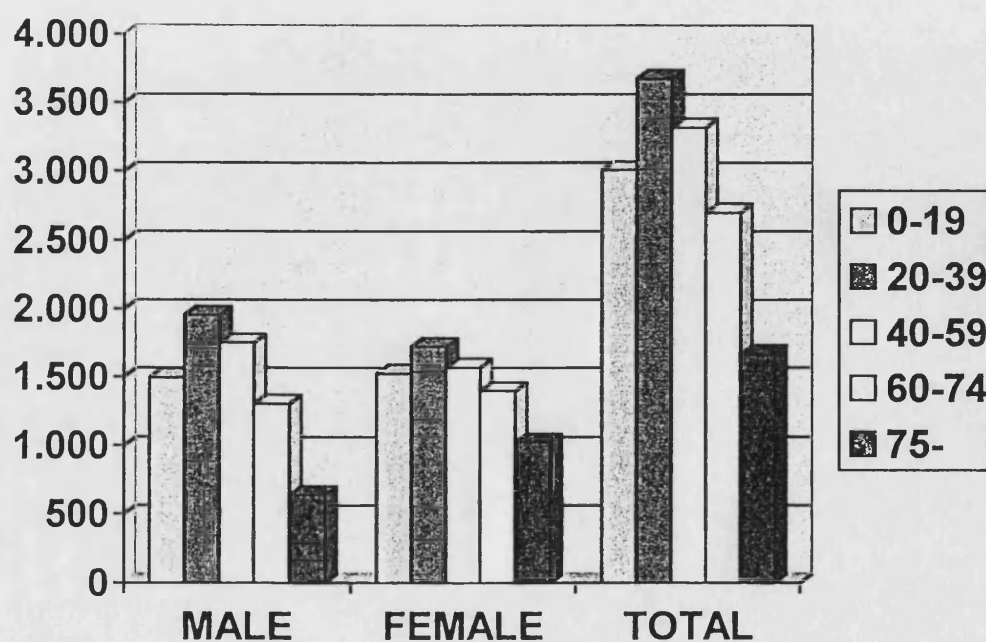
Data given by the I.N.S.E.E. and *L'Observatoire économique de la Soule* indicate that population is ageing in Zuberoa. It is acknowledged that between 1982 and 1990 the number of people under sixty went down, but the number of people aged sixty and over increased.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN ZUBEROA BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS IN 1990			
AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0-19	1497	1524	3011
20-39	1955	1720	3675
40-59	1751	1569	3320
60-74	1305	1397	2700
75+	640	1024	1664



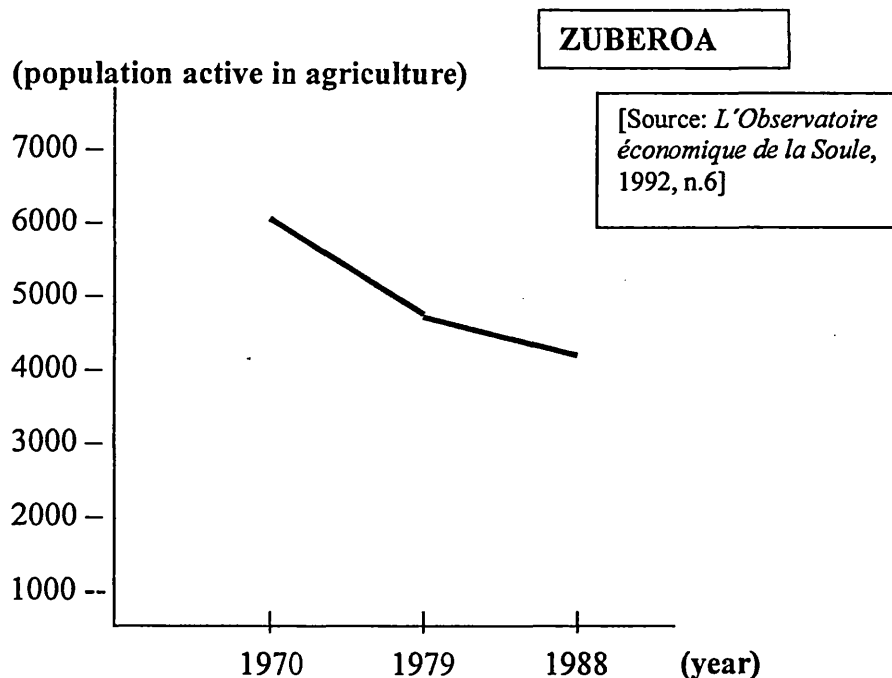
CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN ZUBEROA BY AGE GROUPED BETWEEN 1982 AND 1990

AGE GROUP	1982	1990	CHANGE
0-19	3912 (25.40%)	3011 (20.96%)	-901
20-39	3833 (24.88%)	3675 (25.58%)	-158
40-59	3868 (25.11%)	3320 (23.11%)	-548
60-74	2450 (15.90%)	2700 (18.79%)	+250
Over 75	1341 (8.71%)	1664 (11.56%)	+320



IV. PEASANT ECONOMY IN ZUBEROA

In addition to the loss of population and the ageing of the remaining population, other changes have taken place in Zuberoa, particularly within the realm of the peasant economy. Following on from data published by *L'Observatoire économique de la Soule*, between 1980 and 1990 one third of the population active in agriculture left the sector, and one farm out of four closed down. The decline of farming businesses in Zuberoa is shown in the following diagram:



The disappearance of small-scale, family-based farming enterprises in Zuberoa comes as a result of two separate ecological circumstances. In the canton of Atharratze, where abrupt mountains and peaks shape the landscape, forty four per cent of the households have given up the farming business between 1970 and 1990. In the canton of Maule, with a landscape of soft hills and largely flat fields, thirty-three per cent of the farming houses have closed down during the same period. The decline of small-

scale, family-based farming production contrasts radically with the growth of large-scale agricultural businesses which are orientated towards high rates of production. This is the case in the canton of Maule where the number of large agricultural enterprises has increased as much as thirty-two per cent in the last two decades. This change has not been followed by farmers from the canton of Atharratze where the number of large agricultural businesses has grown only two per cent in the same period.

In 1990 the number of people active in Zuberoa was 6221, out of which 2531 were involved in the agricultural business. This means to say that forty per cent of the population were farmers or partook in enterprises directly related to the farming business in 1990. This proportion, however, varies significantly according to ecological circumstances, when it can be seen that numbers change as we move from the canton of Maule to the canton of Atharratze.

1990	CANTON OF MAULE	CANTON OF ATHARRATZE	TOTAL
ACTIVE POPULATION	4724	1497	6221
ACTIVE POPULATION IN AGRICULTURE	1556 (32.70%)	975 (62.45%)	2531 (40%)

[Source: *L'Observatoire économique de la Soule*, 1992, n.6]

Further distinctions are observed in the peasant economies of the cantons of Maule and Atharratze. Thus, the raising of sheep and cattle accounts for ninety-five per cent of the peasant economy in the canton of Atharratze. However, in the canton of Maule there is large cultivation of maize, hay, and fruit-trees. In Zuberoa sheep farming consists of producing milk which cheese factories purchase, while cattle raising is directed towards the production of beef. A detailed account of peasant economy in

Zuberoa reveals the following:

PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY	CANTON OF MAULE	CANTON OF ATHARRATZE
SHEEP FARMING	61.90 %	74.87 %
CATTLE RAISING	2.99 %	20,30 %
OTHER REARING	9.20 %	1.52 %
AGRICULTURE	15.01 %	1.02 %
OTHER	4.18 %	2.28 %
FARMING DEDICATION		
FULL TIME	85.39 %	89.13 %
PART TIME	14.61 %	10.87 %

[Source: *L'Observatoire économique de la Soule*, 1992, n.6]

The peasant economy in Zuberoa is in a serious crisis, which has particularly affected small-scale, family-based farming households. As a consequence of the crisis, a significant number of entrepreneurs are closing down their businesses. Those who remain in agriculture stay on a full-time basis, in part because there is no other economic sector that could absorb their labour force. In other words, the decline in the number of farming households has not fallen at the same rate as an equivalent growth in the industry or service sectors. The result is that Zuberoa increasingly loses people and active population.

V. CHANGES IN CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

In 1987 SIADEKO, an institute of sociological studies based in San Sebastian (Spanish Basque Country), studied the use of the Basque language in the Basque regions of France and Spain. On the whole, the result was that the use of the Basque language was extending in Spain, but receding in France. The survey was designed to know, firstly, the number of Basque speakers. Secondly, the quality of their knowledge. And lastly, the social use of the Basque language. SIADEKO studied the use of the

Basque language according to the speaker's personal background: age group, gender, professional activity, place of residence and literacy. SIADEKO also compared the use of the Basque language in private and public spheres of social interaction, particularly within the family, in the streets, administrative offices, hospitals and health centres, in the education system and in church services. The result of the survey shows that, in Zuberoa, the use of the Basque language hardly differs from the mainstream in the French Basque Country. These are the figures:

KNOWLEDGE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN THE FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY AND IN ZUBEROA					
	VERY GOOD	GOOD	LITTLE	SOME WORDS	NOTHING
FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY	41%	17%	8%	8%	23%
ZUBEROA	40%	13%	8%	10%	27%

[Source: SIADEKO: *Euskararen Egoera Iparraldean*, 1988]

KNOWLEDGE OF BASQUE IN ZUBEROA IN PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY			
	GOOD	LITTLE	NONE
Large-scale entrepreneurs	45%	5%	50%
Mid-scale entrepreneurs	47%	9%	44%
Small-scale entrepreneurs	54%	6%	40%
Large-scale agriculturists	50%		50%
Mid-scale agriculturists	85%	5%	10%
Small-scale agriculturists	90%	10%	
Civil servants	45%	10%	45%
Qualified labourers	60%	10%	30%
Unqualified labourers	38%	5%	57%
Part-time agriculturists	100%		
Retired agriculturists	100%		
Sheep herders	100%		
Teachers	30%		70%

[Source: SIADEKO: *Euskararen Egoera Iparraldean*, 1988]

SIADEKO's survey shows that full knowledge of the Basque language is limited to farming and agricultural activities. Also, it shows that outside peasant endeavour, its use is very uncommon. As it is not officially recognised in France, the Basque language is paid little attention by administrative officers, education plans and the media. Furthermore, SIADEKO's study manifests that the knowledge of Basque is bounded to particular age groups and gender. Thus, only one third of the population aged between zero and twenty years had a good knowledge of the Basque language in 1987. The number is lower for female speakers in the same age group. Therefore, in Zuberoa there is a distinguishable linguistic gap between the elderly and people over fifty on the one hand, and children and young people on the other. The result is that speaking Basque is associated with being peasant, aged and male.

VI. *LES COMMUNES* OF MUSKILDI, ALTZÜKÜ AND ESKIULA

This thesis analyses folk theatre in Zuberoa. The analysis is based on data collected from the *Maskaradak* organised by the villages of Muskildi in 1987 and Altzükü and Eskiula in 1992. For administrative purposes, Muskildi and Altzükü are known as *communes* numbers 411 and 81, respectively. Both villages belong to the canton of Maule (canton number 20). Eskiula is *commune* number 217 and belongs to the canton of Oloron (canton number 28). Social, cultural, economic and demographic patterns in these villages reflect the same changes already explained for Zuberoa as a whole. Thus, during the last one-hundred years each of these villages has lost half of their population:

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1926	1936	1946	1954	1962	1975	1982	1990
M.	432	417	412	457	400	396	388	372	325	313	289	285
A.	604	564	564	518	502	437	432	401	379	289	293	274
E.	1117	1012	966	918	836	808	741	639	617	497	474	523

M.: Muskildi; A.: Altzükü; E.: Eskiula [Source: I.N.S.E.E., 1991; and Régner (1991)]

These villages depict a rural landscape with a number of farming houses which accounts for half the dwelling places in Muskildi and Altzükü, but only one-third in Eskiula. Approximately, ten per cent of the houses from each village are used as second residences, and a few are vacant or have been abandoned.

Year: 1990	MUSKILDI	ALTZÜKÜ	ESKIULA
Farming households	44	37	54
Individual houses	29	35	92
Dwellings in a Collective building	0	0	20
Second residences	8	10	25
Abandoned houses	5	12	6
Other	1	3	0
TOTAL	87	97	197
Owners	67	66	144
Tenants	3	7	12
Free of charge	4	2	10

[Source: I.N.S.E.E., 1991]

Within *communes* there is a subsequent division called *kartielak* or *aizogüne* (in Basque) and *quartier* (in French). *Kartielak* [neighbourhoods] are composed of several households conceived of as a unit due to either their mutual proximity or their placement in a particular spot. As a resident in Muskildi during my fieldwork, I conducted a detailed survey of *kartielak*, houses and dwellers in the village. I found that in Muskildi there are eight neighbourhoods. However, some villagers argued that there are nine as they made a further distinction within Oxkaxe.

MUSKILDI

(Neighbourhoods and households)

Karrika:

Ettxeparia (6 dwellers) / With no name (7 d.) / Beti-Gazte (3 d.) / Zohardia (1 d.) / Salaberria (4 d.) / Oilhoboroa (6 d.) / Aizagerria / With no name / Sala / Aizagerberria (3 d.) / Aphez-etxea (2 d.) / Gaia (3d) / Kehellaltia (2 d) / Kehellaltia (2 d.) / Aphez-etxea (6 d.) / Elixia (2 d.) / Karrikia (1 d.) / Karriki txipia (0 d.) / Elizagaia (5 d.) / Idiartia (5 d.) / Etchecopaia (0 d.) / Arroqueta (3 d.) / Irabarnia (0 d.) / Oskigilia (2 d.) / With no name (5 d.) / Dufoenia (0 d.) / Pusunpesenia (0

d.) With no name (2 d.) / Etcheberritua (o d.) / With no name (2 d.) / With no name (3 d.)

Laurzia:

Estrat (6 dwellers) / Mendiburua (2 d.) / Iratzabalia (3 d.) / Garria (4 d.) / Jagiberria (1 d.) / Bordaxar-Laurzia (4 d.)

Erbizia:

Intxauspia (4 dwellers) / Lopenia (0 d.) / Karrikaburia (3 d.) / With no name (1 d.)

Ehusania:

Otatzegia (6 dwellers) / Asmia (6 d.) / Arrokaia (4 d.) / Xantzenia (3 d.) / Irigai (3 d.) / Arabehtia (5 d.) / Bidauria (2 d.) / Bedaxagarria (3 d.) / Oihanartia (0 d.) / Eyheabidea (0 d.)

Barretxia:

Barretxia (5 dwellers) / Baialtia (5 d.) / Kehellaberria (0 d.) / Salatua (3 d.) / Olhasua (4 d.) / Uturriaga (1 d.) / Gohetsia (5 d.) / Donamaria (4 d.) / Eñautenia (6 d.) / Etxeberria (1 d.) / Puxulia (4 d.)

Agrehia:

Bordaxarria (1 dweller) / Eihegia (2 d.) / Kaparruxia (5 d.) / Etxartia (4 d.) / Agereberria (6 d.) / Etchegohenia (5 d.) / Ageregohenia (5 d.)

Loga:

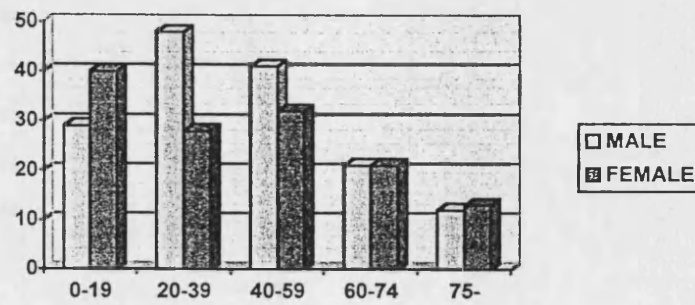
Hargintegia (7 dwellers) / Intxauspia (1 d.) / Oihanartea (3 d.) / Gaztambidea (2 d.) / Moutxa (3 d.) / Oilhoborotegia (7 d.) / Toxa (1 d.) / Txoiz (7 d.)

Oxkaxe:

Oxkax (2 dwellers) / Oxkax (4 d.) / Bixta-Eder / Burgantz (3 d.) / Oilhoborda (1 d.) / Elixaltia (6 d.) / Uturaldea (1 d.)

POPULATION IN MUSKILDI GROUPED BY AGE AND SEX IN 1990

	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-74	75-
MALE	29	48	41	21	12
FEMALE	40	28	32	21	13



ACTIVE POPULATION IN MUSKILDI GROUPED BY AGE AND SEX IN 1990

	20-39	40-59	60+
MALE	42	38	1
FEMALE	21	14	0

ACTIVE FARMERS IN THE VILLAGE (1990)

FARMERS IN THE VILLAGE	53	
WAGE LABOURERS OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE	59	

Muskildi is one example of the changes that have happened in Zuberoa during the twentieth century which are summarised as follows. Firstly, a serious loss and ageing of the population has occurred. Secondly, the number of small-scale, family-based farming households has notoriously diminished. Thirdly, youths rarely use the Basque language as a vehicle of communication, despite having shown a strong desire to partake in folk theatre during the last two decades.

CHAPTER II

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FOLK ARTS OF THE *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCE

I. UNITS AND SEQUENCES IN *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCE

The troupe of the Zuberoan *Maskarada* is made up of different characters arranged in two contrasting groups: the *gorriak* or reds and the *beltzak* or blacks. The red group is composed of the *aitzindariak* [the first ones or those who lead]; the *jauna* [the lord] and the *anderea* [the lady]; the *laboraria* [the male farm labourer]; and the *laborarisa* [female farm labourer]; the *marexalak* [the horseshoers] and the *kukuileroak* [the jesters]. The blacks are made up of the *kereztuak* [the castrators]; the *buhameak* [the gypsies], the *kautereak* [the tinkers] and the *medizina* [the doctor].

GORRIAK [the read team]	BELTZAK [the black team]
<i>aitzindariak</i> [the dancers] <i>entseinaria</i> [flag bearer] <i>txerreroa</i> [horsehair] <i>gathuzaina</i> [cat] <i>zamalzaina</i> [hobby horse] <i>kantiniersa</i> [water bearer]	<i>kereztuak</i> [castrators] <i>nausia</i> [master] <i>mithila</i> [apprentice]
	<i>buhameak</i> [gypsies] <i>buhame jauna</i> [gypsy king] <i>zilintzau</i> [tramp] and two other
<i>jauna eta anderea</i> [the lord and the lady]	<i>kereztuak</i> [tinkers] <i>kabana handia</i> [big cabin] <i>pitxua</i> [fox] <i>frupu</i> <i>pupu</i>
<i>laboraria eta laborarisa</i> [the male farmer and female farmer]	
<i>marexalak</i> [the horseshoers] usually three	<i>txorrotzak</i> [knife-grinders]
<i>kukuileroak</i> [the jesters] three or more	<i>nausia</i> [master] <i>mithila</i> [apprentice]
	<i>medizina</i> [doctor]

The *aitzindariak* are a group of dancers who represent five different characters: the *entsenaria* or *banderazaina* [the flag or standard bearer]; the *txerreroa* [a man with a horse mane stick]; the *gathia* or *gathuzaina* [the cat]; the *zamalzaina* [the centaur or hobby horse] and the *kantiniersa* [the water bearer or serving girl]. There are two *marexalak* [horseshoers]: the master and the apprentice or servant. The role of the *kukuileroak* [jesters] is given to the youngest participants and their number may vary, but two or three is usual. *Kukuileroa* is a difficult word to translate, and etymologically, it comes from Latin. Garamendi relates these characters to the festivals of the Medieval fools (Garamendi 1991). The local sages hold that they are the lord's soldiers. During my fieldwork, I was told that this role expresses youth. This is supported by the fact that the jesters are played by the youngest participants of the *Maskarada*

Within the *beltzak* [the black team] there are two *kereztuak* [castrators]: the master and the apprentice or servant, two *txorrotxak* [knife grinders], again, a master and his apprentice. There are also four *buhameak* [gypsies], the *buhame jauna* [the gypsy king], the *zilintzau* [the tramp] and two others with no known name. The players of the *kautereak* [tinkers] are: *kabana handi* [big cabin], the group leader; *pitxu* [fox]; *frupu*, and *pupu*. The latter is named *Rabin Jacob* in the village of Altzükü. Finally there is the *medizina* [the doctor], usually just one person.

The ritual action of these characters is developed through a predictable sequence of events. Currently, these events are divided into two broad performances, those which happen in the morning and those in the afternoon. This is the sequence of events in the morning: the troupe arrives at the host locality where they are received by the *errezibitzaileak* [the receiving party], a group of dancers from that village. Then the

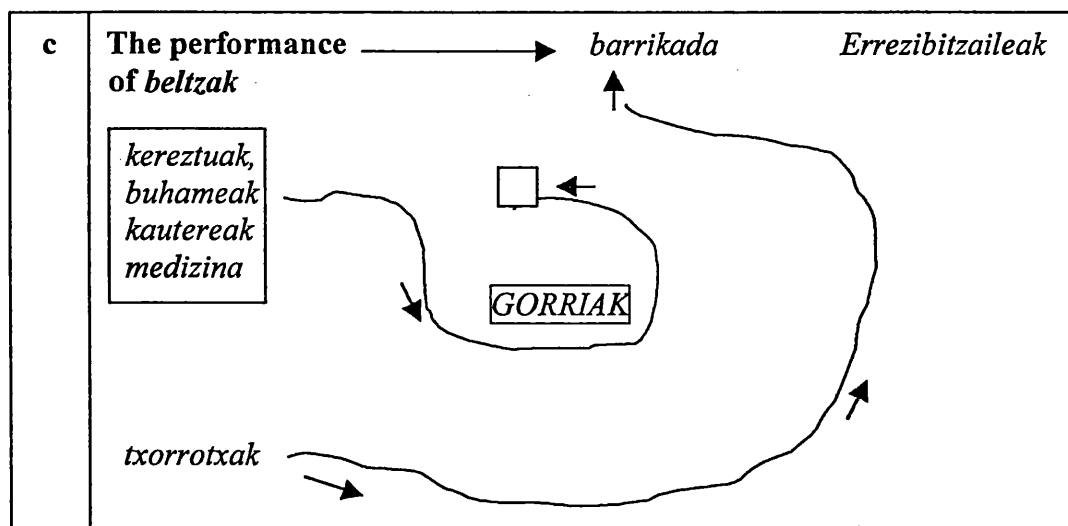
festival starts with the music played by a *tabalaria* [drummer]] and a *txilaria* or *txiruralaria* [piper]. There might also be a *ttun-ttun* player [string-drummer].

The action which starts the festival off is called *barrikada haustia* or the fall of the barricade. The members of the receiving party are the first to dance and it is they who, first individually, and then collectively commence the celebration. Then it is the turn of the *maskarakaiak*, the members of the visiting *Maskarada* to perform. The initial task consists of overcoming a small obstacle which the hosts have placed in their path. This obstacle consists of bottles of wine lined up before them and is named *barrikada* [barricade]. The *aitzindariak* dancers are the first to cross the barricade. The obstacle is overcome in the following order: the *entseinaria* [flag bearer], the *txerreroa* [man with a horse mane stick]; the *gathuzaina* [cat], the *zamalzaina* [centaur] and the *kantiniarsa* [serving girl]. They are followed by the *jauna eta anderea* [the lord and the lady]. The *laboraria eta laborarisa* [the male and female farm labourer] follow, then the *marexalak* [shoers] and finally the *kukuileroak* [jokers]. All these characters belong to the *gorriak* [the red group] and they dance across the barricade. Like the receiving party, they first dance individually and then in a group. I have taken this description from the *Maskaradak* I attended during 1992 and 1993, though variation is possible as Guilcher has shown in his study of *Maskarada* choreography (Guilcher 1984).

Once the components of the *gorriak* [the red group] clear the barricade it is the turn of the black group to do the same. They cross the barricade in their own particular way by running, shouting and shrieking and then they circle the red group and finally they fling themselves on top of each other. At the end of the performance it looks like a rugby scrum, with everyone huddled together. They come into view in the following

order: first are the *kereztuak* [the castrators] who run around the *gorriak* with their arms around each other's shoulders and make a gesture as if to open the way. A short distance behind them come the *buhameak* [the gypsies], the *kautereak* [tinkers] and the *medizina* [the doctor] in groups of two or three, and they likewise circle the red group with their arms around each other's shoulders. These last three groups are those which throw themselves on the ground in a disorderly fashion. They are then followed by the *txorrotxak* [the knife grinders] who walk across the barricade. As they walk they sing a verse of greeting which finishes when they reach their hosts who have set up the barricade. At that point, cheers and shouts of jubilation are heard. After their performance all those present then mingle in conversation, whilst the bottles of the barricade are removed and then opened to be offered around, while food is also served.

I. ENTERING THE VILLAGE	
Maskarakaiak	→ barrikada ← Errezibitzaileak
[visiting performers]	[bottles of wine] [host village's performers]
II. SURMOUNTING THE BARRICADE	
a	Maskarakaiak barrikada ← dance of Errezibitzaileak
b	<p>Dance of the <i>gorriak</i> → barrikada Errezibitzaileak</p> <p> <i>entseinaria</i> <i>txerreroa</i> <i>gathuzaina</i> <i>zamalzaina</i> <i>kantiniersa</i> </p> <p> <i>laboraria eta laborarisa</i> → <i>jauna eta anderea</i> → <i>marexalak</i> → <i>kukuileroak</i> → </p>



This same sequence is repeated throughout the morning, every time a barricade appears before the members of the *Maskarada*. This can happen several times en route from the entrance to the village up to the square. The final barricade awaits them here in the village square and it is prepared by the local authorities. By the time they arrive in the square it is midday. Once the last barricade is cleared, the red and black members of the *Maskarada*, together with the authorities and inhabitants of the host locality and other visitors, make a circle to dance *aitzina-pika* and *moneinak*, two versions of Basque dances called *jauziak* which may be literally translated as ‘jumps’. Once the dancing has concluded, the members of the *Maskarada* are invited to eat and when the meal is over they gather again near the square in the afternoon. It is here that the afternoon ritual will be celebrated. The protocol is as follows: the members of the troupe line up to perform the *arribada* [arrival] and enter the square that way. They then act out a series of scenes which I shall summarise below.

The *Marexalak* [the horseshoers] shoe the *zamalzaina* [the hobby horse or centaur]. This action is represented through dance. The presence of *kukuileroak* [the jesters] on stage revolves around the *zamalzaina* [the centaur]. The *aitzindariak* or leading dancers perform the dance known as *lagabota*. The *kereztuak* [the castrators] appear next, their job consists in catching *zamalzaina* [the centaur], and castrating him. It is understood that in this part of the performance, the actors should speak in Occitan. For a long time, to be *Béarnais* by origin and a castrator by trade were synonymous in France, Spain and Portugal. The reason is that many *bearnesak* [people from Bearn] used to make their living from travelling through southern Europe to castrate cattle. This has generated an image of the castrator who unites nomadism or transhumance with ethnic origins and connotations (Arripe 1994). However, in the *Maskaradak* today, owing to lack of fluency in Béarn Occitan, many castrators mix Occitan expressions and words with French, Basque and Spanish. The use of Spanish expressions is recent and due to the fact that the actors not only have a wider knowledge of the Spanish language than of Béarn Occitan, but also that they are aware of a significant number of Spanish Basque spectators in the audience. This new language usage supplies the actors with new lines along which to improvise, as well as freshening up the performance with a modern touch which is missing from the traditional script.

The *txorrotxak* [the knife sharpeners] are then asked to sharpen the lord's sword and the action unfolds over the course of several scenes. Song, dance and ironic burlesque dialogue are used to act this out. In addition to this action the *txorrotxak* also introduce, in sung verses, the castrators, gypsies and tinkers when these come onto the stage.

The *aitzindariak* [the leading dancers] then perform the dance *bralia* and then the *buhameak* [the group of gypsies] appear. The latter's task is to read a *pheredikia* or sermon, performed by the *buhame jauna* [the gypsy king]. They conclude their performance with a sword dance which is exaggeratedly out of step and unco-ordinated.

Once the leading dancers have performed the dance known as the *godalet dantza* [dance of the glass], the *kautereak* [the tinkers] act out the repairing of the pot which the lord has sent to be mended. Whilst several tinkers set to repairing the pot, their leader, *kabana handia* [big cabin] reads a speech to the audience in which he relates things which have happened in the world and in the village during the course of the year. The sharing out of the lord's payment for the repair of the pot gives rise to a dispute in which *pitxu* dies. The doctor is called and to everyone's relief, he brings *pitxu* back to life.

The *Maskarada* closes with two events. Firstly, the actors come together to form a chorus and sing a song specially composed for the occasion. Secondly, they make a circle to dance *aitzina-phika* and *moneinak*, inviting all those who so wish to join in. After these dances, the *Maskarada* is officially concluded, but the festival continues in the village bar or bars.

<p>SEQUENCE OF SCENES AFTER THE MIDDAY MEAL (Fieldnotes on the <i>Maskarada</i> of Altzükü)</p>
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- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Arribada</i> and <i>aitzina phika</i> dances performed by the <i>aitzindariak</i> ▪ Verses of presentation by the knife-grinders ▪ Blacksmiths' performance ▪ <i>Lagabota</i> dance performed by the <i>aitzindariak</i> ▪ Verses of presentation by the knife grinders ▪ Castrators' performance ▪ Knife grinders' verses |
|---|

- *Aitzina phika* dance performed by the *aitzindariak*
- Knife grinders' performance
- *Braletik dantza haustea* dance performed by the *aitzindariak*
- Gypsies' performance and the gypsy king's speech
- Verses of presentation by the knife grinders
- *Godalet dantza* performed by the *aitzindariak*
- Tinkers's performance and Big Cabin's speech
- *Maskarada* song sung by all members of the *Maskarada*
- *Jauziak* dance including all those present who so wish

II. MASKS, COSTUMES AND ROLES IN *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCE

As it will be argued later on in this thesis, the members of the red team, the *gorriak*, came to dramatise intensification of meaning through the use of several symbols and activities, which are mainly presented through dancing. Yet, they also move through various other categories, for their costumes are made of human and animal attributes alike. On the other side, it is the members of the black team, the *beltzak*, who display subversion of meaning, primarily through their obscenities, unrefined speeches and the enactment of uncontrolled bodily movements. Just as with the members of the red team, the masks and disguises of the black team combine human and animal figures. Since this thesis analyses the aesthetics of *Maskarada* performance in a more detailed way from Chapter IV onwards, the following lines are but a brief description of the masks, costumes, roles and aesthetics which are characteristic of the members of the *Maskaradak*.

I will begin by describing the *gorriak* [members of the red team]. Save the *jauna* [the lord], the *anderea* [the lady], the *laboraria* [the male farmer] and the *laborarisa* [the female farmer], all members of the red team wear jackets whose designs echo nineteenth century military style. Colours, designs and ornaments change from village to village, from *Maskarada* to *Maskarada* within the same village as well as

from character to character. These costumes have usually been made by local seamsters, although today some villages prefer to borrow them from either *Zuberoako Zohardia* or *Aitzindariak*, two cultural associations founded to develop traditional Souletine dancing in the early 1970's and late 1980's, respectively.

Entseinaria is a character dressed with a beret, jacket and trousers, all in black with a string band across his chest. He holds a flag which he swings while dancing. *Txerreroa* wears a red beret and a red jacket but his trousers are black. He holds a stick to which a horse hair has been attached. *Gathuzaina* dresses in a blue jacket, a white beret and yellow trousers while holding long wooden shears which the dancer manipulates at the time of the performance. *Zamalzaina's* jacket is red. On his head he wears a *koha* [crown] which is adorned with looking glasses and feathers. Attached to his waist there is a wooden frame covered with white linen. Carved in that frame there is a head of a horse which the dancer grips during his performance. *Kantiniersa* is a dancer dressed in a blue jacket and a blue hat, but a red skirt. He also carries a small barrel.

The characters already described are the *aitzindaria* dancers who wear white dancing shoes and white breeches. These breeches are partially covered by gaiters which match the colour of the trousers. The *entseinaria* is an exception to that rule since he does not wear breeches. The *marexalak* wear red berets and jackets, and black trousers, carrying a hammer and pliers, respectively. The *kukuileroak* have white trousers and red jackets on and berets from which a tassel hangs. *Jauna* is dressed in smart clothes with a string band across his chest. He wears a tall hat on his head, a sword around his waist and carries a stick. The *anderea* wears a wedding dress which is

of a white colour today but used to be dark at the beginning of the century. The *laboraria* wears a black beret and black jacket and trousers while holding a goad. The *laborarisa* wears black dress and scarf as well as carrying a basket.

The members of the red team, particularly the *entseinaria*, *txorrotxa*, *gathuzaina*, *zamalzaina* and *kantiniera*, distinguish themselves from the rest of the components of the Maskarada by means of their dancing expertise. During the *Maskarada* performance, dancing takes centre stage for sequences named *arribada* and *barrikada haustea*, or in special choreography such as *labagota*, *bralia*, *godalet-dantza* and *jauziak*. These dances are for groups and are usually danced in a circle. Choreographies are composed from several foot movements known as *puntuak* and *entrexatak* whose combination in the choreographies vary from village to village.

The aesthetics of the black team contrast radically with the colours, masks and disguises of the *gorriak*. Three peculiarities are inherent in the performance of the black group or *beltzak*. In the first place, three types of colours predominate in the costumes: black for the clothing of the *kautereak* [tinkers]; brown for the *txorrotxak* [sharpeners] and *kereztuak* [castrators] and, the abundance of bright colours for the *buhameak* [gypsies]. Secondly, the actors of the *beltzak* [black group] represent foreigners, or people passing temporarily through the Pays de Soule. The third characteristic of this group is the way in which its ritual performance takes the form of chaotic bodily movements. And finally, the use of words plays a central role in their performance.

In the local language the expression *beltzeria* [group of blacks] is also used to refer to the black team. Within the category of *beltzak* exist various sub-groups: the *buhameak* [gypsies]; the *kautereak* [tinkers]; the *txorrotxak* [sharpeners]; the *kereztuak* [castrators]; and the *medizina* [the doctor]. Toward the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, there existed a wider variety of characters within *beltzeria*. These included a barber, a pharmacist, a notary, a school teacher, and various other professionals who lived in the countryside and could not be identified as peasants (Herelle 1925). From the point of view of the local population, each of these sub-groups reproduce publicly a number of stereotypes, socio-cultural images, and pre-established definitions of their respective roles in society.

During the *Maskarada* parade, the first members of the black group who appear are the *kereztuak* [castrators]. Their role in the morning is limited to opening up the way for the entrance of the entire black group. The role of the castrators during the afternoon is more substantial, and is related to public exhibition of certain notions of gender, which will be discussed in Chapter VI. The afternoon performance of the *kereztuak*, on the other hand, depicts other facets of social life not linked to gender, but demonstrating notions of socio-cultural identity and group belonging.

The *kereztuak* consists of two characters who speak to each other during the performance, circle each other and exhibit particular dance movements. These characters are not original from Soule, but rather, migrant workers from *Bearno* [*Pays de Béarn*], a neighbouring geographic-cultural area where a language variant referred to as *bearnesa* [Occitan dialect] is spoken. It is useful to underline the fact that the language spoken by these personages during their performance is a special type of

‘Occitan’, as it becomes a mixture of French and local (Basque) parlance so that the audience is able to understand their dialogue. This feature of the *Maskarada* calls attention to the linguistic, human, and cultural groups which border and contest each other. The performance thus serves to highlight, in a jocular way, certain views about the groups’ interrelations.

Following the *kereztuak* in the parade are the *buhameak* or the gypsy tribe. Generally this group consists of four characters, a prominent member being the *buhame jauna* [gypsy king]. These wear brightly coloured clothing, shout loudly, and each carries a wooden sword with which is performed a sort of rustic dance at a certain point in the performance. The personality of the *buhameak* is displayed during the morning barricades by the fact that the performers spend their time rolling on the ground, causing mischief, taunting the people, and chasing the girls of the locality. The same type of behaviour occurs during the afternoon, in addition to which the performers also display a type of performance highly characteristic of peasant carnival celebrations. This variety of para-theatrical performance, called *pheredekia* [sermon], occurs in the following way. At the same time as the *buhame jauna* runs circles along the perimeter of the plaza, he declares in a loud voice the advantages of his nomadic existence. Meanwhile he is followed by the rest of the *tribe* who display attributes of laziness, ungratefulness, and disorder. Here I reproduce in English translation the *pheredekia* [sermon] given by the *buhame jauna* of the *Maskarada* by Muskildi in 1987.

Good day to you, inhabitants of this village
Both elderly and young
Pregnant women and steril too
Those who have been cuckolded and those who haven’t
Quiet and boisterous

Here we are the gypsies
You have to know who and how famous we are
Where we have been we’ll tell you now

But first come our christian names

This is Dindo Tzarpatagi, of red eyes
A throat like a mountain and large balls
He will never get tired
As he doesn't know what work is

This is Ibrahim Abdalagoiti, of dark legs
Long black face and easy-going
His mum threw him in to a pile of shit
And he's not been near water since
Thus the scent doesn't come from his monkey

Here is Akito Sakibü, of curved legs
Big belly and dirty feet
His biggest efforts are
Women and ball dances

And behind all these is Maia Zankhasgora
Here she is, big teats
Hot between the legs and a roomy opening

She suffered great pain in Siberia
For she dried and from there grew her moustache
Which she already had as a consequence of using pills
Nevertheless, what a cook she is and how we dine

Often we enjoy mole in sauce
And grilled grass hoppers
Equally good are our spirits
And thus we empty our bowels every night

And myself Asma Koskabillanborda
These are my servants and I'm a famous king
My greatness is known throughout the world

With us new laws have propagated
Such as robbery and hard drinking
Always leisure and festivity
Refrain from work and sweat
Eager to stick to a sausage
Thus we are known in the world
And now you will know the countries we have passed through

We have been in Siberia where the soft part of our bodies got frozen
In that awful place Maia's opening got shut
And we all weakened

Afterwards we went to Poland
And had an appointment with Mr. Jarulelski
It seemed he couldn't pass our welcome meal
So we decided to cure him
With hot pepper and other herbs of our knowledge
As soon as he took them he farted and broke wind.

Then we arrived in Iran where we had to buy a veil for Maia
 There women and men are segregated
 And fooling around is not accepted
 Save for Ayatollah
 Who did like Maia's breasts
 Thus we put them together in a room
 But our dangly bits didn't get old in that country
 For Maia didn't like the Ayatollah's gifts
 She needs beings like us, ram-like
 Since she's got used to tough guys
 And not to tender ones

Later on we went to Bangladesh, what a famine
 A skinny country for a gypsy
 We left right away
 And went to England to see what Thatcher had to say
 We found her iron well sharpened but her underwear wrinkled
 We offered her our accustomed presents
 And from the French farmers four sheep

We have travelled across other countries
 Pakistan, the Lebanon, Kurdistan, Afghanistan
 Also across China, Conchinchina, Barrankilla and Harmakiña
 Where we have put our marks and taken off those of others

Finally all gypsies of the world met in Czechoslovakia
 For instance, there were the Landuntx, Gathurutx, Arkutx and Kokutx brothers
 The Pandart, Pantzart, Xinfart eta Zankhart cousins
 The Hotüzkü, Gatüzkü, Khotxüzkü and Pitxerüzkü drunkards
 The Jo, Jojo, Barjo and Bedajo
 The Aña, Maña, Mañaña, Betigaña sisters
 The Spaghetti, Ravioli, Buitoni, Panzani, Berlusconi Italians
 We celebrated with a big drinking party
 And took an oath to keep on being gypsies

Because we are schooled people and churchgoers on Sundays
 We know well that when priests' sermons are too long
 It happens that listeners yawn right away
 Therefore I'll finish my stories here

With these three friends of mine we are going to start business in Muskildi
 To begin with we have sausages, ham and bacon
 After that we will finish with the wine kept in goat-skins and barrels
 And from here I see some women to whom I'll say:
 gypsies are at your service

[Original Basque in APENDIX I]

According to local testimony, the fact that the discourse of the *buhameak* group contains extensive use of the pronouns *gü* [we] and *ni* [I], characterises these as extremely eager to talk about themselves. It is interesting to note that the structure and

content of this sermon does not vary from Sunday to Sunday for the different visits that the group pays to various villages in the region.

This contrasts radically with the sermons of the *kautereak* [tinkers] in which new lines are written according to each locality that is visited. During the morning, the performance of the tinkers corresponds to that of the gypsies. However, their respective costumes are different. The tinkers wear black trousers, overcoats, and hats decorated with duck wing feathers. They cover their faces with masks made of sheep's skin and wool. There are four members in the tinkers group, each displaying across his back short sentences expressing his opinions on various subjects. Each individual has a name and a sub-name. For example: *kabana handia* represents the role of the chief of the group. He is also called *kautere gehiena* [principal tinker]. Also, there are: *fripu*, *pupu*, and *pitxu*, a largely transcendental role, seeing as this character represents the spirit of the group. *Pitxu* performs while decorated with the tail of a fox, the animal that defines the characteristics of this role within the *Maskarada*. He is supposed to be clever, skilful, a cheat, sharp and always able to escape trouble in a graceful and triumphant manner. During the afternoon performance, *kabana handia* is responsible for reciting (from a book), a sermon relating, in ironic terms, the major events which have taken place in the village over the course of the previous year. At the same time, his companions go about repairing a large cooking pot, typically belonging to the *jauna* [the master of the *Maskarada*], which contains an exaggerated amount of holes. *Kabana handia* of the *Maskarada* by Muskildi read the following *pheredikia* or speech when performing in the square of Muskildi in 1987.

Good afternoon people of the region
We can see that some of you are turbulent
Although since the pub was closed, much less
And since you gave a *Pastoral* you are rather arrogant
You find any excuse to go out anytime and to go to parties anywhere

But when the time to get some work done comes 'on s'en fout'
Everyday bread and wine

Now I will introduce these tinkers to you
Who have travelled around the entire world
This is Trastü, he used to run the pub
But because he also drank the most
His wife sent him away

This is Lanana Malibü, he never married
Never left anyone pregnant, though
He likes chasing after men
This is Kortatü, he's gone mad after too much music
This is Pitxu, a good worker

And myself, the master of all these, Kabana Handia
All men must look like me: handsome
And, like me, they must be something
I have fought as a soldier in Beirut
And been decorated with *la légion d'honneur* and *l'acte de bravure*
Afterwards I returned home

Now I will tell you why I'm here
The Union leaders sent me to Muskildi because
In the neighbourhood of Aghregia and Karrika nobody could sleep
Two railwaymen from this village are on strike
And the train station almost closed down for good

The owner of the sky station in San Antonio is still crying
He went bankrupt this winter
We the tinkers are here to do those jobs people never do
And to put the right way what is wrong
But above all we are here to count trains
Because this is the hardest task for a railwayman
Do you know what our railwaymen did
before they went on strike?
They put a huge obstacle in the Viaduct of Zübürralte
So that we tinkers couldn't come over

To pay the expenses of our trip
We forced the safe of the bank *Crédit Agricole*
But once opened we realised it was already empty
And we saw a fancy car parked outside the bank
So his owner was charged with bank robbery
And sent far away from Maule to Béarn

We have searched the prison of Pau
And covered all the holes made by the rats
As well as repairing the toilets

Before coming to Zuberoa we were in Paris
There was trouble in the police station
Eighteen people with files and sandpaper plus us
Did what we had to do

While being in Paris we met some ministers
 For we wanted to be civil servants
 There we talked to Jacques Chirac and Charles Pasqua
 And lunched together
 We made them get drunk
 And then had a nice walk through the streets of Paris in Pasqua's car
 Of course since there are in Paris as many policemen as here
 The four of us got arrested
 Charles had to pass the alcohol test and here it is that
 He gave 'taux d'alcoolémie élevé'
 No doubt Pasqua had to pay an extremely heavy fine
 Policemen took us to jail but they said to us
 That new regulations would take over
 For instance, having ten grammes of alcohol in the blood will be legal

Someone gave us Le Pen's address
 And we went on our last job to Paris
 We decided to paint his place all black
 And punch him
 That is why he's one-eyed

Listen to our last words:
 To feast with those people 'c'est tout bon'
 But if you are not on their side
 'attention de ne pas se faire pendre'

[Original Basque in APENDIX II]

Following on the *kereztuak* [tinkers] are the *medizina* [doctor or doctors]. Their role consists in appearing at the end of the afternoon performance in order to heal *pixtu* who, according to the way the philosophy of the carnival has developed, has fallen ill due to the overconsumption of food. The behaviour of these doctors is intentionally grotesque: it is a parody of the act of healing. The intention of the tinkers, doctors and practically all the black group is *erri egin arrazi* [to mock]. For this group, irony, parody and exaggeration are recurring elements.

Closing the parade of participants are the *txorrotxak* [sharpeners]. They play a double role in the afternoon performance of the *Maskarada*. Firstly, they perform a sketch in which they sharpen the sword of the *jauna* [the lord], a character of the red team. Secondly, they recite verse to the audiences present at the performances of the castrators, gypsies, and tinkers. The role that they perform in the mornings also includes

the reciting of verse at each of the barricades they encounter on their way to the central *plaza* [square]. Although couplets sung by the *txorrotxak* can be found in Chapter V, I include here the couplets sung by the *txorrotxak* when breaking through the first *barrikada* [barricade] put at the entrance of the village of Muskildi.

Agur Muskildi eta muskidiar maitiak
Irusik girade zien ikhustiaz
Egin beitüzie Phastual Maskada
Lüzaz bizi dadin üskaldun üsantxa

[Salute Muskildi and villagers
We are glad to see you are fine
You have done a *Pastoral* and a *Maskarada*
Long live the Basque traditions]

The performance of the *Maskarada* finishes with a song specially composed for the occasion and it is sung by all the members of the troupe. In 1987 the *Maskarada* players of Muskildi chanted the following lyrics.

First a *Pastoral* and now a *Maskarada*
After a time of sleep Muskildi is waking up
To show everyone and everywhere that Muskildi is Souletine
That through its veins runs Souletine blood

The life of a village springs from the union of its youth
The cause of this feast is our brotherhood
We have taken a strong decision
To give life again to the old play

Today we exhibit our commitment
Following upon the traditions and speaking Basque
Should our village lose the traditions
Without doubt there will be no identity for us

It has been a pleasure to be here
Really we have enjoyed your invitation
That you had a very good time with us
Has been our dream and final aim

[Original Basque in APENDIX III]



Altzükü 1925



Altzükü 1933



Altzükü 1938



Altzükü 1951



Altzükü 1957



Altzükü 1963



Altzükü 1968



Altzükü 1972



Altzükü 1979



Altzükü 1992



Eskiula 1928



Eskiula 1948



Eskiula 1954



Eskiula 1983



Eskiula 1992



Muskildi 1987



Aintzindariak dancers of Altzükü, 1968

GORRIAK [members of the red team]

Aitzindariak



Txerrero

Gatuzaina

Kantiniersa

Zamalzaina

Entseñaria



Marexalak



Kukuiletoak



Jauna-Anderea



Laberaria-Labuarisa

BELTZAK [members of the black team]



Kereztuak



Txorrotsak



Medizina



Buhameak



Kantereak



A barricade to enter the village



A barricade before a house. Mascarade of Muskildi in the village of Urdiñarbe, 1987



A barricade before the local authorities in Urđiñarbe. Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987



Aitzaindaria dancers crossing a barricade. Mascarade of Muskildi in the village of Sohüta, 1987



Visiting dancers crossing a barricade



Errezibitzaileak
dancers



Maskarada music players



Members of the black team after crossing a barricade.

Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987



A dance by the members of the red team in the afternoon performance.
Mascarade of Eskiula in Eskiula, 1992



Reds and blacks in the afternoon performance.

Mascarade of Muskildi in Muskildi, 1987



The performance of the sharpeners in the afternoon.
Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987





The performance of the castrators in the afternoon.
Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987





The performance of the shoers in the afternoon.
Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987



Gypsies of the Mascarade of Urdiñarbe, 1993



Gypsies of the Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987



Tinkers of the Mascarade of Muskildi, 1987





The doctor. Mascarade of Eskiula, 1992



The players sing a song to finish their performance.

Mascarade of Muskildi in Sohüta, 1987



Learning to dance jauziak in the village of Pagola, 1987



Learning to play Mascarade music and instruments. Informal school for children in Maule



PART II

(THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION)

CHAPTER III

FORMS OF TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN THE PYRENEES AND IN RURAL BASQUE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

Anthropology has long been concerned with forms of social organisation and means of symbolic expression as a way of understanding particular societies. When examining the social organisation of rural Basque areas, anthropologists have identified four privileged realms for human relationships: the household, the neighbourhood, the *Pays* or valley, and the nation-state. It has been argued that, in different arenas, meaningful social action and group strategies take place. Thus, the analysis of the household in rural Basque society has followed different paths, as seen in works by Barandiarán (1972), Etniker (1996), Lauburu (1987), Caro Baroja (1971, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c), Douglass (1969, 1975) and Ott (1981). For example, Echegaray (1933), Douglass (1969, 1975) and Ott (1981) explain that neighbouring households are involved in social networks of exchange. Authors such as Belinguier (1970), Lakarra (1972), Bidart (1977), Arizcun (1987), Assier-Andrieu (1987) and others have explained how Pyrenean life and its larger valleys formed separate economic entities with their own special legal and political statuses in the Medieval Age and the *Ancien Régime*. Finally, in the configuration of social identity amongst the peoples of the Pyrenees, the making of nation-states, both real and imagined, is at issue. The impact of national and nationalistic political views and policies in local life has also been discussed from several perspectives by Zulaika (1989), Heiberg (1989), Sahlins (1989), del Valle (1993), Jacob (1994), Douglass (1976, 1998), Urla (1988, 1989, 1993) and MacClancy (1988, 1989, 1993, 1996, 1999).

In rural Basque society *etxea* [the household], *auzunea* [the neighbourhood], *harana* or *ibarra* [the *Pays*] and the nation-state shape meaningful arenas for social intercourse where several identities are at play. Furthermore, they provide references

that allow individuals and groups to produce, reproduce or to oppose different understandings of the self. Yet, we must not think of the household, the neighbourhood, the *Pays* and the nation-state, in terms of social relations, as conforming to separate identities that work independently, isolated from one another. Identities are articulated throughout the four social spaces mentioned above and they influence each other in different ways as when, for example, they are enacted in the realm of a social or a political structure or in carnival performance.

This thesis shows that new forms of local organisation and symbolic representation are emerging in Zuberoa, which are different from those understood as traditional forms. Therefore, rural social organisation and carnival performance are changing, as new models for social reproduction develop, just as can be seen in other areas of the Basque country, in the Pyrenees and Europe. Within Pyrenean culture and society, there are forms of social reproduction and symbolic representation where there is a notion of continuity which is dramatised in both the transmission of the household and in the enactment of carnival performance. Most Basque research has focussed on the household and carnival festivity in terms of traditional activities. Throughout this chapter I will be cautious of the term 'tradition' as it connotes a multitude of meanings for the subjects of research as well as for the researcher. Therefore, this chapter will be organised as follows. Firstly, I will introduce the main concepts and issues anthropologists discussed when they started fieldwork research in southern Europe. Then, I will show that the peoples and cultures from the Pyrenees are characterised by a type of social organisation which stresses social identity in terms of belonging to a household and to a valley, as well as explaining that the Pyrenean social model is no longer able to reproduce itself in modern times. Afterwards I will discuss the way in

which both local and foreign anthropologists have studied rural Basque society, alluding to several authors (in particular: Barandiarán 1972; Douglass 1969; and Ott 1981) who have analysed the Basque household from an ahistorical perspective, which has given place to a reification of rural Basque society. I will argue that rural Basque society must be studied from an historical perspective, in a way that the term 'traditional' refers to a dynamic social reality. Also, I will discuss rural society in Zuberoa, and show that, today, a series of arrangements are undertaken in local households which are different from the so-called 'traditional'. Finally, I will argue that the symbolic expression of continuity in rural Basque society is no longer dramatised by means of winter and carnival celebrations or through the figure of the inheritor as it used to be, but by the large participation in local festivals of returning migrants during the summer vacation, as well as by the number of boys and girls attending the school in the village.

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

Certain theoretical issues have become prominent in the study of southern European cultures and societies. Firstly, there has been much debate concerning the relations between anthropology and history. Furthermore, the sort of historical form the anthropologist has to employ, in order to explain anthropological presents, has also been a matter for discussion. In this sense, Davis (1977) proposed two books to guide anthropological practice: Lison Tolosana (1966) and Blok (1974). At that time, other anthropologists sought explanation through political economy (Cole and Wolf 1974, Schneider & Schneider 1976). In the 1980's some anthropologists looked for other types of relationships between history and ethnography while exploring historical texts or informants' discourses about the past (McDonald 1986, Moss 1979). For instance, Zonabend (1984) distinguished between history and time, in order to analyse biography

and family times as meaningful times neglected by history. Thus, Zonabend made a further distinction between history, ethnography and memory.

In 1986, almost ten years after Davis' book, Llobera's article on the relationship between history and ethnography provoked a reply from colleagues specialised in southern European ethnography (*Critique of Anthropology* 1986). Behind this debate on history and anthropology within rural Europe, there was an attempt to develop a paradigm which would integrate the past with the present. That is to say, rather than looking at history as a formula for contextualising a number of synchronic data collected during a short period of fieldwork, an anthropological account should also be able to include the diachronical dimension as part of the analysis itself.

Secondly, initial fieldwork in southern Europe highlighted the concepts of honour and shame. In this way, some peoples and cultures of the area, mainly those of the Mediterranean proper, were included in this generic category of honour and shame (Peristiany ed. 1965). At the same time, other works revealed a discernible pattern of relationships termed patron-client relationships (Campbell 1964). However, further research on these subjects cast doubt on the universality of the former organising categories, and indicated that precise contextualisation was needed (Herzfeld 1980, Wikan 1984). Thus, Lever (1986) has approached this issue in the following way:

Honour/shame has become a 'red herring', distracting attention from the values of non-dominant groups, as well as failing to account for the values change (Lever 1986:83).

On a different plane, O.J. O'Neill (1987) has argued that the honour and shame and patronage codes are misleading for what he calls Mountain Europe – the latter being “situated within a culture area and ecological zone quite distinct from that of the

Mediterranean” (O'Neill 1987:16). Not only is the difference between these areas ecological or climatic, but also cultural and social (Burns 1963, Wolf 1966, Laslett 1983). Finally, in the anthropology of southern Europe there is a more recent concern with conflicting political, religious and cultural identities as a result of, firstly, the ongoing European Union, secondly, the weakening of former nation-states, thirdly, the rise of local nationalists' claims for larger regional power, and finally, legal and illegal migration from Muslim countries (MacDonald ed. 1993, Goddard, Llobera & Shore eds. 1994).

Anthropological research in southern Europe, therefore, shows a variety of approaches and analytical frameworks, as well as a distinguishable heterogeneity of subjects and studies. As a result, the following question arises: Are there any grounds on which we can circumscribe a consistent cultural region? The historian Fernand Braudel (1985) has discerned two Mediterranean zones, ours and theirs. The first is based on transhumance and Christianity, the other on nomadism and Islam. He nevertheless puts forward a concept of a unified Mediterranean as a unit of study. The anthropologist John Davis has also written on this. He argues that even though there are many peoples and cultures whose social organisations, worldviews and goals differ from each other, an historical account confirms that they have developed deep and meaningful, as well as contradictory, exchange relationships through time, and that, therefore, there is a limited sense in which the Mediterranean constitutes a field with unifying themes. As we will see later on in this thesis, the folk theatre forms of the Pyrenean mountains, such as the carnival *Maskaradak* from Soule, depict cultural images which dramatise particular relationships between the two Mediterranean areas mentioned above.

III. ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE PYRENEES

The historian Braudel holds that the history of the peoples of the Mediterranean has its beginnings in the mountains and hills: the Alps, Apennines, Balkans, Tauro, Libyan, Atlas, Pyrenees, etc. Therefore, in the establishment of cultural and social practices, the relationship between mountains and valleys became crucial. He suggests that the types of relationships developed between peoples of the highlands and peoples of the lowlands gave rise to particular social systems and organisations (Braudel 1985). Anthropologists too have distinguished relevant differences in social organisation and cultural understanding between peoples of different ecological settings (Laslett 1983, 1984; O'Neill 1987).

The Pyrenean mountains are geographically located in southern Europe and they have served as a political and economic border between France and Spain. As they are situated between the Atlantic ocean and the Mediterranean sea, societies and cultures of this area do not follow the cultural patterns of what, in anthropology, is acknowledged as Mediterranean. Rather they are classified within a Mountain Europe complex. Moreover, historical and ethnographic research carried out in the Pyrenean area indicates a unitary cultural territory based on two central themes: on the one hand, there is a notion of valley and on the other, there is the importance of the house as the centre of the social, economic and symbolic world of the peasants (Lefebvre 1933, Violant i Simorra 1949, Dumas 1976, Chiva & Goi 1981, Pallaruelo 1983, Soulet 1987, Comas d'Argemir & Soulet eds. 1993)

The terms 'valley' and 'household' do not, however, hold the same meaning in every period of time or in every locality of the region. The abundant literature on this topic is quite explicit on this point. The most significant work done in this area provides historical, comparative and local as well as general perspectives (Comas d'Argemir 1978, 1980; Arizcun 1988; Arvizu 1992; Augustins 1981a, 1981b, 1989, 1992; Barrera González 1990; Bobinska & Goy eds. 1981; Bourdieu 1962, 1972a; Esteba Fabregat 1971; Goody, Thirsk & Thompson eds. 1976; Comas d'Argemir & Joan Pujadas 1985). All of these underline the same structural principles: indivisibility of house and family inheritance and the selection of a single heir from the sibling group.

Caro Baroja (1988) has talked of the Pyrenees as having significant geographic points of reference, which have been interpreted in many different ways, according to the knowledge, requirements and interests of the times. Thus, he argues that those classical Greek texts which referred to the Pyrenees presented mythical-poetic versions of this area. Following on from this, he alludes to geographic-political reports which spoke of the Pyrenees and the river Ebro as assigning a meaningfully physical-political boundary between the Romans and Carthaginians. He further observes a third perspective, which comes to be identified as socio-economic. This time, ethnographic and geographic evidence, as well as accounts of separate peoples, settlements and socio-economic organisations, are submitted. After his examination of these records of the ancient world, Caro Baroja goes on to consider a fourth view of the Pyrenees, now in the Early Medieval Age, with the Romans ruling the Iberian peninsula. Perhaps of more interest for anthropologists, is a fifth perspective which materialises during the Medieval Age when the Pyrenean valley is seen as a solid political, legal and

administrative organisation and the household is shown to be the first organising institution within valley design.

It is during the Early Medieval Age that we see the first chronicles reporting on the relationships between the state or monarchy and each particular valley (Luc 1943, Regla Campistol 1951, Giasey 1968, Shneidman 1970, Galderan i Vigué 1973, Poumarade 1984, Arvizu 1992). It seems that sheep transhumance demanded control over shepherders' movements and rights of graze, a fact which developed strict hierarchies and converted the valley into a genuine ruling centre, which caused further conflict between valleys. Likewise, the relationships between monarchies and valleys were not always amicable. Rather, they generated much litigation over the degree of involvement of both the state and the valley in local administration and their control of political power. In France it was the Revolution of 1789 which finally came to abolish the autonomy of the valleys on local matters. In Spain it was the end of the so-called *guerras carlistas* [Carlist wars] during the nineteenth century which produced the end of the *Ancien Régime* and established a more centralised state. As a result, most of the local and regional power was revoked.

What are the forty-nine valleys or *païses* of the Pyrenees like today? Their former intensity, singular characters and peculiar conventions co-exist with a series of different political, economic, juridical and administrative unities: two modern, centralist states, Spain¹ and France; one principate: Andorra; three French regions (Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon); six French *départements* (Pyrénées Atlantiques, Hautes-Pyrénées, Haute-Garonne, Ariège, Aude and Pyrénées Orientales); one-thousand one-hundred and sixty-eight French municipalities; four Spanish

comunidades autónomas or autonomous communities (Cataluña, Aragón, Navarra and País Vasco); seven Spanish provinces (Gerona, Barcelona, Lérida, Huesca, Zaragoza, Navarra and Guipúzcoa); and five-hundred and fifty Spanish municipalities.

What does it mean to speak of Pyrenean valleys in a world and time, in which expressions such as European Community or Atlantic axis and so on, have become an index of upcoming realities? Today, the Pyrenees, just as many other mountain areas in Europe, are marked by migration and they are, therefore, zones of declining population. Pyrenean livelihood, based on agriculture and sheep herding is formally and bureaucratically known as 'Mountain Economy' – an expression which denotes little more than a self-subsistence endeavour, mostly supported by financial aid from Brussels. Tourism has developed as a main economic activity, so that historically productive operations such as sheep herding, farming and craft work have largely receded on behalf of skiing-orientated centres, mountain trekking and similar adventure opportunities.

IV. THE PYRENEAN HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD-ORIENTATED SOCIETIES

As has been said, the Pyrenean house betrays the following characteristics: inheritance' indivisibility and single heirdom. These general attributes, however, have separate meanings, according to historical circumstances and local occurrences. Therefore, their study requires both a timely and a spatially focused examination. In other words, their analysis demands contextualisation. Thus, Terradas (1979) has observed the Pyrenean household organisation in relation to political economy in Catalonia, which he explains in the following way. During the Spanish Reconquest, this arrangement facilitated the Christian movement from the highlands to the lowlands

¹ A process of decentralisation emerged in Spain during the 1980s.

and advanced the deeply established social practice, in the process of legitimization, of the new expansionist state. Terradas states that this type of family inheritance fulfilled several needs during the Reconquest. Firstly, the non-inheriting siblings of each generation became the new Christian settlers in the southward state movement, as well as the source of new rent in the newly administered economic territories. Secondly, as these new social and family units were attached to newly acquired territories, as well as given special legal and political status, they became the most active agents in the process of state legitimization. Terradas offers similar functional explanations while analysing sixteenth-century migration to America and nineteenth-century industrialisation. Thirsk (1969) has also addressed the United Kingdom of the seventeenth century in a similar way.

What is important to keep in mind, though, is the fact that we do not find the same answers to the same social questions in every part of the Pyrenees. Political economy affected peoples' lives in the area in many different ways according to regional peculiarities. To cite an example, let us remember that, for several reasons, a demographic increase took place in the area during the sixteenth century. Therefore, the valleys became overpopulated. Yet separate strategies were developed. Thus, while in some areas of the Basque Country the excess of population left for South America, in other Basque or Pyrenean valleys the summer huts and grazing areas of the highlands were transformed into permanent farming houses. As a result, households' rights on communal property were reformulated. Moreover, banditry emerged as a social phenomenon (Comas d'Argemir & Pujadas 1985:12-15). Similar processes took place in some parts of France during the nineteenth-century (Augustins 1981a, Goy 1981).

On the whole, household-centred societies have been studied academically in anthropology from separate angles, as well as in diverse geographic areas. Thus, where Lévi-Strauss (1969, 1982, 1987, 1991) has defined it as a special type of alliance, some scholars have focussed upon the domestic group and asked morphological questions (Fortes 1949, Goody 1971). Some have emphasised its economic feature (Sahlins 1972, Meillasoux 1975, Moore 1988), while others have addressed its cognitive and symbolic aspects (Nakane 1967, Freeman 1976, Carsten 1990). The Pyrenean household has also been approached from several perspectives and it can be concluded that the household prototype instituted along the rural valleys of the Pyrenees, shows itself as the main social and economic centre – a centre around which ideologies, worldviews and symbolic frameworks are built. Yet its social relevance today is in serious decline, as it can be observed that a significant crisis casts doubt about its continuity over time. Households in the Pyrenees bring with them a strong sense of permanence and endurance. A house, its name, its origin rooted in the past, its land extension, its domestic group, each of them are a part of the same unique reality. Not only is this notion rooted in some distant past, but it looks forward too. That is to say, one of the principles at work is the reproduction of the household itself. This stress on reproduction requires a series of strategies from the domestic group. Among them are marriage and inheritance.

From an overarching theoretical perspective, Henrietta L. Moore has defined the household thus:

The term household refers to the basic unit of society involved in production, consumption and socialisation. Although recruitment to households is often through kinship and marriage, these units are not necessarily the same things as families (Moore 1988:54).

In the Pyrenean valleys, the indivisibility of inheritance and the single heirship have created, within the household-based social and economic understanding of people's relationships, a discernible pattern of peasant strategies for the reproduction of the social system. Not only inheritance, but also marriage is crucial for the reproduction of the rural social system in the Pyrenean region. Following Bourdieu (1962, 1972a) the social statutes represented by a heir and a single person are decisive within the community's rural life, for they embody the ideas of permanence and persistence associated with every household in the village. By marriage, therefore, heirs enact a social principle which applies not only to their single household, but to the whole community as well. Yet, marriage does not simply dramatise a mere symbolism. As Bourdieu and other examiners of the household in mountain areas have put it, marriage is also evidence of precise economic strategies within peasant life. Moreover, the ability to marry and set up a marriage implies an already significant economic investment and success.

Throughout the century and especially recent decades, a deep transformation has taken place in the Pyrenean region. Important changes have also occurred in the household, both within domestic relations of production and their relationship with other domestic groups of the community. Similarly, significant changes have happened in the village's relations with the external world. Thus, a brief description of a mountain village shows variations in the morphology of the domestic groups. Also, peculiar legal conventions of the region concerning marriage settlements have disappeared in many localities and many marriage strategies are now of a different design, for farming and being a farmer or a farm heir are no longer respectable. As a result, the number of married people has drastically diminished and many heirs have

aged while remaining unmarried. These data tell us about a social model which no longer reproduces itself (Comas d'Argemir & Pujadas 1985). We should note that this phenomenon has been reported all over Europe, in rural peripheries, for many years ago (Franklin 1969, McNeill 1978).

It must be concluded that Pyrenean societies have undergone a dramatic change during the second half of the twentieth century. The improvement and expansion of roads and other methods of communication, as well as the increase in industrial jobs in the important or main towns of the valleys and of the bordering areas of the Pyrenean region, first engendered large migration and have now caused the emergence of a consumption of urban lifestyle models and commercial tourism. Consequently, deep structural transformations have taken place. These can be seen in the rural household and in the way peasants view their economic activities. Thus, the farming house as a domain upon which the social, economic and cognitive life of the community is assembled, is declining. Transhumance is also declining. Furthermore, it can be observed that while sheep management weakens, the cattle industry is taking over. Most farmers now keep their livestock in stalls, and they make large use of industrial feeding stuffs. These changes have resulted in both a considerable use of monetary exchanges and a dependance on the market economy, which has subsequently brought about a remodelling of exchange relations and reciprocity between households. Consequently the means whereby prestige, influence, authority and wealth are accomplished within local life have been reformulated.

V. ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES ON RURAL BASQUE SOCIETY

This thesis studies a particular set of cultural practices which take place in a valley of the French Pyrenees. By historical, linguistic, sociological and cultural criteria, the inhabitants qualify as Basque. Several anthropologists have conducted fieldwork on rural Basque society, though mostly in villages of the Spanish area. This is why there is no research by professional social anthropologists on the Basques of the French side, with the exception of Sandra Ott's work on the village of Santazi, Zuberoa (Ott 1981). Anthropological research in rural Basque society has underlined the importance of the household as an economic, social, symbolic and cognitive sphere of and for human relationships. Yet within Basque studies different tendencies and approaches can be identified. A brief account of these separate trends follows.

Firstly, there is a strong interest in the collection and classification of material culture and other morphological aspects of rural life. This trend is finely exemplified in the work of Barandiarán (1972) and his colleagues (Barandiarán et al. 1978, Etniker 1993). Although extremely rich in ethnographic description and data, their work lacks theoretical discussion and academic debate. As a result of the stress on cultural morphology and data collection, the anthropological concern with meaning and cultural content is missing. Secondly, there is the work of Caro Baroja (1971), who has studied rural Basque society from a social and an historical perspective. His work remains outstanding, since he adds a significant historical explanation to the body of ethnographic material collected by Barandiarán. Thirdly comes the research based on fieldwork experience conducted by professional anthropologists. This trend is first represented by Douglass (1969, 1975) and later on by Greenwood (1976), Ott (1981), del Valle (1985, 1993), Heiberg (1989), Zulaika (1989), Urla (1988, 1989, 1993) and

MacClancy (1993, 1999). In the following pages I shall review some of the ideas and understandings expressed by these authors.

The outcome of the first anthropological inquiry into rural Basque society was presented within the local monograph format. That is to say, data collection on social and cultural relationships and their examination ended at the very physical boundaries of the selected village. This is evident in Barandiarán's work. Yet this tendency applies to some work done by non-natives too. Douglass' first book (1969), as well as Ott's (1981) are good examples of it. However, there is a significant difference between these authors and Barandiarán. Whereas the latter explains his task in terms of rescuing and documenting social practices at risk of disappearing, as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation, the former seek principles for social life such as mechanic solidarity (Douglass 1969) and structural orders (Ott 1981) which are based on exchange and reciprocity systems among the households of the village.

When Douglass wrote his first monograph on rural Basque society he chose a British functional-structuralist framework (Douglass 1969). He analysed ethnographic themes such as the domestic group, vicinity, beliefs and burial ritual practices already considered by local scholars, but he now reframed and presented them through the Durkheimian concepts of solidarity and cohesion. The analysis, however, is distinguished by the subtlety of the examination of the domestic group and its representation in ritual practice. Douglass studied a farming village in the Basque province of Bizcaia, Spain, where he showed how it is that death and implied rituals dramatise a solid unity and reciprocal identification between a farm, its name, the domestic group, the land, the huts and its respective *sepulture* [grave] within the village

church. All of them shape one single entity, as well as symbolising continuity. Furthermore, he argues that in rural Basque society there is a correspondence between physical and social distance and, that it is within this correspondence that neighbourhood relationships take place and become formally established. As a result of this correlation between geography and everyday relations, there is no social institution or cultural practice that permits the members of the community to assemble all together, save the burial ritual. By means of participating in the burial ritual a set of social activities and spiritual exchange relationships called *artu-emon* and *arima-onrek*, are engendered among the domestic groups in the village.

Ott's book on the Basques of Santazi, a sheep farming community in the French Basque Country, is an analysis of various household-centred exchange systems. She has addressed rural Basque society from within the parameters of British structuralism and, just as Douglass in Murelaga, Ott here discerns two main spheres for social activity and interaction: the domestic group in the household and the domestic group in relation to other domestic groups in other households. The latter domain of social transaction receives a great attention in Ott's argument. According to her, neighbourhood relationships are neither an effect of casual physical contiguity between households nor the contingent outcome of two individuals' friendship. On the contrary, neighbourhood relationships observe structural principles. Moreover, social life in Santazi comes to be defined through two main organising rules, *üngürü* and *aldikatzia* [circularity and rotation]. Thus, circularity and rotation refer to neighbourhood relationships based on singular exchange systems.

Ott's study of the social conventions of Santazi addresses three key points: funerary obligations between households; the ceremony of blessing the bread and the sheep herders' institution called *olha*. With regard to the first two, Ott remarks that they model a complementary system of asymmetrical exchange. Also, it is significant that Ott's examination of the mountain institution is named *olha*. She argues that summer activities of shepherds in the mountain huts reproduce and paradoxically reverse the ideologically female universe of the domestic social relations in the households down the valley. In order to explain this, Ott illustrates the way shepherds explain how they make their cheeses, showing how it relates metaphorically to human life coming into being.

Both Douglass and Ott analyse a prominent feature in rural Basque society, reciprocity, which they present within a strong synchronic framework. Yet their data show significant information which make us think of social life in Murelaga and Santazi as taking place within a wider process, a process that involves internal social change. Thus, Douglass briefly reports on relevant economic changes in the area which were affecting local life in Murelaga. Firstly, households and domestic groups were switching from a subsistence-orientated economy to one orientated towards commercial agriculture linked to the marketplace. Secondly, peasants were showing a decreasing interest in farming agriculture and an increasing one in commercial forestry, particularly in pine plantations. These changes in the economic activities of the households resulted in changes in the exchange relationships between neighbours, characteristic of a self-sufficient economy.

Similarly, it can be observed that neighbourhood relationships in Santazi were an altered realm, as Ott's ethnography shows itself. On the one hand, economic activities in Santazi were shifting from sheep herding to cattle farming, as well as from subsistence to market economy, which were altering the *olha* institution.² The following statement is significant too:

What difference will it make if I have three or thirteen children? As soon as they grow up, they all want to go to the towns, to have motor cars and expensive clothes. So they will need money. What can they earn here? You can't expect them to stay (Ott 1981:202-203).

Thus, whereas radical changes were taking place in both villages, the models and procedures described and examined by these two authors belong to an economy based primarily on subsistence. Therefore, we should look at them, rather as part of a social reality than as *the* ethnographic reality. It is in a later book that Douglass approached rural Basque society within an ethnographic context, which included an historical dimension as a fundamental point of reference (Douglass 1975). In this second book, he undertook a comparative study on the impact of a wider regional and national economic process in the local life of two Basque villages, Murelaga and Echalar. On this occasion, he distinguished three periods where household activities were framed in separate economic contexts. He called these periods *Period I*, *Period II* and *Period III*. *Period I* ran from the end of the nineteenth century until 1925, and was characterised by household farming orientated towards self-subsistence. *Period II* went from 1925 to 1945 when the household was described as combining a self-sufficient production and consumption with a new local economy inclined to market exchange relationships. Finally, *Period III*, which Douglass established from 1945 up to the 1960s, when his fieldwork took place. Douglass observed that in this third period household production

² This is well illustrated in the ethnographic film *Basque from Santazi*, Disappearing World Series filmed by Granada TV, Manchester. Ott was involved in the making of this film as a consultant anthropologist.

and consumption fully entered market exchange relationships in both Murelaga and Echalar.

According to Douglass, technological improvements happened in rural Spanish Basque society during *Period II*. By means of this improvement, production increased and production incited external consumption by the domestic group. A need of a cash income was behind this and, as a result, production shifted to cattle and milk commercialisation. Furthermore, in *Period III* a clear propensity to cease producing commercial milk and go in for pine plantations can be seen. However, this switch does not apply everywhere in rural Basque society. For instance, Greenwood's analysis of economic change in a Spanish Basque village called Fuenterrabia, shows a different process. In Fuenterrabia, tourism was the external economic force at issue. The large presence of tourism in local relationships led households to abandon agriculture, rather than to generating a shift in agricultural production (Greenwood 1976).

Professional anthropologists started to conduct fieldwork research in rural Basque society in the 1970s. In the beginning they focussed on village-framed exchange relationships and afterwards addressed how farming households in the countryside responded to wider changes in a nationally-orientated economy. Scholars who conducted fieldwork in the 1980s approached rural Basque society from other perspectives. Particularly, they were interested in issues related to gender, ethnic and political identity. Thus, del Valle (1985), Aretxaga (1987) and Fdez. de Larrinoa (1991) explored the social use of space according to gender distinctions. By analysing the notions of public and private, and ritual and quotidian from within a Basque folk understanding, del Valle, Aretxaga and Fdez. de Larrinoa have shown how the

categories of male and female come to be expressed in rural Basque society. Therefore, in order to examine gender in Basque culture, the scholar must take into account the native's understandings of space and time (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991), as well as the aesthetic effectiveness of ritual behaviour (Aretxaga 1987, Fdez. de Larrinoa 1997a).

Gender in Basque society has also been studied in relation to myth. Interestingly enough, there is a popular belief in the Basque Country which holds that Basque culture is fundamentally matriarchal (Ortíz Osés 1978, Caro Baroja 1973). Del Valle has approached this belief from within a Malinowskian explanation of myth (del Valle 1985). She has argued that whereas peasant imagery and dominant ideology situates women at the centre of power spheres, practical experience and knowledge show that Basque society relegates women to secondary sites of social life. Just as Bamberger questions this in her essay on matriarchal myths in Latin American societies (Bamberger 1979), so del Valle asks what is behind this Basque myth. Her answer is that the myth is a charter by means of which female subordination is reproduced and also legitimated.

The analysis of ethnic and political identity is another conspicuous theme to be found in Basque studies during the 1980s. Thus, Azcona (1984) has explored the relations between Basque ethnology and nationalism during the first half of the twentieth century. Urla (1988, 1989, 1993) has examined Basque identity in relation to language revival and to Basque nationalistic ideology on the basis of fieldwork data collected in Oihartzun, a village in the Spanish Basque province of Gipuzkoa. Del Valle (1993) has studied the mapping of an imagined Basque state by means of partaking in popular ritual performance. Zulaika (1989) has focused on Basque political

violence and terrorism by addressing locally rooted cultural metaphors and peasant images which he collected from Itziar, a Spanish Basque village where he undertook fieldwork. Heiberg (1989) has analysed the formation of what she calls the *Basque nationalistic moral community*. Heiberg conducted fieldwork research in a village called Elgeta, Gipuzkoa, where she addressed the repercussions in local community life of urban-orientated ideological and political forces such as carlism, nationalism and fascism. Finally there is the work of MacClancy on carlism, based on research conducted in Zirauki, a Navarrese village (MacClancy 1999) and on the connections between popular culture and nationalism (MacClancy 1988, 1993, 1996).

In sum, data collection in rural Basque society has stressed several topics. Among them are: the household; the inheritance of property; burial rituals; vicinity and neighbourhood relationships; reciprocity; local strategies in light of economic and social change; the domestic group; gender relations; ritual performance, ethnic identity and political ideology. Several chapters of this thesis are closely related to these topics. In particular, to social organisation and ritual celebration, as well as to gender issues and local and national identity. Even though most fieldwork research on Basque culture has been undertaken on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, this thesis is based on data collected in the French Basque Country where Basque nationalism is a weak option and, with the exception of Ott's case (1981), no professional anthropologists known to me have undertaken research projects in this area.

VI. ETXEA AS TRADITION: OR THE FOSSILISATION AND NATURALISATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

It is noteworthy that in the study of the organisation and social structure of non-western societies, anthropologists have endeavoured to show that their social structure

is, or has been, based on the execution of various norms, such as access to marriage, kinship networks and principles of affiliation. Some time ago, the anthropologist Robin Fox, indicated that anthropologists have sought to answer two types of question related to this issue:

On the one hand, to embrace the totality of society and ask ourselves how it forms its kinship groups [...] and how these function; on the other hand, to centre the analysis on the network of relations which tie certain individuals to others within the kinship scheme (Fox 1967).

Anthropology has studied, in great ethnographic detail, the systems of unilineal descent characteristics of African societies, or the systems of cognate kinship found in Asian societies and many other types of systems found in different places. It is significant that, through such kinship systems, people are capable of articulating identity. Membership (real or imaginary affiliation) of a (kinship) group confers personality on an individual. Thus, classical kinship theory states that groups recruit members, identify themselves, represent themselves and make themselves visible in the model of organisation plotted out by each kinship system.

Following on this line of argumentation, the identification of a person with a group enables him or her to participate in the interplay of rights and obligations particular to the social system and channel their social relations accordingly. In the same way, it permits his or her access to goods and services, whether physical or moral, territorial or spiritual. Through the study of kinship, anthropology has demonstrated the basic units or building blocks of non-state or non-western social systems.

In addition to kinship, there are other ways of acquiring social identity by group recruitment. The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has theorised about this matter, by posing the question of the formation of basic units in the social system in terms of

alliances (Lévi-Strauss 1969). Among the types of alliances he found around the world, he identified one which allowed him to speak of *sociétés à maison* [house-based societies] (Lévi-Strauss 1982, 1987, 1991). Interestingly, the socio-cultural region of the Pyrenees is considered to be characterised by a type of social organisation founded on a (cognitive and practical) household centred system, which echoes that of *sociétés à maison*. (Augustin 1992; Coloquio Franco-Español 1986; Comas d'Argemir and Joan Pujadas 1985).

Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) have put the question of whether the notion of house-based societies, as developed by Lévi-Strauss, is still relevant today. They have even suggested the need to go back and conduct research, in terms of an anthropology of the house for many societies in Africa, South East Asia or South America, which up until recently have been studied and explained in accordance with kinship theory. This invitation supposes a major change of approach, since it implies moving from studying the formation of social groups in the sense of aggregations of people with mutual rights and obligations, to the study of the relationship between physical structures (the buildings and other multiple elements of material culture), ideas (symbolic and cognitive systems) and people (the protagonists of social action). This proposal might constitute a certain novelty and challenge for British anthropological theory, but it is not the case of the ethnography and anthropology of the Pyrenees, nor is it for Basque anthropology which forms an integral part of it. The research carried out by José Miguel de Barandiarán in ethnographic collection, Julio Caro Baroja in ethnohistory and William Douglass or Sandra Ott in social anthropology are but small samples testifying to this. One may go so far as to say that the house within the Pyrenees is a

central concept to Basques as is exchange for Melanesia, or segmentary social organisation for some African areas, or hierarchy for India.

In the Basque language there are several expressions which refer to the rural Basque household. Speakers of Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan dialects refer to it as *baserria* or *basarria* [literally, settlement in the woods], whereas speakers of the northern dialects, such as the Zuberoans say *laborari etxea* [farming house]. It must be noted that Basque farmers make a clear distinction between their dwelling, which they understand as being a specific economic enterprise named *baserria* or *laborari etxea* from other rural dwellings, which are called *kaletxeak* [street houses] as their residents make their living from activities other than farming or livestock (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991). However, in towns and cities of the Basque Country, as well as among rural residents who are not farmers or do not share a family background related to farming activities, distinctions between rural houses are acknowledged according to architectural design instead (Barthes 1973; Bidart & Collomb eds.1999). As a result, most non-farmers hold a view of rural Basque society where the central role of the farming house is aesthetic rather than economic. The emphasis on the aesthetic dimension of the rural Basque household has further produced an idealisation of *baserriak* and *laborari etxeak*, which has given support to nationalistic or environmental conservation views, as well as to real estate business.

Ethnographers have also depicted the rural Basque household as being isolated from market relationships while stressing village-orientated exchange relationships. Thus, several anthropologists have portrayed rural Basque society as separated from the dominant market economy and have placed the rural household in a timeless social

dimension. As a consequence, the farming household is understood to represent a pre-industrial and agrarian society which is thought of to be 'traditional'. This circumstance urges the scholar to consider to what extent Basque ethnographic accounts are what Appadurai has referred to as, *metonymic freezing* (Appadurai 1986, 1988a, 1988b), that is to say, a timeless category. Moreover, it can be asserted that a reification of the household has resulted from most ethnographic work carried out in rural Basque society. Therefore, the challenge to the anthropology of Basque mountain society is to de-idealise the notion of *etxea* [the rural Basque house] from timeless ethnography, from nationalist discourse, from romantic and nostalgic views as well as from environmental thought and urban discourses.

At this point, I will turn my attention to an aspect which has been discussed at length in Basque anthropology, namely that Basque rural society, especially mountain society, revolves around *etxea* [the household]. The household is understood, not merely as the physical building and architectural configuration of the house, but also as a vessel of communication and expression. In other words, the household is a central figure in the creation of metaphorical frameworks capable of expressing social relations, organising the territory and configuring the landscape (Douglass 1969, 1975; Ott 1981; Zulaika 1986, 1989; Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991; Martínez 1995, 1996; Zainak 1997; Zainak 1999).

The ethnographical material recorded supplies anthropology with a picture of the rural Basque household with a well-defined socio-cultural content. The morphological characteristics and internal distribution of the house, understood as a building shared by people and animals, have been described by Baeschlin (1980), Yrizar (1980), Caro

Baroja (1971), and Barandiarán and his ethnographic school (*Anuario de Eusko Folklore* 1925, Etniker 1993, Barandiarán et al. 1978). The type of relations generated amongst dwellers of different houses has been analysed by Echegaray (1933), Caro Baroja (1974), Douglass (1969, 1975) and Ott (1981). The spiritual and symbolic components have been studied by Barandiarán and collaborators (see *Anuario de Eusko Folklore* 1923, 1924), Douglass (1969) and Michel Duvert (1992). The relation with the physical environment can be followed in the work of Douglass (1969, 1975), Caro Baroja (1981, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1981), Ott (1981), (Zulaika 1986, 1989, 1992), Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991) and Martínez (1992, 1996). The juridical grounds have been discussed by Labayen (1975), Celaya (1992), Lafourcade & Etcheverry-Ainchart (1979) and Lafourcade (1989). Though from different perspectives, all of these authors have insisted on the inter-relationships between the physical and human (social and cultural) components of the *etxea*.

From the works mentioned above, a sense of 'tradition' based on an image of rural Basque society, which is understood as a *société à maison* or house-based society, has arisen. But in some cases, this image has developed in a way that does not address its historical formation. As anthropologists, we should be aware that societies are products or forms of social organisation and structure which can be situated at certain points or periods in history and are the result of social conflicts or agreements between opposing groups and ideas. We should remember that anthropologists have examined rural Basque society principally from a spatial perspective, relegating the temporal dimension to a secondary plane or omitting it completely. Social analysts such as Pierre Bourdieu (1972b) and Anthony Giddens (1977, 1984) have already warned us of the epistemological consequences of such an oversight. Consequently, we should use the

term 'tradition' with utmost care. A call for precaution comes from several different fields. One of these is modern anthropological theory which has re-evaluated the term 'tradition' on the basis of three premises.

The first and most well-known is that which brings up to date the term 'tradition' and converts it into a dynamic category by approaching it as invention. Traditions do not come out of the blue, they are invented. This vision is derived from the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) who studied a series of 'traditions' and political ceremonies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in which it could be seen how 'traditions' consisted of the projection of contemporary ideas, concepts and models attired in an aesthetic linked to a distant past. Hobsbawm and Ranger propose that many traditions correspond to demands of the present rather than to realities of the past. Nevertheless, it must be stated that the term 'invention' has been used so prolifically since it was first proposed that today it is employed to address a wide variety of questions which differ from the original issue and with the result that it has lost much of the initial meaning attached to it.

Two other expressions have been used in anthropology in an attempt to recuperate the temporal dimension of the term 'tradition'. They may not be as well known as the former but they are no less effective. Williams (1980) has proposed that 'tradition' must be understood as a selection of a significant past. That is to say, a selection from a people's history. I have borrowed Williams' proposal of 'tradition as selection' in a previous work on Basque festivals in the American West (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1989, 1992), and it must be taken into consideration also in the examination of the rural Basque society as reification or frozen historical past. Finally, we have the

notion of tradition understood as 'naturalisation' (Roseberry 1989; O'Brien & Roseberry, eds. 1991). The understanding of 'tradition as naturalisation' reflects an ethnographic reconstruction of a non-capitalistic (agrarian, rural, European) past where there is a notion of community, implying a relationship between the individual, the community and the land considered to be free and natural, which is opposed to an exploited working class community. O'Brien and Roseberry (1991) endeavour to dismantle the social binomials of 'traditional society' equals 'natural society' and 'traditional economy' equals 'natural economy'.

By the terms 'invention', 'selection' and 'naturalisation' we are reminded that behind 'ethnographic traditions' there are living pasts which possess their own dynamics. All three show that the creation or construction of tradition is carried out vis-à-vis the formation of political and ideological discourses from which characteristics and preoccupations of the present are projected back on an objectified, reified, neutralised, naturalised and fossilised past.

In addition to the rather theoretical frameworks stated above, several Basque scholars have warned of the care which must be taken on employing the word 'tradition', and have written critically on relevant issues concerning Basque culture and society. For instance, the works by Otazu (1979), Juaristi (1987), Aranzadi (1981), Arpal (1979), Azcona (1984), and del Valle et al.(1985) specifically address the way in which certain images of rurality conceal political and engendered biases. They have considered Basque society from the point of view of disciplines such as history, sociology of literature, history of ideas, ethnology and gender studies. All of these studies conclude that many assumptions concerning Basque culture and society lack

historical evidence and factual data. Thus, their accounts come to de-naturalise rural Basque society. Moreover, they have practised what O'Brien and Roseberry have affirmed as an anthropological task:

[the examination] of the connection between the political construction of naturalised communities and the intellectual construction of these images within our own basic concepts (O'Brien and Roseberry 1991).

Within Basque ethnography and ethnohistory the work of Caro Baroja has remained as an outstanding example of scholarship. Caro Baroja has elaborated upon historical ethnography in order to show that rural Basque society is composed of dynamic, conflictive and paradoxical interests and identities. A main characteristic in his work is the primacy given to temporality as configuring the significance of socio-cultural phenomena (Caro Baroja 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1974d, 1981, 1988). This chapter reveals his concern with historical time and shows to what extent the Basque household configures itself in novel ways today.

There are two major perspectives from which the study of what seems to be traditional can be carried out. The first implies that tradition is a reified and naturalised image which looks back to the past and has its focal point of emission and reception (or production and consumption, if preferred) in the present. The second considers tradition to be a distortion of social relations that is real in the sense that these groups and social relations that the present has chosen to catalogue as tradition are the product of social, political, economic and cultural action between distinguishable groups in history. In other words they carry their own historical weight. Consequently, the analysis of tradition may be accomplished along two axes. One points to the historical present, which is projected towards the past in search of traditional images. The other points towards the past which produces the type of society or societies which are later

considered to be traditional. In both cases, we find ourselves before social processes, fabrication, concoctions and intellectual fabrications of the present which are manipulated and have their own social history.

VII. HOUSEHOLD, DOMESTIC GROUP AND TRADITION IN BASQUE-SPEAKING RURAL SOCIETY

Several years ago, Caro Baroja (1971) pointed out that only a narrow geographical strip of what is understood to be Euskal Herria [the Basque Country; literally, people or place where *euskara* (the Basque language) is spoken] comprises the economic and cultural traits classified, stereotyped and studied as Basque. Likewise, Caro Baroja asserted that within this spatial area there exists a significant homogeneity in terms of a determined type of house (in the sense of architectural composition and distribution) and certain patterns of residence. As architectural designs, houses in Zuberoa do not follow the style of house Caro Baroja spoke of as the Basque stereotype. The latter is mostly found in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa or in their neighbouring areas of Araba and Nafarroa. Yet in terms of social behaviour, the Zuberoan household fits clearly within the Pyrenean cultural system, as do the other Basque provinces.³

We have already stressed the importance of history, i.e. the need to examine ethnographic materials with regard to the historical circumstances in which they happen or which draw our attention. Now I am going to argue that the cultural system of the Basque household presents serious difficulties in order to reproduce itself within traditional parameters today. To that end, I will consider two aspects of the social reproduction of rural Basque society: one, the physical, material and human aspect of

³ It must be noted that an analysis of the mountain villages located in Arana valley in Araba carried out by Martínez shows that in this area of the Basque Country there is a system of social organisation based on the village as a whole rather than on independent households (Martínez 1996).

the reproduction of the household; two, the symbolical-cognitive aspect of the reproduction of the rural community. There is a reason why I have chosen to discuss the status of the Pyrenean social system today in terms of reproduction: the aesthetics of carnival festivities and performance similarly dramatise questions related to the continuity of life.

Studies on the Pyrenean household have drawn attention to a distinction between the family and domestic group (Douglass 1969, Caro Baroja 1974c, Ott 1981). These studies have pointed out the inappropriateness of the term 'family' when referring to the inhabitants of the rural Pyrenean household. 'Domestic group' is the expression that best describes the type of relations found in the internal organisation of the Pyrenean household. A crucial aspect in every social system is its reproductive ability over time. The rural Basque society has elaborated certain mechanisms to make this possible. The institutionalisation of a system of *mayorazgoa* or *primutza* [primogeniture] is attached to an ideology of endurance and indivisible unity of the household and it reproduces itself via the figure of a single male inheritor, or exceptionally through female inheritance (Caro Baroja 1971). This Basque and Pyrenean inheritance system may or may not be covered by law, as explained in Celaia (1992), Lafoucade & Etcheverry-Ainchart (1979), Soulet (1987) and Lafourcade (1989).

In his discussion of house-based societies, Lévi-Strauss has argued that in such an alliance system three main principles tend to overlap: descentance, ownership or authority, and residence. In the Basque and Pyrenean area, it is the figure of the male inheritor that encapsulates these three principles. As Bourdieu (1962, 1972) has put it, before the rest of the community, the male inheritor symbolises the continuity of the

household and thus of the whole social system. In rural Basque society, the issue of continuity is dramatised within several realms of social relationships. It is observed that in rural Basque society, the dramatisation of continuity within the household occurs in three important social activities. First is the transmission of knowledge related to cognitive interpretation and economic use of the physical milieu from which peasants make their living (Douglass 1975, Ott 1981). Second is the transmission *de facto* of the property down from one generation to the next (Douglass 1969). Third is the symbolic expression of the links, among the generations attached to a particular household, by means of participation in religious ritual (Douglass 1969). Most ethnographic accounts of rural Basque society have shown that, in all three cases, the dramatisation of continuity happens within the domestic group, although they follow separate lines of interaction. Thus, the transference of local farming knowledge and property goes down within the domestic group, through a male line of transmission. However, the enactment of continuity in the religious realm is passed, within the domestic group, down a female line of transmission. If we look carefully at the process of transmission today, it becomes obvious that there is a series of modifications, which refer to the subjects and objects of transmission, those who transmit and those who receive.

In the Pyrenean system of inheritance, legal transmission occurs in the very moment of marriage and transfer of property occurs within the domestic group passing down the male or female line (Chiva & Goy 1981, Coloquio Franco-Español 1986, Barrera 1990). A male inheritor marries a woman from another household, who abandons her membership of the domestic group through marriage and incorporates herself into her husband's domestic group. A female inheritor, by contrast, marries a husband who abandons his domestic group to take on the identity of his wife's group.

Although the pattern may vary, according to whether or not a strict norm of primogeniture is observed, the first case is the most common and widespread. Even if a woman inherits, it is the incorporated husband who will represent the house in public matters. This has been well studied in several areas of the Pyrenees (Medio Cachafeiro 1986) and within the Basque Country itself (Valverde 1995). Zuberoa too is a Pyrenean area where either a man or a woman may inherit the household. Like the studies already mentioned, my fieldwork research has made it clear that, even when the inheritor is female, the person who represents the house in community life is either her father or her husband.

The transmission of knowledge and the interpretation of the physical and socio-cultural medium also occur within the domestic group. The transmission of knowledge, derived from working outdoors in the natural environment, is a direct consequence of the house being an economic unit of production, which is transmitted along the male line. There are several variations which I shall discuss briefly. When the designated inheritor is male, he will learn how to govern the household from the head male of the household, who directs the house within the domestic group to which he belongs. When it is a female inheritor, it is not her, but her husband, who comes from outside, to whom this knowledge is (formally) given. This knowledge has been previously acquired within the household and domestic group to which he belonged, or in other houses and domestic groups where he had been contracted as a *morroia* or *mithila* [servant]. At the time of incorporation, the husband will be instructed in specific aspects of the house into which he is being incorporated and thereby a process of absorption takes place.

Finally, the anthropology of the Basque Country has demonstrated that the transmission of knowledge and religious ritual or spiritual practices directed at dramatising the continuity of the house through generations and domestic groups is established along the female line and within the domestic group. Once a new marriage takes place, *etxeko andere gaztea* [the incorporated woman, the new female mistress of the house] will be instructed in the specific way this task is worked out in the household to which she now belongs. Instruction is conducted by *etxeko andere zaharra* [the elderly female of the household, up until the new marriage, the female mistress of the house] who also incorporated herself into the household through marriage. *Etxeko andere zaharra* will also withdraw smoothly from her duties in the village church, as *etxeko andere gaztea* takes over them. The dramatisation of continuity by women is brought about by two main religious rituals, the weekly enactment of *sepulturea* and the funerary *hartu-emon* practices (Douglass 1969, Duvert 1992, Barandiarán et al. 1978).

So far I have summarised the three spheres where continuity is socio-culturally dramatised in rural Basque society. However, a close examination of rural Basque farming houses today manifests severe disruptions in the enactment of continuity, as has been depicted in preceding monographs. To a great extent, social reproduction is at risk, at least within the so-called traditional way.

VIII. NEW TYPES OF DOMESTIC GROUP: THE NEPHEW/UNCLE RELATIONSHIP AND THE TWO-KITCHEN HOUSEHOLD

At this point in the discussion, I am going to describe several changes in *baserriak* and *etxeak* in Zuberoa as I saw them during my fieldwork. In the village where I lived, there were about eighty households, ten out of which were uninhabited.

However, three had been refurnished and made available for tourists in summer. Four were abandoned and the rest were used as barns by other householders. Although to different degrees, almost sixty households were involved in farming activities. Yet they were not committed to raising cattle and to agriculture in the same way. Thus, some would invest a minimum of personal energy and capital in the household as a farming or sheepherding activity. That is to say, these householders would maintain a limited amount of livestock, outfit and machinery as they were close to retirement or as no offspring were expected to take over the farmhouse. Other households followed a mixed pattern where income would be accomplished by combining full-time farming activities and paid labour elsewhere. Also, there were several households whose residents had decided to modernise their farms and, thus, had increased their production rates as well as the quality of the product. To catch up with high production rates, these farmers were in need of more land, which they purchased from fellow villagers who rested little interest in farming or had ceased farming altogether. Consequently, land tenancy was changing in the village: fewer farmers were holding much larger grazing and crop fields. However, other changes were at issue, as I shall explain.

Several changes were affecting the domestic group in farmhouses. They stemmed from the fact that farmhouses could no longer recruit women and thus ensure continuity within 'tradition'. Women were not interested in being members of domestic groups in farmhouses and they expressed it in different ways. Firstly, several young unmarried women left their domestic groups in the village and decided to live in single apartments in the main town of the valley, although they visited their *etxea* on holidays and festivities. Some decades ago, these young women would have resided and collaborated in the farmhouse until marriage, namely when joining another domestic

group. Secondly, there was a high number of *donadoak* [old boys] in the village. These were inheritors of farmhouses who were in their late forties and older and not married. The resulting picture was a village where women had deserted the farmhouses. In those households where there were women, they usually complained about the fact that, should improvements be realised in the household, these would be to barns, huts, fields and livestock, while investment in the house itself would be of secondary interest. As female informants explained, it meant that the working conditions in male spaces tended to improve faster than in those of the female herself.

At the time of my fieldwork, several households were employing two strategies to face women's lack of interest in staying in the farmhouses. One consisted of attracting a bride, by means of arranging a second kitchen within the household, which allowed the younger couple wider independence and intimacy from the older couple. The idea of a domestic group with two kitchens brought about some controversy in local life, for *etxeko jaunak eta andereak* [masters and mistresses of house] did not support it, while *primua* [the young inheritor] and his wife did. However, some marriages took place in farmhouses under the explicit condition of a second and modern kitchen to be made separate from that of the older couple's.

When marriage had not been accomplished within a domestic group, a second type of strategy was followed in order to assure continuity of the household over time, as a farming or sheepherding activity. This strategy consists of an uncle-nephew relationship to which a particular significance is attached, since the uncle-nephew relationship implies a transmission of knowledge and interpretation of the physical and economic environment beyond the domestic group: the receiver does not reside in the

house; the transmitter does. Furthermore, knowledge transmission follows the female line. The man living in the house transfers or teaches the occupation of farmer to the son of a sister who left the domestic group and married in the urban centre of the valley, where she now lives.

A significant characteristic of the uncle-nephew relationship is that transmission does not occur in a 'traditional' way, i.e. within the domestic group. The example I studied in the village where I resided in Zuberoa is as follows. the domestic group was formed by (1) a married couple of retiring age; (2) a brother of this older couple, adopted years before, now single and also of retiring age and (3) a forty-five year old bachelor son who is in charge of the farming and livestock. His brothers and sisters married and lived with their respective spouses and children elsewhere. A school-age son of the bachelor 's sister came to the farm at weekends and in the holidays and was learning to be a farmer from his uncle. This boy lived with his parents in Maule, the main urban centre of the valley. This example shows that continuity may be possible through an uncle-nephew relationship. In other words, a household inheritor might be created through a son of the inheritor's sister. Thus, a new line of transmission is established when continuity within the domestic group can be seen to be interrupted, as the previous case shows.

The uncle-nephew relationship described above is not only characteristic of the village I resided in. Neither is it of Zuberoa, for it is to be found in other households from other areas where *etxejoauna* [the master of the house] is a *mutizaharra* or *donado* [an inheritor with no descendants] (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1997b). This strategy shows that there is a break in the continuity of the household, due to the absence of

marriage within the domestic group and thus the group is unable to absorb a new member who could generate its biological reproduction within the house. In these circumstances, the son of a sister is brought in.

It seems clear that if the household represents the domestic group and this in turn represents the farmhouse, and if the house itself must survive over time, then the notions of domestic group and continuity are significantly displaced in Basque rural society. On the one hand, women are deserting rural Basque society. Those who do stay demand a new understanding of social relationships within the domestic group. On the other hand, some *donadoak* [old boys] have attempted to achieve continuity by means of a sister's son. The social practice of the reproduction of the social system established in the uncle/nephew relationship invites us to ask whether such a practice implies either the attempt to facilitate the reproduction of the home beyond the domestic group once this is seen to be non-functional or whether domestic group is a notion which embraces more than the household in the sense of a residential unit. If the latter were the case, then contrary to what has been considered valid up to now, we would find that the notions of household and domestic group are linked to concepts of kinship and kinship ties which extend beyond those established amongst the home-dwellers themselves.

IX. RURAL SOCIETY AND SYMBOLIC CONTINUITY: VILLAGE FESTIVALS AS TRADITION

At the beginning of this chapter I mentioned that anthropology assumes the study of forms of social organisation and forms of symbolic representation. I have described different contemporary strategies of reproduction in the Pyrenean system of social organisation. I now wish to comment on various issues related to the reproduction

of the symbolic system linked to the household. In particular, I want to reflect upon the current forms of expression which dramatise the notion of continuity or reproduction of the rural community.

The notion of reproduction is connected to the notion of repetition and implies actions aimed at keeping something alive which has a tendency to die out. The anthropologist Edmund Leach (1971) has suggested that it is in ritual practice and in the mythology associated with it where notions of both religious-cosmological and socio-communal reproduction and continuity are principally dramatised. According to Leach, death and rebirth are elements associated with ideas of reproduction and repetition. In his explanation, interval and alternation acquire prime importance since they refer to liminal time and transition between elements which succeed one another and which permit the continuity of the whole social system. The festival, according to Leach, is a form of collective social action which marks out intervals and permits the conceptualisation of a notion of alternation and therefore of continuity and reproduction. In this sense the festival practice constitutes in itself a cognitive, psychological and symbolic element of the first order since it is in the mutual alternation of the elements comprised in the celebratory action that the notion of continuity of the rural community is conceptualised.

I have shown elsewhere the importance of considering the existence of different historical moments as well as different macrostructures in the analysis of local rural social organisation (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1996) where I have drawn on three situations: (1) that in which rural social organisation is based on an economic concept of subsistence and linked to a type of pre-industrial and pre-capitalist state formation; (2) that in which

rural social organisation is integrated into a market economy, in direct relation to the liberal state formation and (3) the situation in which rural social organisation is carried out along late-capitalist models of the Welfare State. These three situations do not only offer different references and types of local social organisation, they also demonstrate different forms of expression and symbolic structures. A quick review of the anthropological representation carried out over this century in the Pyrenees shows that in the economic situation of self-sufficiency, the reproduction of the cosmological and ideological world of the rural community is dramatised in the celebration of carnival. In the same way, Bourdieu (1962, 1972a) reminds us that the symbolisation of the reproduction of the rural social world characteristic of a subsistence economy is dramatised in the figure of the inheritor. Pyrenean anthropological investigation has also shown that the forms of symbolisation referred to fall into decay and tend to disappear when the presence of the Liberal State becomes hegemonic in the rural world. At the same time, the ethnographers of today tell us that, under the auspices of the Welfare State, at the end of this century, new forms of ruralism and rurality are emerging which present new structures and forms of symbolisation. I wish to conclude this chapter with a summary of these emergent structures of symbolisation.

Up until recent times, in the rural world notions of life, fertility and abundance - that is, continuity- have been understood and represented in carnival celebrations, in the cycle of winter-spring festivals. These are festivals which include, in their imaginary world, the representation of weddings, as well as births, resurrection or the replacement of people. Likewise, carnival celebrations correspond to an annual period of time in which rural marriages have been celebrated and, with them, the handing over of the management of the house from the senior couple to the young couple. Thus carnival

celebration and the period to which it belongs has symbolised, in the rural context of self-sufficiency, the notion of life, exuberance and social and cosmological continuity. The reflection with which I propose to conclude this chapter is intended to show that the ethnography of the contemporary rural world reveals a double displacement in the representation of the idea of continuity.

Firstly, we find that there has been a temporal displacement. The flow of nature and the agricultural cycle marked out the transition from winter to spring as a source of images and scenes of the collective experience of notions of rebirth and new life. In the present, the collective experience of the notion of life and rebirth are to be found in the summer. In the summer, students and emigrants return with their children to their homes of origin or to new houses built in the place where they come from. It is during the summer holidays that the children of those who emigrated to the industrial towns, arrange their weddings in their parents' village where they have always spent their holidays. In summer, many rural villages find their numbers triple. Many of these villages have transferred their patron saints' festivals, originally celebrated in winter or spring, to summer. It is in the summer (rather than in winter, when the village seems to be 'dead', without people, bustle or 'buzz') that there is any notion of village life.

Another important displacement has been produced in the representation of the notion of continuity and life in the rural community. I mentioned above that Pierre Bourdieu insisted that the inheritor of the house symbolised the notion of reproduction in the rural social system of the Pyrenees. The ethnography of the new Pyrenean social reality shows that since the inheritors no longer marry, they no longer represent the continuity of each house, and by extension the continuity of the rural community as a

whole, but rather its decline. It is highly significant that such inheritors are known as *mutilzaharrak* or *donadoak* [old boys], expressions for bachelors, which bring out the contradictory aspect of their social identity.

Together with the decline in the rural economy, the permanence of the home is at stake and with it, the figure of the inheritor and ultimately the very existence of a rural identity at all. However, the new social practices clearly indicate that, aside from the home, it is still possible to symbolise the existence of the rural community. This symbolic practice is centred on the fight to keep the rural school open. If the absence of inheritors dramatises the emptiness of the houses and the disappearance of the agricultural, sheep-farming world, the disappearance of the school dramatises the death of the village itself.⁴

X. CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter I have tried to emphasise the anthropological necessity of reading the ethnographic material gathered during fieldwork in the light of the historical period to which it belongs. In anthropology, the dominant tendency until recently has been to carry out the interpretative analysis along the lines of 'traditions', leaving out certain actions and forms of behaviour which, although marginal or infrequent, are nonetheless significant. In the previous pages I have endeavoured to capture a feeling of lack and frustration which the rural mountain communities experience in the immediate present. I have also hoped to sketch new social and

⁴ At least it can be seen in this struggle that a variety of strategies have been developed so that the children do not spend the school week in a boarding school in the urban centre of the valley. One of the most imaginative of these has arisen in Tuscany, Italy, where the older population of the region, faced with the imminent closure of their schools, have decided to enrol themselves on the grounds of their own illiteracy. Adding their numbers to those of their grandchildren, they have made up the required number of pupils necessary to keep the village school open.

symbolic practices which might reveal new structures, structures which, although still unclear, are emerging from the displacement of social and symbolic practices. Regarding the maintenance of a social system based on the continuity of the household as a farming enterprise, I have mentioned two ongoing strategies. One has been the making of a second kitchen within the farming house. This agreement allows the younger couple an independence from the older master and mistress of the farm, which could not be accomplished within the traditional arrangement of the farming house. The other occurs when a marriage is not realised. When this is the case, it seems suitable to educate a nephew (a son of the non-married inheritor's sister) in farming knowledge and thus to prepare him as the household's continuer. In terms of how continuity comes to be dramatised in symbolic terms, I have argued that formal inheritors and traditional winter festivals no longer express social endurance, but the decay of the old system.

CHAPTER IV

CARNIVAL CELEBRATION AND FOLK THEATRE AS TRADITION IN ZUBEROA

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses several issues related to traditional folk performance in Zuberoa, with *Maskarada* performances being understood as a genuine Souletine folk genre. However, these performances also have many points in common with other theatrical celebrations which are carried out in winter time by several peoples from Mediterranean or Atlantic Europe (Alford 1978), as well as from North Africa (Hammoudi 1993). There is a further view of the *Maskaradak* which portrays them as the enactment and public exhibition of the most intricate traditional folk arts from *Pays de Soule* and even though there are a large range of folk arts involved in *Maskarada* performance, it is the arts of the dancers which have been given greater significance, both in local discourse and in academic research. As dancing does occupy an extremely sound place in rural Basque society, scholars have tended to examine many Basque festivities by focussing primarily on the dances. As a result, a significant number of studies concerning traditional rural festivals have addressed no other question than their dancing. Indeed, several Basque festivals in the Basque Country are known simply by the name of the dance danced in the festivity. A similar process has happened in Zuberoa, as the dancers and dances of *Maskarada* performances have come to represent the entire folk festival. This chapter will, however, demonstrate that the organisation of a *Maskarada* is a complex social activity, where dancing is but one of the parts which makes up the performance. Therefore, it will be argued that the use of analytical categories such as 'dance-event' (Royce 1977) opens up wider possibilities to the study of folk performance. Moreover, it will be explained that studying *Maskarada* performance in terms of 'mask-event' or 'storytelling-event' or 'song-event' is as accurate as studying them in terms of 'dance-event'.

The argument will depart from a brief account of the development of folklore studies to conclude that the analysis of European folk performance requires a close examination of the sociological contexts from which both local performers and anthropologists bring about their interpretations. Thus, the performance of the *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa questions once more issues such as, the place of the youth within the social structure which characterises the Pyrenean social organisation. Also, it shows that particular notions of time and types of sentiments are at work. Leach (1961) has referred to this in a way which will be examined later on. Some authors have argued that festivals provide participants 'a time out of time' (Falassi ed. 1987) while others have said that ritual inversions inform a 'cultural ethos' (Bateson 1958) as well as 'structures of feeling' (Williams 1958, 1980). But within European carnival performance, it is Caro Baroja (1965) who best examines the notions of time and sentiment, as he scrutinises them in historical festive behaviour and ethnographic contexts.

II. TRADITIONAL DANCE IN RURAL BASQUE SOCIETY

Several folklorists have approached the *Maskaradak* of Zuberoa and discussed their aesthetics and formal elements. Noticeably, they have focused primarily on the dancers, the result being that the analysis of the activities carried out by the *beltzak* [black group of performers] has largely been neglected. The emphasis on dancing has produced an understanding of the *Maskaradak* which gives the performing arts of the *aitzindariak* [dancers of the red group] greater importance (Alford 1928, 1931a, 1931b, 1937; Urbeltz 1978, 1994; Guilcher 1984), while less attention has been paid to the study of the masks and verbal arts of the black team performers (Fourquet 1990; Truffaut 1986, 1988; Fdez. de Larrinoa 1993b, 1999; Mozos 1985). As the analysis of

dancing has come to stand for the analysis of the entire *Maskarada* performance, one aspect of *Maskarada* performances (dancing) has therefore been taken to represent the whole event, thus implying the occurrence of metonymy and reductionism. Similar metonymic images of *Maskarada* are also depicted in posters, cards and other crafts designed for tourists who visit Zuberoa. In these souvenirs, particular images of *Maskarada* have been selected in order to represent the *Pays de Soule*. These images might portray the five members of the *aitzindaria* dancing group; or a solo dancer, commonly a *zamalzain* dancer [hobby-horse]; or the *aitzindaria* dancers performing the *godalet dantza* [the dance of the glass of vine]. Thus, both folklorists and craft sellers have projected a certain image of the *Maskaradak* and of *Pays de Soule*, where the folk arts performed by the black team members have little or no representation.

The emphasis given to dance is not arbitrary. Rather, it is grounded on sociological circumstances, since, until recent years, dancing has played a central role within rural Basque festivities (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1998), particularly in festivities whose significance required the presence of local authorities and noblemen (Irigoyen 1991). This is the case of the *aurresku* dancing. *Aurresku* has been of particular importance in *fiestas patronales* or *herriko festak*¹ in villages and towns from the Spanish Basque region. In the French Basque area, main festivals are known as *eliz-bestak* [church festivals], which are characterised by the dancing of *jauziak* [jumps] in the *herriko plaza* [village square] after mass. *Jauziak* consist of a series of dances performed by male adults who dance in a circle. The dancing of *jauziak* has not been a characteristic of *eliz-bestak* only. In some villages they have also been danced after Sunday mass until the 1950s and 1960s and they are still performed in Zuberoa when folk theatre is organised.

¹ Within the annual cycle of festivals, these are given high importance because they honour the patron or saint of the village.

That *jauziak* are danced both when *eliz-bestak* are organised and after Sunday church services unveils a link between expressing religious and civil authority and dancing. Yet, in rural Basque society the relationship of religious and civil authorities with local festivals has been controversial. During my fieldwork I recorded several life histories which confirmed that, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the relationships between local headmasters and local priests had been difficult in some villages in Zuberoa. Local informants explained that politics in their villages were conducted in terms of *zuriak* [whites] versus *gorriak* [reds]. *Zuriak* represented the ideals of the *Ancien Régime*, which were supported by the church and noblemen, whereas *gorriak* represented the ideals of the Republic. The opposition between reds and whites was well represented in the person who was appointed as secretary of the *herriko etxea* [village council]. As a rule, a red council would designate the schoolmaster of the village as its secretary, whereas a white council would appoint the village priest to the post. It must be noted that up until a few decades ago in the villages of Zuberoa, *herriko etxeak* or *mairies* [councils] have had their office and meeting room in the church. Some still do even today. Furthermore, in the dialects of the French area the Basque term for *maire* or council headmaster is *auzapeza*, which means, in free translation ‘civil priest’ [from *auzo*: inhabitant of the village and *apeza*: priest]. These circumstances makes us aware of the conflicting relations between church and civil administration in local life, before and after the French Revolution. Hérèle has referred briefly to the relations between politics and the organisation of the *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa in the following way:

Le pis est que les passions politiques s’en mêlent, et, comme toujours, elles produisent de déplorables effets. Si la mascarade a été organisée dans un village où la municipalité est républicaine, les villages réactionnaires refusent de la recevoir; si elle a été organisée dans un village où la municipalité est réactionnaire, les villages républicains refusent de la

recevoir (cela s'est vu notamment en 1914). Triste réciprocité de sottise! (Hérelle 1925: 26)

Hérelle has better detailed the relations between Souletine folklore and politics in a study of *Pastorala* performances (Hérelle 1923: 9-20). In this work Hérelle analyses the impact of the ideas of the Republic in the organisation of *Pastorala* folk theatre. He documents that at the end of the eighteenth century, several organisers of the *Pastoralak* were accused of subversive behaviour and imprisoned, as *Pastorala* folk theatre was considered to support the monarchy and the church. Hérelle's own writing is illuminating:

Mais le sujet de cette pièce n'était qu'une 'moralité', et l'instituteur avait eu soin d'y insérer une chaleureuse profession de républicanisme. Voici ce qu'on trouve dans le manuscrit dont il fit usage (en basque, bien entendu):

..... Messieurs, divertissons-nous,
Chantons le *Te Deum*,
Tous l'un avec l'autre.

Mais en 1796 le *Te Deum* n'était plus de mode, et l'instituteur corrigea d'abord le verset de la manière suivante:

..... Célébrons la Nation.
Tous l'un avec l'autre.

Puis cette formule lui parut encore insuffisante, si bien qu'il biffa de nouveau et écrivit en surcharge:

..... Chantons la Carmagnole,
Tous l'un avec l'autre.

Et il ajouta au texte sept versets, dont les quatre premiers commentent, non sans verve, la rédaction définitivement adoptée:

Vive, vive la France!
Vive, vive la Nation!
Vive, vive la République!
Et toute l'assemblée!

(Hérelle 1923: 45).

Despite Hérelle's accounts no study has been undertaken on the relations between local politics and folklore on the French Basque side of the Pyrenees, except for two

recent essays by Itzaina (1997) and Etxehandi (1989), respectively. Itzaina has analysed Corpus Christi celebrations during the Third French Republic in Nafarroa Behea, a French Basque area neighbouring Zuberoa. In particular, he has examined the conflicting relations between the Church and the State as reflected in the election of symbols to be displayed within the religious parade. Thus, dancing and rural festivities in the French Basque region reflected similar issues to those analysed by Agulhon (1982) and McPhee (1977, 1978) in other areas of the Pyrenees and France. Agulhon and McPhee have shown that there was a strong intertwining between local politics and folklore during the Second Republic, since folklore served as a vehicle for peasants to express left-wing radicalism. In other words, leftist peasants made use of locally rooted cultural symbols and religious rituals to express political meanings. Moreover:

By 1850, dancing and support for the Left had become virtually synonymous through much of southern France (McPhee 19:245).

In rural Basque society the attitude from civil and religious local powers towards festivities, music and dance-events has been ambivalent. Sometimes festivals and dances have been restricted and participants pursued by both church and civil powers (Ramos 1999), while on other occasions they have been encouraged and strongly supported (Itzaina 1997). Among the latter are the *aurreku* (in the Spanish Basque provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa), the *larrain-dantza* (in central and southern Nafarroa) and the *jauziak* (in the French Basque provinces). However, dances and festivals which imply, either nocturnality or physical or visual contact between dancers of different sex, have been criticised severely by local authorities as well as being forbidden. *Maskarada* performances are not an exception. Local authorities in Zuberoa have always expressed ambivalent feelings towards the organisation of the *Maskaradak*. On the one hand, in Zuberoa the *auzapezak* [council headmasters] usually have a

background as folk dancers. Likewise, dancers dance in the *herriko plaza* [village square] to honour them as local representatives. Consequently, local authorities enjoy *Maskarada* dancing and identify themselves with the performers. However, they might not feel comfortable with the performance assigned to the black team, whose members behave disorderly, parody and make fun of them, as well as causing trouble by means of their *phreredikiak* [sermons]. Local priests are not at ease either, for the *beltzak* [the members of the black team] recite coarse speeches and never refrain from sexual references and obscenities. Therefore, ambivalence results from *Maskarada* performances. In sociological terms, dancing tends to be highlighted while the arts of the black team are ill-esteemed. The same has happened in academic research. Yet dancing is but one component of *Maskarada* performances.

III. FIRST APPROACHES TO TRADITIONAL DANCE IN FOLKLORE STUDIES

The beginning of folklore studies is related to romanticism which spread over Europe throughout the nineteenth century. A characteristic of romanticism was the quest for simplicity which, as it was understood, was to be found in the arts and *modus vivendi* of simple folk, such as peasants, fishermen and women, craftspeople and marginal groups in society. By and large, folklore was synonymous with the study of the cultures of non-urban, pre-industrial or marginal European peoples. Here lay a key distinction between folklorists and anthropologists, as first anthropologists distinguished themselves through their interest in non-Western societies and cultures, particularly in societies characterised by the absence of a state or by lacking a centralised system of writing. Folklorists were concerned with 'non-official' European cultures and lifestyles (or those of European emigrants in other continents). 'Non-official' culture meant the culture of social classes lacking in power or position in the national economy.

Likewise, it meant the culture of ethnic minorities and language groups not recognised for administrative purposes (Dorson 1973, Burke 1978).

According to the object of analysis and to its geographical location, anthropology and folklore contrasted, which has affected the theoretical and practical premises on which folklorists and anthropologists have undertaken the study of dance and folk arts. The study of dance and other performing arts has been of crucial importance in the work of many folklorists and anthropologists and constitutes a focal point in this thesis. The different approaches to dance are reflected in the diversity of expressions which are used by anthropologists and folklorists. Most anthropologists have studied non-Western dances in terms of *ritual* behaviour. Folklorists have referred to rural or ethnic European dancing as *traditional*. The origin of this distinction comes at the end of the nineteenth century when folklorists and anthropologists adopted different approaches to dancing and other performing arts. Whether the dance was performed by a Western or non-Western society implied that the performing art was performed in rural (or marginal urban) European contexts or in 'primitive tribal' societies (Dorson 1968, Stocking 1996).

The first studies of dance undertaken by sociocultural anthropologists and folklorists departed from different assumptions. Anthropologists set out to decipher contemporary meanings, whereas folklorists wanted to uncover original significances. The data gathered by anthropologists through participant observation led them to conclude that dancing in tribal society had an active meaning and significance within the social and symbolic order of the community. Equally they stressed that dance often

plays a significant role in the configuration of the political or religious order in non-Western societies.

Dance has been given a special status beyond the Western world. It has been considered to hold a deeply rooted meaning for its performers, as well as being closely linked to the celebration of political or religious rituals. This explains why the early research carried out on dancing distinguished between dance performed in rural Western societies and that performed in 'primitive' tribal societies. Accordingly, a distinction between traditional and ritual performing arts included former distinctions between Western and non-Western societies and between rural and tribal. Many folklorists have argued that European folk arts did not possess social, religious or political significance but that they were surviving examples of cultures from the past. Folklorists affirmed that European dancing belonged to cultural, social and ritual worldviews which had already disappeared or were in the process of doing so. Moreover, folklorists considered that European peasant arts were reminiscent of a time past, prior to the advent of industrial and urban societies. Consequently, they suggested that the European performing arts were 'primitive' in origin and surviving examples of ancient religions and beliefs. Given the passage of time, its original significance had been erased from the collective memory of performers and audience alike, and as far as the early European folklorists were concerned, the original meaning was the only authentic meaning (Bronner 1984).

As framed within social evolutionary theory, the distinction between tribal and peasant led anthropologists and folklorists to follow separate paths in the study of dance. With the dawning of the twentieth century, anthropologists institutionalised their

research in the University, and detached themselves from romantic, evolutionist and diffusionist ideas of the nineteenth century while incorporating such notions as 'native's point of view', 'regional history' and 'intensive fieldwork'. This change in approach was not taken up by twentieth century folklorists who continued to work in research centres characterised by their defence of romantic, regionalist or nationalist ideas, as well as supporting evolutionist or diffusionist frames of interpretation. Thus, folklore studies were carried out in local societies and research institutes in which data-collection and erudition were favoured above analysis and reflection (Dorson 1973, Bronner 1984, Davidson 1987). This contrast has meant that folklore studies have lacked prestige in the intellectual community until recently, when folklore studies have undertaken a major change which we will go on to discuss in the following pages.

IV. FOLKLORE AND SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS

It has been argued that cultural activities are awarded greater or lesser reputation or consideration according to whether they take place in the town or in the country or whether they are organised and attended by marginal or ruling sectors of society. Accordingly, folklore and culture appear to constitute a dichotomy in constant confrontation (Murphy 1987). Following Murphy's theories, folklore is associated with peasant activity characterised as pleasant, tender, immature, innocent, simple and repetitive. By contrast, the town is associated with culture which implies elaboration, good taste, elegance, experimentation and creation. Several authors have stated that this dichotomy is false (Bourdieu 1983; Chartier 1987, 1988; Barber 1997), so a proposal has been made to withdraw the term folklore and replace it with another term with more positive connotations. Among the alternative expressions proposed the following stand out: traditional or ethnographic art, oral literature, popular culture, choreology and

ethnomusicology (Murphy 1987). The inclusion of the words literature, art, musicology and culture are noteworthy, since they are expressions immediately associated with positive aspects such as creative capacity, control of the techniques of composition and aesthetic accomplishment. Additionally, the use of innovative methods in the interpretation of data gathered during fieldwork has contributed to a greater recognition of European folklore studies today. Particularly influential were the studies of Malinowski and Boas on myth which focused on the sociological context (Malinowski 1926) and historical development (Boas 1940). The following paragraphs outline the different types of folklore analysis which evolved from the end of the nineteenth century up to the present day.

Early studies in European folklore were shaped in two ways. One focused on meaning, while the other stressed collection and classification. Followers of the first approach were inspired by works on animism and magical thought by authors such as Tylor (1903) and Frazer (1913). They aimed to show that European folklore was a remnant of magical thought characteristic of societies situated at a stage of evolution prior to civilisation and industrialisation. Followers of the second approach paid greater attention to the tasks of identification, description and classification of data. They were influenced by the works of literature and language of the time and dedicated themselves to the selection and arrangement of genres of folkloric expression and to the elaboration of typologies. Their task consisted of gathering material from the field and then elaborating an inventory which would be classified according to the genre or prototype to which it corresponded. Inventories were organised according to several criteria. For instance, importance was given to the different social or ritual ways in which words were employed and also to the way in which utensils, tools and other

elements of material culture were elaborated and used. Likewise, beliefs and practices related to worldviews were given special attention as well as entertainment, festivals and celebrations. Thus, when folklorists classified and archived the human activities in which words played an important part, they established different genres: narrative, poetry (lyrical or epic), paremyology, riddles, songs and dialectology. When studying material culture they distinguished between architecture, dress, work tools, cooking utensils, musical instruments, crafts and artistic or decorative elements. When dealing with collective activities they differentiated religious festivals from civil festivals, and also classified theatre, music, dance, games and pastimes. They focussed on other categories as well, such as beliefs, medicine, etc. (Dorson ed. 1972; Ben-Amos 1976).

In the wake of these first two approaches, other ways of researching folklore developed so that by the 1960s folklorists could choose between six theoretical-methodological approaches for their study. Murphy (1987) has summarised them as follows: the historical-geographical method; the nature allegory; mythical-ritual theory; psychoanalytical theory; structuralist analysis and vulgar Marxism. These six theoretical and methodological schools were distinguished by their pursuit of different objectives, although sometimes they shared certain premises, as we shall observe. The historical-geographical school follows the same procedure as those who favour classification by genre and theme. Murphy argues that the historical-geographical school has concentrated on issues related to the origins and diffusion of elements of folklore. Its methodology consists first in gathering all the existing variations of a piece of oral literature, or of a dance, which are found across a determined cultural area to then identify the original song, narrative or dance out of which come all the others. This

methodology gives preference to the task of identifying or reconstructing the first, original and genuine piece, the point of departure for all the rest.

The use of nature as allegory to explain folklore is very much related to comparative-evolutionist approaches. Its followers argue that the significance of a piece of oral literature or a dance should be sought in its origins, in a previous phase of human life when people made their living in close proximity to nature. Accordingly, peasant folklore is a surviving example of a past culture and the folklorist's task consists in rediscovering the lost meaning of the chosen piece of folklore. So folklorists must reconstruct a society in a state of nature which has since disappeared. The mythical-ritual theory states that the significance of oral texts and dance derives from the existence of a mutual connection. It may happen that with the passage of time some cultures have conserved mythical narration but let its ritual representation go. Others, on the contrary, have forgotten the oral narrative but maintained its physical, theatrical or ritual manifestation. The folklorist must then seek out the mythical piece of oral literature which corresponds to a certain ritual dance and vice versa. In both cases, the task of the folklorist consists in rediscovering the lost piece. The psychological approach focuses on the unconscious meanings attributed to collective phenomena of artistic-ritual character, whether verbal or non-verbal. Within this approach symbols, codes and metaphors are examined in terms of the information they provide in order to study psychological stereotypes, types of personality and archetypes. According to Lévi-Strauss' structural theory, masks, myths, material culture and other folk elements are external manifestations of an internal mental code characteristic of the human species. Lévi-Strauss uses the expression, 'structural logic of thought' to refer to this. This structural logic inhabits the unconscious of the human mind and it is fundamental

in the processes of artistic creativity. Lévi-Strauss affirms that this mental structure is formed by pairs of opposites and he adds that the principal opposition on which all the others rest is that which arises from the opposition between nature and culture. Consequently, folklorists who adopt this approach direct their efforts to demonstrate how dances and other folk arts dramatise an opposition between the elements of the natural and the cultural world. Vulgar Marxism considers that myths, narratives, poetical compositions and ritual or religious festivities belong to what is known as the 'superstructure', otherwise known as the 'ideological sphere'. Marxism maintains that the notion of culture is not neutral. Since there exists something called ideology, culture exists to cover up the fact that human relations are essentially relations of economic exploitation. This has led Marxists to argue that culture, or the superstructure, is an ideology created and maintained by the dominant classes in order to legitimate asymmetrical and unjust social relations. They have further affirmed that since folklore feeds a false consciousness of reality, it often operates as a counter-revolutionary activity.

Several scholars have argued that the theoretical models discussed above are ethnocentric, and thus deficient, since they are grounded on Western conceptions of knowledge (Murphy 1987). Folklore studies attracted more attention when folklorists gave greater importance to the analysis of context and local meaning. In other words: to the analysis of sociological context and to the analysis of local historical context, as developed from Malinowski and Boas onwards, within the British and North American anthropological traditions, respectively. The switch was relevant, for folklore studies shifted from text to context, and took into account both the interpretations given by the

social agents and the social, economic and political processes involved in the production of folk arts (Murphy 1987, Bauman & Briggs 1990).

In the 1960s and 1970s folklorists embraced the study of folklore in terms of an act of communication. The study of folklore as an act of communication gained ground as a result of the research of Kenneth S. Goldstein and Dan Ben-Amos (1975), D.H. Hymes (1974) and others. These authors were concerned with the communicative capacity of language forms which are employed in folklore events. For that reason they turned to sociolinguistics, and studied folklore in terms of semantics, namely folklore as the study of the strategies and rhetorical forms of communication characteristic of folk representations, whether literary or ritual, material or craft or bodily expressions. Equal importance was given to the study of local frames of reference, for it was understood that the codes of reference enable participants to interpret what happens in folklore events. When folklore approached linguistics, many European folklorists abandoned the study of formal or morphological texts and began to question instead the types of interaction between the participants and the level of communicative competence which were shared. A consequence of studying folklore as communicative competence was the reflection upon the social rules which determine the culturally appropriate use of different forms of collective expression, verbal or non-verbal.

The study of folklore as a communicative act is not only the result of the sociolinguistic research of Kenneth S. Goldstein, Dan Ben-Amos and D.H. Hymes. Also, symbolic interactionism and other American schools of thought have been influential. For instance, the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) and the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1972) used the expressions 'cognition frame' and 'meta-

communication' respectively to indicate that sociocultural events are interpreted according to the cultural-communicative frame in which they occur. This idea has been taken up by anthropologists like Don Handelman (1977, 1990) or Da Matta (1977) who have argued that festivals must be understood in terms of whether participants employ a communicative frame which defines the event as 'play' or as 'ritual', or as a combination of both.

Following on this line of interpretation, folk events involve a process of interaction in which more than one communicative intention can be distinguished. In other words, in folk celebrations different forms of relations between actors and audience or between authors and receivers can be appreciated. It is the folklorist's task to examine the communicative intention of some and the willingness of others to receive, in addition to specifying which frame of reference or communicative code is employed. Therefore, the study of folklore unveils the existence of rules which determine the culturally appropriate use of speech and ritual or artistic movement. These rules then make it possible to interpret the communicative and receptive competence of the actors or authors and audience or receivers respectively. Finally, this approach implies an enquiry into the semantics of the context of representation, which in turn means attributing less importance to the analysis of the text represented.

New ways for the study of folklore arrived in the 1980s as folklorists became influenced by writings of anthropologists such as Turner (1974, 1977, 1982 1982 ed.) and Geertz (1973, 1980). Folklore was now studied in terms of cultural arenas as well as displaying cultural models or as being a genre of cultural performance. That is to say, folklore events were seen to be activities by means of which a culturally significant

social action is publicly performed or carried out. On this basis, folk events were studied in terms of social drama and cultural representation, which requires a focus on symbols and ritual action, on their interpretation as well as on the ritual experience of the participants. It is worth noting that these studies of folklore have rejected the notion of linguistic-communicative structures which were employed in the 1970s in order to promote analysis based on the examination of dramatised images and metaphors (Sapir & Crocker 1977; Fernandez 1974, 1977, 1984). In other words, a shift from analysing cultural models and structures to asking about cultural agency took place.

Thus, it can be observed that folklore studies have evolved significantly in the last hundred years. At the outset, folklorists worked on formal and morphological aspects, emphasising different genres and their classification. Today, folklorists consider folklore to be characterised by three facts. Firstly, folklore is a cultural practice, with a specific, cyclical form. It possesses a particular format which repeats itself periodically. Therefore, folklorists study the morphology, the sequence and syntax of elements which are observed in folk events. Secondly, folk performances are public exhibitions which are enjoyed by both local communities and external visitors to whom attention must be paid in the task of grasping cultural meaning and social significance. Thirdly, folklore is an aesthetic representation, which means that folklore is conceived as a sociocultural event where more than one interpretative genre (song, dance, proverb, speech, mask, music, etc.) combine. These genres follow complex aesthetic and creative patterns of composition, not necessarily connected to the use of words. Therefore, most folklorists of the 1980s and 1990s have understood that they study cultural behaviour. In particular, they now study the performative aspects of culture regardless of its social or ecological setting. (Bauman ed. 1977).

V. THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DANCE EVENTS

Research conducted by folklorists has focused on four broad topics: oral culture (myths, tales, legends, proverbs, verse, etc.); ritual and celebration (dance, masks and other religious and symbolic elements); material culture (pottery, textiles, beads, architecture, etc.); and ethnomusicology (song, music, instruments, players). The question here is: what place must be ascribed to dance in the studies of folklore? and particularly: what place is to be ascribed to dancing in the Zuberoan *Maskaradak*? There are two possible answers. One states that dancing must be studied as a genre in its own right because it possesses its own inner logic which can be observed in the way different cultures have chosen to combine specific sets of bodily movements. An alternative answer is to consider dance together with other folk genres and arts such as music, masks, song, speech, etc. Moreover, it has been argued that folk dance takes place within local contexts as well as in relation to wider organisational, participatory, social and political circumstances. In the first case, dance is studied separately from other actions coinciding with it. As a result, the study of a dance becomes the study of choreography proper. In the second case, dancing is perceived as a folk art which happens to be in an event larger than the actuality of the dance itself and this has given rise to the notion of 'dance-event' (Royce 1977).

In the study of the *Maskaradak* from Zuberoa seen as a dance-event, the scholar must be aware of a series of circumstances which can be explained by following Spencer's (1985) notes on dancing. Firstly, Spencer has stated that, in particular contexts, dancing works out a collective or individual catharsis. This can be seen in healing and shamanistic ceremonies as well as in carnival festivals. Most functional

analysis has followed this path, which Caro Baroja (1965) has discussed, in relation to the study of the *Maskaradak* and other European carnivals, by arguing that carnival celebration held a special meaning as pressure valve and as a structural reversal in medieval Christian society. Secondly, Spencer has stated that dance also occurs in processes where social control is exercised or dramatised. This is the case when dancers perform at a time when symbols of political, economic, social or religious authority are publicly displayed and honoured. This can be seen in *Maskarada* performances where the *aitzindari* dancers wear clothes and decorate them with colours which are related to the expression of authority. Thirdly, Spencer has showed that several dances are particular to processes of individual or social transformation. A typical example consists of the dances required to perform in rites of passage. Up until recently the *maskaradakaiak* [performers of the *Maskaradak*] have been young male bachelors of a village, which has given grounds to interpretation of the *Maskaradak* as a collective dramatisation of the changing status of a particular social group, i.e. from youth to manhood. In fact, the *maskaradakaiak* like to say that each generation of people in a village ought to perform its own *Maskarada*, which backs up the interpretation of the *Maskaradak* as a rite of passage. Fourthly, Spencer has pointed out that dancing can be seen as an index or marker of particular social identities. The dancing in the *Maskaradak* expresses this in several ways. One meaning is global. That is to say, the *Maskaradak* and Zuberoa or *Pays de Soule* are cultural images, as well as historical realities, which have come to identify each other and mutually support each other. However, there are further identifications. For instance, villagers of the *basabürüa* [highlands] carry out their dancing skills differently from villagers of the *pettarra* [lowlands]. When jumping, dancers of the highlands are supposed to hold their arms in a way that makes them distinguishable from lowland dancers (Truffaut 1993).

Another example is seen in some *etxeak* [households] from villages of *Pays de Béarn* (Occitanian speaking area bordering *Pays de Soule*) whose inhabitants take part in the *Maskaradak* organised by neighbouring Souletine villages. This is an example where inhabitants of culturally Occitan areas show a commitment to express Souletineness and identify themselves publicly as Souletine by dancing in the *Maskaradak*. Fifthly, Spencer has explained that dancing may occur in situations where performers are dramatising social values such as group belonging or group tensions. As this thesis will show in Chapter VI, the *Maskaradak* of Soule dramatise gender concepts and tensions. Finally, Spencer argues that there is a body of research which has focussed on dance in terms of a combination of movements which are meaningful in themselves. This trend has led scholars first to discern the dances' choreographic units and then to analyse their meaning, for it is understood that dances encompass meaning by the way specific choreographic units are combined in particular dances. By adopting this method of analysis, scholars have emphasised description. In order to represent choreographic movements on paper, they have elaborated and discussed several notation systems. Similarly, they have proposed various systems of dance classification. Most Basque folklorists have chosen a choreographic analysis of *Maskarada* performances by highlighting that *aitzindari* dancing is made out of the combination of several dance units such as the *puntuak*, *frexetak* and *entrexatak* (Guilcher 1984).

Spencer has argued that the study of dance is not a simple task since a number of circumstances occur simultaneously. This is also true in the analysis of dancing in *Maskarada* performance. First of all, dancing in the *Maskaradak* is but one folk art within a larger event where other folk arts are at work. In addition to dancing, performers sing, tell stories, disguise themselves, play music, eat and drink.

Consequently, dances happen on a par with other aesthetic creations. Even if we consider undertaking a study of the *Maskaradak*, where the analysis of dancing is given special emphasis, complexity again arises. The reasons have already been outlined. The performance of the *Maskaradak* implies, or has implied, a dramatisation of structural catharsis and symbolic renewal. It also stages cultural symbols and images which intensify social order as well as those which subvert it. The age and social status of the performers suggest the idea that performing allows participants to experience a rite of passage into adulthood. Dancers are also expected to dance by following separate patterns of style which identify them with particular areas and villages inside Zuberoa. Likewise, dancers are seen to express masculinity. Yet some characters of the *Maskaradak* are female and since the 1980s many dancers are themselves female. Furthermore, Zuberoan dances are composed of a number of steps and jumps which dancers decide how to combine.

VI. THE STUDY OF *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCES AS A EURO-MEDITERRANEAN WINTER FESTIVAL

In the study of European winter festivals scholars have pointed out four aspects or areas of investigation: the historic-religious aspect; the dramatic or para-theatrical aspect; then what the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has named the 'existential' element, for it refers to the basic economic activities upon which rural people make their existence and lastly the class struggle (Le Roy Ladurie 1980:309). This thesis does not propose to analyse these aspects in any depth, since the main aim is to demonstrate the different ways in which festive celebration and sociocultural identity are related. However, a brief summary of them will be carried out.

The studies which have concentrated on the historic-religious aspect of carnival vary in their emphasis. One approach studies the origin of carnival in pagan or pre-Christian festivals, rites and celebrations (Dumézil 1966; Bayet 1971; Caro Baroja 1965), whilst others relate it to the Christian period of Lent or the Islamic feast of sacrifice (Bristol 1985; Hammoudi 1993). There are some researchers who see a connection with medieval cathedral festivals and feasts of fools (Heers 1983). The second area of research focuses upon the dramaturgical and theatrical aspects of winter festivals in which two currents can be identified. The first emphasises the notion of open-air representation regarding highly codified ideas and images (Burke 1978). The second explains that the relation between text, actors and audience, which is established in these festivals, should be understood in terms of popular and oral culture (Bakhtin 1984). Although in the past some scholars have considered this notion of popular or oral culture to be separate from other types of cultural manifestations, particularly from those of the wealthier social classes, today it is mostly accepted that there is no restricted relationship between class structure and popular culture. Thus, later research emphasises the ambiguities of feasts and celebrations which are a cross-section of different boundaries within society. That is to say, cultural artifacts circulate across social, cultural and geographic boundaries, which means that both the so-called 'common' and 'elite' social groups imitate and appropriate mutually cultural elements (Bourdieu 1983; Chartier 1987, 1988; Barber 1997). The third aspect underlines the link between winter festivals, peasants' beliefs and the cycles of the agricultural and cattle-raising economy (Gaignevet 1974). The relevance of the fourth or socio-political aspect has manifested itself in different historical and geographical circumstances. Its importance is illustrated in the research of Le Roy Ladurie (1980), and in that of Davis (1987) and Thompson (1974) on popular culture in modern France and England,

respectively. The work of Cohen on the carnivals organised by the Caribbean community of London, England, during the 1980s should also be included amongst the works which stress the socio-political character of the festival (Cohen 1993). These four aspects of carnival festival are present in the *Maskaradak*, even though their intensity has varied over time.

In this section I shall elaborate upon the idea that the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* form part of a European and Mediterranean festive complex, which is reflected in the calendar, structure, sequence of events and festive aesthetics. By festive aesthetics I mean the arts involved in ritual performance such as song, dance, masquerade, music and other artistic elements usually known as performative arts (Blacking & Kcaliirhomoku eds.1979, Kapferer 1983). *Maskarada* performances form part of a broad group of festivals and rituals which are celebrated by rural populations in winter time. Thus, the *Maskaradak* are local manifestations of a form of ritual behaviour which is to be found across an extensive geographical area which includes countries from both sides of the Mediterranean sea as well as from Atlantic Europe. They take place during a specific period of the year and, to a large extent, are founded on social and economic characteristics of agricultural life. In addition to their Euro-Mediterranean and rural character, other characteristics must be mentioned. Firstly, winter festivals are seasonal and cyclical. According to their date of celebration they can be grouped into two festive periods: one in October through November to Christmas; the other in February or March, the dates of carnival. Secondly, there is a syncretism of beliefs and festive calendars which is inferred from the fact that different religious systems and conceptions of time coincide in these festivals. Thirdly, the rural

winter festivals and rituals are performances which demonstrate a high level of aesthetic homogeneity.

The syncretic aspect of the winter festivals of the different European regions and their Mediterranean neighbours has been analysed by various scholars who have emphasised the existence of a chain of juxtapositions in contemporary winter festivals. This stretches from the early Indo-European religions and Mediterranean mythologies to Medieval Christianity, and links Roman and Jewish calendars and festivals. Yet this idea has followed several paths. For instance, Dumézil (1966), Bayet (1971) and Caro Baroja (1965) have argued that Roman and Greek festivals such as Roman New Year, Kalends of January, Saturnalia and Lupercalia are the first documented references concerning the celebration of winter festivals and masked festive performance. Gaignevet (1974) has studied winter celebration in relation to beliefs and practices considered to be pagan, to then conclude that winter peasant festivals are linked to a lunar calendar which is based on folk conceptions of astronomy. Bartra (1994) has shown that today's rural folk festivals are theatrical expressions of the myth of the wild man which, he has argued, is central in the making of a cultural self-understanding of Europe as civilised. Other authors, such as Heers (1983), have studied winter festivals in relation to festivals organised in churches and cathedrals during early medieval Christianity.

The homogeneity which characterises Euro-Mediterranean winter festivals is also reflected in the aesthetics of the representation. The degree of homogeneity is such that a significant number of scholars consider the different winter festivals to be individual versions of a single original celebration, i.e. they are ramifications of a

common trunk. This idea of winter festivals as stemming from a common trunk is confirmed in that they are a *sui generis* dramatisation of human relationships and also in that they dramatise relationships between human beings and their physical environment. Thus, it can be observed that they are directly related to the biological rhythms of nature and the cycles marked out by the agricultural and pastoral activities of the rural world (Caro Baroja 1965, Gaignevet 1974, Hammoudi 1993). Likewise, animals feature significantly in these festivals in the disguises and masks. The most frequently dramatised animals are those which inhabit the mountains and woods, for example, horses, bears, cats, deer, different types of game and cocks. In the festival these animals must be hunted, domesticated or sacrificed. Ultimately they must be dominated and controlled. It has been reported that European masks are displayed in a way that they represent mutually opposing images and attitudes (Poppi 1994).

Winter festivals convey scenic, symbolic and social meaning. Moreover, their high degree of theatricality projects socially relevant questions. Hence, many winter festivals dramatise rites of passage and socialisation within the community, which is expressed in feasting and in collecting food and drinks by the young male bachelors in a village. In the Basque Country, this activity is known as *santaeskea* or *obetaka* (according to Basque dialect and local pattern; it also is referred to as *aguinaldo*,² when using Spanish). As a *Maskarada* performance is composed of young single men of a village, several scholars have expressed that the *Maskaradak* are related to what Van Gennep (1960) defined as *rite de passage*. In so doing, they have argued that by means of performing in a *Maskarada* the young men of a village publicly distinguish themselves from other social groups of the community, precisely when according to age

and social expectations they are about to become adult members of the community. To reinforce this view it can be argued that these young men have been called -or are close to being called- for national service, either military or civil. As they are dramatising that a change in social status takes place, together with a biological transformation, these young men act out the passing from adolescence to social maturity. Duvert (1882-1983) has pushed this argument forward in his analysis of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak*. He has stated that the *Maskaradak* represent a transition in the performer's understanding of cultural space and social relations, since by participating in a *Maskarada*, a performer initiates himself in a ritual knowledge which makes him come out from the private space of the household and enter social relationships in public spaces. Duvert has further stated that performing the *Maskaradak* maps a sociocultural space where participants learn about cultural and social boundaries in Souletine society.

But the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* can be seen as ritual behaviour which allows a particular social segment to express group identity vis-à-vis other social groups in the community. Thus, many patterns of behaviour which are acted out alongside the celebration of festivals in winter time can be approached in similar terms as Davis (1975) Le Golf and Schmitt (eds. 1981) and Thompson (1974) have done when analysing social behaviour involved in *charivari* and *rough music*. I have focused on this issue in Fdez. de Larrinoa (1994a), where I pointed out that Zuberoan *Maskarada* performance dramatises the existence of two contrasting social groups within social organisation. This contrast is playfully expressed in the breaking down of the *barrikadak* (ritual barricades in *Maskarada* performance). I have illustrated this point by comparing the crossing of boundaries involved in the *Maskaradak* with the crossing

² The *aguinaldo* is a gift usually given around Christmas or New Year but since it belongs to the tradition of winter festivals as a whole, it also extends to carnival. It is similar to the Anglo-Saxon Christmas 'box'

of boundaries involved in the enactment of the *Maskak* [masks] and *obetaka* [collecting box or trick-or-treating]. These are two yearly activities by means of which the young men of a village collect food and drinks in order to feast. Like the *Maskaradak*, the *Maskak* happen in Carnival, although at night. They consist of male bachelors who mask their faces and disguise themselves as *buhameak* [gypsies]. A member of the troupe disguises himself as a gypsy woman who is in charge of gathering the food and drinks given to them in a basket. Silently at night, these young men approach the houses of their villages and then ask for permission to enter. Residents usually concede. Visitors are received in the kitchen and hosts try to guess who is behind the mask. When a performer's identity is discovered, the visitor then takes off his mask. But if the hosts miss the answer they then go on to pretend taking off the visitors' masks from their faces, while the visitors pretend to take the hosts' *lukainkak* and *irugiherra* [sausages and bacon], which hang from the ceiling in the kitchen. The visit finishes when the visitors are identified or the hosts give up the task of identification. At this moment *lukainkak* and *irugiherra*, as well as wine, are given to the troupe who acknowledges it by singing a verse. This is repeated in every house they visit. Once food and drinks have been collected these young men will meet together for supper in a local tavern, where their fellow villagers' presents will be consumed. The performing of the *Maskak* has been a common pattern in Soule during the first half of the twentieth century, as J-M Guilcher reports (Guilcher: 1984:538-542). My fieldwork confirms that the *Maskak* are still carried out in several villages. For instance, in Muskildi³ no *Maskak* have been played since the 1970s, but they were still performed in Urdiñarbe and Donaixti, which are two villages neighbouring Muskildi.⁴

or may be a gift or donation of the kind given to carollers or children 'trick-or-treating' at Halloween.

³ Muskildi is the village where I stayed while in the field.

⁴ Abrahams and Bauman (1971) and Sider (1986) give ethnographic accounts of similar ritualistic behaviour in St. Vincent and Newfoundland respectively.

Obetaka is another collective activity undertaken by a village's young men. Like in many other French Basque villages, in Zuberoa it is the young people who organise the annual main festival in a village, usually in the summer. *Obetaka* is carried out as a fund-raising activity designed to meet the expenses of the festival. However, there is an additional source of income, as a ticket must be purchased in order to attend the festival. Three aspects are significant in the organisation of summer festivals in Zuberoa. Firstly, fellow villagers are not made to buy a ticket, as they are expected to contribute in *obetaka*. Secondly, in the autumn the young people arrange a dinner party to which all the villagers are invited, a *atzarkiaien jatea*, which is a feast where a billy goat is cooked and consumed. It was explained to me that the young men organise this feast to thank their fellow villagers for their contribution to the summer festival. Thirdly, the tension between the young men and the masters of the households of the village, that is to say between the two contrasting understandings of social organisation, must be seen to be playfully dramatised. This is best seen in the way that *obetaka* is carried out.

In the summer of 1991 I participated in the *obetaka* performed by the youth of Muskildi. Boys and girls⁵ of the village met in the *herriko plaza* [village square] early in the afternoon. They divided themselves into several groups, as many as there were *herriko kartielak* [village neighbourhoods]. Each group was assigned a particular *kartiela*. I joined in with the group which visited the households in the neighbourhood named Karrika. Unlike the *Maskak*, the *obetaka* happens during the day and participants do not disguise or hide their identity. As they approach a house they stop at

⁵ Since the late 1970s boys and girls participate together in the organisation of *eliz-bestak* (main village festival) in most villages from Zuberoa. Up until then *obetaka* was undertaken by just boys.

the doorstep. A young *txirularia* [Souletine flute player] plays a melody while a friend dances. A member of the household opens the door and watches his or her dancing. When the dance is over the entire group⁶ is invited to enter the house. Coffee, spirits, cakes and sweets await them inside. *Etxeko jauna* [the master of the house] is the host. It is he who pours the drinks and fills the glasses when they are empty. At a certain moment one of the visitors who has been thus commissioned is offered an envelope containing some money. It will be repeated in all the households which are visited.

Several things are striking in the realisation of the *obetaka*. One is *etxeko jauna* overacting his role as host, making himself look almost a waiter. He will get up from his seat in the kitchen and move around the table, continuously filling up glasses with wine, *ricard*, *pernod* and other French spirits. This behaviour contrasts radically with that of everyday life when *etxeko jauna* is never expected to leave his seat at the table or to serve food and drinks. Therefore, his performance in the *obetaka* is unusual. Another important circumstance in the *obetaka* is that visitors visit most houses of a *kartiela* [village neighbourhood] which may number up to ten.⁷ This means good funding is obtained, but also that the young men get drunk. By mid afternoon the scenes in the kitchen are hilarious. The *etxeko jaunak* [the masters of households] insist on refilling the glasses over and over again whereas the young people will cover them with their hands as they realise that the spirits are affecting them and there are several households still waiting to donate an envelope. As the young people drink, the hosts and guests joke about themselves. The young people would not deny a first drink but would try to avoid a second by remarking loudly *aski, aski! Ez, ez!* [Don't! Stop it! I've already had enough, I'm fine]. But *etxeko jauna* approaches them again with a

⁶ On that occasion groups were of around ten-fifteen people.

bottle in his hand. The latter would answer: *lotsa hiza? Hi azkarra hiz, ehiz mozkortüko* [why are you worried? You won't get drunk you are a strong boy].

The Maskak and *obetaka* construct two principles of social organisation which face each other in a playful manner. On the one hand, there is the principle of the household which puts forwards an understanding of social organisation, where households are given a strong ideological value as independent unities within a village, both economic and ecological. This principle has already been discussed in Chapter III and it is represented by *etxeko jauna*. The other principle involves a view of social grouping which subverts that of *etxea* (the house-orientated society) since the young people form a social group which is composed of members who belong to separate households but act together. In other words, whereas the Pyrenean household system stresses a notion of social organisation which is based on membership to a household, the associations of young people cut across the former principle. The *Maskak* and *obetaka* are occasions when these two groups meet each other in a common space and measure their strength in a ritualistic and joking manner.

As these two separate social groups have fun and a good time in their ritual encounters, their relations are of exchange as well. This is better observed in the *obetaka* than in the *Maskak*, since the latter conclude with a private feast for just the young men. The outcome of the *obetaka*, however, involves a festival and a feasting for the whole village. Zuberoans conceptualise the *Maskaradak* in a similar manner to the *Maskak* and *obetaka*. As it will be explained in the following chapter, performing the *Maskaradak* implies the crossing of boundaries between the youth of a village and

⁷ Two main reasons apply to deny the young men entry into the house. One is residents are elderly and other is that the domestic group has recently lost a member of the family.

the households in it, as well as in other villages of the valley. As in the *Maskak* and *obetaka*, they must accomplish it ritualistically: the *maskarakaiak* are expected to perform the arts of the *Maskarada* to their best of their abilities. Both villagers and performers have a good time. Villagers enjoy the spectacle and in exchange performers feast and enjoy their hospitality. But as Zuberoans themselves express it, the latter *mereizitü behar die*, i.e. performers ought to show that they deserve it. And here again comes an occasion to dramatise tension between the household and age groups. This is most commonly seen when young people take a *Maskarada* performance to a village other than theirs. When this is the case the leaders and trainers of the *Maskarada* manifest serious worries. The reason is that during the morning the *maskarakaiak* [performers] are offered wine every time they cross a *barrikada* [barricade]. Moreover, they will have a special midday lunch at the households of the village, when they are served wine and spirits abundantly. The *maskarakaiak* are advised by their trainers to drink moderately. Trainers also tell performers stories about how in particular households hosts tried to get them or someone else drunk during the midday meal when years ago they performed in a *Maskarada*. Furthermore, trainers are careful when they go house to house checking to make sure all the performers will be ready at the right time for the afternoon performance. Thus, meals are perceived both as a gift and as a threat. Likewise, the arts of *Maskarada* are seen as a gift, but also as a threat since the *pheredikiak* will criticise and make fun of village life.

As in the *Maskak* and *obetaka*, feasting is a special feature in *Maskarada* performance. Through eating and drinking *Maskarada* performance expresses exchange and tension between social groups. Just as in other winter festivals, the act of eating and drinking is highly codified throughout the celebration, in which three key moments can

be discerned: the breaking down of the *barrikadak*, the midday meal and the evening. As has already been explained, the performance takes place on Sunday and starts early in the morning. During the course of the morning, the local households who so wish give members of the *Maskarada* troupe certain foodstuffs as they perform. These are: *kauserak* which are thick round biscuits; *matahameak* or crêpes; *jezuitak* which are like unfilled *éclairs* and then sponge cakes. Wine and other drinks are also given to the performers. In Soule, it is understood that these products are consumed on special occasions and that women prepare them. At midday there is a break to rest and rally strength round the table. As has been mentioned, lunch is special and three or four courses might be served as well as home-made cakes and spirits. After lunch, dancers and masked actors go the village square where they perform. The performance ends at nightfall and the players have dinner in one of the bars of the village.

Winter festivals in general, and the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* in particular, are charged with social and symbolic meaning and the ritual performances have a specific style of collective representation. The points of reference which generate meaning in winter festivals can be found both inside and outside of the realm of festive activity. They can be found in the sphere of social relations of local organisation, but they can also be found within the organisation of sequences and the combination of internal elements of the ritual action. Thus, most winter festivals parade groups of people who are depicted according to local conceptions of social hierarchy and cultural identity. Groups usually characterised in winter festivals are: a group of gypsies; a group of expert dancers; animal-like masked performers; carollers who sing for the carnival gift of food; troupes of Turks, Arabs, Jews or Hungarians; devils; tinkers and others with different trades or skills.

In sum, Zuberoan *Maskarada* performances share several characteristics with Euro-Mediterranean winter festivals. Firstly, masks and costumes are largely zoomorphic. Secondly, *Maskarada* festivals dramatise scenes of hunting, domestication or death of the animals or characters represented. Thirdly, costumes have bells, usually cow and sheep bells of different sizes, which are worn on the back or waist or calf so that they ring in time with the dance movements. Fourthly, several performers wear hats adorned with mirrors, flowers and ribbons of different colours. Fifthly, performers are offered special meals in exchange for their performance. Finally, the colour of the costumes and disguises, together with the dances, songs, speeches, music and poetry occupy a predominant position. They reinforce the communicative character of *Maskarada* performances and reflect the importance of the ritual aesthetic and the symbolic dimension of public and collective celebrations.

VII. FESTIVALS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF TIME AND SENTIMENT

Winter festivals also allow us to examine different ways of representing time. To this end, the British anthropologist Edmund Leach published an essay discussing festive celebration and the structuring of time which acquired a certain prestige. Leach pondered on the process by which we configure the category 'time'. He also questioned to what extent this category is linked with day to day experiences. For Leach, the key lay in the human capacity to distinguish and interpret notions of repetition and notions of non-repetition (Leach 1961).

Following Leach's line of argument, in non-Western societies the notion of time is not conceived in terms of a succession of periods marked out by their duration. There exists no sense of advancing in some kind of direction, whether it be lineal, as is characteristic of modern urban societies, or circular, as is considered idiosyncratic of agrarian societies. In non-Western societies the notion of time is experienced as discontinuity and as an oscillation between poles of opposites: night and day, winter and summer, drought and rain, age and youth, life and death etc. Leach concluded that in primitive societies the social mechanism which makes it possible to agglutinate different opposites and create a sensation of time was neither practical knowledge nor common sense but rather the religious system.

In this sense, time repeats itself, in that it turns back on itself over and over again, constantly oscillating between two poles of reference. The interval then is fundamental to the creation of a sense of time in social life. Significantly, religious systems are main generators or intervals because, through celebrations and festivities, they create and establish intervals. Nevertheless, when it comes to establishing a certain coherence in the investigation of the notion of time, the system of festivities should be considered as a whole, rather than as isolated festivals.

Analysing a global system of celebration, Leach discovered three types of festivity in terms of types of behaviour: formal festivals, masquerades and festivals of inversion. Formal festivals refer to those rituals which laud the strict fulfilment of moral and social norms. These are the rituals which eulogise the dominant socio-cultural structure and exalt the official vision or definition of social reality. Masquerades are those festivals which instead of overemphasising the social status or

personality of the participants, they mask or hide it. The last type of festivity is that in which roles are reversed and which takes place when the protagonists of a ritual activity engage in representing exactly the opposite of what they really are in daily life (Leach 1961).

In terms of the notion of time, Leach believed that the formal rituals imposed a hiatus in the perception of the social experience of time. This suspension of experience makes it possible, in turn, to experience what is represented during that interval of time in a way that is significantly different from ordinary time. Thus, formal rituals suppose a leap from profane or ordinary time to sacred or extraordinary time. In this same process, all the elements of daily life acted out during sacred ritual time will acquire the category of sacred or extraordinary. In the masquerades, time leaps in the opposite direction, from sacred time to profane time. The same happens with the personalities and social forms which are represented. As a consequence, serious aspects of social life can become the object of ridicule and irony. Finally, in rituals of inversion sacred time and profane time confront each other. When this happens they cancel each other out and the notion of time disappears altogether. In the celebration of inversion rituals time stands still, i.e it is absent.

In the celebration of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* we find that the three types of ritual behaviour and notions of time indicated by Edmund Leach are combined together. Aspects of ordinary life and local social organisation are blown up to be larger than life and made sacred through the norms of feasting and the symbols of authority embodied by *jauna* [the lord], *anderea* [the lady], *laboraria* [male farm labourer], *laborarisa* [female farm labourer] and *entsenaria* [flag bearer]. The covering up of the official

personality of daily life, the possibility of transgression and crude presentation of norms and attitudes which in daily life should be treated with great delicacy, are manifested by the *buhameak* [the gypsies], *kautereak* [the tinkers] and *medizina* [the doctor]. Lastly, we see inversion or symbolic transformation in characters like the *zamalzaina* [the man-horse, centaur or hobby-horse], the *gathuzaina* [the cat], the *txerreroa* [shoers], the *kantiniersa* [the water-bearer or serving-girl] and several others. Inversion can also be observed in the analysis and comparison of the ritual behaviour associated with the red and black groups. Furthermore, all this happens at the time of the equinox, at carnival time, which is presented as an undefinable interval in which winter and summer, night and day, death and life, the old and the new compete with each other.

Similarly, Caro Baroja (1965) has considered the importance of time as representation. It must be pointed out that Caro Baroja's work on the world of rural carnival consists of two main areas. These areas are festival and time and the comparison of models and aesthetics in the winter festivals. In the opinion of Caro Baroja festivals should be studied in terms of festive cycles which enable us to discern the notion of time. Festive activity produces the notion of the calendar, which in turn gives rise to the concept of the year. Caro Baroja observes "a dramatic conception of existence, which includes Nature, Man and Society" which can be discerned in human ritual (Caro Baroja 1965:18). The ritual festival is then closely linked to passion. Festival, feeling, drama and passion are inseparable elements of the collective perception of time. Caro Baroja explains:

The Christian religion has meant that the calendar, or the passing of the year adjusts itself to a sentimental order, repeated century after century. Following the *family joy* of

Christmas comes the *unleashing of passions* in Carnival and after this, the obligatory *sadness* of Holy Week (after the *repression* of Lent). In opposition to the spirit of the *sad* and *autumnal* All Hallows Days, is that of the *joyful* festivals of spring and summer. The year with its seasons and phases marked out by the Sun and the Moon, has served as a fundamental model to establish this order in which individuals submit themselves within their society and whose elements seem to be subordinated as well. Life and death, joy and sadness, desolation and splendour, hot and cold, all is encapsulated in this time charged with qualities and concrete facts, and which is also measured through experience (Caro Baroja 1965:19. Original italics).

According to Caro Baroja carnival is definitely a period about time, but a qualified time of the year which generates its own feelings, experience and passion. Equally it is a structured time, even though its content is somewhat redundant. Carnival is an expression of many levels: of apparently violent games and norms; of corporal and verbal unruliness; of irrationality, of inversion and social chaos; of parody, ridicule and ferocious criticism and of renewal.

Festive, social and temporal structure are three inseparable components which make up human experience. After a careful observation of the dates chosen for the celebration of the *Maskaradak* in Soule, it can be seen that these have varied through history. Let us examine how the *Maskaradak* performances represent different notions of time. Firstly, they represent a notion of time close to the notion of oscillation between opposite poles which coincides with the argument put forward by Leach. The *Maskaradak* of Soule mark the interval of time in which death and life, cold and hot become empirically palpable. These performances are celebrated when a key transition occurs, i.e., when the bright and warmer Spring takes over the cold and dark Winter. That is to say, when a new agricultural cycle is about to start. Therefore the *Maskaradak* set a timely reference which configures a cyclical interval.

Secondly, *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa dramatise, or have dramatised until recently, a calendar similar to the Medieval Christian notion of time. This can be discerned in the custom of celebrating the *Maskaradak* strictly on the days of carnival. This custom has survived until about the mid twentieth century, finishing with the burning of a Saint Panzart just as Lent began⁸. For a long time the Church did not allow the *Maskaradak* to be celebrated on Sunday, for Christianity has thought of this day as being sacred and entirely dedicated to God. On this basis, village priests have not regularly allowed peasants to work in their fields or to organise jocular and mundane feasts such as the *Maskaradak* during Sunday sacred time. Lent too has been a period of time with a strong religious significance when play and laugh were not considered proper behaviour. However, the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* of the second half of this century are celebrated exclusively on Sunday and invade the once sacred and taboo time of Lent (without any shame from within or recrimination from outside). This situation seems to suggest that the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* have lost the notion of Christian time, as perceived in the Middle Ages and during the *Ancien Régime*. Performances are now framed within what we would call industrial time with the notion of a weekend and Sunday as a time for leisure and rest.

Thirdly, some villages in Soule have extended the dates of celebration of the *Maskaradak* to the patron saint's summer festivals, arguing that as emigrants and their families return at this time of year, there are a large number of visitors who appreciate and value the chance to see the cultural manifestations of the area. This happened in the village of Alzükü during my fieldwork. This village performed its *Maskarada*

⁸ The figure of Saint Panzart is an effigy which resembles other dummies used in different winter festivals. In some places the figure is shot, in others it is stoned or beaten, or, as here, it may be burnt.

throughout the winter of 1992 and once again performers gave a single performance in their *plaza* [village square] on a Saturday night in August.

Fourthly, the analysis of Zuberoan *Maskarada* reveals the existence of a notion of national time which is obvious in the expressions of my informants. They divide the *Maskaradak* between the categories of *avant-guerre* or *gerra-aitzinin* (French and Souletine Basque expressions which mean pre-war) and *après-guerre* or *gerra-ondokuak* [post-war]. These expressions are also used in reference to the performances of another theatrical genre characteristic of Zuberoa known as *Pastorala* [the Pastoral]. The war referred to is the Second World War. The use of the war as a point of reference in the creation of intervals of time is characteristic throughout Soule and France in general thus creating periods of nationally shared time. Indeed, it has been argued that among the factors that have contributed to the making of a French national identity, there is a notion of an external enemy which stemmed from France being invaded by foreign armies during World Wars I and II (Daguzan 1991)

Finally, during fieldwork carried out in 1992, a man from Soule told me he believed it necessary to create and institutionalise *Züberoko Egüna* or Zuberoa Day. He thought Shrove Tuesday would be the ideal day for such a celebration since it marks the materialisation of the spirit of Carnival: *Maskarada*, Carnival and Zuberoa here being synonymous. Up until now, however, his idea has not met with any success.

To sum up, it can be affirmed that the Souletine *Maskaradak* are winter festivals with a marked ritual character, a highly elaborated aesthetic component and a clear

tendency towards theatrical performance, as well as being a relevant reference in the constitution of the social experience of time.

VIII. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SOULETINE FESTIVAL

The Zuberoan *Maskaradak* should be interpreted as the intersection of two social webs. The first is determined by aesthetic elements, participant characteristics, festive time and portrayed cultural images. This web indicates that the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* form part of the corpus of winter festivals characteristic of the rural societies of the European continent and other enclaves of the Mediterranean area bordering Europe. The defining characteristic of the second web is to be found in the organisation of the winter festivals of Zuberoa. This organisation fosters a network of social relations and specific cultural interactions, with the end result that a singular version of a festival is produced in the local Souletine version. Scholars have approached the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* by emphasising either one or other point of view. Some approaches are universalist and have pursued comparison seeking common significance with other festivals outside *Pays de Soule*. Other are particularist and have emphasised the local context of the festivities. The reason has been that *Maskarada* performances have many attributes like other rituals from a general point of view, but much of its local character is generated by regional circumstances and culture.

Violet Alford used a universalistic theory to explain the Soultine *Maskaradak*, to which she applied Frazer's ideas on magical thought (Alford 1928, 1931a, 1931b, 1937). Thus, the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* were submitted for scrutiny from the evolutionist and comparativist perspective, as well as being compared with English morris dances and with dances from other Pyrenean and European countries (Alford

1978). Accordingly, *Maskarada* performance was interpreted as an ancient ritual which was linked to a magical type of thought meant to evoke the powers of nature. Caro Baroja (1965), however, was inclined to see *Maskarada* performance rather as a type of expression, which has developed within a wide area, whose main cultural references are legacies from the arts and myths of Greece and Rome as well as from Medieval Christianity.

At the start of the twentieth century followers of functional and functional-structural anthropology abandoned all interest in discovering the origin and evolution of rituals and festivals and concentrated on their logical and psychological function. Now anthropologists were interested in understanding rituals of inversion as a social institution which alleviates or regulates the structural tensions within social groups (Gluckman 1963, 1965). A consequence of this was that many festivals with masks and disguises came to be seen as cathartic forms of behaviour. Gluckman argued that in African tribal societies some rites act like a thermostatic device because they come to re-establish equilibrium and social order, which are always threatened in society due to the existence of inner tensions between conflicting social groups. From the work of historians of European culture such as Le Roy Ladurie (1980) and Davis (1975) stems the idea that Western carnival and carnival-like rites of violence contribute to the cohesiveness of mutually antagonistic social groups. My previous analysis of *Maskarada* and *obetaka* leads to a similar conclusion. However, other frames of reference have drawn upon *Maskarada* performance in a very distinctive way. This is the case of Fourquet (1990) who has studied a *Maskarada* organised by the young people of Urdiñarbe [a village in Soule] in 1981. He has focused on the symbols displayed by the *beltzak* (performers of the black team of the *Maskarada*) in their

performance and concluded that *Maskarada* performance shows pairs of antagonistic entities such as country/city, autoctons/foreigners and Basque/French which are dramatised both within ritual structure and in symbolic action. On the basis of his ethnographic account he has affirmed that the arts of the black team of *Maskarada* performance are strongly concerned with the expression of cultural symbols of resistance. Thus, Fourquet's analysis gathers Gramscian notions of hegemony and resistance to frame them within symbolic analysis. By focusing on the *pheredikiak* [sermons recited by the blacks] and the symbols displayed throughout their performance, Fourquet has suggested that the *Maskaradak* contain a highly political content. Also, he has shown that they are able to express, symbolically, a commitment to struggle and cultural resistance.

As carnival performance is play ritual, i.e. playfully dramatised ritual performance, its outcome is ambivalent. This ambivalence is present in *Maskarada* performance as well, which is manifested in that, at times, it challenges the social order and in that, at times, it fixes it. Nevertheless, there are less sociological interpretations of *Maskarada* performance. For instance, Garamendi Azcorra has approached *Maskarada* performance from a semiotic perspective (Garamendi 1991). She has directed her enquiry towards the internal syntax, communicative codes and theatrical signs particular to Zuberoan *Maskarada*. Garamendi, however, weaves together two threads in her argument: an historical dimension and a semiotic dimension. When working with the first, she locates the winter festivals of the Soule region in the context of universalistic, or at least Europeanist currents of interpretation. Indeed, Garamendi suggests that the *Maskaradak* performances have their closest historical references in medieval Europe. However, when she centres her analysis on the semiotic dimension,

the result is specifically internal and self-referential, for she is looking for inward codes of signification. Urbeltz (1978, 1994) is another author who has defended a non-sociological approach to *Maskarada* performance. By placing his arguments within a ritual-myth theory (Segal ed. 1998), Urbeltz seeks an interpretation of *Maskarada* performance in the firmament and its constellations.

I have argued that the *Maskaradak* can be seen as a local elaboration of the myth of the wild man (Fdez. de Larrinoa 1997). Drawing upon informants' interpretations of the *Maskaradak* in terms of dramatisations of strength, particularly upon the view of the *beltzak* [performers of the black team of the *Maskarada*] as enacting wildness and uncontrolled strength, I have contrasted Bartra's (1994) analysis of the myth of the wild man and its persistence in European folklore with the ethnography of *Maskarada* performances. Bartra has affirmed that winter festivals are the rural folkloric representation of the myth of the wild man. This myth arose and evolved alongside the development of the notion of civilisation. Bartra argues its presence in Old Testament Babylon and suggests that it survives in the present both in oral and written narrative and in iconographic representation, theatre and folklore (Bartra 1994). He has observed that the image of the wild man is a widespread one. Having its origins as a myth in the ancient world, it became fully established by the Middle Ages and has continued to this day in winter theatrical performances. Bartra also signals a shared framework of meanings attached to the wild man, as his depiction in the folk arts is related to a representation of strength.

A vision of Zuberoan *Maskarada* which incorporates this idea of strength will be discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis. It will be explained that the Zuberoan

Maskaradak display two types of corporal movement and ritual action which could be central to certain plastic creations and certain representations of the European myth of the wild man studied by Bartra. From this point of view, the representation of the wild man myth in Zuberoan *Maskarada* operates a double aesthetic code: one for the red group of dancers and another for the members of the black group. The dancers represent, at the same time, the threat of and the need for the savage force of nature. The gypsies and tinkers and members of the black group, represent the threat of and need for the strength of adjacent social groups.

Finally, there are students of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* who have followed upon sociological and historical circumstances of *Pays de Soule* proper. Thus several authors have pointed out that the *Maskaradak* stage war images and therefore they are commemorations of an ancient battle whose date and reason have long been forgotten from the Souletine memory (Badé 1840). Similarly, Hérelle (1925:42-47) used war-like terms, such as *l'action guerrière*, *les combats singuliers* or *l'assaut* when describing the crossing of the *barrikadak* [barricades] during *Maskarada* performance, although he argued that, at last, performers of the *Maskaradak* dramatise Souletine native selves vis-à-vis outsider others. Michel (1857) and Chaho (1847, 1856) affirmed that *Maskarada* performance parades the hierarchies and social order of *Pays de Soule* as it was in feudal times. Yet they do not reach a consensus on the model of society prevailing in Zuberoa during the Middle Ages and the *Ancien Régime*. Amongst those who have centred on the local history and sociology of *Pays de Soule* to interpret *Maskarada* performance, Georges Hérelle stands out for the ethnographic wealth which he has supplied. Also J.D.J. Sallaberry's (1899) work remains outstanding as he documented the music involved in performing the *Maskaradak*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter it has been argued that Zuberoan *Maskarada* is a kind of ritual activity which fits into what anthropology has denominated dance-event (Royce 1977; Spencer 1985) and performance (Tambiah 1985; Del Hymes 1975). The choice of the term 'dance-event' derives from the necessity of explaining the cultural categories which anthropology uses. Dance is a ritual activity which happens at the same time as song, music, games, religious celebrations and ludic festivals. Since a significant number of cultures do not use different words to express the corpus of activities mentioned above, it is understood that 'dance event' is a workable transcultural expression. To say *Maskarada* in Zuberoa is expressing implicitly an event with many meanings embodied in local performance. The notion of performance or representation coincides with the study of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* from different angles. From a formal point of view the *Maskaradak* are cyclical and itinerant theatrical performances. From an analytical point of view, the *Maskaradak* are performances which are not restricted merely to public behaviour but they also communicate ritual or traditional knowledge. Dell Hymes attributes a precise meaning to the term communication. He affirms that folkloric representations occur when a group of people assume responsibility before an audience and before a piece of knowledge. Zuberoan *Maskarada* performance implies the observation of responsibility and knowledge in a specific way. Firstly, there are the masks and disguises, which must accomplish a particular aesthetic effect. Secondly, there are the actors who must enact a series of performing arts. Lastly, there is a network of social relations which is established between the host village and its young guests when *Maskaradak* take place.

PART III

(CULTURAL PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY)

CHAPTER V

MASKS, SYMBOLS AND RITUAL STRUCTURE IN *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCE

I. INTRODUCTION

In the following pages, I will emphasise how the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* dramatises social identities and show how these dramatisations of identity occur in different ways. I will argue that the expression of distances, barriers, belongings and inclusions are aspects which emerge throughout the performance of Zuberoa's carnival festivals.

One of the places in which the display of activities which represent social inclusion and exclusion is clearly appreciated is in the internal structure of the *Maskarada* itself. The strict division between the *gorriak* [the red group] and the *beltzak* [the black group] is reinforced further by the type of ritual behaviour associated with the members of each group. The overall structure of the *Maskarada* then contains a classification of socio-cultural identities which are diametrically opposed to each other.

The demarcation and crossing of boundaries are common acts within the internal ritual development of the *Maskaradak*. There are various circumstances and activities in which one or the other are represented, as we shall see in due course. However, there is a series of norms which have to be respected before the performance can take place. When a village decides to perform a *Maskarada*, the performance is first acted out in the organising village and then the play is taken to other villages mainly in the valley. Visiting other villages with the play is only possible on express invitation, as I will explain later.

The young people of a Souletine village who decide to organise a *Maskarada* send word through the valley. The localities interested in receiving them and attending

their performance then issue an invitation. After establishing a schedule of performances, the young organisers go on the agreed date to the villages where their presence has been solicited. To take a *Maskarada* to another village's square is not something a group decides to do spontaneously, but is a response to a complex process which requires surmounting a series of obstacles or barriers.

This chapter will show that in the organisation and performance of any *Maskarada* there are always certain barriers which arise and determine whether certain people are included or marginalised. It will be argued that, looked at as performative genre, the *Maskaradak* ritualise a collective Souletine identity. Yet, analysed as particular events carried out by concrete villages they dramatise boundaries between localities. Furthermore, it will be asserted that the symbolic structure of the ritual draws upon dividing lines between people and types of social relations. The examination of *Maskarada* performances informs that there are dividing lines between people in the region and are re-inforced in people's minds by delineating spatial relationships. Such divisions emphasise how people view their social environment within the area.

II. *BARRIKADA HAUSTIA* OR ENTERING VILLAGES AND HOUSES: THE DEMARCATION AND CROSSING OF SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

Distances between the villages are made manifest by sending the invitation and its acceptance or refusal of attendance. Overcoming these local disputes in the invitation process of the *Maskarada* is likewise known as a barrier. When the organisers of a *Maskarada* are invited to perform in a village they act out a special ritual dancing where the trespassing of a barrier is dramatised. This is observed in the so-called *barrikada haustia* [the fall of the barricade]. In the current performances, the barricades

are composed of a number of bottles of white and red wine, arranged at different points along the path, in front of the members of the *Maskarada*, en route to the entrance into the village, until the *maskarakaiak* [the members of the *Maskarada*] reach the square where the town hall is and where the local authorities are waiting for them. According to the literature, oral accounts and information I gathered from informants, there was a time when the barricades did consist of genuine physical obstacles, real barricades built of wooden boxes and any other bulky objects.

In today's performance of the *Maskaradak*, the bottles form a symbolic barricade, in which *barrikada haustia* means the act of crossing, and also symbolically, the obstacle which is to be surmounted. The ritual action of knocking down the barricade is represented several times during the festival. The first time is when the invited troupe approaches the point of entry to the host village. There the two groups meet face to face, on one side are the members of the invited *Maskarada*, on the other their hosts. The size of the latter group varies from one to six figures, all dressed in costumes. The barricade, made up of bottles as described, lies between the two groups.

At a given moment the dance begins. The fall of the barricade is played out to the sound of the pipe and drum [*txirula* and *ttunttun* or *tabala*], and the performance commences. First individually, and then collectively, the dancers of the host village congregate before the visiting *Maskarada* performers and enact the appropriate dance steps and movements. Then the visiting dancers, led by the music, one by one cross the barricade placed before them. The members of the *gorriak* [the red group] dance across the barricade first, followed by the *beltzak* [the members of the black group]. In contrast to the red group, the members of the black group cross the barrier without the

accompaniment of music. Moreover, the black group crosses the barricade in an aggressive manner.

Finally, the knife-grinders sing a couplet of greeting expressing their thanks for the drinks and biscuits they are then invited to consume. At that moment, all those present shake hands as a sign of greeting and they form groups among themselves as glasses are passed round in which to drink the contents of the bottles in the barricade. This type of barricade dancing is repeated whenever the troupe come across a barricade en route to the square. The number of barricades varies from one locality to another, oscillating between a minimum of four to a maximum of eleven.

In the ritual action of *barrikada haustia* [the fall of the barricade], the role played by the knife-grinders is that of singing verses of greeting. This symbolic act of breaking down barriers likewise breaks down the physical and socio-geographic barriers mentioned above. The moment when the knife-grinders begin to sing is when the barrier is truly broken down between hosts and guests. At the precise moment the couplet is finished, both groups mingle together and share the same space which had been separate during the ritual's performance. We will now see an example of a couplet which expresses greeting and thanks.

Agur agur deiziegü bihotzez erraiten
Zien kümitiaz erremestiatzen
Gure altek deizie goraintzi igorten
Ez günüke nahi debeia zitaen

[Our heartfelt greetings
To thank you for your invitation
We salute you in the hope that
We will not bore you]

It should not be inferred that the role of the knife-grinders is exclusively one of breaking down barriers or underlining the notion of union between those present. In their verses, it is also possible that they want to draw attention to the distance between the groups. I know of two examples which illustrate this point.

In 1987, the *Maskarada* of the village of Muskildi was in Urdiñarbe. At that time, a considerable number of young people of the village of Urdiñarbe had been in trouble with the local authorities. Both groups were clearly at loggerheads and the rift between them was known throughout the valley. The invited *Maskarada* made their way to the square of Urdiñarbe where the village counsellors awaited them, led by the Mayor. In previous visits to other localities of the valley, the knife-grinders had sung the following verse of greeting at the barricade of the local authorities:

*[Agur eta ohore jaun mera noblia
Mendian gora da zure estatia
Hartzen balin badüzü txipien altia
Beti ukhanen düzü majoritatia]*

We salute and honour the noble Lord Mayor
Whose position is as elevated as the highest peak
If you take the position of a small man
The majority will always be yours

However, on their way to the square of Urdiñarbe, the two knife-grinders joked that they would sing the following verse:

*Agur eta ohore jaun mera noblia
Mendian gora da zure estatia
Hartü balin badüzü handien altia
Beti ukhanen düzü minoritatia*

[We salute and honour the noble Lord Mayor
Whose position is as elevated as the highest peak
If you take the position of a great man
The minority will always be yours]

It can easily be appreciated that the second version is an inversion of the first. However, unlike the first, it tells of social distancing and alienation. However, when the time came to sing to the authorities of Urdiñarbe, the knife-grinders sang the official verses, leaving the inverted version to the realm of anecdote and joking comment.⁹

The second example dramatises the conflict and like the first couplet, it occurs in the presence of the authorities of Urdiñarbe. It happened in 1992 when the visiting *Maskarada* was from Altzükü. The couplet revealed two elements of distance, that the mayor did not live in Urdiñarbe and that he did not know the Basque language, the usual means of communication in Urdiñarbe. Both aspects are treated ironically in the song:

*Egün hun Jaun Mera et vos Administrés
Altzükütarrak gira ici tous rassablés
Zü ere egon zite toujours pour habiter
Ordin eüska dükezü bien le parler*

[Good day lord mayor and *vos Administrés*
The people of Altzükü are all here *ensablés*
Do stay and live here *toujours pour habiter*
So you will be able the Basque language *bien le parler*]

III. *BELTZAK ETA GORRIAK*, MIDDAY MEALS AND THE RITUALISATION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DISTANCES

Socio-cultural classifications may also be seen in the way the members of the red and black groups ritualise distances and create obvious separations between ritual characters. Although this affirmation has already been formulated above, I will examine the ethnographical contexts which have not been analysed to date such as the organisation of the midday meal. The formation of who eats at *bazkaria* [the midday meal] is a correlation between the social structure within the *Maskarada* troupe and local social organisation within the locality. It might happen that the host village invites

⁹ This can be understood within Scott's distinctions between public and private transcripts (Scott 1990).

the young people to a collective meal or that they decide to send the members of the *Maskarada* troupe to different homes in the locality. The latter option is considered to lend greater pomp and ceremony to the festival.

In the first case there are two possible variations. In order to understand their significance, it must be remembered that the young people are divided by two main groups, the blacks and the reds. In turn, within each group there appears a series of characters whose name, function and personality have already been described. When they are invited to a collective meal, it could be that the whole troupe is taken to the same bar in the locality, but it might happen that the red group eat in one restaurant and the black group in another. Should this occur, the separation of the groups in the act of eating gives rise to a ritual distinction between the red and black characters in the *Maskarada*.

If the guests are taken to eat in individual households, a principle of matching social hierarchies and theatrical roles is determined by which persons are invited where. There are five principles to be followed during the course of the midday meal. The first consists of the application of a strict hierarchical norm between those who hold a high position in local political life and those who represent a high position in the acting out of the *Maskarada* performance all share a table. In this way, the feudal lord and lady of the *Maskarada* are invited to dine with the Mayor or Mayoress of the host locality. Those who play the roles of master and mistress of the labourer's house are invited to the table of the deputy Mayor.

The second principle consists in matching those who play or have played the same theatrical role. In other words, the members of the host community who have played a certain role in a previous *Maskarada* are invited to the home of the person playing that same role in the current *Maskarada*. The third principle is related to kinship. If the members of any household of the village are closely related to those of the visiting *Maskarada*, these participants will be invited to eat at their relatives' household. Principle number four is that of friendship. A member of the *Maskarada* would be invited to a certain house if they are a close friend. The fifth principle is related to the need to pay off the debt of a previous invitation. That is, the host had lunch in the household of his now guest sometime ago when visiting his village as a *Maskarada* performer.

IV. FRONTIERS, BRIDGES AND POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE SYMBOLS IN ZUBEROAN *MASKARADA*

The Zuberoan *Maskaradak* performances dramatise geographical, social, economic and political aggregation and segregation. Some examples have already been mentioned in previous sections. Others will be discussed forthwith. Certain elements within the internal structure of Zuberoan *Maskarada* such as flags, ribbons, colours and symbols refer to social aggregations and segregations with a territorial base. However, there is an evident inconsistency in the choice and use of these types of symbols, specifically in the display and use of the flag bearer's banner; the sash which the flag bearers wear across their chest and the sash worn by the lord.

The data I gathered on the *Maskaradak* performed this century show that the *entseinariak* [flag-bearing dancers] carried the French flag and wore a red, white and blue sash across their chests up until the 1950s. It can be seen that these same colours

were used for the lord's sash right through the first half of the century. However, from the 1970s onwards there is a tendency to prefer local symbols to the detriment of French national ones. The current fashion gives precedence to a yellow lion on a red background for the standard bearer's flag, or the Basque flag known as the *ikurriña*. Likewise, the use of red, white and green, the colours of *ikurriña*, began to be used for the sashes in the 1970s. Some of the *Maskarada* troupes combine both sashes into the performances, the flagbearer wears the colours of the French flag but the lord may wear the colours of the Basque flag, or vice versa.

The symbols and identities represented are Zuberoa, France and the Basque Country. The yellow lion on the red background represents Zuberoa; the red, white and green sash represents the Basque Country; the red, white and blue one represents France; and the flag of red, white and green crosses represents the Basque Country. We can now ask whether choosing to represent these identities follows a hierarchical, complementary or exclusive order. The question which follows is: To what extent are these symbols representing political and cultural frontiers or bridges? As we seek to answer this question, we will refer to Jean-Louis Davant's (1983) analysis on Souletine identity and François Fourquet's (1990) study on the *Maskarada* organised by Urđiñarbe in 1982. Jean-Louis Davant maintains that Souletine identity is immensely local as a result of the influence exerted by different circumstances (Davant 1983). Zuberoa for example is linguistically Basque, but has been historically linked to Béarn and has been traditionally isolated from the rest of the French Basque Country. The economic, political and cultural divisions are proof of this fact.

Davant asserts that economic institutions have separated Zuberoa from the rest of the Basque Country and he points out that Lapurdi and Nafarroa Behera have long formed part of the chamber of commerce of Bayonne, while Zuberoa has belonged to the chamber of commerce of Pau until 1992. Questions of public order are channelled through the sub-prefecture of Oloron, in Béarn. The local newspaper, *Sud-Ouest*, has separate editions for Béarn and the Basque Country. Zuberoa is included in the Béarn edition. The Souletine identity is, moreover, attached to the importance of shepherding. In summer, this involves competing for mountain pastures with the border valleys of Nafarroa on both sides of the frontier. Likewise, the Souletine dialect has developed a spelling and a literature of its own, notably removed from the norms approved by *Euskaltzaindia* [the Royal Academy of the Basque Language] and reinforced by the media. According to Jean-Louis Davant, all of these circumstances have forged a strong local identity which is reflected in local speech, especially in the pejorative usage of the term *manexa* [a breed of sheep] as a synonym for foreigner, a person not part of Souletine dialect.

What relationship, then, exists between local Souletine identity and Basque nationalism? François Fourquet's analysis of the *Maskarada* of Urdiñarbe of 1982 exposes the tension which exists between Souletine identity and Basque nationalist identity. As Davant shows in the above-mentioned article, Souletine identity rests upon the appropriation of French and Basque indicators of identity. On the one hand, the Souletine acceptance and elaboration of French points of references has accentuated their distinction from the other Basque territories. On the other hand, their Basque links mark off their community from the inhabitants of Béarn and the rest of France.

The Souletine psyche has a firm French foundation. As a result, the political union sought by Basque nationalism or the linguistic union promoted by *Euskaltzaindia* [The Royal Academy of the Basque Language] are both perceived as specifically Spanish issues. My fieldwork confirmed that this tension exists in the organisation of cultural, festive and folkloric events in Zuberoa. This is so because those who are most active in the organisation of local cultural events in the Basque language are perceived as *abertzaleak* or Basque patriots, and *abertzaletarzüna* [Basque patriotism] is considered a Spanish affair. This local political tension has substituted other forms of political tension characteristic in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries and expressed in terms of *blanches* [*zuriak*] versus the *rouges* [*gorriak*] which has been commented upon in Chapter IV.

Awareness of this tension is crucial when it comes to interpreting the meaning of symbols represented by the characters of *Maskarada* who denote authority. South of the Pyrenees, historical circumstances have made the Basque flag an extremely powerful symbol, since during the time of Franco it could not be displayed in public. According to the Basque nationalist parties, the *ikurriña* [Basque flag] represents a hypothetical Basque state agglutinating the present territories of Bizkaia, Araba, Gipuzkoa, Nafarroa, Lapurdi, Nafarroa Behea and Zuberoa. Nevertheless, the influence of Basque nationalism varies from one territory to another. This is reflected in the different significances conferred on the *ikurriña* on either side of the Spanish-French border. On the Spanish side it was outlawed by the Franco regime but today officially represents the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (made up of the provinces of Bizkaia, Araba and Gipuzkoa). There, it is an official political symbol. However, Nafarroan official institutions reject the use of the *ikurriña*. On the French side, the

ikurriña has been widely used rather as a sign of local folklore than as a political symbol.

Peer's (1989) notes on the changing patterns in French folklore is pertinent to this discussion. Peer has analysed the political and ideological uses of folklore in interwar France, particularly the International Exhibition celebrated in Paris in 1937. Peer has argued that this Exhibition was the first time that French authorities considered representing regional customs as 'national cultural heritage'. Following from Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) understanding of national traditions as social inventions, Peers has shown that regional folklore was never used either to invent a French national identity or to project a political unity. On the contrary, French political authorities, especially those on the Left, perceived regional folklore and cultural variation as a serious threat to the notion of Frenchness. Thus:

the positive representations of folklore in the 1937 Exposition did not constitute a disinterested tribute to rural and provincial folk. Instead, they provided a nostalgic refuge from industrial capitalism in crisis. More importantly, they translated a simultaneous attempt by the Left to 'reinvent' folklore as an element of its *collective popular culture* and as an usurpation of local cultures by national authorities (Peer 1989: 72; original italics).

Therefore, the exhibition of Souletine and Basque symbols during carnival folk performance must be interpreted within a shifting attitude, in France which started to incorporate local cultures into national imagery. That in the 1960s, the *Maskaradak* exhibited Basque and Souletine flags and colours, while Basque nationalism was non-existent as a political option in Zuberoa, makes us think of Souletine folklore more in terms of representing French identity than expressing a national Basque awareness.

Statistical data and electoral information corroborate the latter assertion, for they show that the southern Basque Country has a higher percentage of nationalist feeling

than the northern Basque Country, where the Basque nationalist option represents a minority of less than eight per cent. The Souletine writer Txomin Peillen affirms¹⁰ that in 1950 there were only a few *abertzaleak* in the whole of Zuberoa: Forel Sallaberry (from Maule); the Ichoureguis and their two daughters (from Maule); Henri Ilharrehui (from Barkoxe); Jean Mirande and Txomin and Robert Peillen (from Paris) and Axigar (from Gamere). The number only a few, and some were born or made their living in localities outside the Soule region. Still today the nationalist vote is weak in Zuberoa. However, there are some exceptions. For instance, at the time of my fieldwork, Basque nationalism was strong in several villages in Zuberoa such as Muskildi where *abertzalismoa* [Basque nationalism] was the main force. In France there are four occasions when political representatives are chosen: legislative (general) elections, presidential elections, cantonal elections and European elections. For the general election, the evolution of vote in Muskildi is and dates as follows, from the first time the *abertzaleak* obtained representation:¹¹

1978	1986	1988	1992
Socialists: 39	A. Labarre: 64	Socialists: 42	Left: 11
R.P.R.: 93	R.P.R.: 76	R.P.R.: 83	Right: 36
Centrists: 34	Le Pen: 6	C.Bergers: 6	Chase P. et T.: 50
Communists: 12		M.Deguelle: 5	
Nationalists: 16	Nationalists: 28	Nationalists: 26	Nationalists: 58

¹⁰ In a personal communication.

¹¹ In Muskildi more than half of the electors have voted *abertzale* during the 1990s which contrasts with the votes given to the *abertzaleak* in Eskiula and Altzürükü, the other two villages where I conducted fieldwork, where nationalism does not reach one per cent of votes.

In the *Maskaradak* we can observe an increasing number of local identity markers simply by seeing whether or not the Souletine flags (the red banner with the yellow lion) and Basque flags (the *ikurriña* or its colours) are preferred over French flags and sashes. The current preference for these symbols should not be interpreted as a rejection of the French national consciousness which was predominant during the first half of this century, nor should it be seen to represent Basque national consciousness as understood in the South.

The analysis of the general elections and the political composition of the local Souletine councils leads to the conclusion that the intensification of local symbols attached to people of authority should be judged in terms other than political exclusion. There is an ongoing feeling of *eskualtarzūna*, i.e., an increasing sense of belonging to a wide Basque cultural community of which the *Maskaradak* are part of this belief, while there is also a strong sense of *zuberotarzūna*, namely, a strong local identity which has been historically developed to distinguish itself from Occitain Béarn, from *manexak* [Basque communities from the north of the Pyrenees] and from *españolak* [Basques from the south of the Pyrenees]. From this viewpoint, the *Maskaradak* portray an inner identity marker.

Symbols displayed throughout *Maskarada* performance must be considered parochial, but sometimes they are openly defined and expressed. This was the case during the 1970s and 1980s, as Fourquet shows in his ethnography of the *Maskaradak* organised by the young people of Urdiñarbe (Fourquet 1990). Similarly, during those decades it became a matter of strong local conflict whether or not the Basque names of the villages should be written alongside the official French on the road signs at the

entrance to the localities. Also, it was a matter of bitter controversy whether or not part of the money gathered, by way of performing the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak*, should be donated to the local *ikastolak* [non-official primary and secondary schools where education was offered in monolingual Souletine Basque language, at that time in Maule and Atharratze]. Supporters of the idea argued that villages should not profit from cultural manifestations carried out in the Souletine language while this language had almost ceased to be spoken amongst children and young people. Disapproval of these schools had been expressed by the majority. It was argued that the promoters of the *ikastolak* were *abertzaleak*, meaning members of a group with a political agenda attached to the school, an agenda that they did not share. Others emphasised that the organisation of the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* were village *affairs* and should not transcend the space of village relationships.

In conclusion, the symbols which are evoked by the Souletine, Basque and French identities in the *Maskaradak* do not cancel each other out. Yet, at the same time, they do not form boundaries or unsurpassable barriers. Spanish experience and perception of state and nationalist political symbols do not facilitate, but rather complicate the analysis of the symbols of authority with which the characters of the *Maskaradak* are bestowed. The performing of the *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa brings to the fore the enactment of two identities. While *zuberotarzūna* has been deeply rooted in the notion of an autonomous and self-sufficient *Pays de Soule* developed within the *Ancien Régime*, *eskualtarzūna* is based on a view of Basques who have shaped a community of people dwelling on both sides of the Pyrenees. Within this view, there is no longer *Pays de Soule*, but Zuberoa, one of the seven Basque provinces.

Zuberotarzūna and *eskualtarzūna* confronted each other in many cultural, social and political events during the 1970s and 1980s.

V. RITUAL AND THE REPRESENTATION OF NATURE AND CULTURE IN *MASKARADA* PERFORMANCE

Thus far I have contemplated the way in which the episodes and characters of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* are distributed. I have demonstrated that the *Maskaradak* are ritual dramatisations, which in some cases favour and in other cases limit social and cultural barriers. I have also observed that the *Maskaradak* are ritual celebrations which possess a well defined internal structure. To this effect, the episodes of *Maskarada* are ritualised images of the world, whether human or not; *visual tropes*, in the words of the anthropologist James Fernandez (Fernandez 1986).

The structure of the *Maskarada* has revealed a set of relationships which refer to the social organisation and certain aspects of life in Soule and there are many aspects which link social groups, representations of nature and economic activities to its performance. The analysis of the meanings and perceptions derived from the organisation of the *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa informs us of the existence of two main groups which, at first sight, seem to be diametrically opposed. Some scholars have suggested that this counterposition dramatises a violent opposition, which symbolises the struggle between nature and culture. But a detailed examination of the structure and elements of Zuberoan *Maskarada* indicates that such an affirmation needs to be modified.

In the Basque world, as in many other cultural areas, the relation between nature and culture is not perceived in terms of an opposition between static categories which

are marked off from one another. Rather, *Maskarada* performances show that the relationship between nature and culture must be perceived as connected vessels. Furthermore, in *Maskarada* performances the relationship between nature and culture is understood in terms of confusion, tension and ambivalence.

The reality of the red group is inconsistent with the traditionally accepted version which holds that its components represent order, culture and civilisation. Whilst it is true that the flag bearer, the lord and lady, and the male and female farm labourers are characters who represent the official vision of local social organisation, characters like the *aitzindari* dancers (all components of the red group) combine human and animal qualities. These latter figures in the performance are anthropomorphic representations. The red group therefore represents both elements of nature (wild animals) and elements of culture (social beings with important political attributes). These operate together or separately according to the circumstances or episodes being represented in the ritual structure.

Certain villages organise the *Maskaradak* with red and black leading dancers or *aitzindariak*. This happens when a village has an important surplus of excellent dancers. The function of the black *aitzindariak* is to dance elegantly even though they belong to the black group and never to represent chaos, anarchy or disorder. This belies the generalised affirmation that the red and black groups represent civilisation versus barbarity.

Historical records and folkloric studies reinforce this idea. In a description of *Maskarada* from the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, Hérèlle

proposed that the *kantiniersa* [serving girl] is the transformation of a former character called *buhamesa* [gypsy woman] and this transformation was influenced by the Napoleonic wars. Hérelle's proposal, together with the fact that the Corpus Christi processions in the villages of neighbouring Nafarroa Behera feature a serving girl who is a modification of a previous character named *basanderea* [wild woman], prompt the question of whether the serving girl of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* is not a modern version of the wild woman. Extensive reference to this figure is found in medieval European folklore and in Soule is referred to as a gypsy and in Nafarroa Behera as wild woman (Tzintzo-Garmendia & Trouffaut 1987). If this were the case, the role of the present serving girl would have combined attributes of wildness with civilisation. Hérelle also informs us of the existence of bears, shepherds and sheep in the *Maskaradak* to his day. Conceptually, these characters are differentially categorised in the world of agricultural and pastoral economic activity, but are grouped together as reds in the ritual structure.

In folklore representations of the relation between nature and culture are presented with no insurmountable barriers or frontiers. Consequently even though the group of red dancers represent forms of behaviour which are opposed to the ideals within the group of blacks, the *gorriak* do not stand for the civilised world, since they also enact attributes of nature proper.

The same argument is applicable to the black group of the *Maskarada*. The knife-grinders, castrators, gypsies and tinkers are characters who represent ethnic groups or occupations of transhumance. Jews, gypsies, people from Béarn and other ethnic groups associated with temporary jobs and great geographical mobility all are

perceived as dangerous. They do not fit into the social organisation of the Pyrenees which is based on residence and attachment to a household. However, their presence is necessary since their work is of prime importance in local life. The groups mistrust each other but at the same time they need each other and communicate at the level of economic relations.

Following this argument, it is not surprising that characters like the doctor or equally notaries, pharmacists, barbers or teachers act with the black group. Although these characters live and work in the rural world, their trades originated in urban ways of life and thinking. In a strict sense, these characters indicate civilisation. The *Maskarada* however, assimilates them with the chaos, disorder and aggression, along with the savageness of the gypsies and the tinkers. If homogeneity does not exist within the red group, then it will not be found within the black group either. Contrary to what we have been led to believe, the study of the Zuberoan *Maskaradak* does not reveal that their organisation represents radical oppositions between nature and culture, town and country, anarchy and society or any other type of opposites. Moreover, the relation between the *gorriak* and *beltzak* is not that of culture versus nature, because both red and black performers enact attributes of the wild and the civilised.

Zuberoan *Maskarada* dramatises the existence of barriers and limits which open and close. In this sense they dramatise ambiguity, the crossing of boundaries and the multiplicity of meanings. We can be more precise and say that three spheres are perceived in the construction of barriers and limits within the ritual structure of *Maskarada*: the sphere of the household; the sphere of the woods and the sphere of the town.

The household domain [*etxea*] defines social relations through the typical form of territorial occupation in the Pyrenees. This sphere lays down principles of local social organisation, distinguishing groups and distances between them. The *Maskarada* performances there appear to be ways of understanding the foundations on which social relations are built, by contrasting two main social groups: those which guarantee their continuity through the reproduction of the household to which they belong and those which ensure their survival through geographical mobility and kinship relations. Likewise, these performances represent distance between the principle of authority in the household (represented by the *etxeko jauna* and *etxeko anderea*, i.e., by the man and woman of the house), groups of young people (protagonists of the festival) and sex-gender relations (as female characters have traditionally been represented by men).

The domain of the woods [*basoa, ohaina, basa*] dramatises distances and relationships in the mountain world. In the red group of dancers this dramatisation is carried out by the *aitzindariak* or leading dancers, shoers and jesters, whilst in the black group it is the job of the castrators, tinkers and knife-grinders. From the point of view of aesthetics and ritual action, it is clear that the forest is an important point of reference, not only for daily life, but for human existence as well at this symbolic level. Bartra (1994) has referred to it as a necessary looking glass against which the notion of civilisation developed.

The domain of the town or city [*hiria*] represents the relations between the town and country. In daily life, Souletine farmers describe these in terms of relations between *handiak* [the big or important ones] and *txipiak* [the little ones, the common folk]. They

see the town as a space where relations are based on the use of money as a means of payment and interaction. The notions of big/*handiak* and little/*txipiak* appear in different moments of the *Maskaradak*, the knife-grinders' verses, the roles of the lord and lady, and the relationship between these and other characters in monetary terms as well as the doctor, notaries and the various trades of the *Maskaradak* of the last century all are characters who are associated with the world of the city or the small town. These are characters who speak of social interactions linked to the monetary or fiscal economy. When those who represent the category of *handiak* [high people] appear in the red group, social distance is intensified. When high people appear in the black group then social distance is diluted and become the object of ridicule.

In this sense, the *Maskaradak* describe the relations between the inhabitants of household, the woods and the town. They display cultural images of the country, city, and ways in which the country and city are opposed to one another, as well as the ways in which they are complementary.

CHAPTER VI

ON GENDER BOUNDARIES AND CARNIVAL CELEBRATION: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE NEW PERFORMERS

I. INTRODUCTION

On the whole, Pyrenean dances are based on highly structured and restricted ideals which reinforce masculinity. I will argue throughout this chapter that contemporary carnival *Maskarada* performances in Zuberoa lead us to a number of issues which reflect changing gender categories and notions. Consequently in this chapter I will describe the leading social and cultural criteria by which local audiences have judged the increasing presence of actresses and female dancers in the *Maskaradak* of the 1980s and 1990s.

Although some of the characters dramatised in *Maskarada* are specifically female, most often these roles have been played by men. Women's engagement in *Maskarada* is a relatively new occurrence and has been a gradual process. There are three stages which delineate the participation of women in *Maskarada* performances. Firstly, they started to participate by playing the roles of the *anderea*, *laborarisa* and *kantiniersa* and this happened through the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the late 1980s they began to adopt the roles of dancing characters, which require keen skills and a long period of training, such as the *txerrero* and other *aitzindariak* dancers. Women were participating in *Maskarada* performances as *beltzak* [members of the black team] by the early 1990s.

It can be observed that women's involvement in the ritual dancing in the late 1970s and early 1980s was explicitly confined to the three roles defined as female within the ritual. These are the following: the *kantiniersa* [the female water bearer], the *anderea* [the lady] and the *laborarisa* [the female farmer]. Although having been performed by men, these *Maskarada* characters exhibit their femaleness in language, as

in the words *laborarisa* and *kantiniersa* where the suffix *-sa* stands for the feminine, or in the word *anderea* which means lady. Also, the ritual clothing assigned to these characters adds to their femininity or female characteristics as the players wear skirts. Furthermore, until the 1970s men with effeminate faces would be favoured to enact the *Maskarada* characters of *kantiniersa*, *anderea* and *laborarisa*.

In terms of their ceremonial performance, the *kantiniersa* requires greater dance proficiency, as well as being in more lengthy scenes than the *anderea* and *laborarisa*. The latter actors have quite small roles, only occasionally being at the centre of the performance. Unlike the *kantiniersa* dancer, the *anderea* and *laborarisa* players do not require extensive training in order to give a sound performance, because their role in the ritual is largely static.

When women first entered the field of ritual drama as actual players in the early 1980s, they held the more passive roles of the *anderea* and *laborarisa*, ritual roles which evoke (at least in terms of clothing and language) femaleness. It was later that women came to perform the more important dancing role of the *kantiniersa*. This innovation did not come about without local resistance and debate. Controversy reached its peak in 1987, when a woman was assigned the role of the *txerrero* dancer in the *Maskarada* organised by the young people of the village of Muskildi. Although the enactment of this *aitzindariak* role by a woman became the subject of debate, by contrast, the roles of the *laborarisa* and *anderea*, also played by women, were not very much discussed.

In 1992 a further change occurred in *Maskarada* performances, when the village of Eskiula organised an all female *Maskarada*. This meant that the movements of the two groups, the *gorriak* and *beltzak*, were to be enacted by women. In the late 1980s, the participation of women dancers in the (respected and noble) team of the *gorriak* was widely commented upon. The *Maskarada* of Eskiula fuelled local debate about the correctness of having women in the black team. Thus, women acting out the (ignoble) wild movements and crude speech of the black team was considered *itsusi* [improper and ugly].

GORRIAK

[THE RED TEAM OF THE *MASKARADA*]

- *Aitzindariak*, or the dancers proper who assume five characters:
Entseinaria
Txerreroa
Zamalzaina
Gatuzaina
Kantiniersa
- *Jauna eta anderea* [the lord and the lady]
- *Laboraria eta laborarisa* [the male farmer and the female farmer]
- *Marexalak* [the horseshoers]
- *Kukuileroak* [the jesters]

Women's participation in *Maskarada* performance followed a chronological sequence and involved the following roles:

Early 1980s

Anderea [the lady]
Laborarisa [the female farmer]
Kantiniersa [the water bearer]

Late 1980s

Txerreroa
and other *aitzindariak*

Early 1990s

All roles of the
gorriak and *beltzak*

Women's gradual participation in *Maskarada* performance through the 1980s and the 1990s encountered different attitudes. Whereas, during the late 1970s and early 1980s women's participation in these performances as the *anderea*, *laborarisa* and *kantiniersa* was widely accepted or, at least, not greatly opposed, their increasing

involvement in the performance as dancers and masked actresses during the late 1980s and early 1990s came up against resistance. A debate ensued in the region where the authenticity of the ritual was at stake. Moreover, past interpretations of the ritual were re-evaluated, as carnival performance became widely performed by women. What follows is a description of why resistance to women's enrolment in *Maskarada* festivals developed in Zuberoa.

II. *AITZINDARI* WOMEN DANCERS

Local people expressed ambivalent feelings towards women's involvement in *Maskarada* performance. Some accepted female participation and some did not. Those who judged that women should not take part in carnival *Maskarada* festivals argued that both the dancing of the *gorriak* [the red team] players and the chaotic behaviour of the *beltzak* [the black group] actors were not suitable for women. It was claimed that the *dantza* [dancing] bodily movements of the *aitzindariak* dancers and the violent movements of the *beltzak* [the black team] actors when performed by women were in opposition to what a *Maskarada* performance was supposed to be. It was claimed that the symbols of the dancers' costumes stood for masculinity. Also, it was said that the script assigned to the *beltzak* [the black] players in *Maskarada* performance did not suit men's expectations of women's behaviour in public. Complaints referred to the quality of bodily movements attached to the performance of the *gorriak* and *beltzak* respectively, as creating a set of symbols and images that belonged, restrictively, to a male sphere of ritual action.

Data collected during fieldwork suggest that women's participation in carnival performance had become a standard feature during the 1980s and early 1990s. The

opinions about female dancers held by male experts of Zuberoan dance were split, to varying degrees, between acceptance and disapproval. Thus, some men expressed the opinion that "because the times have changed and women have taken over new roles in current society, the *Maskarada* too should echo these facts" (quotation from my fieldnotes). However, an other informant made this observation,

that the lady and the female farmer be performed by women? OK, I accept it. That the water bearer dancer be a woman? umm ... um, I might agree. That the *txerrero* dancer be a woman? There is no way I can permit it. We cannot go further away, for the *Maskarada* is, above all, a male event, and accordingly, it must be executed, no doubt, only by men (quotation from my fieldnotes).

Dancing in Zuberoa is a social phenomenon that, in terms of both actors and audiences, exemplifies a precise aspect of cultural patterns. This can be seen in what is expected from the *aitzindariak* [dancers of the red team] in their dancing performance. In Zuberoa, there is the presumption that the *aitzindariak* dancers must have an explicit body stereotype. The *entseinaria* dancer must be tall and energetic. The *txerrero* dancer must have an athletic, robust and very strong body. The *zamalzaina* dancer must, besides having the same attributes of the *txerrero* dancer, be good-looking. The *gatuzaina* dancer is not required to show a specific body stereotype, distinguishable from the other dancers, although *he* must similarly be strong, and should be able to substitute any of the others, if such a situation occurred. Finally, the *kantiniersa* dancer can possess the lowest dance skills of the group and show a rather effeminate face. Another aspect related to carnival dances of Zuberoa is that dancers must interpret their dances in a specific way, which is reflected in that dancers of the *aitzindariak* group will be selected according to three criteria: *zalhetarzuna* [physical complexion], *zankhaldia* [technical expertise] and *prestantza* or *farsa* [quality of bodily expression].

Due to their capability for metaphorical expression, Zuberoan dances and dancers are vehicles for social communication, but what do they communicate? In emic

terms, they are a public enactment of *indarra*, a notion of strength. A dancer must be *azkarra* [physically strong]. It is this argument which caused the disapproval of women dancers in carnival celebration, for women were not thought of enacting *indarra* in *Maskarada* performance but *finezia* [refinement]. When asking older and younger, retired and active, men and women dancers about the differences in expressiveness between men and women as dancers, they all agreed that there was a key distinction: *emaztek fi jaunsten die* [women dance with refinement]. Moreover:

Through dance, men express strength and endurance; women depict refinement, charm, grace and elegance and a *Maskarada* dancer must show strength. They [women] dance nicely, but it does not produce the same feeling as when a man dances (quotation from my fieldwork notes).

It was this view which supported or rejected the presence of women in the *Maskarada* performances of the 1980s and 1990s. Neither the *laborarisa* [the female farmer] nor the *anderea* [the lady] need have a strong dance background or dance much, so that their portrayal by women did not affect the local view of dramatising *indarra*. The role of *kantiniersa* [the female water bearer] brought about a paradox. On one hand, the dancer enacting this part had been considered traditionally as the least skilful of the group, as well having been chosen partly because of his effeminate face, nevertheless, on the other hand, the role was supposed to express stamina. A female *kantiniersa* could be accepted because *her* lack of physical strength could be seen as a reflection of the lower competence required of this role, as well as its physical relatedness to femaleness. However, because she expressed refinement, *she* could also be rejected. Both arguments were expressed when the first female *kantiniersa* dancers appeared in the 1980s.

In 1987, the village of Muskildi organised a *Maskarada* where the women's presence in carnival performance invaded the role of the *txerrero* dancer. Arguments

to explain the accuracy of women as interpreters of the *kantiniersa* role were ambivalent, but those used to judge the quality of *txerrero* dancing performed by a woman dancer led to rejection. It was argued that the two main elements which validate the very task of a *txerrero* dancer are: the effect of the bodily utterance and the aesthetic ornaments displayed. It was argued that the local audience would evaluate the job of the *txerrero* dancer with regard to how physical strength would come to be dramatised. It was also argued that several elements of the costume stood for masculinity, particularly a set of bells hanging over the waist and lower leg of the dancer. Consequently, authenticity and accuracy were the key notions within the criticism which arose when the *Maskarada* of Muskildi took place. It was claimed that a woman performing the *txerrero* dance was, in itself, a contradiction and illogical.

In addition to the bodily images and projections considered above, there were other kinds of explanations given in order to deny the appropriateness of women amongst the *aitzindariak* dancers. One informant said:

Women quit dancing earlier than men, because they get married younger than men and consequently, they stay inside the house for a long time, looking after the house and the children, so that they exercise less, and therefore their body changes, becomes wider, not apt for ceremonial performance.

In opposition to these emphatic statements against the accuracy of female dancers in the *Maskarada* of Soule, is the fact that today there are more women than men dancers. If we now compare this transformation in the realm of festive behaviour with the on-going changes which have taken place in the realm of everyday life already referred to, it becomes apparent that whereas everyday circumstances can be considered as women's *desertion* from the social organisation, the former situation must be categorised as women's *intrusion* into the field of male-defined aesthetic activities. As

the latter is a case in which women have *invaded* a field of ceremonial expression, previously delimited as male-orientated, I will refer to it as ritual heterodoxy.

III. MALE RESISTANCE TO THE PUBLIC ENACTMENT OF NEWLY GENDERED MEANINGS

In order better to measure the social context within which these significant changes and heterodoxy of the Zuberoan carnival performances have occurred, we must first consider social circumstances broader than local discourse on bodily expression or metaphorical communication. At least two issues must be examined.

Firstly, during the 1950s and 1960s a semantic displacement affected the social practice of local dance-events and other local activities understood to be traditional. This transformation reformulated the attitude of many young and elderly men towards village-orientated festive behaviour and ceremonies, including Zuberoan dances. Many informants agreed that the reason this occurred during the 1950s and 1960s was as a result of the impact of modern French urban models in local life being felt at the time. Leisure and sport were two domains of social intercourse where significant changes occurred. Rugby and football teams, together with their respective official training and competitions, became fashionable among school children and young men. Indoor balls and discotheques also took over from the customary outdoor dancing of the village.

As a result of World War II, a large number of young men had died and because of that event an important number of dancers had also disappeared. At this time too, a large number of people left their villages in search of jobs in urban areas and this implied that promising dancers were no longer available. Also, the periodically returning migrants, together with television, radio, schools and the improvement in the

infrastructure brought about other social and cultural models. Urban French ideas caused traditional dancing to be considered *passé*.

Whether men left their villages to work somewhere else or whether they quit dancing because they played rugby or football, they left behind them they left a vacant festive framework. The transfer from one type of activity to another caused traditional dancing to become almost obsolete. Therefore, it is in relation to this wider social background that women took over a field of festive activity, which had previously been abandoned by men when they adopted modern domains of activities (discos and rugby). As a result, the new incorporation of women into *Maskarada* performances instigated two changes in local society: (1) non-migrant young men considered it more appealing to play rugby or football than to join the dance groups of their villages and therefore they abandoned the field of traditional dance and (2) women entered traditional dance once they discovered it was open to them.

When men left traditional dancing, women had the chance to learn and enact the dances of *Maskarada* publicly, due to the creation of *Zuberoko Zohardia*, a Souletine cultural association founded in the 1970s. The promoters were *dantzari zaharrak* [old dancers] aware of the decay of Zuberoan traditional knowledge. They established dance courses for children in the villages, given by itinerant *dantza-errejentak* [masters of traditional dancing]. Most participants were little girls, who became *aitzindariak* dancers in the 1980s and *errejentsak* [female dance-masters] in their own villages during the 1990s.

These socio-demographic changes depict the extent to which male views and understandings have been challenged by women. Three questions arise: (1) Did a new set of meanings confront the traditional ones?; (2) Did women control the process of festive organisation? and (3) Did they actually generate a set of new cultural meanings? In order to contextualise these issues I am going to comment on two other aspects of the ritual: the politics of the distribution of the performers according to their gender and the re-categorisation of what female bodies represent and broadcast as *aitzindariak* dancers. Both these reveal that a sort of male resistance has emerged in the face of accepting female meanings, which have come about as a consequence of women's participation in the *Maskaradak*.

Entitling women to perform dance roles in *Maskarada* was considered to be the lesser of the evils, as opposed to not performing the *Maskaradak* at all. The lack of male dancers made the participation of women a solution to keep carnival performances alive. Nonetheless, it is significant that today there is a tendency to gather female dancers together within a separate, quasi-autonomous *kantiniersa* group. This suggests that, in spite of the large number of female dancers, their supremacy is not reflected in the composition of the *aitzindariak* group. Rather, it appears as though they have become segregated from it. It is quite common to see an *aitzindariak* team composed by one *entseinaria* (performed by a man dancer), one *txerreroa* (performed by a man dancer), one *zamalzaina* (performed by a man dancer), one *gatzuzaina* (performed by a man dancer) and three female *kantiniersa* dancers. Another arrangement is also possible: one *entseinaria* (performed by a male dancer), one *txerreroa* (performed by a male dancer), one *zamalzaina* (performed by a man dancer), one *gatzuzaina* (performed by a man dancer), and one *kantiniersa* (performed by a man dancer) and, a second

group of dancers composed of five female *kantiniersa* (as was observed in the village of Altzükü in 1992). Furthermore, the design of two separate *aitzindariak* groups can also be observed, one being male and the other female, each performing separate choreographies. These new compositions of dance performers show how women dancers are segregated and ordained in a way that excludes them from protagonism as the *aitzindariak* dancers

Together with the proclivity to divide the performers of the dances in terms of gender, new interpretations have developed to explain the persistency in public performance of some *txerrero* or *zamalzaina* women dancers. Thus, there is a recent explanation which states that these particular women dancers are *erdi-potiko* [half-boy] meaning that their body strongly resembles the masculine. This suggests that a sort of restoration of (male) meaning over the bodily expression enacted by women dancers has developed.

Both this aesthetic resistance in the arrangement of the *aitzindariak* dancers and the resistance to female-centred meaning, raise the question of whether the later *Maskarada* performances have become arenas (Turner 1974) where shifting conceptions of hegemonic masculinities (Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1993, ed.) are at stake. Women entered the realm of public performance once men had practically left it empty. Looking at the ethnography of Soule, an anthropologist familiar with these issues of socio-historical change will realise that a radical change in the formulation and the articulation of social relations in the area began to take place during the first half of this century. This change can be phrased in terms of moving from tradition to modernity: namely, from village-, valley-, peasant-, Basque- and economically self-

sufficient-orientated relationships to state-, citizen-, French- and market-defined economy and relationships (Weber 1976).

Within the traditional functioning of local relationships, carnival dancing expresses *indarra* [strength] and authority in a precise period of time. Men have chosen to dramatise the category of strength within the realm of urban leisure, weekend and nationwide organised competitions such as rugby or football and have abandoned the realm of peasant dance and local festivity. It seems that the political potential of carnival enactment has been substantially weakened, with stronger and much more specialised structures taking over. New symbolic and practical structures, through which power and authority are more effectively exercised, have materialised. Yet, it must not be understood that carnival in Soule has lost all its political potential vis-à-vis the institutionalised, officialised realm of politics. This is one of the reasons which explains, in part, why male resistance to the creation of female-centred meanings continues to exist, despite the fact that most men have left the arena of ritual dancing. Even though political activity and achieving authority through participation in the traditional dimension has become rather restricted and marginal, it is significant that most Zuberoan *auzapezak* [village council mayors] have been involved in traditional dancing.

IV. ENGENDERED MEANINGS AND THE PERFORMANCE OF *INDARRA* IN THE *MASKARADAK* OF SOULE

One of the first scholars who approached the *Maskaradak* of Soule wrote the following about the Pyrenean dances of carnival time:

Without one shadow of doubt here is the ancient Spring rite faithfully carried out each year by the modern carnival community of Arles-sur-Tech. A brief account of the rite which appears in a hundred guises, all tattered and torn confused by duplication, accretions, misunderstandings, yet still very recognisable, may be useful here for we shall happen upon it along our

mountain route. Founded primarily on dread of hunger it is made up of magical doings by means of which helpless man sought to control the forces of Nature. Things old and weak must be done away with, things new and strong must take their place. The well-being of everything was bound up with the kingship, and the king was but the pettiest of chiefs once. He bore his all-important burden for a space of time only. When signs of age appeared or after a cycle of years, or even after one royal year, he disappeared to give place to another younger and stronger, and therefore more magical in fertilising powers. The King is dead, long live the King, and growth, warmth and fecundity continue as before. Often it seems -and this takes the belief into far distant ages- the real victim was a Divine being, man or animal, impersonated by the human King, which may help to explain the ineradicable seasonal doings dependent on make beast, hobby-horses, deer, bulls, goats, bears. The basic idea -get rid of last year's weakening forces, replace them with forces renewed and fresh, that with them may increase the force of humans in the village, beasts in the corral, vegetation everywhere- is one of the foundations of primitive man's make-up, and has lasted longer than most of his barbarous philosophy (Alford, 1937:19-20).

The influence of the dominant evolutionist paradigm at the end of the nineteenth century is unmistakable. These particular ideas were attributed to the influences of Frazer on homeopathic magic. Nevertheless, I would like to argue that this extract takes us to a cardinal sequence of symbolic associations between life and death, carnival symbolism and notions of fertility and fecundity. It is also of prime interest that earth or land fertility are usually presented as characteristically female.

Obsolete evolutionist approaches to European folklore are not, however, the only theories which connect land fertility and femaleness. Contemporary research concerning ritual or ritualised public behaviour, carried out by symbolic anthropologists, has also addressed the means by which these metaphoric correlations are expressed throughout ritual behaviour. Several writings also posit a link between land and femaleness which further develops within ritual imagery and performance towards the legitimation of particular political structures and worldviews. For instance, Bloch (1985), Lan (1985), Valeri (1985) and Geertz (1980) submit ethnographies where ritual performance consists of sequences of events by means of which land and

femaleness came to be gained and conquered, for life, society and power to reproduce over time.

Even though most ethnographies written on the basis of the latter argument belong to African and South Asian societies, some anthropologists have suggested a similar approach to peasant European celebrations. Thus, Pina-Cabral (1987) has made an attempt to explore how explanations of ritual, grounded in non-western ethnographic data, operate within a rural European context. Pina-Cabral's argument has applied the former analysis of ritual to what he termed "[Alto Minho] society's view of its relationship with the earth" (Pina-Cabral 1987). Following on from Bloch's (1985) examination of circumcision ritual practices of the Merina of Madagascar, Pina-Cabral has suggested that, just as in these rituals, *Autos* ritual performances of Northern Portugal also express authoritative images of the world and construct legitimising ideologies by absorbing positive and vigorous female values, vital in the process of biological and social reproduction.

These kinds of approaches to the study of ritual and religious ceremonies have stressed that ritual creates social order and resolves the paradoxes and contradictions manifested in the everyday life of the members of a given society (Kertzer 1988; Bell 1997). If we now examine the Zuberoan ethnographic account given above in light of this understanding of ritual, the following issues arise. Ritual dancing in the *Maskaradak* is not associated with a direct manipulation of land fertility, but is instead characterised by a notion of *indarra* [strength]. Following on from the former line of discussion, one might speculate on the extent to which *Maskarada* conveys an inner process of ideological construction similar to that which happens in a significant

number of non-European societies. Thus, in African society ritual performance often consists of a dramatisation and symbolic representation of the human mastery of land and nature; what makes the Basque case different is that fertility is not the notion dealt with, but *indarra*, and the control of its public characterisation.

The Zuberoan *Maskaradak* disclose notions of strength and femaleness in a particular way. This is perceived in several scenes of the afternoon performance, where images of the forest, wild animals and their domestication are displayed. Of special note are those scenes when the *zamalzaina* dancer must be castrated, shoed and tamed. During these castration scenes the following sequence occurs. The *kereztuak* [the master and neophyte castrators] exercise themselves in catching the *zamalzaina* [a wild horse], who then escapes from them. Then, the master fires his young pupil and calls for *pitxu* [a character within the tinker group], who brings him the *kantiniersa* instead. When the castrator is ready to operate, he realises that before him there is a woman, who he considers of no value at all and lets her go. As the master has been deceived by *pitxu*, the audience laughs at him. The *kantiniersa* is left to go, *pitxu* is fired, and the master calls again for his pupil, who now takes hold of the *zamalzaina*, which is celebrated by his master and the audience alike. Master and pupil remove the genitals from their prey, which is shown by throwing two big potatoes towards the onlookers. In this context too, it can be observed how female images are located vis-à-vis male images. However, in the course of the ritual, while the women are rejected or presented as negative, male images acquire full protagonism.

Maskarada performances dramatise gender relations both inside and outside ritual performance. Gender judgements are at play when the *kantiniersa* and

zamalzaina are put together in the scene of the castrators, in the same as when women enact the dancing roles of *Maskarada*. *Maskarada* performances can be analysed in relation to the images displayed inside the ritual or in relation to external, wider social processes, and in both cases it appears that there is tension in the creation of meaning. Similarly there are conspicuous attempts to restrict any spontaneous openness towards reinterpretation. Dancing in the *Maskaradak* of Zuberoa expresses this tension in a variety of ways. One is the dramatisation of the category of *indarra* and another is the dramatisation of gendered identity. In sum, traditional dancing in Zuberoa goes beyond the physical boundaries within which *Maskarada* performance takes place, for more than aesthetically produced foot steps and bodily movement are staged

V. FEMALE *BELTZ* PERFORMERS [women within the black team]

In a previous chapter, it has been explained that the members of the *gorriak* [the red team] came to dramatise intensification of meaning by means of several symbols and activities, which were mainly portrayed through dancing. Yet, these symbols represent human and natural categories. Also, the costumes of the performers are made of human and animal attributes alike. On the other side, it is the members of the black team, the *beltzak*, who display subversion of meaning, primarily through their obscenities, unrefined speeches, and the enactment of uncontrolled bodily movements. Similarly, their masks and disguises combine human and animal figures. As already stated, the *beltzak* are characterised by their rudeness. The following lines are a description of the enactment of this uncontrolled bodily movement, once the variable gender is taken into account. In this analysis, I will take, as point of departure, that the black group of Souletine *Maskarada* performs and masters particular behaviour which characterises and sets it apart from the *gorriak* [the red team]. In this way, I will depict

the black group as separate and well-demarcated, exactly as it appears in its ritual and performative context.

In the first instance, attention must be paid to the issues and circumstances that identify the black group as separate and bounded. Following on from this, I will proceed to examine, using ethnographic data, the correlations and intersections to be found among local notions of social identity, ritual behaviour, and socio-cultural values as these relate to gender. To this end, we must return to Chapter III where I have described the components, activities and part of the idiosyncrasies of the black group.

The Souletine explanation for both the morning and afternoon performances of the *buhameak* and *kautereak* (subgroups within the *beltzeria* or black group) is that they are *basa* and *bortitza*, that is to say, savage, rustic and violent. At the same time, the contrast in behaviour between the black and red groups is indisputable. The reds dance elaborate dances, jumping very high and displaying verticality, stability, distance and social hierarchy. The blacks, on the other hand, fall over constantly and spend a lot of time close to the ground indicating horizontalness and confusion of relations. They also challenge and breach the boundaries of social distance by their constant drinking and swearing and continuously approach the audience. The blacks represent the antithesis of appropriate models of expected and ideal social behaviour as this is depicted in dominant images. As a consequence, they are synonymous with sociological concepts of social deviance and inversion of behaviour. These circumstances are specifically reflected in the speeches or sermons recited by the *buhame jauna* [the gypsy king] and *kabana handia* [big cabin] during their performance in the afternoon. In the 1992 *Maskarada* of Eskiula the following texts were the *phredekiak* [sermons] read by the

buhame anderea [the gypsy queen] and the *kauteresa handia* [the great female tinker],
respectively:

SERMON BY THE GYPSY QUEEN IN THE MASKARADA OF ESKIULA IN 1992

Hello, hello people gathered in this square / Young people and all the rest / Friends and
enemies / Pregnants beasts and esteriles / Those who fart and those who feel them /
Cuckolds and those who aren't.

This is how we have arrived / Leka Muñiña, Garibandiña / Txilintxau Buhamesa and myself /
The queen of them all / I am the gypsy Baratxigaitz, respected everywhere.

I will tell you how they named me their queen / All of us gypsy women of the world gathered /
And to do so we chose the village of Garindain / There we gathered Añiña, Mañina, Axatiña,
Zaphutiña / Garbatiña, Jentzelañiña, Añetahua, Tio, Flingo,
Khokots and Mardots.

Among the men were Bernüt, Kurüt, Filoxüt / Croquinüt, Ribouldüt, Koküt and Foutüt / Uhart,
Kotiart, Khakalar, Ukhular, Mügügar / And Kusküs Zahar.

All of them voted for me / And queen they named me.

Then we had some drinks and enjoyed a very good meal / For which we paid very little ... we
never paid / We ate ram in sauce, ground dog's tail /
Boiled beef sandwich, and fungus fried in a pan / As a dessert we had flies' cheese, onion peel /
testicle and pepper with chestnut / As wine, donkey's urine in a bucket.

We have travelled the whole world round: / Iraq and America, the fire pits of Kuwait
The farms of Saddam Hussein / We have been to the Davis Cup Final with Noak /
And at the bottom of Africa in Togo / Tango, Marrakech, Bucharest, Algeria /
Kadhafi, Izmir, Agadir, Anka, Casablanca / Warsaw, Latnia, Lithuania, Helsinki
Tunis and Muskildi.

In Russia we have gone along with Yeltsin / To set Gorbachov free /
Finally, we have been to the wedding and burial of Montand.

We have run through many places and learned a bit: / The cock drinks often but never pisses /
The rabbit never drinks but pisses soon / Maria Zaphutiña is always drinking and always pissing
/ The horses, however, have a round arse but they shit squares.

So these are our standards / Since we do not share your pride / We prefer to decorate our faces /
And thus we are prettier than you / We are forbidden to work but not to make babies / From
time to time I commission these to visit jewellers / And if possible ... not to come out with
empty pockets.

We are also highly gifted in making cheese: / While those peasants that complain were sleeping
in a lorry / we have entered the cheese shop / And have helped ourselves /
I have eaten the cheese / The second one the curd / And the last had the whey /
One of us, I won't say who, has won a hundred metre's dash .

We are allowed to take nothing from empty houses / and go to prison as little as possible /
Except in winter / We are also allowed to look at other men / But not wink them / And when
This is the new law for the gypsy women / Since we have never lost our head
there is good money to get ourselves awfully drunk.
Hurrah to the Unruly Gypsy woman!

In between two dreams we never attempt to do any work / But to pass the time we all dance
with the most pleasure / And right now we are going to show it to you.

[Original Basque in APENDIX IV]

SERMON BY THE BIG FEMALE TINKER IN THE 1992 MASKARADA OF ESKIULA

Good afternoon spectators in this square / People from this borough and from the surroundings /
Other inhabitants / Mature and young / Men and women / Big and small /
Fat and thin.

We have arrived from Eskiula having learned many things: / The prayers from Saint Peter's
square / big parties when Eskiula is feasting / passing over false receipts / We have seen awful
things: / the new war in Iraq / the falling down of the Berlin wall /
Democracy in Russia / and Rocard resigning (and his divorce).

We have come to this world / to cook dinners / To wash up dishes / and to annoy the men / We
know how to make them eat, we give birth to them and rear them.

We live on egg-shell and chicken nail / And very often on the pill / Since these unpleasant men
enjoy terrible health / After the kind of dinners we cater.

Here arrived from Zuberoa / To repair clothes and finally pots / Since we are aware that all the
corners in this area have holes, except ... the drinking glasses / One thing is certain: / we belong
to a very famous trade, those four women and myself ...

Those four girls, are they still girls? / One, this one, sure she has become a woman a long time
ago! / May be she knows how to place, at least to mend pots.

This is Pitxuna, a married woman, the best worker ... / Small but dynamic ... / Although she has
a fault: she calls a spade a spade ... / Poor husband / Although they get along well with each
other / Both are skilful in the kitchen / but still better at the table.

That is Pupuna / Stubborn, fond of playing handball, and is equally acknowledged as being fond
of boys / A unique jewel: she is not afraid of fighting with the boys / Everyday she looks after
the children of others / Since she has never had her parents' permission to make her own.

Those are the Fripuna twins / Two big laughs, happy on Saturday / Often they sing in the bar /
Except in Eskiula, which is not a surprise / Because their parents live in the borough / Since
they started studying at school / Their father has engaged them as tinkers / Once he realised that
they are the ones who return home earlier than any other.

And I, Big Cabin / The leader of those spinsters / A housewife / A woman has to bear things as I do: / Beautiful breasts / A thin earlobe / A thick leg / An underarm with no hair / the face made up / A nose with two nostrils / And a beard ... where it ought to be.

Once we were in Paris / Working at the Moulin Rouge / In the morning we danced and worked half-dressed / Much harder we worked at night half-naked / But winter arrived / Feeling the freezing cold we blocked up / We returned to Zuberoa / To warm ourselves by the home fire.

[Original Basque in APENDIX V]

As stated above, the principal objective of this section is to submit a framework of reflections concerning changing notions of gender, which are traditionally displayed in the aesthetic-ritual occasion of the Souletine *Maskaradak*. Within the black group, along with their general displays of rusticity, violence, indolence, noise and disorder, three other sub-elements are also manifested. These are: 1) the tone of the bodily force and verbal utterances of *kabana handia* [big hut]; 2) the roguery and constant improvisation of *pitxu* [a member of the tinker group] and, 3) the disaster and quasi-existential repugnance displayed by the actions of the *buhameak* [gypsies] and the sermon of their leader.

BELTZAK
[MEMBERS OF THE BLACK TEAM]

▪ *Kereztuak* [the castrators]

Nausia
mithila

▪ *Buhameak* [the gypsies]

Buhame jauna
Zilintzau
Two more with no name

▪ *Kautereak* [the tinkers]

Kabana handia
Pitxu
Fripu
Pupu

▪ *Txorrotxak* [the sharpeners]

Nausia
mithila

▪ *Medizina* [the doctor]

In the first place, let us analyse the role of *kabana handia* or *kautere gehiena*. To paraphrase the descriptions provided by the inhabitants of Soule, the leader of the tinkers must be tall, strong, abound with energy and have a powerful voice. In addition, he must demonstrate control over any type of situation that may present itself. To this end, he always carries a whip, which he uses often and violently whenever he performs before onlookers. Based on this illustration of *kabana handia*, on the behaviour of the rest of the *kautereak* [tinkers] as well as on that of the gypsies of the black group, the locals arrive at one conclusion: that both the red and the black groups represent *indarra* [strength]. The difference between the two groups lies in the style and degree to which they manifest this same concept. In other words, the "keying" (Goffman 1974) of the representations of the notion of *indarra* in the public performances of the red and black groups differs greatly.

In this sense we find that the central characters responsible for exhibiting, in an authentic way, the features of strength, vigour, and physical energy are, on the one hand, the *aitzindariak* of the red team, and on the other, the *kautereak* [tinkers] and *buhameak* [gypsies], especially through the leading role of *kabana handia* [big hut or cabin]. It is said that this last character of the black team represents uncontrolled strength, in contrast to the controlled strength of the *aitzindariak* [dancers] of the red team, especially as represented by the *zamalzaina* [the centaur]. To illustrate this difference, an informant described the divergent character of each role using a sports metaphor,

in football, in rugby, as well as in the game of handball one can see that the players have to expend a lot of energy, and that the good fortune of winning a game depends, in great part, on the strength and physical vigour of these players. However, these players have to execute this strength through, and

following, a series of pre-established conventions which they have to respect. That is, strength is publicly manifested by following norms and codes of behaviour which are precise and determined. Without a doubt this is the case for the *aitzindariak* because they dance in a way which complies with pre-established norms and codes of conduct. The *beltzak*, for their part, do not follow any norms in their performance. Their lack (of rules) is what defines the behaviour of the black group during the performance of the *Maskarada* (quotation from my fieldnotes).

According to local explanations, a relevant part of the public performance of the ritualised activities of the black group is the display of unregulated strength, which extends far beyond socially accepted boundaries. Several informants who discussed with me the above-mentioned characteristic affirmed that the central characters of the *Maskaradak* are not the red, but rather the black group. Following the informants' opinion, this latter group is principally represented by *kabana handia* [big hut] who displays, at all times, an uncontrolled strength which crosses acceptable social boundaries. He continuously cracks his whip on the ground and lashes out at the legs of other tinkers or of members of the audience. His actions are spontaneous and improvised, he constantly drinks wine while in the most improbable positions, and his clothes are torn. Thus, these features are but a small example of "public staging of socially unexpected behaviour" which is extremely removed from the normal use of the body in daily social interaction. In light of the preceding analysis, I would like to conclude that the socio-cultural features which demarcate the ritual action of *kabana handia* point to violence and the rusticity of bodily use, including not only the use of physical movement, but also of the voice.

The second of the three sub-elements represented in the Souletine *Maskaradak*, which merits some discussion, is the roguery and constant improvisation of *pitxu*, one of the tinkers. *Pitxu* is a likeable character who displays a type of *sui generis* life: he develops ingenuity at the same time as displaying intentionality in living, sleeping,

eating and drinking, all the while remaining removed from superiors, leaders, obligations and work. The instances in which this character appears on the scene demonstrate (particularly to himself) how a lively and clever person is mostly interested in the corporal pleasures that life brings, than in the penalties and suffering that work occasions.

The third sub-element I would like to underline is the type of life staged by the *buhameak* [gypsies] This sub-group displays the same type of characteristics as the *kautereak* (i.e. rustic and violent bodily movements, coarse words, etc.), as well as projecting, by means of a sermon, a self-image, which presupposes a negation of social norms and interrelations commonly demanded and accepted.

The ritual behaviour of the black group of *Maskarada*, as exemplified by the *kautereak* [tinkers] and *buhameak* [gypsies] tends to represent, to a great extent, the negation and exaggerated inversion of that which is considered to be socially acceptable. In this sense, the black group contrasts, firstly, with the type of behaviour and ideas performed by the red group, and secondly, with the model of correct social behaviour required in daily social life. In other words, the performance of the *beltzak* [the black group] points to a paradox. Furthermore, if we examine the reactions produced by the *Maskarada* of Eskiula in 1992, we find that the contrast or paradox encountered was double.

VI. A DOUBLE PARADOX WITHIN THE 1992 *MASKARADA* OF ESKIULA

When towards the end of 1991 a group of young women of Eskiula began making preparations for rehearsals of a *Maskarada* which consisted entirely of women, the first reaction of the local inhabitants was an opinion which I am going to refer as *a*

doubling or duplication of the content of the ritual paradox. In this section I will strive to link the above-mentioned local views on the *Maskarada* ritual with the relationship established between: (1) the accepted guidelines for ritual behaviour; (2) norms governing daily activity and (3) the consideration given to both (1) and (2) in the creation of new perceptions of the ritual, brought about by the new variable of gender.

When the local population of the Zuberoa area first heard that there was to be an all-female *Maskarada* their reaction was one of surprise and amazement. Many people reacted with a smile, as if the news was a joke. When it was confirmed that the plans for the performance were to be carried out, the responses changed from amazement to one of disassociation from the event. Informants added that they would not watch a *Maskarada* performed in its totality and exclusively by women. I then began to ask locals in Zuberoa about the reasons why people were so unreceptive to this new idea brought about by women of their own community.

The majority of the explanations of those opposed to an all-female performance of the *Maskarada* was that it would be *itsusia* [an ugly or unpleasant spectacle]. In addition to this, people justified their stance by saying that they could not see that it was "proper behaviour for women or girls" to perform the roles of the black group. To paraphrase the words of a local informant:

I do not see that it is proper to have a *Maskarada* with women; now then, if they organise and execute it, I won't have anything to say against it; what shocks me the most, in any case, is that I can't bear to see the blacks composed of women, on the ground, one on top of the other, or interpreting the sermons where strong things which are unpleasant to the ear are said and that they respond to the comments made by the public; it cannot be a nice spectacle (quotation from my fieldnotes).

The types of interpretive distortions which occur within masculine viewpoints and hegemonic perceptions, when the variable of gender is introduced as a subject within the ritual activity of *dantza* [dance], have been discussed previously. I would now like to put forward a few reflections on the issue of the introduction of gender within the *Maskarada* ritual, particularly as this concerns the local notion of this as "unpleasant conduct" or as "(socially) undesirable". I will begin by delimiting the significance of the expression 'ritual paradox'.

A number of works, which were principally influenced by Victor Turner, have brought about the notion of creation and public exhibition of significance by means of contrasting the content of ritual conduct with that of daily conduct. However, the type of relationship which occurs between different types of behaviour occurring in highly ritualised and celebratory situations, and those of regular or daily social life, has been the subject of controversy in anthropology. Thus, certain types of festivities tend to invert much of the ordinary socio-cultural aspects of life. The carnival offers a paradigmatic case of this type of contrast which can be labelled as symbolic inversion (Bakhtin 1984, Babcock 1978). Another type of public celebratory activity tends to express a past which is historical or mythical through a symbolic intensification of certain characteristics of ordinary life (Duvignaud 1976). Ritual processes that imply inversion, or accentuation and intensification, or combine both inversion and accentuation, also create the sensation of paradox and divergence between rituals emerging from everyday behaviour and those emerging from those types of behaviour which are celebratory. In the Souletine *Maskarada*, contrast, significance and meta-communication are created by an internal logic (structural and sequential morphology)

of the ritualised theatrical representation, as well as by the relation of the ritual with social, economic and political processes external to its disposition and organisation.

Furthermore, we can see that there are three principal modes of contrast and paradox manifested in the Zuberoan *Maskaradak*: In the first place, taking as a reference point the internal logic of the performance, we have a prototype of contrast formulated in terms of opposition between the reds and the blacks. Secondly, taking as a point of reference the contrast that is generated when we compare ordinary conduct with ritual behaviour, we perceive an intensification of values, hierarchies and social concepts in the red group. Thirdly and contrarily in the black group, we discover inversion and/or deviation.

Now, when the meta-communicative intensification of the red group is established through masculine social agents, the nature of the paradox is accepted as normal and unproblematic. However, this is not the case if the *Maskarada* is staged by female social agents because these introduce a distorting interpretative element according to the viewpoints of the local hegemony. In other words, a double paradox and a double contrast are created. The same type of cognitive process takes place in the dramatisation that the members of the black group ritualise.

The ritual paradox which emerges between the ritual performance of the black group and that of everyday social interrelation is considered acceptable if its execution is conducted in *dramatis personae* by men. It is considered unacceptable if performed by women. The simple paradox is considered to be a positive fact, at least in aesthetic, artistic and performative terms, and to be, generally, socially accepted and uncontested.

Meanwhile, the double paradox is considered (at least in reference to the defining factors of the black group) to be negative, ugly, offensive, unelegant and improper behaviour on the part of the protagonists. It is well described in the work on the nature of ritual written by Bloch, where he argues that the role played by gender symbolism, in processes of creation of cognition and ideology, is related to social positions and authoritative cultural images (Bloch 1989).

The cognitive and ideological stance which permits the public presence of the first paradox (i.e. simple), but delegitimises the second (i.e. double), is constructed and fixed through a conceptual sanction detached from the notion of *plaza-gizona* [literally, the man of the square]. In Basque rural communities, the square is the space *par excellence* for conducting public community relations. However, the use of this public space is limited in terms of social time as well as social groups that make up the local rural organisation (del Valle 1983, 1985; Lekunberri 1990; Fdez. de Larrinoa 1991). The term *plaza-gizona* refers quite graphically to these types of temporal and segmental relations. *Plaza-gizona* is a type of person who knows how to conduct himself in public, and describes the *pelotari* [handball player], the *bertsolari* [verse improviser], the *dantzari* [dancer], the *apostulari* [gambler], etc. These people all fulfil highly ritualised activities in the open space that is the community square and before the critical eye of the rest of the community.

It is clear that emphasis is placed upon the term *gizona* [man], to the exclusion of the term 'woman' (in Basque *andrea*, *emaztea*, also *emakumea*, depending on the contexts and dialectical varieties), in order to designate or describe the person whose activities are essentially public. This exclusion is highly significant when we can prove

that a great number of utterances in the Basque language are based on pairs of words which indicate, respectively, the masculine and feminine genders: for example, *aita-amak* [father-mother] which in Castilian is simply *padres* [parents]; *anai-arrebak* [brothers-sisters] for siblings; *senar-emazteak* [husband-wife] for couple; *neska-mutilak* [boys-girls] for young people and other variations. The exclusion of the feminine, on equal terms, in the expression of the notion of 'public person', as well exemplified by the Basque expression of *plaza-gizona*, is open and clearly conscious discrimination. Therefore it is of great significance that a recent feminist group hoping to gain election in the municipal elections in Donostia, Gipuzkoa, were named *plaza-andreok*, a neologism of their own. However, *plaza-gizona* is an expression whose etymology and literal translation support the ethnographic data: it expresses and signifies the rural Basque *res publica*. The open actions and concrete behaviour in the ritual, performed before other members of the community, fundamentally exclude women from the social staging of either roles of social agents or central and desirable protagonists, or from diligent and dynamic representations.

VII. RECAPITULATION: AFTER ESKIULA 1992

I would like to review the principal arguments and themes that have led up to the identification and contextualisation of the frameworks of action of the black group. The point of departure in this section was the *Maskarada* performed by a group of people related, in one way or another, to the community of Eskiula. This group of people was comprised of 30 married and unmarried women aged between 14 and 40 years. During the winter of 1992 these women completed more than 15 performances within and outside Zuberoa.

The organisation and performance of these feasts and functions, profoundly rooted in time and creators of social relations within and outside the community of origin, produced, in the first instance, astonishment and paradox. As the dates of planned performances approached, these two issues aroused great expectation and curiosity among people. Astonishment and paradox, which were reproduced in the public staging of the performances, dramatised a series of contrasts which were distributed across various levels of interaction. The explosive element in all of this was the black group: all of its members were women, a fact which had been unusual up until their performance.

This kind of novel situation presented, at least from the local (i.e. male) interpretative point of view, a radical contrast between images, as well as a basic contradiction between the countenance and content of the representation. This contrast and contradiction within the *Maskarada* performed by the group in Eskiula was based on social images associated with women's daily life and, in this way, clashed with the usual images staged at these rituals.

Many Souletine people, both men and women, when they first heard of the performance, considered it to be an event which was *itsusia* [ugly, unpleasant]. According to them, a woman must be, above all, *discrete*. Thus, women's direct participation in the black group subverted the stereotype. Other reactions observed as the date of the performance drew nearer had to do with the good skills of the female participants: *emazteek gizionek bezin untsa edo hobeki* [women (can perform) as well as men or better].

The cognitive and ideological axes of the ritual paradox were, as noted above, the mutual stumbling block between notions of the *discrete* in daily life, and *plaza-gizona* in the ritual context. In the instance of this study, these notions occupy a very precise type of socio-cultural practice within solidly fixed spatial-temporal boundaries. In this sense, the practice of the *Maskarada*, from the internal structural position of the *beltza* [black] group, required the female performers of Eskiula to interpret and, more importantly, to project a series of images in clear contradiction and disharmony with those that are expected of rural females in public.

In this way, the staging of the *Maskarada* of Eskiula implied the exteriorising and public viewing of conduct, actions, and *tableaux* not pertinent to correct female social behaviour: women were seen drinking excessively, directly from bottles and wine skins; rolling around on the ground, on top of each other, soiling their clothing; wandering about without a home, a husband, or purpose and exercising unregulated power stretching beyond what society permits. Women were also seen to embody and bodily communicate violence either externally (quarrels, physical encounters, or use of the whips), or internally (threatening their own physical health by eating and drinking excessively during the festivities) and they were also constantly improvising their actions, pursuing pleasure before work. Finally, they also ignored domestic or any other obligations and made loud erotic or sexual proclamations.

In sum, the dramatisation of these visual and acoustic roles enters into clear conflict with the dramatisation of the role of women: to be discrete in public encounters; to be guardians of the houses and its roots; to be responsible for the well-being of the family and domestic group; to be guarantors of the family's continuity through time and

of its moral values; to be responsible for the painstaking and competent administration of the household (including economy) and to plan for the future. Restraint and other stereotypes and similar models of conduct also feature as part of their role.

Significantly, after Eskiula 1992 there have been no other female *black Maskaradak*, though some villages have introduced female *buhameak* [gypsies] in their performances. These consist of a group of four or five women disguised as their male *parteneurs* gypsies of the *Maskarada*. However, these female *buhameak* shape a group by itself, which does not enact *basa* and *bortitz* movements but rather fulfils a decorative picture. In the same way that some villages have developed the strategy to cluster female dancers within *kantiniersa* decorative choreographies, new organisers of the *Maskaradak* feel that tamed *buhamesak* [gypsy women] do it better. Furthermore, because it is common to have a relevant number of actresses within the red team of the *Maskaradak* in the 1990s, and thus expressions of refinement are largely enacted, the few men interested in *Maskarada* traditional dancing have now switched to the black team as the option in which to express their *indarra*.



Kantinersak dancers of Altzükü, 1992



Mascarade of Eskiula, 1992. Female players of the black team

CHAPTER VII

FOLK PERFORMANCE AND THE SHAPING OF CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

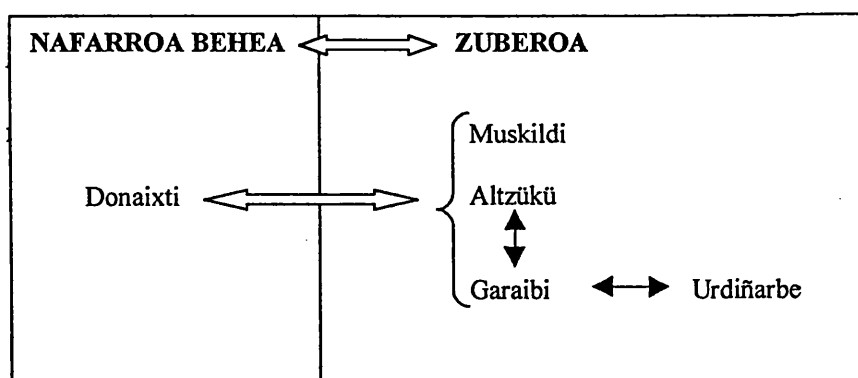
1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapters V and VI I looked at the dramatisation of social identity and cultural images which are displayed within the ritual structure of the Souletine *Maskaradak*, particularly when focusing on practices of inclusion and exclusion. Chapter VII will probe further into the relationship between traditional dance and social identity by examining the social, cultural and geographic origins of the actors and audience. Barriers which divide and unite will thus be dramatised in the construction of these identities. Therefore, in this chapter I will explore the relationship between the household, the village, the valley and other administrative divisions, and how these influence actors and audience. In other words, this chapter will discuss the composition of social groups related to folk performance and the ascription of various forms of public identity, whether contested or shared.

As explained in Chapter III, the anthropology of the Pyrenees has shown that the household, the neighbourhood and the valley are the prime spheres of local interaction, as well as constituting units of social relations which confer identity. In order to understand how these identities take shape, we must pose the following question: What happens when the notions of household, neighbourhood and valley are examined *vis-à-vis* the organisation of a *Maskarada* in Zuberoa? The answer I will offer to this question is the result of my ethnographic incursion into areas which socially, culturally or administratively share borders with Zuberoa. Zuberoan folk theatre is examined in the following places: Muskildi and Altzükü (in Zuberoa); Donaixti (in Nafarroa Behea); and Basauri and Bilbao (in the Spanish Basque province of Bizkaia).

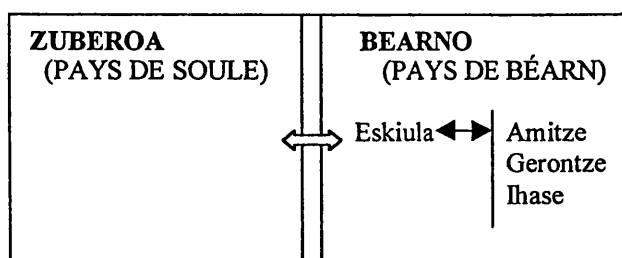
Muskildi is a Zuberoan locality which borders on Nafarroa Behea and specifically shares a frontier with Donaixti. Altzükü is another Souletine village from which the young people have taken their *Maskarada* to Donaixti (in Nafarroa Behea) on several occasions. Altzükü is adjacent to Urdiñarbe, both located in Zuberoa. These two villages share a neighbourhood called Garaibi, and their inhabitants have participated as reputed dancers in the *Maskaradak* of Altzükü and Urdiñarbe.

In 1994, the locality of Donaixti organised a *Pastorala*. As was explained previously, the *Pastorala* is a form of ritual theatre with a dramatic structure and is comparable to certain medieval religious plays as well as to festivals of Moors and Christians widely extended throughout Europe. Yet local people consider the *Pastoralak* performances to be strictly Souletine. The fact that a village in Nafarroa Behea should dare to perform a Souletine activity was the cause of controversy. Nevertheless, thanks to Altzükü it allowed some of its dance experts to teach those of Nafarroa Behea the dance steps of the *Pastorala* and Donaixti was able to celebrate this festival as a result.

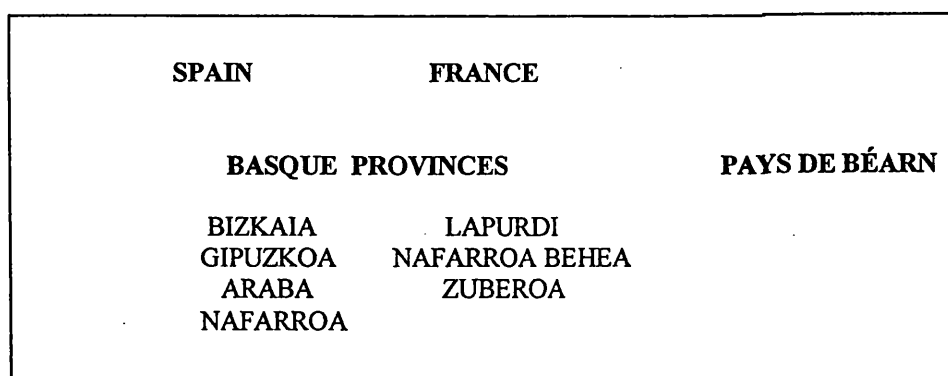


Eskiula is also a frontier village. Strictly speaking it is a Souletine Basque linguistic enclave in the Béarn valley of Bare tous. The fact that Eskiula coincides with Zuberoa in cultural models such as linguistic and festive-ritual models means that the

people of Eskiula identify more with Zuberoa than with the Béarn region. This feeling extends beyond Eskiula to other Béarn villages. It so happens that certain households of villages, such as Aramits [Amitze in Basque], Geronce [Gerontze] and Feas [Ihase], all of which are located in Béarn, have participated in the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* of Eskiula.



This chapter concludes with an analysis of what happens when the audience of the Souletine *Maskarada* changes and what happens when the *Maskarada* confronts an audience which is different from the usual one. This occurred when the *Maskarada* of Altzükü visited two localities in the Spanish Basque province of Bizkaia namely, Basauri and Bilbao.



The ethnography of this essay shows that the *Maskaradak* are carnival performances which encapsulate processes of socio-cultural identification. One of these has a congregational aspect inasmuch as it is the cultural heritage of the inhabitants of Soule. Another looks inwards to the valley and is particularist. It affirms that the

Maskarada is part of the patrimony of the village which organises it. A third process of identification scrutinises the composition and origin of the participants, revealing that there are actors and dancers who are the sons and daughters or nephews and nieces of former actors and dancers, many of whom were born and are still living in the same farmhouse. It can be seen that the first process of identification mentioned emphasises the idea of region or country [*Pays*], the second the notion of village and the third the category of household.

The student of the Souletine *Maskaradak* receives the same impression. We know that in terms of individuals, the participants represent their house of origin first, secondly, as a collective group they represent their village and lastly, as a people from Zuberoa they represent their region or *Pays*. However, a detailed analysis of the composition and origins of the dancers and masked players shows that not all of the participants come from the locality, household or valley which they supposedly represent. This is particularly manifest in the analysis of the *Maskaradak* organised by the young people of the border villages of Zuberoa, as will be seen shortly.

I will comment on some examples in which the identities concerning household, village and valley are conferred onto individuals and how boundaries are crossed in the celebration of *Maskarada*. The reflection or analysis prompted by these case studies is set in the framework of the relationship existing between geography and Souletine identity. Examining what occurs in the following localities of the ethnographic examples selected, Muskildi, Eskiula and Garaibi, will show how these different spatial relationships are identified with. Finally, I will comment upon a new meaning attached to *Maskarada* performance, as a sense of Basqueness, which goes far beyond *Pays de*

Soule, is developing today. I will discuss this idea by examining several issues which arise when *Maskarada* performance is staged before Spanish Basque audiences.

I will organise my arguments as follows. Muskildi is a village with several neighbourhoods. One of these is Loga. Its geographical situation, dialect and architectural style show that its inhabitants form a community closer to Donaixti in Nafarroa Behea than they do to Muskildi in Zuberoa. It is surprising that within such a small geographical area, the speech, history, economic institutions and rural architecture can be clearly distinguished in Zuberoa as opposed to Nafarroa Behea. Nonetheless, patterns of marriage and festive organisation indicate that points of interconnection exist between Zuberoa and Nafarroa Behea, especially between Muskildi and Donaixti. Eskiula is the second village to which I will refer. I will demonstrate that festive activity and traditional dance establish links of community between people belonging to Basque Souletine and Occitanian-Béarnais councils. I will discuss examples where the boundaries for the community within the festival context are contradicted by the boundaries of household, village and valley. The data correspond to a small enclave called Garaibi, situated between Altzükü and Urdiñarbe, both Souletine localities. A stream cuts through the fields of Garaibi, dividing it into two separate halves. The houses on one side are administrated by Altzükü and those on the other side by Urdiñarbe.

Following this, I will examine the relationship between the Nafarroa Behea village of Donaixti and Soule as seen in Donaixti's intervention in Souletine festival activities. An ethnographical survey showed that Donaixti has maintained and still maintains direct contact with Souletine folklore via Altzükü. In the same way I will

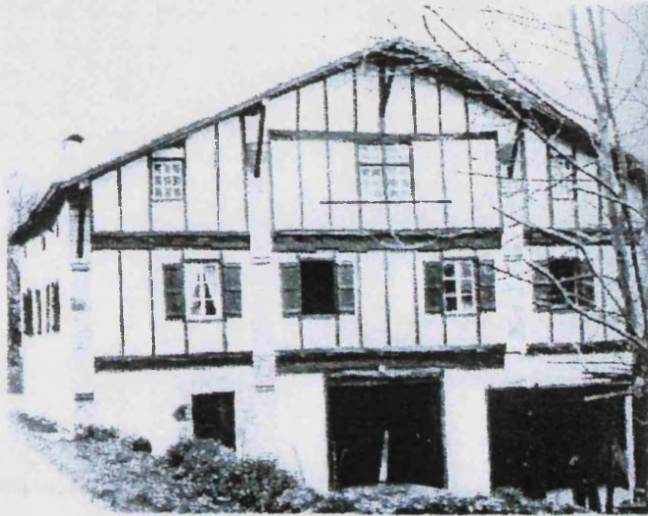
demonstrate that in the last few years Donaixti has opened up, culturally speaking, to Zuberoa. By this I mean that the village has turned toward Zuberoa to seek traditional folklore, and not toward Nafarroa Behea, the region to which Donaixti culturally belongs. The indicators of this are of various kinds. Donaixti has acted both passively, by the simple requesting of the *Maskaradak* from Souletine villages and actively, by staging such a genuinely Souletine drama production as a *Pastorala* performance

Finally, I will study the composition of the audience of a *Maskarada*. The examples I will analyse demonstrate the means of communication and their limitations in a *Maskarada* when the audience is non-Souletine.

II. PERFORMING FOLK THEATRE: NOTES FROM MUSKILDI

Muskildi is a border village, situated on one of the geographical frontiers between Zuberoa and Nafarroa Behea. The traveller who journeys from Baiona on the coast to the Nafarroa Behea locality of Donibane Garazi and from there to Maule, will find that Muskildi is the first Souletine village you come to after descending the mountain pass of Oxxixe. In French administration, Muskildi has the status of a *commune* which corresponds to a rural district or borough council called *herria* in Basque. In the following lines I will analyse Muskildi in a particular way. I will focus on the physical accidents, marriage patterns, linguistic and political models and festive rituality in Muskildi in order to show different notions of community. I will describe how these boundaries are drawn. I will show that in Muskildi there are several notions of community at play and that their boundaries do not always coincide.

a)



b)



a) A farming house from Nafarroa Behea

b) A farming house from Zuberoa

Villages named in the text



Borderline between
Zuberoa and Nafarroa
Behea

Borderline between
Zuberoa and Béarn

Bordering areas between Zuberoa, Béarn and Nafarroa Behea



Soule valley or Zuberoa

Three hundred and seventy people live in Muskildi, distributed over eighty houses. As in the rest of the Pyrenees, in Muskildi the household and its inhabitants constitute an especially relevant social unit. Other important social configurations are *aizoak* or the local relations established by the exchange of economic and social services, *kartielak* or neighbourhoods, *eliza*, or the ritual community forged by religious participation, and *herria*, the political-administrative community. Compared with Douglass (1969) and Ott (1981) who give a vision of rural life in which the boundaries of the administrative, religious, linguistic and festive community overlap, in Muskildi one discovers that they are forms of consciousness and communal practices which do not coincide with each other.

The households which belong administratively to the municipality of Muskildi are grouped into nine *kartiel* or neighbourhoods Karrika, Laurzia, Erbizia, Ehusania, Barretxia, Agrehia, Loga, Oxxaxe Aldea and Pagola Aldea. A detailed examination of these neighbourhoods reveals that they do not form a single unit but that several *kartiel* behave differently. It can be observed that the inhabitants of the households of Karrika, Laurzia, Erbizia, Ehusania, Barretxia and Agrehia follow the majority norm of participating in common social, religious and festive activities held in the village square located in the neighbourhood of Karrika, within Soule. On the contrary, the neighbourhoods of Loga, Oxxaxe aldea and Pagola aldea with a population of less than fifty people behave differently from the rest of the neighbourhoods. The domestic groups of Loga and Oxxaxe Aldea are linked to the Nafarroa Behea village of Donaixti, where they attend religious festivals, patron saints' festivals and where the children go to school. The two houses which form the neighbourhood of Pagola Aldea named Burgantz and Elixat even differ from each other. The Burgantz household is registered

in the municipality of Muskildi where it also holds its burial place but its social relations connect it to Pagola. The Elixat household coincides with the Burgantz, except that its burial place is in Pagola. Both houses are situated on the hillsides which look towards Pagola, a Souletine border locality which shares a frontier with Souletine and Nafarroa Behea villages.

Although areas of transition and mixing do exist, Zuberoa and Nafarroa Behea are two separate regions. As I have said previously, the Souletine writer Jean-Louis Davant has already approached this subject, nevertheless, other questions may be considered in addition to those covered by Davant. A geographical boundary which separates Zuberoa from Nafarroa Behea is the Oxxixe mountain pass. On one side is Muskildi and on the other, Donaixti. The hermitage of Saint Anthony crowns the mountain peak, from where it can be seen that the neighbourhoods of Karrika, Laurzia, Erbizia, Ehusania, Barretxia and Agrehia lie on one side of the mountain (the Souletine side) while Loga and Oxxaxe aldea are situated on the other side (Nafarroa Behea). The houses belonging to these two neighbourhoods total about fifteen, of which ten are inhabited.

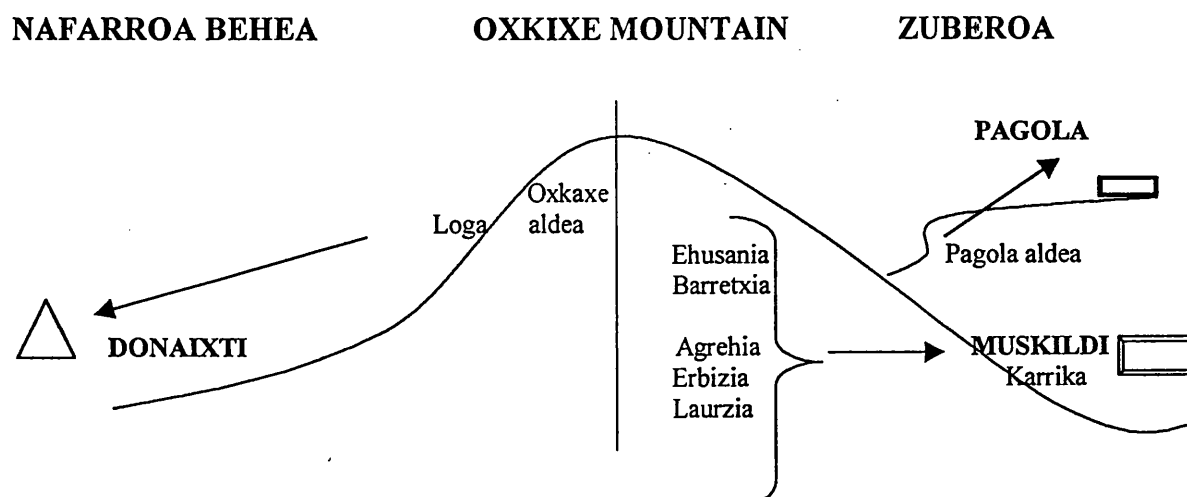


DIAGRAM: MUSKILDI AND ITS NINE NEIGHBOURHOODS

The architectural style of the houses and the linguistic varieties spoken in Muskildi correspond to the physical distinction marked out by the Oxxixe mountain pass. The houses of the Loga neighbourhood reproduce the architectural style of Nafarroa Behea which have two-sided roofs with Arabic tiles. Meanwhile the houses of the neighbourhoods of Karrika, Laurzia, Erbizia, Barretxia and Agrehia emulate the Souletine style which have four-sided slate roofs.

By the same analogy dialectical variations are important aspects of social differentiation. Linguistic variations help to distinguish the Basque dialect of Nafarroa Behea from that of Zuberoa. The accent and intonation of utterances, the pronunciation of certain sounds, verbal conjugation and vocabulary are all aspects of this variation. In Muskildi the inhabitants of Loga speak the dialect of Nafarroa Behea while the residents of Karrika, Laurzia, Ehusania, Barretxia, Agrehia and Pagola aldea all speak the Souletine dialect.

An example of lexical variation may be appreciated in the ethnographical vocabulary related to sheep-raising, an economic activity exercised on both sides of the mountain. The terms employed to name the three sizes of bells hung from the sheep's necks vary on either side of the pass. Similarly, the ways of cutting the grass in the meadows to feed the livestock have different names. The second cutting or aftermath named *bibelarra* in Gipuzkoan Basque is called *sohua* in Loga, using the Nafarroa Behea vocabulary, but the neighbourhoods on the other side of the mountain employ the Souletine word, *ardaia*.

In Muskildi, different socio-cultural variables mark out types of social units and social boundaries. I have spoken of how geography, architecture and dialect plot out maps of social interaction and notions of community which do not correspond to those delineated by the local administration. The marriage patterns and ritual-festive models demonstrate that Souletine and Nafarroa Behea references are oscillatory in the minds of the inhabitants of Muskildi.

The lie of the land, the aesthetics of the houses, speech and daily social relations assign Loga to Donaixti by separating this neighbourhood from the rest of Muskildi. Nevertheless, other variables bring out the fact that the units referred to do not form static categories. In this respect, the marriage patterns of the inhabitants of Muskildi show that Nafarroa Behea, as a place of origin, is an important reference point in terms of who is eligible for marriage. The study of the composition of domestic groups in Muskildi reveals that a significant number of *etxeko andereak* [the women of the house] come from Donaixti and other villages of Nafarroa Behea. Men from Muskildi who have married in the eighties and nineties have shown a preference for wives from Nafarroa Behea. Despite the geographical and dialectical obstacles Nafarroa Behea is an established form of social reference regarding possible marriage partners for the inhabitants of Muskildi.

Ritual-festive models have forged other types of boundaries and consciousness of identity in Muskildi. The following ritual models celebrated in Muskildi are worthy of note: these are religious services (masses, baptisms, weddings and funerals), patron saint festivals (with two periods, one winter and another summer) and folk theatre (organisation of the *Pastoralak* and *Maskaradak*). I have already mentioned that

religious celebrations mark out three communities in Muskildi, one orientated towards the neighbourhood of Karrika in Muskildi another is situated with Donaixti while a third is positioned with Pagola. The patron saints' festivals reproduce the three community boundaries as stated. Even since the introduction of the latest performances of *Pastorala* and *Maskarada* in the 1980s, new identity markers have originated in Muskildi.

The existing literature shows that Muskildi did not organise performances of folk theatre from well into the nineteenth century right up to the 1980s. However, in the last few years Muskildi has produced two *Pastoralak* and two *Maskaradak* and as a consequence, created a new sense of community. Since the *Pastoralak* and *Maskaradak* are exclusively identity references to Soule, a paradoxical situation can be observed in the formation of Muskildi identity. When it comes to a private and intimate decision, such as marriage, there seems to be a preference for Nafarroa Behea in the choice of partner. While popular events such as folk performances are being organised and are being held, the Soule area is preferred. The paradox is that Muskildi has consistently projected a public image of Souletine identity within the valley and beyond, but in private its inhabitants maintain close links with Nafarroa Behea.

It is noteworthy that a significant number of people from Loga, Oxxaxe aldea and Pagola aldea have taken part in the *Pastoralak* and *Maskaradak* celebrated since the 1980s. This has favoured the strengthening of social relations and friendships by drawing a dividing line and by marking out a new community within Muskildi. The notion of a new community within Muskildi affects the boundaries of community laid down by geographical barriers, architectural styles, dialectical forms and previous

political factions. It should be pointed out that the notion of community derived from the organisation of folk theatre in Muskildi is particularly strong, especially amongst the young people. Traditional dance events have brought down physical and symbolic barriers and have facilitated communication between the neighbourhoods of a village, which had very little prior contact amongst themselves.

In short, dance events in Muskildi form a group identity which represents *zuberotartazüna* [Souletine identity or belonging] and *muskildiartazüna* [village identity or belonging to Muskildi]. Everyday relations, however, refer more to other identities or other forms of consciousness and other contexts of social relations.

III. PERFORMING THE *MASKARADAK* IN ESKIULA

Eskiula is another case in point. Eskiula is a *commune* which is geographically orientated towards Béarn, although linguistically it is Souletine. Barkoxe is the only Souletine village with which it shares municipal boundaries. The other *herri auzoak* [neighbouring villages] belong to the Béarn: Aramits, Lanne, Geronce, Feas, Mourmour and Oloron. The nearest sizeable town to Eskiula is Oloron, situated 10 kilometres away. Oloron has over fifteen thousand inhabitants, with a hospital, several private and public schools and colleges, supermarkets, cinemas, recreational facilities and an urban labour market. Oloron is an attractive centre for the inhabitants of Eskiula, where they can satisfy demands that in Soule they would only be able to meet in Atharratze or Maule, at a distance of some thirty kilometres travelling along narrow mountain roads. Currently, the influence of Oloron on Eskiula is greater than that of the *Pays de Soule*, as can be deduced from the fact that the majority of young people in Eskiula are practically monolingual in French.

ZUBEROA (PAYS DE SOULE)	BEARNO (PAYS DE BÉARN)
Barkoxe	Eskiula (Basque-Souletine speaking village)
	Amitze Gerontze Ihase Mourmour OLORON

The relationship between geography, festival, traditional dance and identity in Eskiula is reflected through different types of socio-cultural boundaries. The cohabitation and rivalry between people from the Béarn and those from Soule and the relations between the valleys of Baretous and Soule, in terms of sentiment and the internalisation of local identity, are yet to be studied. However, judging by the composition of the carnival troupes formed in Eskiula during the present century, we can identify significant connections.

Eskiula has celebrated *Maskarada* in the years 1928, 1948, 1954, 1983 and 1992. In each of them there have been actors and dancers from the neighbouring Béarn villages. In the *Maskarada* of 1928 two people from Ihase [neighbouring village in Béarn] took part as the lord and female labourer. In the 1948 *Maskarada anderea* [the lady] and one *buhamea* [gypsy] were from Amitze [another neighbouring village in Béarn] while one of the *kautereak* [blacksmiths] and another *buhamea* [gypsy] were from Gerontze [neighbouring village in Béarn]. In addition to these Béarn *foreigners*, a member of the Espel household of Barkoxe [neighbouring village in Zuberoa] participated as *etxeko anderea* [female labourer]. The 1954 *Maskarada* included five

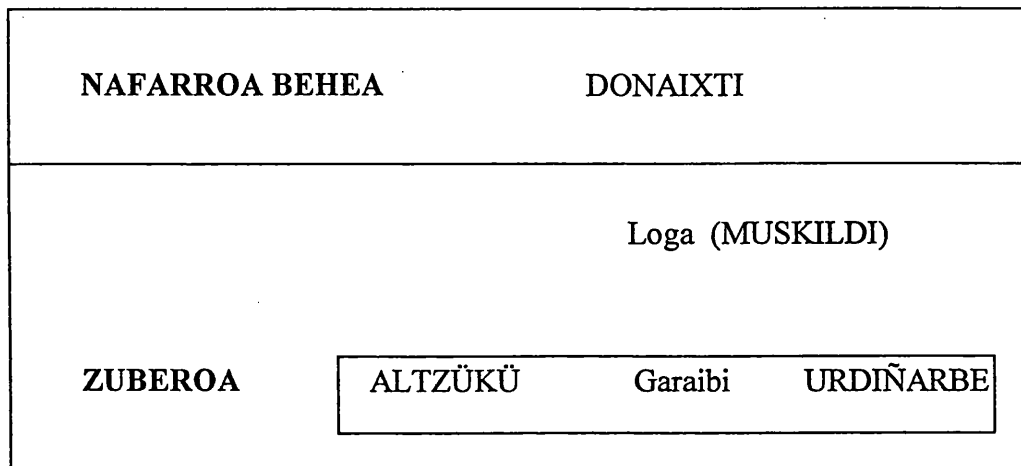
people from Ihase and assigned the following roles to them: a *gatzaina* [cat], a *kauterea* [blacksmith], two *kukilero* [jesters] and a *buhamea* [gypsy]. In the 1992 *Maskarada* performance the part of the *txorrotxak* [knife-grinder] was given to Maritxu Astabie, a woman from the Maisonave household in Ihase. This household was represented in the *Maskaradak* of 1928, 1954 and 1992. It should be remembered that in the 1948 *Maskarada* there were two people in the group of *kautereak* [tinkers] who were not natives of Eskiula but lived in farmhouses of the locality as servants.

IV. PERFORMING THE *MASKARADAK* IN ALTZÜKÜ

Considering the relationship between geography, identity and dance, the village of Altzükü provides an ideal locus of study. Altzükü is located in the part of the valley called Les Arbailles which borders with Nafarroa Behea via the mountain passes of Ahüzki and Naphale. It also adjoins one of the most mountainous area of Zuberoa known as Basabürria, the capital being Atharratze. Altzükü is a locality adjacent to Urdiñarbe. During this century, Altzükü and Urdiñarbe have stood out for their capacity to organise *Maskarada*. It is understood that the quality of the *Maskarada* dancers elevates the prestige of the village to which they belong and this is known as *herriaren omena*. Therefore, the Souletine villages compete and compare themselves with each other according to the quality of the dancers who perform the *Maskarada* dances.

Curiously, there is a neighbourhood between Altzükü and Urdiñarbe called Garaibi. Geographically, Garaibi's identity is different from the others. Its houses are set in a small enclave withdrawn from the principal settlements of Urdiñarbe and Altzükü and it serves as a natural corridor linking Zuberoa with Nafarroa Behea through Naphale and the neighbourhood of Loga. In demographical terms, Garaibi is a sizeable

neighbourhood with sufficient population to have its own school. The houses are scattered and a stream crosses this neighbourhood, distributing the population on either side of it.



Despite sharing the same school and displaying a particular geographical identity, the inhabitants of this little valley called Garaibi belong to Altzükü or Urdiñarbe, according to which side of the stream their houses lie. Marti "Geta", from Altzükü affirmed that in the middle of the century, Garaibi celebrated its own *Maskarada* and it lasted only a day but this celebration did not go beyond the boundaries of its own neighbourhood. Independently of this, the dancers of Garaibi have participated as much in the *Maskaradak* of Altzükü as in those of Urdiñarbe.

On the twelfth of March 1992, I was witness to the visit of the Altzükü *Maskarada* to Garaibi. That morning I recorded the couplets sung by the two *txorrotxak* [knife grinders] and asked what they meant. From the explanations given, it is evident that there is a special relationship between Altzükü, Garaibi and Urdiñarbe. The *txorrotxak* [knife grinders] of the *Maskarada* describe it in these couplets composed specially for the occasion:

*Altzükütarrak tügü Maskadak montatü
Garaibin gük güntian gogotik jokhatü
Saldo horren ikhustez beitzide lotsatü
Hortako gütützie hatxago phusatü*

[We of Altzükü have organised the *Maskaradak*
We have performed them from the heart in Garaibi
But on seeing so many people you have taken fright
And you have pushed us over there]

This is the first couplet of greeting which the knife grinders sang as the Altzükü *Maskarada* entered Garaibi. Here reference is made to the atmosphere which reigned over the organisation of the Garaibi performance and it is ironic in several ways. In order to understand the irony contained in the couplet, one has to be informed of the changes in organisation which were approved on the eve of the performance, the way the residents of Altzükü and Garaibi perceive each other and the images projected in the poetical composition as well as in its representation.

A few days before the visit to Garaibi, the organisers introduced a few significant changes. Throughout the previous autumn at the start of the preparative rehearsals, the young people of Altzükü had agreed to carry out *sortida gutti* [few outings]. That is they had agreed to four or five performances of the *Maskarada*. This decision meant refusing the invitation of several Souletine villages. Amongst those refused was that of Urdiñarbe. Garaibi was amongst those accepted. A few days before Altzükü's visit to Garaibi, Urdiñarbe insisted on being visited arguing that once in Garaibi, little effort was required to go a couple of kilometres more to the square of Urdiñarbe. An agreement was reached at the last minute, the morning's performance would take place in Garaibi, whilst the afternoon's play would be performed in Urdiñarbe's square.

But it should be kept in mind that Garaibi, in relation to Altzükü, is a small enclave which possesses its own personality and sense of community, even though it lacks a town hall and consequently an administrative identity. Under these circumstances, those of Altzükü see themselves as *handiak* [big, important] and those of Garaibi as *ttipiak* [small, insignificant].

The couplet sung picks up on the details mentioned and expresses them with irony. According to those who gave me information on this issue, the objective was to annoy. The couplet can be paraphrased as follows:

We who come from Altzükü are so many, and you in Garaibi are so few, that you have taken fright. You are so afraid that instead of receiving us you expel us from here.

The couple of *txorrotxak* [knife grinders] highlighted the verses by gesticulating in a particular way and when singing *hatxago phusatü* [you have pushed us over there] they pointed in exaggerated fashion to Urdiñarbe, a clear reference to the change of plans as they were only passing through Garaibi. The second couplet sung by the knife grinders insists on the same organisational circumstances:

Garaibiat Maskadak güntin hitzemanik
Kharrikalat geroztik doia khanbiatürik
Goizan erran deikie diela gaitzütürik
Ogenik gabe gira bier khausitürik

[We had agreed to perform the *Maskaradak* in Garaibi
On carrying them out some changes have arisen
This morning we found out that they had caused anger
But we have reached an agreement since no one is to blame]

The next *barrikada* [breaking down the barricade] was set up in the school of Garaibi. This was the couplet composed:

Eskola hori deizie laster handitüko
Egia da sortzen dela eskolier franko
CIOP balinbada Urdiñarbeko
Marro hobenak aldiz dira Garaibiko

[They will soon have to enlarge this school for us]

A good number of students are born to be sure
Although the CIOP is in Urdiñarbe
The best males are from Garaibi]

The couplet alludes to the fact that Garaibi has more students than the minimum required to keep the school open. It is surprising that bigger municipalities are closing their public schools. Altzükü, for example, has the minimum number of pupils stipulated by the law while in Urdiñarbe an agreement has been reached with Muskildi in order to reach the number required by the administration. Pupils are divided between the two schools according to level. Although being less important administratively and smaller in population than Altzükü and Urdinarbe, Garaibi shows a higher birth rate. This explains the irony of the couplet which contrasts the higher number of children in Garaibi with the existence of a research centre for improving sheep farming in Urdiñarbe, officially known as C.I.O.P. [Centre of Investigation and Genetic Improvement] but referred to in colloquial Basque as *marrotegia* [colloquial Basque to say 'a stable plenty of ram']. Another couplet sung in Garaibi that morning said:

*Naphaleko bidian heben da phausagia
Errekaltian bethi batzarri huna da
Profeitatzen deizügü heben izaitia
Egün suhetatzeko besta hun Louisa*

[On the way to Naphale is the resting place
The Errekalte house is always a good receiving place
Today we have the chance to be here
And to wish you a prosperous festival, Louisa]

Errekalte is a farmhouse at the foot of the Naphale hill, on the way to Nafarroa Behea. It is also a house which serves food and drink. Having reached the boundary separating Garaibi from Urdiñarbe, the *Maskarada* of Altzükü continued to the square of Urdiñarbe. Once there, the local authorities sung a couplet previously mentioned:

*Egün hun Jaun Mera et vos Administrés
Altzükütarrak gira ici tous rassemblés
Zü ere egon zite toujours pour habiter*

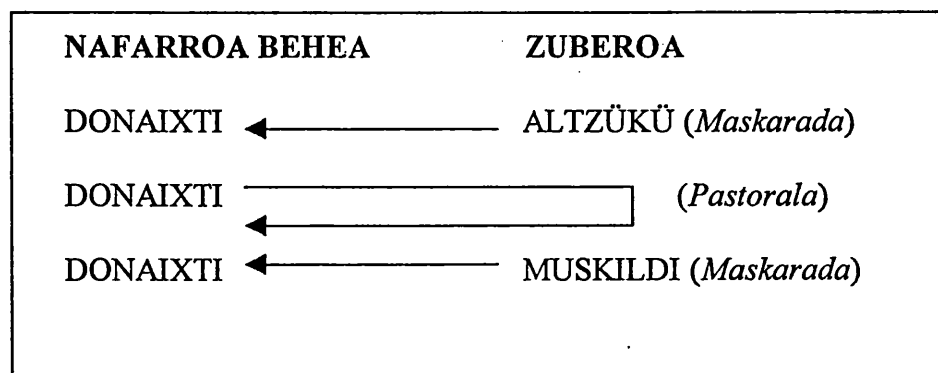
Ordin eüska dükezü bien le parler

[Good day lord mayor and *vos Administrés*
The people of Altzükü are all here *rassamblés*
Do stay and live here *toujours pour habiter*
So you will be able the Basque language *bien le parler*]

Thus far I have discussed a few examples of the *Maskaradak* in border areas of the Souletine region. The social composition and origins of the *Maskaradak* of Muskildi, Eskiula, Altzükü and Urđiñarbe have shown that the notions of household, village and valley do not always coincide when the variable of traditional dance is taken into account. The following section examines, in greater detail, the making of cultural communities by means of performing folk theatre. To that end, I will describe another case I have chosen for analysis.

V. FOLK THEATRE AS THE ENACTMENT OF STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

There are three events which prove traditional dance as having influenced an inter-relationship between Donaixti (Nafarroa Behea) and Zuberoa. These are the visits the young people of Altzükü (Zuberoa) pay to Donaixti (Nafarroa Behea) with their *Maskaradak*; when Donaixti organised a *Pastorala* in 1994 and finally, the time when Donaixti invited Muskildi's *Maskarada* to visit in 1996.



The relationships between folk performance and identity in Altzükü is one of the fundamental aspects of local identity. Firstly, the *Maskarada* of Altzükü has been performed on several occasions at the village of Donaixti, which is situated in the bordering province of Nafarroa Behea. Secondly, the village of Altzükü administrates one half of the neighbourhood called Garaibi while the other half is administrated by the Souletine village of Urdiñarbe. The neighbourhood of Garaibi supplies dancers for the *Maskaradas* of Altzükü and Urdiñarbe. Thirdly, Altzükü gave invaluable assistance to the village of Donaixti in the preparation of the *Pastorala* it organised in 1994. Altzükü placed at Donaixti's disposal the Souletine dance instructors necessary for the preparation of the *satanak*, the dancers of the Souletine *Pastorala*.

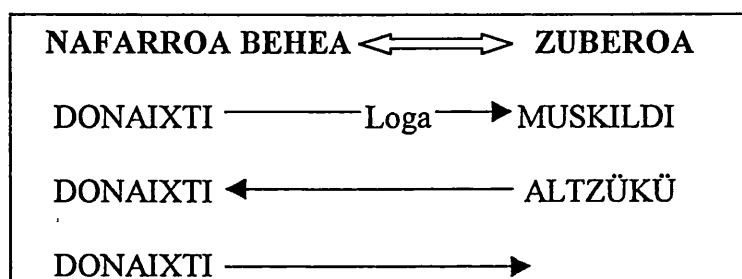
The young people taking part in Altzükü's *Maskarada* had travelled to Donaixti on several occasions to perform their *Maskarada*. According to accounts recorded in Altzükü, the years in which these visits took place were 1933, 1951, 1968 and 1972. In 1933 they also visited Donibane Garazi (capital of the Nafarroa Behea).

The procession followed on foot in 1933 leaving Naphale and heading toward the neighbourhood of Loga and then they descended to the square of Donaixti. On subsequent occasions, this journey has been done in motorised vehicles, following the main road which links Altzükü with Donaixti, crossing Urdiñarbe, Muskildi and the Oxkixe pass. According to the testimony of Pierra Jaragoyhen, from the house of Ahabehea in Altzükü, this 1933 visit to Donaixti left the participants of the *Maskarada* broke. Expenses were higher than incomes, since the inhabitants of Donaixti did not contribute to *eskea* [to the boxes for money collection]. Jaragoyhen also describes entering Donaixti with the dancers and masked players who were met by barricades

made of tree trunks and other material, instead of the bottles of wine which now usually make up the symbolic barriers.

When I asked the inhabitants of Altzükü for the reason for these visits, nobody was able to give me a conclusive answer. There were some who suggested that a possible cause might be that between 1945 and 1987 the Donaixti-born priest, Antoine Uhart, was carrying out his ministry in Altzükü. Others, however, did not consider this sufficient reason, since even before the priest's presence there, Altzükü already visited Donaixti. The informants who I asked about the Altzükü *Maskarada* and its presence in Donaixti affirmed that they were invited to eat in a restaurant in Donaixti whereas the participants from Altzükü who had relatives in the host village ate in their family's homes.

In spite of the geographic and linguistic barrier, Donaixti has a strong relationship with Soule. I have already mentioned certain aspects of their relationship with Muskildi and their relations with Altzükü. In addition, I will refer to some other villages which illustrate how certain community ties are reinforced, while others are lacking, by showing different routes which are followed in the forging of identities and the consolidation of a sense of community. Donaixti (through the neighbourhood of Loga) looks towards Muskildi. Altzükü in turn, looks towards Donaixti. Donaixti (as a whole) looks towards Soule. This aspect requires a more detailed discussion.



In 1994 the village of Donaixti decided to perform a *Pastorala*. This decision produced certain uneasiness in some Souletine circles, since the *Pastorala* is considered to be the cultural heritage of Zuberoa. It was remarked that if non-Souletine villages acquired the knowledge necessary for the organisation of a *Pastorala*, this would give rise to competition from outside Soule and it was predicted that this would be an unfavourable result for local cultural development in the villages of Zuberoa.

The authenticity of a performance like the *Pastorala* requires the following elements. To entertain the thought of organising a *Pastorala* performance a *errejenta* [director] must be hired to teach the players how they must simultaneously move and sing on stage, as dictated by custom and ritual norms. At present, there are two people who perform this task in Zuberoa. Another requirement is to decide which play is to be performed and in this case a *Pastorala* playwright must be contacted. Some five people write the *Pastoralak* today. Finally, the *Pastorala* performances require the participation of dancers called *satanak*.

Learning to dance, the transmission of ritual-theatrical knowledge and the donation or purchase of the play to be performed, are part of the cultural heritage and privilege which marks out precise community boundaries. My fieldwork indicated that because Donaixti did not lie within those boundaries, the village had to employ a persuasive effort in the legitimisation of their proposal, since not all the writers were prepared to let Donaixti have a *Pastorala* script. Moreover, the attempt to contract a *errejenta* [director] and the search for dance instructors also proved an arduous task. After much deliberation over whether to contribute or not to the *Pastorala* of the

Nafarroa Behea locality, several Zuberoans decided to support it and became involved in Donaixti's project. The priest Junes Casenave granted them a script and Jean Pierre Recalt, from Altzai in the Souletine district of Atharratze, consented to be the director. Several dancers from Altzükü agreed to prepare the *satanak* necessary for the Donaixti *Pastorala*.

The process of learning the dance progressed in the following way. Classes began in 1993 and thirty people of different ages presented themselves on the first day of classes. Amongst the oldest participants was a woman of about forty and a man of similar age. The youngest participants were ten and eleven years of age. In some cases, more than one member of the same family had come, as was the case of the woman mentioned, as she came with her teenage daughter. Most of the participants in the class had to learn the dances from the beginning. An exception to this was the oldest man, who had been trained in this youth by a dancer from Urdiñarbe called Tartasu.

The classes were held twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday, in a house named *Gaztetxia* [a Donaixti youth club] and were run by Pierra Etchegohien and Philippe Jagohen. On the tenth of January Michèle Etchebarne, from the Lohitzunia household, also in Altzükü, took over from them. This new phase commenced with the selection of ten dancers out of the thirty who had presented themselves at the beginning. In the end three men and seven women were chosen. Among them was the man who had been trained by Tartasu years before. Rehearsals were later held in a dance room in Maule [headtown of *Pays de Soule*] using a cassette recorder for the music.

When the day of the performance arrived, Etchebarne organised her dancers in the following way: she created two groups of three dancers and two groups of two dancers. Each group appeared on stage a couple of times. Later on they all danced together. Having performed the *Pastorala*, Donaixti did not give up the Souletine dance classes. They wanted to learn how to dance the jumps known as *jauziak* or *moneiñak* in order to be able to perform them publicly in the Soule valley. This was a most important decision because Donaixti would decide to dance *les saults Souletines* in Zuberoa two years later.

It must be remembered that at the end of the performance of a *Pastorala* it is customary for the spectators from Souletine villages to bid for the right to dance *aitzinapika* and *moneiñak* on the stage. Dancers of other villages situated within the audience have the privilege of bidding and it is they who bid the highest for the dance's performance. During the summer of 1995, the Souletine locality of Arrokiaga performed the *Pastorala Agirre Lehendakaria* and when it was finished, true to custom, they proceeded to the auction. No one bid more than the 10,000,000 old francs (10,000 new francs = £1,000) which was offered by the Donaixti village. In this way, the honour of dancing the Souletine *jauziak* [jumps] on the stage where the *Pastorala* had just been performed fell to the dancers of Donaixti.

Donaixti further contributed to the economic success of the Arrokiaga *Pastorala* in the following way. In recent times it has become customary for the *Pastorala* to be celebrated in the afternoon, beginning about four o'clock. According to the accounts of some informants, around 100 people from Donaixti lunched in Arrokiaga that day and thus contributed to the funds raised. The tone in which this testimony was told to me

revealed that Donaixti had made a big economic effort. Winning the auction for the jumps and dining in Arrokiaga meant that Donaixti had contributed significantly to the expenses generated by the organisation of the Arrokiaga *Pastorala*.

By doing this things represented a sort of compensation, or *ordaina*¹ on the part of Donaixti. This behaviour is characteristic of festival organisation in Soule. The celebration of the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* in Soule produces economic benefits for the organisers. They make their money back from ticket sales and auction money in the *Pastorala*. The profit from the *Maskaradak* comes from voluntary donations made by the spectators. The behaviour of Donaixti in Arrokiaga was interpreted as *ordaina*, in the sense that Donaixti's *Pastorala* had been an economic success in which Arrokiaga had played a special part. Their contribution materialised as follows. The auction of 1994 took place at the end of Donaixti's *Pastorala* and was resolved with the purchase and performance of the jumps by Muskildi who made the highest bid after battling it out with Arrokiaga. The interest of Arrokiaga contributed to pushing the price up.

The gestures of Donaixti in Arrokiaga were interpreted in terms of *ordaina* by many Souletines, and such behaviour is not uncommon in the other Souletine villages which organise the *Pastoralak* and *Maskaradak*. In sum the money raised in the Souletine villages involved in the organisation of the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* has a circular movement. This may be appreciated in the couplets sung in 1992 by the knife grinders of the Altzükü *Maskarada* in Muskildi:

Izan gira Muskildin Phastualan ikhusten
Eüskal Herri guzia heben bildurik beitzen
Aldizka egizie platzañari uhere

¹ In Souletine dialect a distinction is made between *ordaindü* and *pakhatü*. *Pakhatü* refers to payment with money whilst *ordaindü* indicates that a service is returned, but by another service or compensation in kind, or even money.

Geroko jauzientako asia badate

[We have been in Muskildi and seen their *Pastorala*
All the Basque Country was gathered there
From time to time pay attention to the master of ceremonies
And that way there will be plenty for the jumps]

Likewise, the notion of circularity and rotation implicit in *ordaina* and seen from the context of the festive production, is also present in the notion of *hartu-emon* [give and take] which William Douglass describes in the funeral rites characteristic of Murélaga (Douglass 1969). Other obligatory reading on the subject is the study carried out by Sandra Ott in the Souletine locality of Santa Engrazia, where she demonstrates that *üngüria* and *aldikatzia* [circularity and rotation] are fundamental structural principles which regulate local social relations (Ott 1981). In Zuberoa there are a considerable number of cases in which the localities which bid highest for the right to buy the jumps are those which have celebrated the *Maskaradak* or *Pastoralak* the previous year. The fact that this occurs suggests that this could be a mechanism for distributing the economic excess left over from the festive organisation of popular theatre. The auction money circulates, rotates and comes and goes between the different organising villages whenever it is their turn.

The 1994 bidding in Donaixti and in 1995 in Arrokiaga admit different complementary interpretations. One is that Muskildi bid high and danced *jauziak* with the aim of demonstrating the strength of the tie of the *herri-aizoa* or neighbouring village. By purchasing the jumps, Muskildi then compensated for the absence of their providing dance experts from Muskildi in the training of the *satanak* dancers for Donaixti's *Pastorala*, a task for which Muskildi had been formally asked.

Donaixti's decision to dance the jumps in Arrokiaga could also be interpreted as a twofold manifestation. Firstly, the village externalised its interest in incorporating a festivity system in which Donaixti was not included. Secondly, Donaixti wanted to resolve the misunderstanding which arose when the village proposed performing a *Pastorala*, as the *Pastoralak* are thought of as expressing *zuberotarzüna* [Souletine identity]. The fact is, that to perform a *Pastorala* requires learning how to perform it. That is, to acquire a piece of knowledge which is not within everyone's reach. When the author of the *Pastorala* text, the director and the dancers from Altzükü agreed to train the people of Donaixti, many in Soule understood that they were claiming ritual and cultural knowledge which could subsequently be reproduced outside the confines of the Souletine community.

From this point of view, the jumps danced by Donaixti in Arrokiaga should be understood not as the desire to steal ritual knowledge associated with a socio-cultural and geographic identity, from another locality which is alien to theirs, but rather as the desire to share with Soule part of its cultural heritage, namely, the social experience of the *Pastorala* and dance. Donaixti accomplished this desire by joining in the rotational and circular system of the distribution of profits which Souletine villages use in the production of their folk theatre. Having learned to dance *les saults Souletines*, Donaixti could bid in Arrokiaga and thus put the earnings of the Donaixti's *Pastorala* back into the festivity system. By dancing in Zuberoa, Donaixti replaced the jumps in their habitual place of performance. By behaving in this way, Donaixti dramatised the fundamental principles of neighbourly relations in the Basque Country: *hartu-emon* [give and take], *aldikátzia* [rotation], *üngüria* [circularity] and *ordaina* [a payment implying to return or give back for service already done].

VI. THE FESTIVE COMMUNITY AND THE AUDIENCE

In the preceding pages, I have discussed the notions of community and social grouping, which derive from the organisation of the *Maskaradak*, by focusing on the performers of the *Maskarada*. I have shown that *Maskarada* performances dramatise several community boundaries, according to geographical origin, house of birth, house of residence and Basque dialect of the actors. One variable which I have not yet considered is the composition of the audience. The examination of the audience of the *Maskaradak* discloses that the boundaries which determine the belonging, or not, to a community are different from those analysed so far. I will show how this happens by focussing on four illustrative cases, two of which take place in Zuberoa and the remainder in the province of Bizkaia, south of the French Spanish border.

In the winter of 1990, the young people of Altzai, a Souletine village belonging to the district of Atharratze, organised a *Maskarada*. They visited several Souletine villages to perform it, such as Muskildi and Altzükü. It is quite common that cultural performances such as those with rustic connotations will receive some coverage in the media. Consequently, many folk activities have become an object of consumption and a tourist attraction, mainly for the urban population. The Souletine *Maskaradak* as local performances are not an exception to this rule, as can be appreciated in different ways. Firstly, the current *Maskaradak* dances are organised with the collaboration of local institutions or institutes of culture. Their organisation means that the performance schedule can be issued in advance and published in different media. The cultural page which the Souletine cultural association *Uhaitza* puts out monthly, the local Souletine radio stations *Mendi Lilia* and *Zuberoko Boza*, regional radio stations like *Radio France-Pays Basque* and the special programmes broadcast for the French Basque

Country on the French and Basque television channels are all good examples of media productions concerning these performances. The printed press gives coverage to these cultural events and even publishes interviews with the actors and reports on their performances. There are several daily papers, *Sud-Ouest* (in French), *Deia* and *Egin* (in Spanish) and *Egunkaria* (in Basque) which report on these types of events. The Basque language weeklies, *Herria* (published in the French Basque Country) and *Argia* (in the Spanish Basque Country) also make room for these events. Subsequently, news of the Souletine *Maskaradak* surpasses the geographical and dialectical territory marked out by the Soule region. Likewise, the *Maskaradak* attract audiences whose language of communication is other than that employed in the performances, either because the new audiences are monolingual in French or Spanish, or because they express themselves in a dialectical variety of *euskera* [the Basque language], far-removed from the Souletine dialect. This is precisely the case when the audience comes from the Spanish Basque Country.

The composition of the audience is important, in that the presence of tourists influences the character of the performance. People from Nafarroa Behea or Lapurdi, or French tourists, are conspicuous by their absence in *Maskarada* audiences. The most conspicuous foreigners come from the Spanish Basque Country and are known as *españolak* [Spanish] or *hegoaldekoak* [Southerners]. There are students of E.G.B. and B.U.P. [primary, secondary and high school] who are schooled in the so-called linguistic model D (which is to say monolingual in Basque) or in model B (bilingual in Spanish and Basque), Basque language students studying at Basque language centres called *euskaltegiak*, or members of Basque cultural associations, mainly from Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. The presence of all these is directly linked to their learning of the Basque

culture and language. It can be said that they are all cultural tourists who travel to the place of performance in buses specially hired for the occasion.

The languages heard amongst the local spectators are Souletine Basque and French, while Spanish and standard Basque or *euskera batua*² as well as the Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan dialects are spoken by the visitors from outside. The number of visitors from the other side of the border is unforeseeable and varies. There have been times when two, three or four coach loads have travelled to Zuberoa to see one of these folk spectacles, but as many as ten coaches have also been recorded. At other times, buses from Spain may not come. The groups which travel to see *Maskarada* are independent and there is no kind of co-ordination between them.

The buses arrive during the course of the morning and their occupants join in the festival, taking photos of the barricades and filming with their video cameras whatever attracts their attention. There is little or no interaction between the local audience and those who have come from outside. Indeed, the outsiders are rarely invited to have some wine or biscuits once the barricades are down. The task of breaking down the barriers between the groups falls to the *beltzak* or black group of the *Maskarada* who make jokes about the visitors. As a norm, the outside audience remains in a separate group, without getting involved in what happens around them. The only attempt at communication and active participation, on the part of those who have come from the other side of the border, takes place in the moment of dancing the *jauziak*, at the end of the morning session. It is not infrequent for one of the groups who have travelled to Zuberoa to be members of a cultural association which teaches Basque dance. When

² *Euskera batua* literally means "unified Basque language" and refers to the standardised version of euskera developed in the 1970s.

this is the case, its members go out into the centre of the square and mingle with the rest of the dancers to dance *jauziak*.

The Souletine *Maskaradak* use a code of communication in which messages are transmitted verbally and non-verbally. Knowledge of the code enables communication, but it is not always possible to achieve communication between the actors, the text acted out and the audience, as sometimes barriers block communication. It is this question of communication in the Souletine *Maskaradak* which I want to discuss now by focussing on the reception of the audience by Zuberoans and on the reception of *Maskarada* by the audience. I will be referring to particular performances namely, the 1990 Altzai *Maskarada* on its visit to Muskildi and the 1987 Muskildi *Maskarada* on its visit to Altzükü.

The day-trippers who come to Zuberoa from Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa with the intention of seeing the *Maskaradak* make up a young public, who spend little time in the area. They bring a packed lunch for their midday meal and eat it near the square, where they sit and wait for the afternoon's performance. In Muskildi, on the Sunday morning when the *Maskarada* was to be celebrated, no fewer than sixteen coaches arrived from different parts of the Basque Country. This is the equivalent of about six hundred people. These day-trippers made up a number of people three times that of the usual audience at this type of event.

When a *Maskarada* visits Muskildi, its actors are invited to eat in people's homes in the village. Once there, they stay until the time of the afternoon performance. As the moment draws near, the actors thank their hosts and head towards the square and

the hosts follow. In order to accommodate the spectators, they put benches and chairs in the square, although these will probably be insufficient to seat all the public. Those without a seat remain standing or make themselves as comfortable as they can on the hard ground.

On this particular Sunday afternoon the actors were preparing to perform the *barrikada haustea* [breaking down the barricade] near Muskildi's square, while the locals endeavoured to find a good place to see the *Maskarada* of the young people of Altzai. They soon realised this would be a fruitless effort. The square was full of day-trippers. As a result, the hosts of the festival had to resign themselves to watching the spectacle a long way from the stage. As the play progressed, the people of Muskildi found that if they weren't tall enough, they couldn't see what was going on in the centre of the stage or else they couldn't hear what was being said. As a result, some decided to go home. Others opted to chat quietly in a corner. There were still some who organised their own festival in the tavern. In short, the actors found themselves playing to an audience which, although large, did not respond as expected.

There are various keys to communication between actor and audience in Souletine *Maskarada*. If we examine what happens during the dancers' performance, we will see that the local audience is composed of people who have danced or hope to dance in a *Maskarada*. According to accounts recorded during fieldwork, the fact that a large number of people are or have been dancers implies a high level of concentration. The majority of the audience who are Souletine at a *Maskarada* are former *maskarakaia* [members of the *Maskarada* troupe]. This Souletine public concentrates on what is going on and the actor picks this up. An audience which is unversed in the genre talks,

fidgets and fails to follow the dancers movements with a knowledge of which parts of the body are really working; moreover, it does not applaud or boo at the right moment. The dancer is aware of this and their performance stiffens.

The relation between audience and actor is also special in the performance of the *beltzak* [the members of the black group]. For example, speech plays a crucial part in establishing communication between the components of the black group and the audience. This is particularly significant during the speeches of the *buhame jauna* [the gypsy king] and *kabana handia* [big cabin] and especially during the latter's speech, in which he criticises the events which have happened in the village visited and the people's behaviour. He does not reveal names of people or places, but gives enough clues as to who and what he is referring. Since his criticism is local, its irony can only be appreciated locally. Ignorance of the particularities of the dialect, the organisational structure of the speech or of the daily life of France, Soule and the village, builds an insurmountable barrier between actor and audience. If *kabana handia* [big cabin] perceives that his speech does not draw laughs or that the public does not respond with an appropriate satirical comment of their own, his work on stage falters.

This is exactly what happened in Muskildi with the *Maskarada* of Altzai and the mass audience from *Hegoalde* [southern Basque Country]. The day-trippers formed a human barrier between the actors of Altzai and the inhabitants of Muskildi and other neighbouring villages who wanted to watch the dance movements and the speeches of the leading actors. The locals left the site of the performance visibly put out. In the absence of a local audience, the actors did not manage to get fully into their roles and

feel at ease on stage. The final evaluation of the day was that it had been a failure, a disaster.

The example cited shows that the composition of the audience is crucial for establishing communication between the text, actor and public. An audience which is ignorant of how locals attach meaning to performative folk arts may constitute an obstacle for communication between actors and spectators. Dell Hymes maintained that the act of communicating in traditional and folkloric performances implied the assumption of responsibility by a group of people with regard to the audience and their assumed knowledge (Dell Hymes 1975). In the light of the above discussion, it should be added that if the audience does not assume their responsibility for the ritual knowledge which the actors are representing, something other than the traditional celebration comes to the fore.

It should not be concluded that the presence of the public from *Hegoalde* [Spanish Basque Country] stifles the communicative capacity of *Maskarada* performances, or that their presence is unwelcome. Although the audience from the other side of the Spanish French frontier can sometimes create a communicative barrier, at other times they can build communicative bridges. The example I give below will illustrate this point.

The young people of Muskildi organised a *Maskarada* in 1987. One of their visits was to the village of Altzükü. When the day came, the weather was so bad that the visitors and the hosts in the village decided by mutual agreement to cancel the performance. The young people of Muskildi noticed the presence of young people from the Spanish Basque Country who had come to see the *Maskarada*. The disappointment

which the cancellation of the performance meant for the day-trippers led to a change in decision. Instead the actors of Muskildi invited the Spanish Basques to the restaurant *Chistera*, located between Muskildi and Urdiñarbe. This restaurant is run by the family of one of the *txorrotxak* [knife-grinders] and has a large reception room. There they improvised several scenes of the *Maskarada* for a totally non-Souletine audience. This case shows how some actors want to have a good time and enjoy a festival. However, their wishes cannot be fulfilled if they are left with no audience with which to share the celebration. The *maskarakaiak* [the members of the *Maskarada*] improvised the celebration because of the number of outsiders, of southern Basques, who allowed the festival to be possible, as it could not be performed within a traditional framework. This story also shows another extreme and equally unusual case. The arrangement which the day-trippers and the young people of Muskildi made is an example of successful improvisation. Thanks to it, a sector of the *Maskarada* audience was able to see part of the spectacle and so compensate for the effort of making such a long journey. The actors were also able to satisfy their desire for a festival, although it meant having to adapt the script to the new situation.

The examples given indicate an increasing interest in the Souletine *Maskaradak* on the part of the Basque-speaking public of *Hegoalde* [Spanish or southern Basque Country]. This is a new set of circumstances which has repercussions in the organisation of *Maskarada* in a variety of ways, the most obvious being when the *Maskarada* leaves Zuberoa and visits villages of Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa, on the other side of the Pyrenean mountains. On these occasions, the protagonists of the *Maskaradak* act in front of an urban or semi-urban public.

The performance of the *Maskaradak* for people who live and work in urban areas is not new. In Zuberoa, there are two urban centres, Maule and Atharratze. Until recently, these places had preserved the custom of inviting all the *Maskaradak* organised in the valley to dance in their respective squares. Maule made its invitation for carnival Saturday, whilst Atharratze set the date for the Thursday. Although Maule and Atharratze are urban centres, the people who gathered formed audiences which were linguistically, sociologically and culturally close to the actors. This ceases to be the case when the *Maskarada* travels beyond the region of Soule to urban centres situated in Spain, even though public and actors share a Basque identity.

The *Maskarada* festival has also been performed in Béarn urban or semi-urban centres, an area outside of the French Basque region. There have been *Maskarada* performances from Eskiula in 1983 and 1992 in Gurmançon, near Pau. Therefore, the Souletine *Maskaradak* have been performed outside Zuberoa in France on several occasions and the demand for these performances on the Spanish side of the border is increasing. To cite an example, the 1987 Muskildi *Maskarada* responded to over five invitations from Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa in Spain. In 1990, Altzai took its *Maskarada* to Lekeitio and Galdakao, in Bizkaia. The 1992 *Maskarada* of Altzükü travelled to Basauri (Bizkaia) on 28 March 1992 and to Bilbao in 1993.

The Altzükü *Maskarada* was performed in Basauri, a Bizkaian industrial town, on 28 March 1992 on request from a local cultural institution. Before replying to their hosts' invitation, several meetings had to be held in Altzükü as the actors could not reach an agreement as to whether the visit was in their best interest or not. Some villagers argued that it was inappropriate to go a place which was both geographically

and politically far away from Zuberoa, having refused the invitation to perform the *Maskarada* in numerous places in Zuberoa itself. Having finally agreed to accept the invitation, the preparations began and required a great deal of energy. It so happened that several quality actors who played important parts such as that of the *zamalzaina* [the centaur], the *jauna* [the lord], *pitxu* [a member of the tinker group] and various others, were not available and had to be replaced. In some cases, their absence was due to schedules being occupied by work or schooling; other reasons were based on politics. For instance, an important *aitzindaria* dancer did not have the chance to perform at the Basauri festival because as a farmer he could not leave the household unattended for two days. His father rejected any assistance by arguing that *altzükütarrak* [the members of the *Maskarada* of Altzükü] should not dare go to Spain when they rejected performance invitations from Soule. Thus, the visit to Basauri required an extra effort to complete the group and train the newly incorporated actors.

Moreover, the communicative barrier between the two cultural communities which were going to confront each other during the performance had to be broken down. It was agreed that they should prepare an informative leaflet relating the sequences, components, origins and history of the performance. This information would be distributed to the audience. Those in charge of preparing the *Maskarada* invited me to a meeting in Altzükü to ask me to write this leaflet in *euskera batua* [standardised Basque]. This was done and later sent by fax to Basauri to be edited by the printer.

The actors of Altzükü anticipated that this explanatory leaflet would be insufficient to connect with the Basauri audience. One of those arguing this point was *kabana handia* [big cabin], himself an important role in the *Maskarada*. His argument

was that his role consisted of criticising, mocking and satirising what has happened in the place visited. He said he needed a *pheredikia* [sermon or speech] for the occasion. Dominika Epherre was responsible for writing the speeches for the Altzükü *Maskarada*. He decided to contact me to give him some ideas on the themes which could be made ironic. When *kabana handia* [big cabin] received his speech from Dominika Epherre, he requested its translation into standardised Basque from Souletine Basque so that the audience would be able to understand it. I reproduce the final text in translation here:

Greetings to all those gathered in this square
Here we are the famous tinkers of Altzükü
I am going to introduce you to my helpers:
Pupu, formerly *Pitxu*, now lowered in rank
Although his intelligence remains at the same level;
Bibu Fripu, careful with him because he sets fire to everything;
Pitxu, is not very *kuilu*, he barely tires himself at work
And his waistband has gotten wider;
I, the Big Cabin, these people's boss,
Unanimously elected, all the women love me
Even though I can't make this lot work.

We left Zuberoa early
And we've travelled across the whole of the Basque Country to get here
We cleared customs with our sticks
And pushed the lorries out of the way.
When we arrived this is what crossed my mind,
Seeing the fog over this town and the people up in skyscrapers,
The air is pure in Zuberoa
That's why you like the forest of Irati
And you enjoy those green places during the Easter and Epiphany holidays.
However, there is no work in our village
We could use the industry here
But here, on the contrary, you prefer to close the factories instead of looking after them
In the last twenty years, our workers have also had to leave
And those who have stayed have stood up to the police.

Not for that will Basauri be without work
First they will make the prison bigger
The barracks of the Civil Guard will still be strong
And the *Ertzaintza*³ will soon be deployed
It won't be long before the border is opened
The people from there will come here
You will all look after each other well
Since they are here to protect you
So why do more police make you more afraid?

³ The *Ertzaintza* is the Basque police force.

There is work to be done in the cultural sphere as well
The town council doesn't have enough money for grants
Since it has to be kept to pay the mayor's wage
The government hasn't a penny to give away either
It has spent it all on the summer Olympics and the Expo of Seville
If you want to organise a festival next year you'll have to try harder.

So stand firm
We won't be forgetful
Because thanks to you we are here today
Zuberoa sends you heartfelt greetings
And we bid you farewell till the next time
Wishing the people of Basauri all the best
Amen.

[Original Basque in APENDIX VI]

The speech reflects a sincere attempt to reach the audience. In the Basque version of the text one would notice how they substituted Souletine words and expressions to those which are more familiar to speakers of standardised Basque. There are many other images in the text such as life in Basauri, the Olympic Games of Barcelona, the International Exhibition of Seville, Basauri's prison building, the working class character, unemployment, the architecture of the slums, the frontier between Spain and France; the number of tourists in Zuberoa in the Easter holidays, and so on.

The *Maskarada* of Altzükü referred to here was performed in the municipal sports centre of this Bizkaian town. Spectators and actors occupied the sports track. A large part of the audience was made up of pupils of the local *ikastolak* and their parents. Also, there were adults who studied in *euskaltegiak* and others from Basque cultural and political associations. The group from Altzükü decided to perform a special version of the *Maskarada*, as they reduced it substantially as well as explaining their dancers to the audience with a microphone. In this way *altzükütarrak* [the villagers of Altzükü] provided a narrative for the spectators, which is not normally done in these performances.

As we have seen, Altzükü's performance in Basauri took place after making a series of decisions. Some people who were not interested in the contact with the public of Basauri declined the invitation and instead stayed in Zuberoa. But the majority were prepared to take their festival to the other side of the border and communicate the performance and teach southern Basques [those Basques living in Spain] the *Maskarada*. Performing the *Maskarada* for Spanish Basques in this way has made the performance much more flexible than when enacting it in Zuberoa.

In 1993, Altzükü performed its *Maskarada* in Bilbao, the capital of the province of Bizkaia, with the aim of celebrating carnival within a wide-ranging programme of entertainment and activities held throughout a week. The entire event was organised by Bilbao's city council. The programme of festivities included performances of other Basque rural carnivals, but the city's most lavish theatre was reserved for the performance of the Souletine *Maskarada*.

Three aspects should be considered in the analysis of this performance. To begin with, one should think of this *Maskarada* in this area of the Basque region as an innovation. More often than not, the *Maskarada* is presented as one of the many performances at a festival schedule, but on this particular occasion it appeared to have greater significance for the organisers. Another aspect is the physical space in which the performance took place. It is more common for Souletine *Maskarada* to be held in a square and to be in the open air. On some occasions it is held in an indoor *frontoia* [Basque pelota court]. It was thus surprising that those in charge of the festival programme had chosen the Arriaga theatre for the performance of Altzükü's *Maskarada*.

in Bilbao. The Arriaga theatre is a splendid and emblematic building, reserved most often for prestigious theatre companies and musicians, not local performances. The third aspect refers to the preparation and rehearsals carried out by the young people of Altzükü prior to the Bilbao performance.

The inclusion of the Souletine *Maskarada* within the programme of Bilbao's Carnival festival fits into what might be called *the museum exhibition of cultures* (Karp & Lavine 1991). The interpretation of the Altzükü *Maskarada* in Bilbao as a living culture display stems from the socio-economic, political and cultural characteristics which are particular of Bilbao. Recent history shows that during the twentieth century, Bilbao has developed as a city of commerce, industry and banking. At the same time, Bilbao is characterised by a significant demographic growth which resulted from a massive migrant movement from Castile, Extremadura and other Spanish-speaking regions in Spain. Consequently, Bilbao exhibits an urban landscape which reflects the presence of both-working class migrant populations as well as local financial bourgeoisie. The way of life, habits and patterns of leisure, entertainment and diversion at hand in Bilbao for upper and middle-classes are well represented by the theatre Arriaga, which together with the cafés located nearby, was, therefore, an important social reference point for the wealthy classes at the beginning of the century. After its restoration in the 1980s, the Arriaga theatre has once again become the pre-eminent urban cultural meeting place in Bilbao.

Within the general context of the visit of this *Maskarada* to Bilbao, certain political aspects must be considered. The dictatorship of Francisco Franco prohibited the celebration of carnival festivals and masked disguises throughout Spain. The towns

were the most affected by this prohibition. For this reason, it was not until after the end of the fascist regime that popular and public winter festivals began to be organised in Bilbao. In Bilbao, the carnival tradition, then, is young and this is evident when it comes to choosing activities and entertainment each year. The absence of stable identity markers is obvious in the programmes. The organisers are still at the experimental stage, trying out the images they want to project, with the objective of bestowing on the Carnival of Bilbao a personality of its own which will distinguish it from the winter festivals of other towns and cities. One festive image which is worked on enthusiastically is the Basque character of the event.

The images and markers of Basque identity projected in the Carnival of Bilbao contrast with the reality of daily life. The high rate of immigrants from Castile, Galicia, Extremadura and Andalusia, the lack of interest of the local wealthy classes for cultural manifestations linked to the Basque language, together with General Franco's opposition to it, has bequeathed Bilbao with a character far-removed from the Basque stereotype. It is notable that whilst the Basque stereotype emphasises rural life and *euskera* [the Basque language], Bilbao is urban and Spanish-speaking. This explains why the organisers of Bilbao's Carnival festival, mainly the nationalist municipal representatives and members of Basque cultural associations, borrow images of rural festival events from any point of the Basque Country. This throws light on Bilbao's invitation to the *Maskarada* of Altzükü. Its presence obeyed the attempt to bring a Basque feel to the festival. Since other rural festivals and events had been included in the programme alongside the *Maskarada* of Altzükü, the result was the constitution in Bilbao of a *showcase of rural cultural expressions*.

In addition to its transformation into an object of Basque cultural exhibition, there are other reasons why performing a *Maskarada* in Bilbao was a significant act. One is the use of the scenic space. In performing the *Maskarada* in the Arriaga theatre, the actors found themselves within a spatial interior which included staged scenery far removed from the traditional space improvised in the centre of a village square. In the traditional plaza the public defines the boundaries of the stage by shaping a circular space where actors move, sing, dance and converse. Moreover, actors move round the circle. In the Arriaga theatre, the actors found themselves facing an audience situated at a distance and at a lower level than that of the actors' stage. Under these circumstances, the dancers and actors of *Altzükü* felt uncomfortable. The awkwardness was accentuated by having to enter and leave the stage from the wings, a non-existent notion in the traditional performance. The actors corrected each other's position on the stage, reminding each other to be *jender buruz* [to face the audience].

It was not only the lack of familiarity with the closed, urban theatrical space but there were other internal reasons which produced the feeling of unease amongst those of *Altzükü*. As in the previous year in Basauri, those who usually played roles such as the *zamalzaina* [centaur], the *jauna* [lord], the *txorrotxa* [knife grinder] and other important dancers and masked players of the official *Maskarada* did not participate in the performance of Bilbao. Owing to the short time in which the invitation was made and accepted, there were few rehearsals prior to the performance. As a consequence, there was a constant lack of co-ordination in movements and dialogues. Owing to questions of programming and timetabling, various sketches were left out, whilst the remainder were cut short. Yet the local audience did not notice it.

CONCLUSION

I. SCOPE OF ANALYSIS

This thesis has concerned with carnival performance in Zuberoa, the easternmost area of the French Basque Pyrenean region. I have focussed on folk drama from a symbolic and historical perspective, having been interested in the study of expressive culture, as well as in the study of figurative language and ritual performance as they relate to wider economic, political, cultural and social processes. As an exceptional domain of expressive culture, my interest in folk theatre has addressed several issues.

Firstly, there have been aspects concerning verbal and non-verbal performance and aesthetics since versifying, masquerade, disguise and dancing play a very important role in folk performance. Performers talk and recite speeches, but sometimes they address each other by singing verses. Speeches, improvised dialogues and verses follow certain rules of metre, rhythm and image creation. Performers represent legends and stories for which they make and wear masks and disguises. Dancers dance long and complex dances which require prolonged training and a great deal of expertise.

Secondly, I have studied these performances in relation to the social, economic, cultural and political contexts in which they take place. At the end of last century and at the beginning of the twentieth, most villages in Zuberoa were active in the organisation of folk drama. Taking part in them was a matter of pride and locals have seen these performances as a means to enjoy themselves, as well as a medium to express social criticism. Also, the *Maskaradak* have been understood as expressing social identity and prestige, since villages competed for exhibiting the finest dancers and performers. Circumstances changed in the 1950s and 1960s, as urban migration and a shift in cultural values brought about a decline in folk theatre. The lack of industry in the

region forced young people to migrate to urban industrialised areas of France in search of jobs. The result has been that older people form the majority of the population. Generally speaking today, Basque language, culture and tradition are associated with the elderly and a subsistence farming or shepherding way of life, whereas the French culture, language and conventions are seen as proper to urban and 'modern' ways of life. Not only have many young people left the country for industrial cities, but they have also ceased speaking Basque or taking part in activities identifiable with their parents' cultural expressions. These circumstances have clearly influenced the meaning of performing carnival theatre in Zuberoa. Today, there is a strong demand to perform the *Maskaradak*, but most young people are not fluent in the Basque language and many dancers are women. These two issues have cast doubt on the authenticity of the performance.

Finally, I have focussed on the politics of popular culture. Taking into consideration that the Basque nationalist movement claims an independent state for the seven Basque provinces (four in Spain and three in France), folk theatre can be viewed as providing a cultural arena for showcasing Basque identity and thus enabling local Basque culture to face the dominant and stronger French. Inasmuch as the claim for an independent Basque state is grounded in cultural difference, showcasing Basque culture becomes a visible support to maintain such a claim, with folk theatre being one such example.

At the time I started my research there were several ethnographic descriptions of dances and masks, as well as compilations of verses and other oral texts. However, a study of the aesthetics of Souletine folk drama in relation to wider socio-cultural

contexts was yet to be done. Although this thesis contributes to such a discussion, it is far from being the last word on the topic. One reason is that the study of folk theatre in Zuberoa requires an interdisciplinary approach concerning anthropology, history, performance and ritual, for which a research team would do better than a single scholar. Therefore, my analysis of *Maskarada* performance must be considered as a contribution to a subject larger in scope than that which has been debated in this thesis. In particular, this thesis contributes to a recent debate on festival revitalisation in Europe (Boissevain ed. 1992, MacClancy & Parkin 1997)

II. RITUAL BEHAVIOUR AND FESTIVITY IN MODERN SOCIETY

The notion of ritual has generally been dealt with and demarcated within studies of religion or religious studies. It has been defined as a type of standardised and repetitive behaviour within a society, whose function is to overcome sensations of chaos and disorder in the social world. Ritual produces, in human experience, a coherent and logical framework which enables people to better understand the world in which they live (Kertzer 1988; Bell 1997). In this sense, ritual proposes rational and intellectual (local) models of interpretation and knowledge of the surrounding reality. Although human capacity for reason is expressed fundamentally through language and the ability to communicate, and this is possible due to its metaphoric character (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), ritual reveals a symbolically constructed version of reality.

In the western world, there has been a tendency to differentiate and select institutions and well-defined vocabularies in order to distinguish, bind, and call attention to certain types of social relations. This is done in order to present these institutions as monopolies, having their own life and existing independently. At the

same time, in societies known as agrarian or pre-capitalist, more than one set of social relations are often channelled through a single institution (i.e. religious system or kinship system). However, in capitalist societies there is a large amount of institutional specialisation (i.e. politics, law, economy, religion, education, etc.). It is for this reason that it is believed that ritual is a type of behaviour more common in societies where religion is a prime mode of social cohesion, whereas it is considered that in advanced societies it is politics and other institutions which co-ordinate community life. Many anthropologists have argued that this dichotomy has its flaws.

Victor Turner (1982) has made a distinction between liminal and liminoid ritual phenomena. The first type of social and group phenomena occurs in tribal societies and in the first agrarian societies: i.e., in settings where humans function according to mechanical solidarity, what E. Durkheim (1933) believed to be the fundamental characteristic of internal cohesion. The second type of ritual phenomena, the liminoid, occurs in industrial societies, which are governed by the principals of organic solidarity. Ritual behaviours of the liminal type generally tend to strongly unite members of small-scale societies, and have much to do with biological, calendar, and socio-structural cycles.

Following Victor Turner, ritual behaviours of the liminoid type, although also of collective type, are not inclined to reunite great numbers of people. Instead this behaviour tends to group certain types of social actors from very distinct sectors of society. Participation in liminoid behaviour is not defined as sacred and does not, therefore, include obligation or quasi-obligation which is characteristic of liminal behaviour. Liminoid behaviour originates from the margins of society, and for that

reason, it is able to express new cultural ideas and concepts which are remote from the official centres of decision that represent social reality. In contrast to liminal phenomena, attendance, intervention and co-participation in liminoid tasks come about as the result of free individual choice. These activities correspond with and develop in a cognitive universe which can be called profane. In other words, liminoid rituals are collective behaviours which are directly associated with spaces and times conceived of as free, leisure, hobby.

My analysis of *Maskarada* performance has aimed to contextualize, as far as possible, the process of change which has been gradually but continuously occurring within the representation of the carnival of this area in the Pyrenees. All the while, we must take into consideration the above-mentioned distinction which Turner has made between liminal and liminoid ritual phenomena. The historical ethnography of Souletine *Maskarada* indicates a process of transition within the defining markers of this type of carnival theatre from being a liminal ritual activity (i.e. linked to agricultural calendars and cycles, precise authority structures grounded on economic self-subsistence and well-defined limits of participation), to becoming throughout the twentieth century a liminoid activity, namely occurring on Sundays or holidays, and linked with spatial-temporal structures originating, not from within traditional European peasant society, but from newer, leading urban-industrial relationships. In both cases, when *Maskarada* activities were rooted in liminal behaviours, as well as at the present time which Turner defines as liminoid, the ritual contains one basic characteristic: paradox and contrast. The contrast is between, on the one hand, the images portrayed in ritual performance about social life and on the other, social life itself.

From the arguments delineated in this essay, it can be seen that the *Maskaradak* are collective festivities and celebrations which ritualise and dramatise a series of cultural values (Bruner ed. 1984, Falassi ed. 1987, Manning ed.1983, McAloon 1984, Turner ed. 1982). This approach emphasises the importance of communication in ritual or ritualised events, and considers metaphoric expression to be an intrinsic characteristic of collective aesthetic ritual performance (Fernandez 1974, 1977, 1984; Sapir & Crocker eds. 1977; Gell 1985; Ortner 1978; Schiefflin 1976; Spencer ed. 1989; Blacking & Keali'ihomoku eds. 1979). Ritual behaviour is a way of saying things and expressiveness is one of the key elements of ritual action and performance. This particular symbolic dimension of celebration manifests itself and exhibits significance both from within the ritual (namely, from within its own logic and sequence) and in relation to daily social action and interaction, as shown by the ethnography of folk theatre in Zuberoa.

III. TRADITIONAL DANCE-EVENTS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN RURAL BASQUE SOCIETY

Although this thesis analyses ethnographic data concerning a Basque Pyrenean region in France, folk theatre and festivity in Zuberoa is a case in point which resembles other European and non-Western global currents (Manning ed. 1983, Boissevain ed. 1992).

Recent anthropological research into European festivity and traditions has shown that there are precise relations between traditional dance-events and local festivals and processes of acquisition and dramatisation of political, cultural and social identity. Also, it can be seen that there is a special correlation between the practice of traditional dance and the socioeconomic vicissitudes which affect rural life. Furthermore, it can be

observed that the study of traditional dance-events and popular culture, from perspectives of the sex or gender of male and female participants, is becoming increasingly important (Cowan 1990, Sugarman 1996, MacClancy 1996). The study of folklore and the performing arts in Basque and other societies as an expression of socio-cultural identity manifests that traditional dance has been a generator of social prestige for those participating in it. Up until the 1950s and 1960s, the principal dances of many Basque festivals were performed by adult dancers (Fdez. de Larrinoa ed. 1998). However, those decades were characterised by a high rate of rural exodus with the subsequent disappearance of rural cultural manifestations in many localities. Today we are witnessing the opposite phenomenon. There are a significant number of small rural communities which have found that their festivals have been reinvigorated thanks to the return of emigrants and their families during the summer holidays. The summer population shows great interest in organising and participating in group activities. Local and regional administration has also helped to revitalise certain folkloric manifestations, as can be seen in the policies designed as an incentive to rural tourism through the subvention of certain cultural events.

All this allows us to affirm that three circumstances define the process of festive revitalisation happening in the rural world today. One is the interest shown by many young people to restore cultural activities in rural areas, damaged at the time when state-orientated policies promoted industrial and urban development. Another is the pressing need felt by regional councils in the new Europe interested in projecting historical and cultural images which represent their administrations as entities in their own right. Administrative units then justify their political existence on the basis of a locally shared cultural identity. In this sense, the institutional support for certain local

cultural manifestations should be interpreted as an attempt, by the new ruling political classes, to find local cultural images capable of symbolising the current configuration of an Europe of different regions, as boundaries between nation-states blur. A third aspect in the process of cultural recuperation which characterises the rural world today is a change in the sex and age of the performers. In contrast with the dancers at the start of the century, the people who have revived traditional dance are not adult males but rather boys and girls and women. In some cases this has led to the questioning of the authenticity of the dances, festivals and other traditional activities, in spite of their recovery.

Another characteristic of traditional dances and festivals is the emergence of centres of diffusion or models to imitate. Traditional dance is often subject to geographical dispersion, as can be seen in the way many villages or peripheral urban neighbourhoods organise festivals and traditional dance events which emulate a nearby model. Several non-Souletine villages from Nafarroa Behea and Pays de Béarn have borrowed the *Maskaradak* and *Pastoralak* as models to follow in the organisation of their own community festivals. In this sense, the festival tends towards decentralisation or dispersion. Urban festivals in the Spanish Basque Country are a good example. The analysis of main festivals in the Basque capitals demonstrates how the old parts of the cities at first constituted the supreme festive space, but later became just one more festive area. This is because the organisation of popular festivals today implies a geographical democratisation, as can be appreciated from the current distribution of festive activities throughout the different neighbourhoods of the city. Amongst the reasons contributing to this new situation are the overcrowding of old parts of the cities, caused by the mass participation of the people; the pressure exerted by the catering

sector situated outside the old part, which asserts its right to benefit from the economic gains generated by activities financed by the local council with public funds and the desire of neighbourhood associations to create their own emblems of identity for their part of town. Nevertheless, the wish to democratise the festivals may meet with certain obstacles, even within the local democratic institutions, as in the cases of Hondarrabia and Irun, Spanish Basque towns on the French border. In these towns, the festival has not taken the road of decentralisation, as far as the distribution of ritual roles according to the gender of its participants is concerned, thus giving rise to tension and conflict. Since not everyone agrees whether the participation of women in the festival as soldiers should be promoted or not, two groups have emerged in the two towns. Each celebrates its own festival. One parade shows women and men, both participating as soldiers. The other parade shows men as soldiers, but women just as water bearers.

The studies of traditional dance in the Basque Country have been characterised by the importance given to the choreography of the dances, which has been analysed on the basis of two main criteria. One places emphasis on data-collection, description and classification, the other on showing the connection between these dances with ancient practices and ways of thinking, whether pre-Christian or otherwise primitive. This thesis unfolds particular relations between geography, history and culture in a peripheral Basque region. It is such an analysis which gives access to the study of traditional dance-events and festivities as vehicles which generate social identity, whether presented in public as local, regional or national.

Research on rural Basque dance shows the existence of dances spread over a wide geographical area, crossing valleys and mountain chains. However, the social and

symbolic mechanisms which order life favour their interpretation as particular to certain localities. Each village or region thus considers them to be part of their own cultural heritage. I have stated that the *Maskaradak* of Soule contain elements which relate them to other cultural areas. Gypsies, tinkers, castrators, knife grinders, flag bearers, centaurs, bears, etc, are characters present in other carnivals and festivities and in geographical areas other than the Basque Country and the Pyrenees, since they can be seen throughout Europe and North Africa.⁴ The music played in the *Maskaradak* is also related to the music of other festivals in the Pyrenees and elsewhere. Similarly, the musical instruments coincide with those employed over a broad area of the Pyrenees. The same can be said of the dances. In spite of these coincidences, *Maskarada* has its own personality and because it is represented by the young people in the Soule region, it has taken the name of the Zuberoan *Maskarada*.

Folklorists have noted the existence of traditional dance models which extend beyond provincial and regional boundaries. They also cross the frontiers of the existing nation-states. They do not coincide with linguistic maps nor with the political borders designed by the nationalist separatists. The firm feeling of identification between the inhabitants of a town or village and their festivals must be added to these considerations. The result is that the study of traditional dance and festivity in relation to the type of socio-cultural identities projected is a complex matter.

In addition to global social, political and economic factors, strictly local factors influence the configuration of traditional dance events. This thesis has shown that costumes, melodies, instruments and places chosen for a performance confer a

⁴ Luke Lyon has studied the relationships between ceremonial hobby-horses of the United Kingdom and New Mexico (Lyon 1981).

distinctive personality on traditional dances. It should not be forgotten that together with dress and music, the use of words plays an important role in dance events. Verses, ballads, speeches or dialogues come to the fore at some point in the festival. The combination of all these elements also confers a high level of theatricality on traditional dance events.

Another characteristic of traditional dances is that they occur within a festive calendar associated with agricultural activities and the celebration of patron saints and other Christian feast days. Likewise, the performance of traditional dances requires the festival to have an internal organisation in which it can be appreciated how the process of learning traditional dance takes place and how hierarchies are formed. It is also striking to observe the interest shown by civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the regulation of the celebration of festivals and dances, which forces the anthropologist to explore what sort of mechanism of social control is exercised and by whom, through the organisation of dance events.

Research conducted into dancing and masquerade in Zuberoa reflects the existence of cultural corridors running through valleys and mountain chains. Social analysts have underlined that contemporary societies are characterised by a strong cultural mixing, from which rural societies are not exempt (Kearney 1996, Wilson & Donnan 1998). It has also been pointed out that modern societies, at the end of the century, are related to each other through chains of cultural distribution, in which different centres can be distinguished. From these, cultural expressions and meanings are emitted and these later become the models to emulate locally (Hannerz, 1992). The historian of traditional dance knows that the mixing and diffusion of cultural

expressions from cultural centres of production are not social phenomena typical only of the end of the twentieth century. The folklorist observes that the same phenomenon, celebrated to such an extent by postmodern anthropologists and sociologists, has already occurred at other times in history. The study of traditional dance demonstrates that the villages and their cultural manifestations have not been stagnant pools, although it might be interpreted thus if the sense of the words 'tradition' and 'traditional' is misinterpreted. The proof of the cultural dynamics and the mixing that has been going on in the rural world, is to be found in the mutual resemblance of its dances, melodies, musical instruments, costumes and other decorative elements witnessed in its festivals. What does change in the world of dance and traditional festivals are the cultural references, which are employed every time folklore is reinvented.

IV. *MASKARADA* AS A CULTURAL COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL NETWORK

The organisation of the *Maskaradak* in Zuberoa implies the materialisation of social, political, economic and cultural networks both inside and outside Soule. These networks propitiate the transportation of actors and audiences through local, regional, national or international cultural landscapes. Similarly, the *Maskaradak* of Soule reveal the existence of several circumstances underlying identity matters in Zuberoa. In the expression of socio-cultural identity in Soule, it is of special relevance the way territories such as the house, the village, the valley or *Pays*, the nation, and others are understood by local people.

Identity is belonging or attachment to a collectivity. However, anthropology has indicated that there is no monovocal identity, since identity concretion is linked to the multiplicity of contexts involved in socio-cultural interaction. Rather than identity, socio-cultural relationships originate identities. In this sense, the Zuberoan *Maskaradak*

depict a cultural context for social interaction where several identities come to be expressed.

The Zuberoan *Maskaradak* have been interpreted from several perspectives. This thesis has favoured ethnography as a means to social comprehension. The ethnography of the *Maskaradak* of Soule exhibits that the organisation of a *Maskarada* is in itself a task requiring a great deal of commitment, together with the investment of time, effort and money. Furthermore, because the *Maskaradak* constitute a space and a time in which disparate social, cultural, economic and political identities meet, their organisation is far from being classed as an ordinary episode in local life. Moreover, although local, these identities do not cease being complex, with the result that the *Maskaradak* create tension, thus calling for people's attention, as well as for the expression of opinions and judgements. All this implies that folk theatre in Zuberoa continues its struggle for survival.

APENDIX I

BUHAME JAUNAREN PHEREDIKIA, MUSKILDI, 1987

[SERMON BY THE GYPSY KING OF MUSKILIDI IN 1987]

Agur, agur, herri huntako bizizaliak

Zaharrak eta gaztiak

Ernaiak eta antziak

Adardünak eta mañuak

Paletak eta kükuak

Huna heben girela buhamiak

Ezagütü beharrez khüllu famatiak

Berahala düzie jakinen nun giren kurritiak

Bena lehenik nula giren batheiatia

Hau Dindo Tzarpategi gorri begiak

Pattar tzintzürra, lüze barrabilak

Ez dü horrek hingatüko lana

Nahiagoz lekatü bestek geinhatia

Beste hau Ibrahim Abdalagoiti, beltz zankuak

Lüze karrika beltza, eta nasaï zoriak

Hazku zilo batetara zian urthuki bere amak

Eta geroztik ez dü sekülan hunki hurrak

Ez dü segür zorik hastuari hunen ürinak

Eta hebentxo hau Atito Saskibü, oker zankuak

Handi pantzoilla eta bürlüz errotak

Emazteka eta baltz jokiak

Horiek dira hunen lan handienak

Eta hoiien gibelian Maia Zankhasgora

(Maiaaaaa! Maiaaaaa!)

hau düğü Maia Zankhasgora, handi biesak
bero zankhartia eta lodi azpiondua
Ziberian ukhen dütü arrenküra handiak
Ilhortü zeikü eta geroztik handitü mustatxak
Zeren üsü beitätü gaintitzen pilulak
Bena zer koziniersa, zer apaïdiak

Üsü gozatzen dütügü saltsan sathorrak
Eta gresilan aphotorruak
Hargatik ezinago hun dütügü osagarriak
Izana gatik gai oroz hartürük khakeriak

Eta ni, Asma Koskabilenborda, horik ene mithilak
Ni errege famatia, ene espantiak bazter orotan
Ezagütiak

Mündü guzian hedatü dütügü lege berriak
Haizü ebastiak eta asekak
Üsü errutia, ahalaz haitatüz besten habiak
Debakatürük lanak eta izerdiak
Txapeletak bezain nahi lukainka üztarriak
Hola gira mündü guzian ezagütiak
Eta orai düzie jakinen nun giren kurritiak

Izan gira Ziberian, han karruntatü ahanak
Maiari lothü güne gaixtuan khandaluak
Bertan gira lekhütü zinez flakatiak

Poloniara eraman gütü ondotik gure bidajiak
Han agürtü gütü Jaruselski jaunak
Hunek üduri dü gure alhorretako khürtsuak
Hartürük bezala ezin khakeginak

Ohartü zeikü labamentu hun bat ziala behar holako gizonak
Sakatü deïogü lindana eta kilo bat phipergorri
Nahasirik biak, laster zeitzo phartitü gizon horri
Uzkerrak eta arrestakuak

Gero heltü gira Iranen, erosi beharrez Maïari kaputxinak
Han dira gizonak eta emaztiak tzarpatiak
Oroek debekü ikhertzia salbü L'Ayatollak
Huni gustatü zaitzo Maïaren bularrak
Eta gük zerratü khanbera batetan biak
Ez dira han zahartü gure bi anjamiak
Zeren Maïari ez zaitzo gustatü L'Ayatollaren presentak
Maïak behar dütü gü bezalakoo akherrak
Nahiago arrestelü gidarrak
Ezinez tximaltü arrestelü xiriak

Geroago Bengladeche, quelle deche, zer gosiak
Han buhameentzat lekhü mehiak
Hatia huntü dügü bertan hütsik zoruak
Eta jo Inlaterra, ikhusteko zer zion Thatxersak
Atzeman deïogü moskua zorrotz, tzimaltürük üzkü mathelak
Eskentü deïtzogü gure gisako presentak
Hebengo laborarien phartez, läu ardi oso trapatiak

Beste kartiel hanitxetan ere gira korritiak
Pakistan, Liban, Kurdistan, Afganistan herriak
China, Conchinchina, Barrankilla, Harmakiña kartielak deneta utzi düttügü gure
zedarriak
Eta bürratü ahala güntian güziak
Gero Tchekoslovakian juntatü gira mündü güziako buhamiak
Han ziren Landutx, Galthurutx, Arkutx eta Kokutx anaiak
Pandart, Pantzart, Xinfart eta Zankhart kusiak
Hotüzkü, Gatüzkü, Khotxüzkü eta Pitxerüzkü asekariak

Jo, Jojo, Barjo eta Bedajo lau fripuak
Aña, Maña, Mañaña, Betigaña ahizpak
Spageti, Ravioli, Buitoni, Panzani, Berluzkoni italianuak
Thiratü dütügü han gaitzeko asiak
Eta jüratü bethi ginela egonen buhamiak

Gu gizon ikhasiak beigira eta elizan igantez kurritiak badakigü
Sobera lüze direnian aphezen pheredikiak
Bertan direla entzuten aharrausiak
Hortakoz hortan dütüt ütziko ene espantiak

Hasteko hiru adelü horiekin, egünko lanak
Lekatü behar dütügü Muskildiko tripot eta lukenkak
Hüstü herri huntako xahakuak eta barrikotak
Eta hor ikhusten beitütüt ürrüxa zunbait argi begiak
Her deïet haien xerbütxüko direla buhamiak

APENDIX II

SERMON BY THE KABANA HANDIA OF MUSKILDI IN 1987

Arresti hun, herri huntako jenteak
Marmarka zirade heben kulloak
Ostatua zerratu geroztik ez sobera kullu
Pastorala eman geroztik ez apur fanfaru
Etiket espatzeko atzamaiten mila arrazu
Lanen egiteko, haatik, *on s'en fout*
Egun oroz balinbada ogi eta ardu

Orai bazter orotan kurritü den kaute jenolia famatia presentatüko deiziet
Hau Trastu, ostatüko nausia zen
Bena ber denboran askari handiena beitzen
Bere emazteak dü kanporat ezarri
Hau Lanana Malibu, ez da sekülan eskontü, ez emazerik
Ernaltü, bena bai gizonak xikotü
Beste hau Kortatü, heben sonü bordel batekin aikü ertzotü
Hau heben, Pitxu langile huna
Eta ni horien oroen nausia, Kabana Handia

Gizon oroek behar likie ni bezala eder, ni bezala handi izan armada eginik
Beyrouten,
Han ükenik *Legion d'Honneur* eta beste *pour acte de bravoure*, ara heltu niz
etxerat

Arrunt erranen dieziet zertara ginen hunat jinik SNCFeko nausiak beigütü
Muskildiera igorrik Ageretzian eta Karrikan ez beitzien egiten ahal lo handirik
Herri huntako bi *cheminotsak* greban dira jarririk eta gara abantxü zerratürrik

San Antoniko *station de skian* nausia nigarrez hüstürrik
Negü huntako sosak oro zütiala galdürrik

Hanko nausia Harguindeguy *est a la maison*
Beraz lanialat gira hunat hara
Eginik izan ez diren lanen egitera
Eta gaizik eginik izan direnen zuzentzera
Bena oroen gainetik trainen kontatzera
Hura beita *cheminotsen* lan handiena
Eta badakiziela greban sartu aintzin
Gure bi auher ez deus oker horiek zer dien egin
Zübürralteko *viaducian* esküineko *railian*
Opilo handi bat, tian tiana ihurk ere ezin desegin
Kaute jenolia hel ahal ez dadin
Ah!! Artetik ziek baitakizie siglen berri
Dudarik gabe badakizie SNCFek zer dian erran nahi
Nik erranen deiziet
S-ervice N-écessaire pour C-aser les F-aineants
Beste lankia handietan bezala lantegi hortan
Auherrena haitatürrik da nausi izateko
Segür ez da urte zõnbaitez gabe baratüko

Bidajaren baliatzeko beste lanik ere hantü dügü
Crédit Agricoleko coffre forte betatxatü
Eta lan horren egitian, *coffre forte* hori hütxirik
Zela ikusi dügü karrika tini hortan, oto eder bat
Ezarri ziala
Eta ber gizona ebaste hartaz ogendant ekarrik izan
Beita urruntürrik izan da Mauletik Biarnola

Paueko presuntegian ere bazterrak oro ikertü dütügü
Hanko bizizale zonbait beitzire lekükü
Sagü ziloak oro tapatü eta komitatiak ziukatü
Eta igangiak ez beitgünian atzamaiten Prefetak erran
Deikü “historia hortan bazela *un IK (hic)*” eta gure kontra kesatü
Gük ordian egin arrapostü: aintzineko borta handia zela zabalik baratü.

Hunat jin aitzin, Parisen güntian azken lanak
Hanko *commissariat*etan bazütien arrenküra handiak
Hamazortzi langilekin egin han behar zirenak
Gurekin hartüz limak eta arraspak
Polizier horiek alde orotan beitzütien eginik
Bravourak

Parisen ginelarik ere izan gira ministro zonbaiten ikusten
Nahi beitzünian *fonctionarie* statütou üken
Han Jaques Chirac eta Charles Pasquarekin mintzatü
Eta haiekin bazkaltü
Kaka bezala mozkorrazi dütügü
Gero Pasquaren otoan Pariseko karrikak dütügü kurritü
Eta prefosta, han, heben bezain beste polizier beita
Lauak gütie arrestatü
Charlesek izan behar dü *alcootesteko* baluian bukatü
Eta hor *taux d'alcoolemie elevé* da agertü
Prefosta Pasquak amenda handi bat bidü dü
Eta haiek ordian guri atzaman
Hartüko zien lehen dezizionea izanen zela:
Taux d'alcool legal odolian hamar grama eta erramaitia
Gero hazartian, helbidia ükeitez izan gira
Lepen-en etxaltiarene aitzinian
Gure azken lanak izan dira:
Bere etxiaren beltzez pintatzia
Bera zurratü, geroztik da begi bakotx

Gure azken hiza: gizon horiekin bestaren egitea
C'est tout bon
Bena ez balinbagira beren alde
Attention de ne pas se faire pendrer

APENDIX III

MASKARADAREN AZKEN KANTOREA, MUSKILDI, 1987

[LAST SONG BY THE MEMBERS OF THE MASKARADA OF MUSKILDI IN 1987]

Lehenik Pastuala gero Maskarada
Loaldi bat eginik Muskildi piztū da
Erakuts xoko oroer zuberotar dela
Zainetan dela bethi ũskaldūn odola

Herri baten bizia gazteen batarzūna
Jei honen errua da gure anaitarzūna
Denek batian dūgū hartūrik xedia
Jokū zaharra berriz bizi araztia

Agertzen dūgū egūn batera plazara
Jarraikiz ũsaitxer mintzatūz ũskara
Zinez huts balizate gure izatia
Herriak gal baleza bihar ohidūra

Plazer handia dūgū heben izatia
Zinez gozatū dūgū zien batzarria
Egūn goxo bat zier iraganaztia
Hoi zen gure ametsa baita helbūria

APENDIX IV

BUHAMESEN ERREGINAREN PHEREDIKIA

[SERMON BY THE GYPSY QUEEN OF EKIUILA IN 1992]

Agur, agur plaza huntako jentia, potiko gaztiak eta bestiak,
etsaria eta adiskidia, ernaria eta antzia,
üzker egilia eta sendizalia
adardünak eta gabeak.
Hunat nula heldia?
Xekamuñña, Garibandiña...
eta ni horien erregiña, bazter orotan errespetatia,
Barratxügaitz buhamesa ...
entzün hola ... hala dün

Erregiña nula nundien izendatü, nahi dereiziet
khuntatü:
Buhamesak ginen jüntatü eta harentako Garindañeko herria haitatü.
Han ginen agitü: Añiña, Mamiña
Gizon bezala bagünian: Ühart, Kotiart ...
Horiek denek ene botatü eta NI erregiña izentatü
entzün hala... hala dün

Ordian günian eskotia manhatü eta apaidu hun bat gozatü eta merke phakatü ...
ezkünian seküla phakatü
Jan günian ahar ezne saltsan, txakür büztan muletan, xahal barbaka ogian artian,
uñhu frijitü zarthanian.
Deserta bezala bagünian: ülli gazna, kaskabilla, barrabilla eta gaztaña phiperekin.
Ardu bezala asto phisa aterrizan.
Defendü dügü lanian aritzia, bena ez haur egitia.
Artetarik emaiten düd ordria "bijuteria" zunbaiten bijitatzia eta ahalaz ez xakolak
hütsik elkhitzia.

Badüğü gaznaraz asia, laborari khexatü horiek kamiu batetan lo zielarik, gazigian
sar eta zerbitxatü gira:

nik jan düit gazna, bigerrenak zenbera eta azkenak xikota.

Gütarik batek, eztüt erranen zunek, ükhen dü lasterre bat izigarrikua.

Libre düğü etxe Hütsetan ez deuseren hartzia, presuntegilat ahalaz bekhan juitia,
salbü negian, beste gizoner so egitia bena ez ñika egitia, eta sosa badügünian ase
ederrik kharreiatzia.

Hori da buhameseren lege berria

Seküla galdu ezpeitüğü tesa

Biba Barratxugaitz buhamesa!

Hala dün, hala dün!

Bi loren artian, ez gira seküla lanian ari,

ben denboraren iragaiteko, ari gira dantzan

gütirik ederrenian!

Irakatsiko dereiziegü nula ari ginen

Sonü

APENDIX V

KAUTERSA GEHIENAREN PHEREDIKIA, ESKIULA 1992 [SERMON BY THE KAUTERSA HANDIA OF ESKIULA IN 1992]

Arresti hun!

Plaza huntako so egiliak.

Kharrika huntako eta üngürüneko jentiak.

Bestetako bizizaliak

Adinekuak eta gaztiak

Gizon eta emaztiak

Handiak eta txipiak

Lodiak eta mehiak.

Horra gira Eskiulatik, gaiza hanitx ikhasirik!

San Pierra plazako ozioniak

Eskiulako bestetan thiraturik ase ederrik.

Faktura faltsü iganazik.

Eta ikhusirik izigarria

Irak-eko gerla berria

Alemañako mürrü desegitia

Rusiako demokrazia

eta Rokarren demisionea

Sorthü gira

zopa egiteko, untzi xahatzeko eta gizon errabiatzeko.

Badakigü jaten, edaten eta josten

Haur egiten, sortzen eta hazten

Bizitzen gira

arrautze kusküz. oillasko aztaparrez
eta üsü pilülaz.
Gizon tzar horiek oxagarri izigarria beitie.
Holako apaidutik landa gü cudez ari gira lanian.

Horra gira xiberotik
galtzen eta azkenian bertzen bethatxatzera ...
jakinik heben bazterrak oro xilo zirela salbü ... godaletak
Gaiza bat da segurrik:
gü gira ofiziale famatiak
lau emazte horiek eta ni ...

Lau neskatila horik arauz orano neskatila dira?
Bat hau ja segur emazteturik dügü aspaldian! ...
Mentüräz badaki nula plantatü behar den!...
Bertz bethatxatzeko phü ...

Hori Phitxuna
emazte ezkontia, langile hoberena ...
txipi da bena hardita da ...
badü default bat: eztü mihia xakolan ...
Gaixo senharra !!!
Bena untsa abenitzen dira:
Biak kozinan azkar beitia ...
eta jaten hanitxez azkarrago ...

Hori Pupuna
Ibüürü gogorra, pelotakaria eta ber herotsian potikokari
Añaña eijerra: ez da lotsa potikuekilan pedoskan aritzen.
Ari da egün oroz besten Hauren begiratzan ...
ezpeitu seküla berak egiteko etxekuen baimenik ükhen ...

Horik fripuna bakinak

karkaza handiak, sabatian laket,
Üsu ari dira ostatican khantatzen
Salbü Eskiulan, ez da estunagarri
Etxekuak karrikan beian egoiten dira
Horik beitia eskolan ikhasten
Aitak ezari dütü kaute
Hurak beitura goizenik erretiratzen.

Eta NI KABANANA lüzia
Mutxuridin horien bürüzagisa
ama familiakua
emaztik behar du nik bezala:
eder bulharra
mehe aztalbeharria
zabal anka
Bilho gabe ... besapia
Pintrüstatürük begithartia
Bi ziloekin ... südurra
Eta bizarra behar den lekhian.

Behin izan ginen Parisen
Eihera gorrian lanian aritzera
Egünaz erdi beztitürük ari ginen dantzan eta lanian
eta gaiez erdi pikarra hanitxez haboro
Nausik igorten beikuntian
Arrua uhunpe batetak gizonen harrotzera ...
Bena negia jin zen
Kharruntaturük eta marfundi (marhanta)
Xiberulat arra jin ginen
Xüthondo Xokhulat berotzera

APENDIX VI

ALTZÜKÜKO MASKARADAREN PHEREDIKIA, BASAURI, 1993

[SERMON BY THE KAUTERE HANDIA OF ALTZÚKÚ IN BASAURI, 1993]

Agur agur plaza hontako jende guziak
Gu gira Atzüküko kaute famatiak
Presentatuko deitziet ene mitilak
PUPU, lehen Pitxu izanik, graduz montatua
Bene entelegia ver-lekin gelditurik
BIBOU FRIPOU, kasu horri denetan sua ematen baitu
PITXU, ez sobera kuilu, lanian ez sobera nekatu
Gerria zaio handitu
Ni KANANA HANDIA, hoién nausia
Oroetarik hautatua, emazte guztiek maitatia
Bena ezin eginaraz horier ordena

Goizik gira Zuberotik partitu
Hona heltzeko Uskal Herria dena kurritu
Aduana makilarekin zabalarazi
Eta kamionak bazterarazi
Huna heldu eta zer ukan dudan goguan
Ikusiz herri huntako lañua eta jendeak *rasca-cieloetan*
Aidia sano dela Xiberua
Aisa zaree laket Iratiko basuan
Gozatzen hango leku berdian bazkoz edo epifanian
Guk aldiz lanik ez dugu herrian
Beharra gunuke hemengo industria
Hemen aldiz zaintzeko partez nahiago dutie lantegiak zerratu
Hogei urte huntan han lanin ari direnak ere kanporat bultzatu
Eta gelditu nahi dienak txakurrekin burukatu

Ez da horregatik Basauri lanik gabe geldituko
Lehen die gartzela handituko
Goardia zibilen koartela indartsu etxekiko
Eta berehala hertzaintza heben ezarriko
Aduana die berehala zabalduko
Hanko gizonak ere hunak ekarriko
Aisa zutie oroen artian zainduko
Horiek denak dira hor zuen defendatzeko
Zertako duzie ordin polizia gehiago eta beldurra handiago

Kultur mailan ere bada lanegiteko
Udaletxeak ez du diruak aski lagungua emateko
Dena behar du etxeki alkateari pagatzeko
Gobernioak ez du ere deusik emateko
Udako Olympic jokiak eta Sevillako exposizioa beitutu pakatzeko
Besta bat nahi baduzie egin datorren urtian egon egiteko

Holo-hola etxeki gogor
Ez gira izanen ahazkor
Ziek dela medio gaudelakoz gaur hor
Xiberuak deizie bihotzetik agurra igorten
Eta guk beste aldi bat arte erraiten
Eta basauritarrer giaza hoberenak desiratzen

Amen

Dominika

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