

The Bear, the Harlot, the Magician and the King

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In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the seduction of the wild man Enkidu by Shamhat the harlot symbolically causes his death as an unreflective animal and his rebirth as a human – an Eden-like fall into self-awareness. Created as a match for king Gilgamesh of Uruk, Enkidu goes on to become the king's beloved friend. In European folk traditions, the Wild Man is interchangeable with the bear, and parallels can be drawn between Enkidu and the Candlemas Bear associated with Carnival. Since Enkidu symbolises our pre-human nature, one can perceive a figurative truth to the pan-European folk belief that people are descended from bears. Thematic overlaps exist between some *Gilgamesh* narratives and European folk-tales about a Wild Man whose father was a bear (the Bear's Son / Jean de l'Ours motif) or about twin boys, one of whom was raised in the wild by a female bear (Valentine and Orson). Perhaps surprisingly, the roots of Santa Claus lie in the Wild Man. So too do the origins of Merlin, the wizard of medieval Arthurian romance. Merlin has elements in common with Enkidu, while King Arthur can be seen as a metaphorical "Bear's son." Over time, the status of the Wild Man has changed from a wholly inhuman monster to a "noble savage" who today might even be cast as a salvific eco-warrior.

Gilgamesh and Genesis

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* tells the adventures of Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, and of his beloved friend Enkidu (Fig. 1);¹ the saga has long been recognised as a prototype of the Hero's Quest.² Initially, however, Gilgamesh is alone in his status as champion and ruler, while Enkidu (Fig. 2) is a wild man who roams the wilderness with a pack of animals. Enkidu holds a leading position among the herds, insofar as he releases wild beasts caught in hunters' snares and traps; he may therefore have been a "Master of Animals" in the sense of the motif common in the art of the Ancient Near East (Fig. 3).³ In Tablet II of *Gilgamesh*, the seduction of Enkidu by Shamhat the harlot is orchestrated by an unnamed hunter. Their meeting is a deliberate entrapment devised by the hunter's father and endorsed by Gilgamesh himself.⁴ The hunter leads Shamhat



Fig. 1. Tablet V of the Epic of Gilgamesh. This cuneiform tablet, ca. 2003-1595 BCE, tells how Gilgamesh and Enkidu entered the Forest of Cedar and killed Humbaba. The item is in the Sulaymaniyah Museum, Iraqi Kurdistan. Image by Osama Shukir Muhammed Amin, FRCP (Glasgow), online at Wikimedia Commons,⁵ reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 4.0.



Fig. 2. Enkidu killing the Bull of Heaven. Terracotta votive relief, Cat. O.01054, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire/Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Belgium.⁶ Image by U0045269, online at Wikimedia Commons,⁷ reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 4.0.



Fig. 3. "Master of Animals" on the Gundestrup Cauldron. The "Gundestrup Cernunnos" adorns a decorated silver vessel, dated *ca.* 200 BCE-300 CE, in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark. Image by Kern8, Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.⁸

to the water-hole that he knows Enkidu will visit, and directs the actions of the temptress so that the wild man becomes ensnared by her charms.

Interpreted as a metaphor, Enkidu's seduction by Shamhat causes his death as an unreflective animal and his rebirth as a self-aware human. Their seven-day copulation is equal in duration to the cosmogony in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 1:1-2:4), which also culminates in the creation of a human, Adam. At the same time, Enkidu's seduction corresponds to a Fall – a transition from the primal undifferentiated oneness of nature into the isolation of a singular consciousness that is self-aware.⁹ As soon as Enkidu is done with Shamhat, the herds of animals with which he used to roam react to him with fear and flee from his presence; no longer an integral part of the One, he now constitutes the Other. The allegory is straightforward; it is always the productive sexual congress of a man and a woman that initiates each new Self as a discrete entity, one with a unique trajectory through space-time.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Fall is precipitated by the verbal seduction of Eve by the phallic serpent in the Tree of Knowledge. The apocryphal New Testament text known as the *Questions of Bartholomew* (ca. 300-500 CE) takes this metaphor to its logical conclusion and makes the seduction physical, insinuating that the Fall was caused by intercourse between Eve and Satan.¹⁰ With Eve, as with Enkidu, “the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked” (Gen 3:7); in other words, their beings became self-aware for the first time, not just conscious but capable of abstract comprehension and logical thought.¹¹ “Enkidu was weakened, could not run as before, but now he had reason, and wide understanding.” While neglecting to mention that his reading of Genesis is unorthodox, Merritt Moseley sums the situation up nicely in passing: “Like Adam and Eve, Enkidu has fallen into adulthood, become fully human, through sex.”¹²

Precipitated into civilization, with its attendant social conventions, Adam and Eve sew fig-leaves together to make clothes for themselves (Gen 3:7), whereas Enkidu is given some of Shamhat's clothes to wear. An interesting corollary of the latter arrangement is that Enkidu – whose hair forms long tresses like those of a woman – begins his entry into civilized life as a man dressed in women's clothing. It is interesting to note that, in tribal societies, male initiations often involve the boys playing female roles, while female coming-of-age rituals often contain episodes where the girls must dress and act as men.^{13,14} We should also heed Robert Bly's distinction between the cruelty of the savage man and “the wild man's possession of spontaneity, the presence of the female side in him, and his embodiment of male sexuality. None of this implies violence toward or domination of others.”¹⁵ In Bly's paradigm, it is the “civilised” monarch Gilgamesh who – through the inhumane treatment of his subjects – is the true savage.

The Candlemas Bear

There are some intriguing parallels between the taming of the wild man Enkidu and European folk traditions involving bears. The Candlemas Bear Chase, whose stronghold is the French and Spanish Pyrenees,¹⁶ is a traditional performance – a type of Good Luck Visit – acted out on the second day of February.¹⁷ The Bear Chase, which forms part of (or is closely associated with) the Carnival celebration,¹⁸ centres



(a)



(b)

Fig. 4 Straw Bears. (a) Straw Bears, accompanied by brightly dressed attendants, in a procession in Walldürn (Neckar-Odenwald district, Baden-Württemberg, Germany; Feb 2011). (b) Lustful like the Candlemas Bear, the Straw Bear pursues attractive young women, whom it captures by winding its leash around them. The Bear then falls on its back and refuses to release its captive until a ransom has been paid. Images by SiGarb, Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.¹⁹

around “a lustful bear, costumed hunters, and young men dressed as women and often called Rosetta.²⁰ After an amorous interlude with Rosetta, the bear [i]s killed, revived, shaved, and killed again.”^{21,22} The *Strohbär* or Straw Bear of German, Swiss and English folk tradition serves a similar function to the Candlemas Bear (Fig. 4a,b).²³ Although these pageants are primarily a fertility rites that allude to the imminent demise of winter – symbolised by the bear²⁴ – and the impending new growth of spring,^{25,26} they also seems to promulgate the ancient and widespread belief that humans are descended from bears.²⁷ This is the significance of shaving the Candlemas Bear,²⁸ in the words of Maria Johns, “Everybody says, ‘After you take a bear’s coat off, it looks just like a human.’”²⁹ Richard Bernheimer and others have revealed connections between the ceremonial bear hunts and wild-man hunts of European tradition,³⁰ to the extent that “the Wild Man and bear figures are interchangeable.”³¹ Rosetta too has hidden depths. She is not simply a nubile victim of the bear’s lust, but rather a remembrance of the female sacerdotal role intrinsic to this and to “other remnants from the original Wild Man–priestess marriage.”³²

The Syrian Brown Bear (*Ursus arctos syriacus*) is a subspecies native to the Middle East and the Caucasus. Its original range included Mesopotamia and the Levant,³³ and bears are in fact mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh.³⁴ As intimated above, aspects of the European Bear Chase actually map reasonably well onto the story of Enkidu, and *vice versa*. For example, the bear is symbolically killed, whereas the “amorous interlude” between Enkidu and Shamhat causes the ritual death of Enkidu the animal. Shamhat is not just a common prostitute but a temple courtesan, “a very sophisticated priestess,”³⁵ which connects her directly with Rosetta’s religious function as consort. Hunters are controlling agents in both tales; a hunter/trapper directs Shamhat’s actions toward Enkidu, while the Candlemas Bear is captured by costumed hunters. Male cross-dressing features in both episodes, too, potentially flagging the motifs as rites of passage; Enkidu’s initial transvestitism (discussed above) has its counterpart in the cross-dressers who fulfil the role of Rosetta in the Bear Chase.

From the demise of Enkidu the animal is born Enkidu the man, who quickly learns to eat and drink according to human custom. The shaving of the revived bear represents just such a metamorphosis, allowing “the villagers to celebrate the transformation of the Bear into a civilized individual,”³⁶ for Enkidu, we learn that “The barber groomed his body so hairy, anointed with oil he turned into a man.”³⁷ Enkidu’s cross-dressing is now a thing of the past, just as wild animals are now his enemies rather than his friends. Accordingly, we read that “He put on a garment, became like a warrior, he took up his weapon to do battle with lions.”³⁸

Beyond this point, the thematic overlaps weaken. In the Bear Chase, the second death symbolises the demise of winter, a welcome outcome that ushers in new life. In the Mesopotamian epic, the second death is postponed when Enkidu and Gilgamesh break off from their duel and instead become friends,³⁹ but it cannot be avoided indefinitely. In *Gilgamesh*, the death of Enkidu’s self-aware human identity presents an insuperable problem. Just as the finitude of human lifespan is attributed to Eve’s mistake in Eden (Gen 3:19), the dying Enkidu’s first thought is to blame the hunter and Shamhat for his mortality,⁴⁰ but his pique is successfully challenged by the sun-god Shamash.⁴¹ Chastened, Enkidu appends blessings to his curses,⁴² but his sickness continues to worsen and eventually he dies.⁴³ Unable to come to terms with the loss of

his dearest friend, Gilgamesh embarks on a desperate search for some way in which to avoid his own death. An obvious allegory of the human condition, Gilgamesh's attempts to escape the constraints of human mortality constitute the remainder of the epic.

The Bear's Son

The pan-European belief that we are derived from an ursine ancestor, which is especially strong in the Pyrenean-Basque region, appears to have spread across Europe at the end of the last Ice Age as the continent was repopulated from the Franco-Cantabrian refuge.⁴⁴ It has many parallels in the bear ceremonialism of North America and Siberia.⁴⁵ Such beliefs encourage the idea that sporadic interbreeding between bears and humans may have been possible into more recent times. Indeed, the Wild Man of medieval European legend – *wodewose* in archaic English,⁴⁶ *wilder Mann* in German, *l'homme sauvage* in French (Fig. 5a-c) – is typically identified as the son of a male bear and a human woman, willing or otherwise.

In a similar vein are the Scandinavian and French folk-tales⁴⁷ of a male bear who abducts a beautiful girl or the wife of a woodcutter on whom it sires a son – Jean de l'Ours, in the French tradition.⁴⁸ In terms of phonetics, “Jean de l'Ours” is of course strikingly similar to *Chandelours*, the local term for Candlemas (normatively, *Chandleur*) in the Alps, Pyrenees and Ardennes until the 18th century,⁴⁹ so perhaps it should come as no surprise that Jean's mother is sometimes identified as Rosetta.⁵⁰ In a standard telling, Jean journeys with three other champions to a castle in the middle of a forest, but he alone is successful in vanquishing its demonic occupant, whom he then pursues down a deep well to the Underworld.⁵¹ There are some thematic overlaps with *Gilgamesh*, since the forest/castle/devil-monster/victory sequence aligns well with Gilgamesh and Enkidu's journey to Humbaba's lair in the Forest of Cedar and Humbaba's defeat at their hands (Tablets IV & V).⁵² There are also elements in common with the Sumerian tale of Enkidu in the Netherworld, in which our protagonist tries to retrieve some precious items belonging to Bilgames (Gilgamesh) that have fallen down a deep hole.⁵³ In the Sumerian myth, Enkidu refuses to subdue his natural exuberance in the Land of Death and in consequence is detained there permanently, whereas the European folk-tale sees Jean de l'Ours escape from Hell along with three treasure-chests and three princesses.⁵⁴ Jean marries the youngest of the girls.⁵⁵ The less glamorous version of this pairing can be found in the medieval belief that the Wild Man was always looking to kidnap young women from their villages.⁵⁶

It is possible that the European theme of bears or Wild Men abducting women from their settlements for the purpose of mating represents some ancient memory of raids conducted by male Neanderthals on communities of anatomically modern humans.^{57,58} Certainly, some authors have made this connection for the folk traditions of the Pyrenees and Basque country.^{59,60} In addition to their well-known presence in Europe, the range of the Neanderthal population encompassed the entire Levant and extended far to the east into Asia, incorporating the northern two-thirds of the land later known as Mesopotamia; the southern boundary of Neanderthal occupation coincided approximately with the location of the Sumerian city of Kish.⁶¹ *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* certainly did interbreed, and it is the Levant – where both species co-existed for thousands of years at various times between 50,000



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. 5. The Wild Man of medieval European legend. (a) *Wilder Mann* candlestick figure, southern Germany *ca.* 1500 CE; Inv. F 145 in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin. Image by FA2010, Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.⁶² **(b)** *Kneeling Wilder Mann*, later 15th century; Inv. V 78 in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt am Main. Image by ArtMechanic, online at Wikimedia Commons,⁶³ reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 3.0. **(c)** A miniature (*ca.* 1470) showing the “Dance of the Wodewoses,” a masquerade ball (*Bal des Ardents*) held in Paris in 1393, in which Charles VI of France performed. Four of his co-performers burnt to death when the pitch-soaked costumes caught fire.⁶⁴ Illumination from Jean Froissart’s *Chroniques*, Vol. IV, part 2; British Library, Harley Ms. 4380. Image by British Library, Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.⁶⁵

and 90,000 years ago – that is considered to have been the most likely location for genetic exchange.⁶⁶ However, with the Neanderthal extinction dated to *ca.* 30,000-40,000 years ago, one cannot realistically expect any survival of folk memories from such an ancient epoch. The oldest trace of Gilgamesh literature (namely, a copy of a Sumerian poem) dates from just *ca.* 2000 BCE.⁶⁷ If the abduction motif is an ancestral memory, it is much more likely to relate to conflict in the Neolithic period, when farming communities first arose in Mesopotamia and the Levant (10,000-8000 BCE); these pastoralists could well have regarded the males from hunter-gatherer populations as threatening wild men.^{68,69} The same would have been true in Europe until more recent times. In Central Europe, genetic data from human skeletons from the 4th millennium BCE shows that hunter-gatherers continued their lifestyle for more than two millennia after the development of farming societies around 5500 BCE, with very little interbreeding occurring between the two groups.^{70,71}

The Lost Twin

If the beast-and-maiden tropes of the previous section are reminiscent of Enkidu's mating with the comely Shamhat, one finds counterparts to the other key aspect of *Gilgamesh* in stories that emphasise the theme of two mighty men – one symbolic of nature, the other of culture – who develop an unbreakable bond. Thus, a European folk-tale tells of the twin sons of a poor woman, one of whom was abducted as an infant and raised by a bear.⁷² At the age of 20, his brother sets out to find his lost twin and encounters a bear-like creature, with whom he fights for several hours without either combatant winning. After an adventure involving a giant, the hairy creature is given a shave and a hair-cut by a village barber, which reveals him to be the missing brother – a fact known all along to the wildling. The tale actually has many elements in common with that of Enkidu and Gilgamesh. The medieval protagonists are biological twins, whereas of Gilgamesh's adoptive brother⁷³ Enkidu we read that "In build, he is the image of Gilgamesh"⁷⁴ and that he was made to be the latter's equal.⁷⁵ Indeed, the Mesopotamian heroes' friendship is so close that Gilgamesh is repeatedly told of Enkidu that "Like a wife you'll love him, caress and embrace him,"⁷⁶ or – as Marina Warner puts it – "they feel a twinship."⁷⁷ Moreover, the first engagement of each pair is in prolonged hand-to-hand combat, which neither party wins. Additionally, in both tales we encounter technology (embodied by the barber's shears) in a civilising role that serves to complete the wildling's rebirth as a man.

The folk-tale of the missing twin is in fact a variant of the legend of Valentine and Orson (Ourson), a romance that became attached to the Carolingian cycle. This tale, which appears to derive from a lost French original, has variants in French, English, German, Icelandic, Dutch and Italian; a French prose version was first printed at Lyons in 1489 and reprinted many times thereafter.⁷⁸ An English version (published in 1846) tells how Bellisant, unfairly banished by her husband Alexander, the emperor of Constantinople, gives birth to his twin sons in the woods of Orleans.⁷⁹ A female bear carries off one of the infants (Orson) which causes the enfeebled empress to crawl in pursuit of the animal (Fig. 6a), with the result that the other baby (Valentine) is discovered – seemingly abandoned – and adopted by Bellisant's brother, King Pepin of France. Valentine is raised as a knight at the royal court, while Orson is raised by the she-bear and grows up to be a Wild Man of the woods, terrorising the



(a)



(b)

Fig. 6. Valentine and Orson. (a) When one of Bellisant’s twin boys (Orson) is abducted by a she-bear, the empress crawls after it, leaving the other twin (Valentine) unattended in the forest. (b) Valentine and Orson before the prophetic brass head that reveals their kinship. Illustrations by Walter Crane,⁸⁰ Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.⁸¹

people of the region. Eventually Valentine and Orson meet and fight, neither prevailing over the other. After Valentine's offering of liquor inadvertently kills Orson's bear-mother, or (in a Middle English version) after Orson accepts Valentine's offer of Christian salvation,⁸² the combatants become reconciled.

Now friends, Valentine and Orson form an unbeatable team and eventually sally forth to tackle the dreaded Green Knight in his castle, an obvious counterpart to *Gilgamesh's* Humbaba in the Forest of Cedar. Their victory wins Orson his bride, Lady Fezon. A prophetic brass head in the castle of the Green Knight's brother then reveals the true identities of the two men (Fig. 6b).⁸³ In the Middle English version, the brothers have many further adventures, during which the two take turns to rule Greece and Valentine ends up killing his father. The patricide takes to the forest in penance for his sins, ending his days as a mute beggar,⁸⁴ much as Gilgamesh – in trying to come to terms with Enkidu's death – took to “roaming, wandering all through the wild” until his cheeks were hollow, his face sunken and his visage wasted.⁸⁵ Orson, too, ends his days as “an heremyte in a great wodde.”⁸⁶ In the end, Nature reclaims us all.

Smoke and Mirrors

Beyond the commonalities with the Mesopotamian epic identified for the poor woman's twins, we should note that Valentine's status now parallels that of Gilgamesh, both men being champions from the royal court. That Orson's taming is a precipitation into self-awareness is underscored by the fascination that he displays toward his own image, which he sees for the first time reflected in the mirror of Valentine's highly-polished shield.⁸⁷ Unlike Enkidu, Orson's awakening is not mediated by intercourse with a woman, but there may still be a link; the symbol of Aphrodite/Venus, the Greek/Roman goddess of love and sex, is a mirror, an accessory that “encapsulates the powerful moment of epiphany and recognition” of the Self.⁸⁸

Returning to Valentine and Orson, we should note the existence of hybrid versions of the legend that overlap with the Candlemas Bear story, such as German variants in which the wild-man twin detains a nubile woman named Rosemonde (cf. Rosetta) in a forest hut to have his way with her, and a French version in which Valentine shaves Orson.⁸⁹ In contrast to Shamhat the harlot, this Rosemonde is the daughter of a Saracen king,⁹⁰ and probably cognate with “fair Rosemonde, a Saracenic princess” who is the chaste heroine of *The Romance of the Saracen Maiden*.⁹¹ In the Middle English version, the girl's name is changed⁹² and the liaison has lasting consequences, as follows. Orson, at this point married to Lady Fezon, has an affair with “the Saracen maiden Galazye [; ...] ‘That night, Orson laye with Galazye, and engendred a sōne that was called Morant.’”^{93,94} The shift in status from the prostitute Shamhat to the maiden Rosemonde/Galazye serves as a reminder that, in terms of ancient religion, the virgin and the whore are but opposite faces of the same coin.⁹⁵

In older versions of the Valentine legend, Orson is identified (or rather de-identified) as Nameless, a clear statement that his wild identity lacks human self-awareness. In German, the legend is actually known as *Valentin und Namelos*.^{96,97} Sara Mandell identifies a similar trope in *Gilgamesh*, identifying both the harlot⁹⁸ and the hunter

that subdue Enkidu as “No-One” figures,⁹⁹ a coincidence all the more intriguing when one realises that the European legend has not contributed to her analysis. To this mélange we may add Homer’s Odysseus and the huge and fierce Cyclops, the wild men of classical antiquity,¹⁰⁰ whose leader was named Polyphemus. The Greek hero introduces himself to Polyphemus as Nobody, so that when Odysseus blinds the drunken ogre, his victim screams “Nobody is attacking me!” and, accordingly, receives no help. In a mythically balanced vanishing trick, we can say that Nobody deprives the wild Polyphemus of his sight, No-One grants (in)sight to the wild Enkidu at the water-hole, and no-one sees their wild image reflected in Valentine’s shield. Nothing to see here; move along.

The striking similarity of the European legends of Jean de l’Ours and Valentine and Orson (and their many derivatives) to the stories of Bilgames/Gilgamesh and Enkidu is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the *Epic of Gilgamesh* was unknown to the West until George Smith’s pioneering translations from the cuneiform became available in 1875-6.^{101,102} Evidently there is a universal aspect to tales that explore the relationship of wild nature to civilised culture or (in Freudian terms) the id to the ego.¹⁰³ As we shall see in the next few sections, for medieval European romance “the vexing opposition between nature and civilization was an active intellectual issue in the thirteenth century or even earlier.”¹⁰⁴ In folkloric terms, we are engaged here with the tales of Contrasted Brothers – “stories of twin brothers, and the frequent corollary of Combat of Relations.”¹⁰⁵ The story of Jacob and Esau (Gen 25:19-34 & 27:1-46) is another well-known example of the genre, albeit a less harmonious one in which the “hairy hunter” (Esau) is cheated by his younger twin, the smooth settler (Jacob). In *Gilgamesh*, there is two-way exchange; the wild man Enkidu gains immeasurably from his integration into civilised human society, but also contributes to the happiness of the realm by relieving Gilgamesh’s loneliness and thereby moderating the king’s harsh behaviour toward his subjects.¹⁰⁶ A valuing of the wild is also evident in the European material. Despite their fear of the untamed, the European legends show respect toward the bear or Wild Man as a “first teacher” who helped to define the agricultural calendar, while the bear is revered as a master healer by shamanistic cults of the north.¹⁰⁷

Within Christian celebration, the bear became syncretised with St. Blaise, St. Martin or St. Nicholas.¹⁰⁸ For the latter two, the saint was originally accompanied in the Good Luck Visits of folk ritual by a bear or bear-man. The creature associated with St. Martin was named Pelzmärte (“Furry Monster,” but easily glossed as “Furry Martin”), while that accompanying St. Nicholas was called Pelznickel (similarly readable as “Furry Nicholas”).¹⁰⁹ Pelznickel is often Anglicized as “Bellsnickle” or similar,¹¹⁰ a fortuitous transformation in view of the long-standing association between Carnival bear costumes and bells (Fig. 7a,b). In Austria, Pelznickel is known as the Krampus (Fig. 8a,b),^{111,112} while in the Netherlands he is Zwarte Piet, “Black Pete.”¹¹³ Whatever his name, he is recognizably an embodiment of the Wild Man.^{114,115} Over time, the attributes of the saint’s accomplice became hybridized with the saint himself; “Furry Nicholas” usurped the identity of the saintly Turkish bishop to create the hirsute and fur-trimmed Santa Claus of modern times.^{116,117} In view of his origins, the creature that braves the smoke of our chimneys to make his Good Luck Visit on Christmas Eve may be thought of as the last of the Wild Men.¹¹⁸



(a)



(b)

Fig. 7. Mamuzones, Sardinia. Mamuzones (also Mamuthones or Mamuttones)¹¹⁹ in a festival procession in Mamoiada (Provincia di Nuoro, Sardinia, Italy; May, 2015). **(a)** Front view of the bear-men. **(b)** Rear view of a bear-man, showing the large array of bells attached to his back. Images by Gianni Careddu, online at Wikimedia Commons,¹²⁰ reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 4.0.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 8. Krampus performers, Austria. (a) Festival at Pörschach am Wörthersee (Klagenfurt Land, Kärnten/Carinthia; November 2013). Image by Johann Jaritz, online at Wikimedia Commons,¹²¹ reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 3.0. (b) Festival at Salzburg (December 2008). Image by Matthias Kabel, online at Wikimedia Commons,¹²² reproduced here under licence CC-BY-SA 3.0.¹²³

Merlin as Wild Man

In contrast to today's popular understanding of Merlin as a learned wizard, his origins lie in the Wild Man, the **wodewose**.¹²⁴ As we shall see, Merlin's conception is demonic, which grants him supernatural abilities, but it is only later that he flees society and takes refuge in the woods, where his magical powers become compounded. The earliest accounts of Merlin reside in the 12th-century CE writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth,¹²⁵ who penned the *Prophetiae Merlini* (Prophecies of Merlin, ca. 1130, which says little about the man himself), then the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain, 1136-8), and finally the *Vita Merlini* (Life of Merlin). Around 1200, Robert de Boron composed a poem titled *Merlin*, of which only the first section survives. The poem's content is retold and extended in the prose *Lestoire de Merlin* (Prose Merlin), which forms part of the Vulgate Cycle (Lancelot-Grail Cycle, ca. 1215-1230).¹²⁶

Hypersexuality, erotic passion and forbidden sexual liaisons¹²⁷ are common attributes of wodewoses. In the Prose *Alexander*, the emperor and his knights "encounter a wild man who, when presented with a young girl, cannot control his lust."¹²⁸ Like Enkidu and the Candlemas Bear, Merlin's signature motif relates to uncouth fertility – Enkidu engages in a week-long orgy with Shamhat, thereby affording "the most sexually explicit scene in Akkadian literature;"¹²⁹ the Bear has inter-species sex with Rosetta and potentially sires Jean de l'Ours; in Geoffrey's *Historia*, Merlin engineers – by magical means – the clandestine liaison between Uther Pendragon and Gorlois' wife Igraine, by which the salvific King Arthur is conceived.¹³⁰

The uncouth fertility motif also underpins Merlin's own conception, which occurred when an incubus impregnated a nun-princess (*Historia*),¹³¹ when a demon forced himself on a pious young virgin while she was asleep (*Merlin*) (Fig. 9a, lower register),^{132,133} or when a Wild Man ravished a sleeping damsel who had lost her way in the forest of Brocéliande (some versions of *Lestoire de Merlin*).¹³⁴ Like Enkidu, who was created from clay by the goddess Aruru,¹³⁵ Merlin was considered to have no father – a point singled out for attention in the earliest narrative (*Historia*).¹³⁶ Some of the details in Robert de Boron's *Merlin* are particularly interesting, as follows. Like Enkidu, who was created specifically as an antidote to Gilgamesh,¹³⁷ the demons had devised Merlin as a counter-weight to Jesus (Fig. 9a).^{138,139} At birth, the child was unusually hairy.¹⁴⁰ The confessor of Merlin's mother arranged for the baby's immediate baptism (which thwarted the demons' master-plan) and went on to become Merlin's foster-father, tutor and biographer.¹⁴¹ The name of this cleric – Blaise (Fig. 9b) – is interesting in view of the strong link (mentioned in the previous section) between St. Blaise and the bear.

Merlin's flight to the wild is first told in Geoffrey's *Vita*. Traumatized by the death of his friends in battle, we learn that:¹⁴²

a strange madness came upon him. He crept away and fled to the woods [...] He made use of the roots of plants and of grasses [...] for a whole summer he stayed hidden in the woods, discovered by none, forgetful of himself and of his own, lurking like a wild thing."

With Merlin, as with Enkidu, a woman provides the means by which he is first



(a)



(b)

Fig. 9. The conception of Merlin, and adult Merlin with Blaise. (a) The conception of Merlin according to Robert de Boron's *Merlin*. *Upper register*: A conference of demons decides to create a human/demon hybrid (Merlin)¹⁴³ who will serve as a negative counterpart to the human/divine Jesus. *Lower register*: One of the demons impregnates a pious young virgin while she is asleep; the fruit of this union is Merlin. **(b)** Merlin dictating his adventures to Blaise,¹⁴⁴ Merlin's foster-father, tutor and biographer. Miniatures from *L'Estoire de Merlin*, ca. 1280, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 95, f. 113v (panel a) and f. 223r (panel b). Images by BnF, Public Domain, online at Gallica.¹⁴⁵

induced to forsake the woods. A plaintive song performed by a messenger from the royal court, which told of the grief of Merlin's wife Guendoloena at his prolonged absence, is what finally brought him to his senses. "So Merlin came to himself, recollected what he had been, and thought of his madness with astonishment and loathing."¹⁴⁶ But thereafter his ability to tolerate human society was severely limited, and he increasingly dwelt in the woods.

By this stage a Master of Animals, Merlin was able to marshal the beasts of the forest while seated on a stag, that ancient counterpart of the bear as an icon of fertility.¹⁴⁷ Hearing that his forsaken wife Guendoloena is about to remarry, the *Vita* tells us that:¹⁴⁸

he set off round all the woods and clearings, and organized a herd of stags into a single line; so, too, with does and with she-goats. He seated himself on a stag, and at the coming of the day he set off, driving his lines before him. So he came with speed to the place of Guendoloena's wedding. Arriving there, he made the stags stand quietly outside the gates, then shouted, "Guendoloena, Guendoloena, come out! What presents are looking for you!" Guendoloena came quickly, all smiles, and was astonished to see a man riding a stag and it obeying him, astonished that so many animals of the wild could be brought together and that he alone was driving them before him like a shepherd accustomed to taking his sheep to pasture.

The bridegroom was standing at a high window, looking in amazement at the rider on his seat; and he broke into a laugh. When the prophet saw him and realised who he was, he promptly wrenched off the horns of the stag he rode. He whirled the horns round and threw them at the bridegroom. He crushed the bridegroom's head right in, knocking him lifeless, and drove his spirit to the winds.

Robert de Boron placed special emphasis on Merlin's ability to shape-shift, thereby cementing his reputation as a Wild Man. Thus, in the Vulgate Cycle, Merlin appears in various guises: "like a woodcutter, a big ax at his neck, wearing big shoes, a short coat all torn. His hair was bristly, his beard large, and he looked like a wild man of the woods."¹⁴⁹ A follower of Uther's later discovers in the forest "'a great multitude of beasts and a very ugly man in disguise who was tending these beasts.' [...] Merlin finally visits the king in his own semblance and admits that it was he who was transformed into the man of the woods and the herdsman."¹⁵⁰ Another time, he was rudely dressed and appeared "tall and black and bristly, and seemed right cruel and fierce."¹⁵¹ In yet another manifestation Merlin was "short and hump-backed and old, and his head was a composite, and his beard was long. He held a club beside his neck and drove a very great multitude of beasts before him."¹⁵² In the 13th-century *Livre d'Artus*, Merlin went into the forest of Brocéliande and there transformed himself into a giant herdsman,¹⁵³

a great club in his hand, clad in a great hide, the fur of which was longer than the breadth of the largest hand known, and it was neither black nor white but smoked and browned and seemed to be a wolf-skin. [...] He was transformed so that his ears hung down to his waist, wide as a winnowing fan. He had eyes in his head as large and black as a —, and a head as big as a buffalo's, and hair so long that it brushed his girdle, all bristly, stiff, and black as ink. His mouth was as large and wide as a dragon's, and gaped up to the ears, and his thick lips were always open so that the teeth showed all around. He had a hump behind on his spine, as big as a mortar. His two feet were where the heels ought to be in an earthly man, and the palms of his hands were where the backs should be. [...] when Merlin had turned himself into this shape [...] he caused by his art stags, hinds, bucks, and all manner of wild beasts to come and graze around him; and there was such a multitude

that no one could tell the number. He ruled them so that when he scolded one roughly, it did not dare to eat or drink until he commanded.

A King's Dreams

Like Enkidu, in the Vulgate Cycle we see Merlin become the friend, confidant and counsellor of a king – in this case, Arthur – accompanying and supporting him on his adventures. The king's name is evocative of *arth*, the Welsh word for bear,¹⁵⁴ while Heldris' early 13th-century *Roman de Silence* has Merlin describe himself as “a man who is hairy all over, furry like a bear.”¹⁵⁵ The early association of Merlin and Arthur with a bear was expanded perceptively by C.S. Lewis in his novel, *That Hideous Strength* (1945), of which Kyoko Yuasa writes:¹⁵⁶

In *THS*, Lewis adapts this association [...] and] by depicting the resemblance between Merlin and a bear [...] Lewis emphasises the essential qualities of nature in the ancient man [...] Through this cordial resemblance of the ancient man and the bear, Lewis reveals the assumed reality of human and animal in the un-fallen world.

There is no initiatory fight between Merlin and Arthur, although a dream had by the latter in Geoffrey's *Historia* may carry for us a sense of *déjà vu*.¹⁵⁷

[Arthur] fell into a very sound sleep, and in a dream saw a bear flying in the air, at the noise of which all the shores trembled; also a terrible dragon flying from the west, which enlightened the country with the brightness of its eyes. When these two met, they began a dreadful fight [...] Arthur upon this awaking, related his dream to those that stood about him, who took upon them to interpret it, and told him that the dragon signified himself, but the bear, some giant that should encounter with him; and that the fight portended the duel that would be between them.

And dreams and their meanings are important in both *Gilgamesh* and the Arthurian legends. Just as Enkidu is repeatedly able to interpret the ominous dreams experienced by Gilgamesh as they journey together toward Humbaba's lair in the Forest of Cedar,¹⁵⁸ Merlin too has the gift of oneiromancy. For example, in the Vulgate Cycle, Merlin successfully interprets an important prophetic dream experienced by King Flualis, the powerful Saracen ruler of Jerusalem, which had confounded the king's wise men.¹⁵⁹ Most spectacularly, in the *Livre d'Artus* and the Vulgate Cycle, Merlin goes to Rome and appears as a huge stag to Julius Caesar (Fig. 10), who is troubled by a dream that he had experienced the previous night.¹⁶⁰ The stag tells the emperor that only the Wild Man of the woods can interpret the dream, and then leaves. Caesar posts a reward for anyone who can produce either the stag or the Wild Man. In a reprise of the familiar motif, Merlin allows himself to be caught by a young woman named Grisandole¹⁶¹ – in this case by food rather than sex, even though “she is the most beautiful maiden in the world.”^{162,163} Merlin then interprets Caesar's dream, thereby revealing that the empress's twelve handmaidens are – like the Rosettas in Carnival re-enactments – all men disguised as women, a deception designed to allow Caesar's wife to satisfy her nymphomaniacal desires.¹⁶⁴ Needless to say, it does not end well for the *ménage à treize*.

Wild men and the interpretation of a king's ominous dreams are ingredients found also in the Old Testament *Book of Daniel*. King Nebuchadnezzar was a Neo-Babylonian king of the 6th century BCE who was troubled by two frightening dreams, each foretelling events yet to happen (Dan 2:1-16; 4:4-18). Both were interpreted



Fig. 10. Merlin appears as a stag before Julius Caesar in Rome. At the table sit Caesar (centre), his wife (left of image) and a courtier. Miniature from *L'Estoire de Merlin*, ca. 1280, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 95, f. 262r. Image by BnF, Public Domain, online at Gallica.¹⁶⁵

correctly by Daniel (Dan 2:24-45; 4:19-27). The second dream predicted that Nebuchadnezzar would be expelled from his court and lose his reason, taking to the wilderness as a wild man (Dan 4:25).¹⁶⁶ And so it came to pass: “He was driven away from human society, ate grass like oxen, and his body was bathed with the dew of heaven, until his hair grew as long as eagles’ feathers and his nails became birds’ claws” (Dan 4:33). However, his exile was not permanent; when a period of “seven times” had elapsed, he was re-established as ruler of his kingdom.¹⁶⁷ As we have already seen, Merlin too would periodically forsake human society for the woods. Indeed, in Geoffrey’s *Vita*, Merlin is described as having initially been a king.¹⁶⁸

Arthur as “the Bear’s Son”

As mentioned above, it was Merlin who contrived the conception of the salvific King Arthur via the seduction of Igraine.¹⁶⁹ In *Merlin* and the Vulgate Cycle, the wizard then removed the child from its biological parents to a foster-family of his choosing,¹⁷⁰ where later lore has him acting as the boy’s tutor.¹⁷¹ Merlin also engineered the sword-in-stone tournament that conferred the kingship upon Arthur (Vulgate Cycle), another casting of Merlin in the role of surrogate father. “He accomplished the seduction [of Igraine] by magic arts, and then he himself watched over Arthur’s youth, preparing him in secret for the hour of his destiny;”¹⁷² such are the words used to

summarise Merlin's role in Arthurian legend. If we recall that "the Wild Man and bear figures are interchangeable" and (from the previous section) agree to identify Merlin with a bear, then we can think of Arthur metaphorically as "the Bear's son."

In the previous section, we noted that Arthur's name is evocative of *arth*, the Welsh word for bear. Specifically,¹⁷³

this is an explanation in any case that was written by its Sawley scribe c. 1200. We have, however, far earlier material than this, in [...] classical Greek. Here the term *arktouros* means 'bear-warder', 'bear-keeper', and refers to the giant star Arcturus in the constellation Bootes, already referred to in the agricultural poetry of the early archaic period (c. 700 BC) [...] Arktouros was spelled Arcturus in Latin, with the same meaning [...] It is a simple matter of record that the spelling of Arcturus is found for Arthur in standard editions of medieval texts.

In other words, Arthur is not himself the bear, but rather – in adult life – its associate and master; and of course this is true for the paradigm in which Merlin is identified as a bear, for Arthur grew up to be Merlin's companion and sovereign.

Let us now look further into the concept of Arthur as "the Bear's son," an idea already proposed (without an ursine Merlin) by Graham Anderson, Professor Emeritus of Classics at the University of Kent. Anderson cogently connects the Arcturus of the previous quotation with Arkas of Arcadia, king of the Pelasgians,¹⁷⁴ whose mother Callisto had been transformed into a bear;¹⁷⁵ in Hesiod's summation, "she became a bear and gave birth to a son called Arcas."¹⁷⁶ As Anderson elaborates,¹⁷⁷

Since Arkas/Arktouros is quite literally the son of a bear [...] we should automatically relate it to the name-tale of a well-established (but not ideally documented) folktale complex, embracing the tales of 'The Bear's Son' and 'John the Bear' [= Jean de l'Ours]. [...] The tale-type is particularly useful for explaining not only much of the legendary side of Arthurian literature, but a great deal of the analogous material in classical myth and Caucasian folklore as well.

Anderson then mounts a detailed argument in support of this claim.¹⁷⁸ While the case that Anderson presents in his book is cumulatively quite convincing, his remark that Arkas' bear-parent is "unusually on his mother's rather than his father's side"¹⁷⁹ suggests that he is unaware of the legend of Valentine and Orson.

Earlier, we saw how a substantial motif sequence in the Jean de l'Ours story has a parallel in Gilgamesh and Enkidu's encounter with Humbaba; for his part, Anderson (without reference to *Gilgamesh*) identifies a similar sequence¹⁸⁰ as common to the Bear's son, the mythology of Arkas and medieval Arthurian tales. Bart Besamusca, who has explored the similarities (and differences) between Gilgamesh and medieval Arthurian romance, points out that Gilgamesh's later solo quest for immortality resembles a typical Arthurian story even more closely.^{181,182} For example, he highlights the similarity between Gilgamesh's dangerous journey to the Garden of the Gods and the many tales in which an Arthurian knight makes a perilous crossing to a wonderful land in the Other World.¹⁸³ We might add that Jean de l'Ours' descent to the Netherworld (from which he returns with riches and nubile princesses) conforms to much the same pattern.

Beauty and the Beast

In the various tales, our Wild Man or ursine protagonist is often paired with a female – Shamhat, Rosetta, Rosemonde, Fezon, Galazye. Usually he pursues and seduces her, or succeeds in winning her affections, but – even in the latter circumstance – the subplot never comes close to fulfilling the fairytale motif of Beauty and the Beast, in which we would expect to see the woman’s eventual love and compassion for the wildling/bear (Beast) set him free from his curse and transform him into a civilised man (Prince).¹⁸⁴ And in *Gilgamesh* the pursuit is actually the other way around, for Enkidu is lured and seduced by Shamhat. Moreover, the resulting domestication does not set Enkidu free – rather, it subjects him to new constraints, the numerous (and often onerous) obligations of human society.

Merlin’s interaction with women seems to follow Enkidu’s lead. As we have seen, the Merlin of the *Vita* is first lured back from the wild by the grief of his abandoned wife, Guendoloena, and he later re-engages with society because he has heard that she is about to remarry. We also saw how the Merlin of the Vulgate Cycle allowed himself to be captured by the beautiful Grisandole. He seems quite taken with her, for although he had himself taught her the necessary trick of using a banquet as bait, he generously pretended to Caesar that “This fair maiden was able to capture the wild man through her own power and cunning, which the emperor with all his men and power could not do.”¹⁸⁵¹⁸⁶ The *Roman de Silence* – which recapitulates this capture motif, but with Silence in place of Grisandole – makes it clear that Merlin was “so wild and hard to catch that he could never be taken [...] except by a woman’s trick.”¹⁸⁷ As before, it is Merlin himself who provides the necessary information to his future captor.¹⁸⁸ The theme of a wild man being captured by a young woman, widespread as it was in late medieval poetry and art,¹⁸⁹ is illustrated Fig. 11.¹⁹⁰



Fig. 11. Virtuous lady tames Wodewose. Gobelin tapestry, Basel, 1470-1480 CE. Inv. No. 9777, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen. Image by Cherubino,¹⁹¹ Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.¹⁹²

The Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin* goes on to tell how Merlin becomes besotted with the Lady of the Lake, whose name is Nimiane, Nenive, Vivien, or similar. She promises to love him in exchange for him teaching her his magic, which he does even though his prophetic foresight means that he knows she will use it against him (Fig. 12).¹⁹³ She then magically imprisons him forever in an enchanted tower in the Forest of Brocéliande. Despite this apparent betrayal, she does intend to honour her bargain, promising to spend much time with the captive Merlin and to withhold nothing from him; in her words, “ye shull have me in youre armes, and I yow. And fro hensforth shull ye do all youre plesier.”¹⁹⁴ In contrast, the Vulgate *Suite du Merlin* (ca. 1240) presents Nimiane’s bargain with Merlin as a subterfuge which she had no intention of honouring. In this version, Merlin is re-cast as the foolish victim of his infatuation when Nimiane magically seals him into the tomb of two lovers and leaves him there to die.¹⁹⁵



Fig. 12. *The Beguiling of Merlin* (1874), by Edward Burne-Jones. Oil on canvas, Lady Lever Art Gallery. Image by PKM,¹⁹⁶ Public Domain, online at Wikimedia Commons.¹⁹⁷

With Grisandole, Silence and Nimiane, Merlin knowingly teaches a beautiful young woman the means of his own capture, which she duly implements. As with Shamhat's transformation of Enkidu, the change in Merlin's status wrought by Nimiane is irrevocable; the difference is that Enkidu entered into his tryst unaware of its consequences, whereas Merlin knew full well the implications of his actions, but was still unable to resist. While this may be viewed as a testament to the inerrancy of Merlin's prophetic foresight, it is tempting to see it more as a moral commentary on the perils of inter-generational infatuation – Merlin, who falls for Nimiane when she is just “twelve yere of age,”¹⁹⁸ is far from the only wise old man to have been bewitched and undone by a beautiful and wilful girl. Transgressive rather than redemptive, this parody of Beauty and the Beast belongs not to fairytale but to nightmare.

The Salvage Man

In the words of Jean-Paul Debenat, “the Wildman is likely to turn into something else, as if he were expecting to be born again.”¹⁹⁹ In *Gilgamesh*, Enkidu's death as an animal and rebirth as a human is both obvious and immediate. It has often been argued that the status of the wodevole in general underwent a similar – but much more gradual – change over the course of the Middle Ages and early modern period.²⁰⁰ Thus Helen Young observes that “White, Husband and others suggest that as social and economic conditions changed and life became increasingly urbanised, the forest dwelling wild man went from being reviled to idealised and was ‘brought into the fold of human society.’”^{201,202} Consistent with this proposal, early references to Wild Men – such as the Wycliffe Bible (Is 13:21) and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (both ca. 1382) – portray them as completely inhuman monsters or animals. In contrast, a 1459 tapestry owned by Sir John Fastolf shows a wodevole holding its child in its arms, a decidedly caring composition.²⁰³ In Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (ca. 1460), a race of wodevoles is treated like humans,²⁰⁴ while the wodevole in William Caxton's 1483 publication of *Aesop's Fables* displays charity toward a human and shows “not only an awareness but rejection of sin [, which] demonstrates possession of a rational soul, a trait unique to humanity in medieval thought.”²⁰⁵ Likewise, a wodevole-like figure in *Mandeville's Travels* is aware of the story of Christ's passion and asks a hermit to pray for it.²⁰⁶ In heraldry, wodevoles were commonly used as supporters of coats-of-arms and represented fierceness in battle, an attribute of the most valorous knights. However, as Young cautions, the situation is not clear-cut; “A beast to human trajectory drawn chronologically is significantly oversimplified as the status of wodevoles slide[s] back and forward across the boundaries of humanity in medieval and early modern England.”²⁰⁷ The Merlin of some early Arthurian romances, such as the 12th century *Roman de Silence*,²⁰⁸ is a good example of a wodevole ahead of his time.

However erratic the trajectory of the Wild Man might have been in medieval and early modern history, it is hard not to conclude that his transformation from alien monster to eco-friendly hero has not by now – in the present era of over-consumption, pollution, climate change, environmental degradation and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction – been completed. The “redemptive embrace of cultural primitivism, which theoretically emerged from Europe in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries [and] acknowledged the corrupting influence of the civilizing process which,

by advances in technology, produced not only progress, but problems”²⁰⁹ is potentially even more attractive now. We may need to be reminded that Lorraine Stock was in fact speaking of medieval society when she highlighted “the social ills produced by civilization: the profit motive; nationalism, feudal hegemony, and territorial wars; insecurity about inheritance; and the commodification of sexuality and reproduction,” and raised the possibility of “redemptive identification between members of an overly-civilized culture and the newly-valorised ‘noble savage,’ whose simpler lifestyle personified the culturally positive ‘state of nature.’”²¹⁰

In this context, it is fortuitous that in Middle English a Wild Man is often called “a Salvage Man.” This Anglo-Norman term²¹¹ is found in medieval and Renaissance pageantry and mumming,²¹² and in literary texts such as Spenser’s *Faerie Queen*.²¹³ Although the adjective is derived from the Old French *sauvage*, meaning wild, modern readers are apt to assume that the word is cognate with the English term *salvage*, from the Latin root *salvare* (to save).²¹⁴ By happy accident, this etymological intersection completes the rehabilitation of the wodewose by casting our environmentally sustainable Green Man²¹⁵ as one who salvages or saves, a Salvator or saviour-figure.

From Enkidu, who saved Uruk from Gilgamesh and Gilgamesh from himself, via the bears and bear-men of European Carnival and folktale, through the Wild Men of medieval romance and the prophetic wonder-worker of Arthur’s court to the prescient eco-warrior of today, we have steered our own erratic course – and ultimately, in a sense, come full circle.

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All URLs were accessible on 6 Feb, 2017, unless stated otherwise.

- ¹ Unless otherwise specified, observations on *Gilgamesh* in this paper relate to the Babylonian “Standard Version,” as given by Andrew George (1999) *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Penguin, London, p.1-100.
- ² Merritt Moseley (2009) “The Epic of Gilgamesh and the Hero’s Journey,” In: *The Hero’s Journey*, ed. Harold Bloom, Bloom’s Literary Criticism/Infobase, New York, p.63-74.
- ³ Sara Mandell (1997) “Liminality, Altered States, and the Gilgamesh Epic,” In: *Gilgamesh – A Reader*, ed. John R. Maier, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda IL, p.122-130, at p.125.
- ⁴ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.5-7 (I 113-170).
- ⁵ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ATablet_V_of_the_Epic_of_Gilgamesh_Newly_discovered_The_Sulaymaniyah_Museum%2C_Iraq.JPG
- ⁶ Royal Museums of Art and history, online at <http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=87741&viewType=detailView>.
- ⁷ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AO.1054_color.jpg
- ⁸ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGundestrup_Cernunnos.jpg
- ⁹ It may be no accident that his name, Enkidu, reflects that of the god Enki, who ate forbidden plants in the Sumerian paradise and was rewarded with the curse of death. Arthur Cotterell (1986) *A Dictionary of World Mythology*, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, p.25-26.

- ¹⁰ Similarly, folklorist Vaz da Silva observes: “Compare Briffault’s note that ‘Among the Jews it was a common rabbinical opinion that menstruation owes its origin to serpent having had intercourse with Eve’ with Rabelais’ point that the serpent that tempted Eve ‘was the Chitterling [*andouille*] named Ithyphallus, in whose shape good Master Priapus was transformed’ (*Quart Livre* 38).” Francisco Vaz da Silva, *Archeology of Intangible Heritage*, Peter Lang, New York, p.149.
- ¹¹ I concur with John Maier’s assessment that Enkidu’s “fall” was not a moral fall from grace into sin [John Maier (1987) “Gilgamesh: Anonymous Tradition and Authorial Value,” *Neohelicon* 14 (2), p.83-95, at p.87]. Rather, it was a fall from an unconscious or pre-conscious nature into self-awareness.
- ¹² Moseley, “The Epic of Gilgamesh and the Hero’s Journey,” p.69.
- ¹³ Victor Turner (1978) “Comments and Conclusions,” In: *The Reversible World – Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. Barbara A. Babcock, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca & London, p.276-296, at p.278.
- ¹⁴ In general, ritual transvestitism indicates a fertility rite, either human or agricultural; Natalie Zemon Davis (1978) “Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe,” In: *The Reversible World – Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. Barbara A. Babcock, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca & London, p.147-190, at p.166. The topic of fertility rituals will be continued in the next section.
- ¹⁵ Cited by Thomas van Nortwick (1996) *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled – The Hero’s Journey*, Oxford Univ. Press, New York & Oxford, p.8.
- ¹⁶ As a point of contrast, the folkloric survival of the Wild Man is supposedly concentrated in the Alps; Richard Bernheimer (1970) *Wild Men in the Middle Ages – A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology*, Octagon, New York, p.23.
- ¹⁷ Roslyn M. Frank (2010) “Hunting the European Sky Bears: German ‘Straw-bears’ and their Relatives as Transformers,” In: *Symbolon*, vol. 17, eds. Michael & Barbara Rappenglück, Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Symbolforschung, Wienand Verlag, Munich, p.141-166, draft online at https://www.academia.edu/473481/Hunting_the_European_Sky_Bears_German_Straw-bears_and_their_Relatives_as_Transformers; at draft p.9.
- ¹⁸ Roslyn M. Frank (2008) “Recovering European Ritual Bear Hunts: A Comparative Study of Basque and Sardinian Ursine Carnival Performances,” *Insula* 3 [June; Cagliari, Sardinia], p.41-97; online as paper 1 of a compilation at https://www.academia.edu/3805044/Shamanism_in_Europe_Three_ritual_healers_The_Basque_s_lutariyua_the_French_marcou_and_the_Italian_maramao.
- ¹⁹ Online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AWalld%C3%BCrnStrawBears%26LollyGirl.jpg> and <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Walld%C3%BCrnStrawBearCaptive.jpg>.
- ²⁰ No doubt this name alludes to the retained blood of the virginal womb; Vaz da Silva, *Archeology of Intangible Heritage*, p.142-143. In mumming plays of the British Isles, the cognate character is named Bessy; Phyllis Siefker (1997) *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men – The Origins and Evolution of Saint Nicholas, Spanning 50,000 Years*, McFarland & Co., Jefferson NC & London, p.89-92 & 147-148.
- ²¹ Natalie Zemon Davis (1975) *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford CA, p.137.
- ²² See also Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.54.
- ²³ Frank, “Hunting the European Sky Bears.”
- ²⁴ Davis, “Women on Top,” p.183.
- ²⁵ “The bear was the perfect symbol of death and regeneration: when she hibernated she metaphorically entered the realm of death, and when she emerged from the cave, she was metaphorically reborn. [...] She not only emerged from the cave alive, she brought forth another new life: the cub born and nursed during the winter, when it was assumed that the bear was in a deathlike sleep. Consequently, the bear [...] represent[s] the course of birth, death and rebirth.” Marija Gimbutas (1999) *The Living Goddesses*, Univ. California Press, Berkeley, p.13. The Candlemas Bear is male, indicating that it now fulfills the role of the dying-and-rising year god, a “male stimulating principle in nature without whose influence nothing would grow” [...and] “who must die in order to be reborn the following spring.” Marija Gimbutas (1982) *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500-3500 BCE: Myths and Cult Images*, Univ. California Press, p.216 & 230. On the revival of the ceremonially slain bear, see Roslyn M. Frank (2009) “Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic

- Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT): *Hamalau* and its linguistic and cultural relatives,” Part 2, *Insula* 5 [June, Cagliari, Sardinia], p. 89-133 (paper 3 of the compilation cited above).
- ²⁶ By way of continuation from the previous note, Sara Mandell sees Enkidu as what Joseph Campbell called the “Alpha Beast,” whose capture and death “would ultimately be followed by regeneration and a renewed life for all beasts of his kind.” Mandell, “Liminality, Altered States, and the Gilgamesh Epic,” p.125.
- ²⁷ Frank, “Hunting the European Sky Bears,” draft p.1-5 & 19-25.
- ²⁸ The pursuit of women by bear-actors and the eventual shaving of the “bears” by barbers is a recurring feature of Carnival in the Pyrenees; e.g., V. Alford (1937) *Pyrenean Festivals: Calendar Customs, Music and Magic, Drama and Dance*, Chatto & Windus, London, p.22-23.
- ²⁹ Cited by Gary Snyder (1990) *The Practice of the Wild*, North Point, San Francisco, p.164.
- ³⁰ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.52-54; Davis, “Women on Top,” p.165; Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.58.
- ³¹ Rhys Carpenter, cited by Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.58.
- ³² Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.58-59.
- ³³ Robert T. Hatt (1959) *The Mammals of Iraq* [Miscellaneous Publications, Museum of Zoology, Univ. of Michigan, No. 106], Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, p.40-41. Note also the story of “Wardan the Butcher – His Adventure With the Lady and the Bear,” a tale within the *Arabian Nights*. In this story, which is set in Egypt, a lady cohabited willingly in a treasure-cave with a giant bear who ravished her repeatedly each night until both were discovered and killed by Wardan the Butcher; for Burton’s translation, see online at https://www.wollamshram.ca/1001/Vol_4/tale57.htm. In an independently-preserved version of the story, Wardan addresses the lady with “O harlot, ...;” Paul E. Walker (2009) *Caliph of Cairo – Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, 996-1021*, American University in Cairo Press, Cairo & New York, p.276-280 (quotation from p.278).
- ³⁴ “Said Gilgamesh to him, to Uta-napishti: [...] I killed bear, hyena, lion, panther, cheetah [...] I ate their flesh, their pelts I flayed.” George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.85 (X 249-261).
- ³⁵ Maier, “Gilgamesh: Anonymous Tradition and Authorial Value,” p.83.
- ³⁶ Jean-Paul Debenat (2003) “The Wildman: A European Perspective,” *Bipedia* 21.3, online at http://cerbi.lidi5.com/article.php3?id_article=125.
- ³⁷ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.14 (P 108-109).
- ³⁸ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.14 (P 110-111).
- ³⁹ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.16 (P 229-240).
- ⁴⁰ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.57-58 (VII 96-131).
- ⁴¹ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.58-59 (VII 132-147).
- ⁴² George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.59 (VII 148-161).
- ⁴³ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.62 (VII 254-267).
- ⁴⁴ Roslyn M. Frank & Fabio Silva (2012) “European Folklore in the Longue Durée: Palaeolithic Continuity and the European Ursine Genealogy,” Folklore & Archaeology Conference, University College London, October 13-14, 2012, slide 7; online at <http://scholar.ac/euro-folklore-in-the-longue-duree.pdf>; Frank, “Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT): *Hamalau* and its linguistic and cultural relatives,” Part 1, *Insula* 4 [December; Cagliari, Sardinia], p.61-131 (paper 2 of the compilation cited above).
- ⁴⁵ Frank & Silva, “European Folklore in the Longue Durée,” slides 11-13.
- ⁴⁶ *Wodewose* and *wudewasan* are cognate terms in Middle English. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.42 & 98.
- ⁴⁷ Although best known in France and Scandinavia, this cycle of oral tales is actually present in all of the Indo-European languages of Europe as well as in Basque, Hungarian and Finno-Ugric. Frank, “Hunting the European Sky Bears,” draft p.5 fn 12.
- ⁴⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis (1995) *Women on the Margins – Three Seventeenth Century Lives*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge MA, p.136.
- ⁴⁹ Humanité et Biodiversité – Aujourd’hui 2 février: Chandelours!, online art <http://www.humanite-biodiversite.fr/article/aujourd-hui-2-fevrier-chandelours>.
- ⁵⁰ Francesca Sautman (1982) “The Quick and the Dead in the Communal Feast of Aschura and Carnival,” *Comparative Civilizations Review* 9 (9), p.45-85 (Article 5), at p.55; online at <http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr/vol9/iss9/5>.
- ⁵¹ Martin Puhvel (1979) *Beowulf and the Celtic Tradition*, Wilfred Laurier Univ. Press, Ontario, p.3 fn 9.
- ⁵² George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.30-47.
- ⁵³ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.175-195.

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- ⁵⁴ Puhvel, *Beowulf and the Celtic Tradition*, p.3 fn 9.
- ⁵⁵ Janel Lafond-Paquin (2003) “Jean de l’Ours,” online at http://www.balades-pyrenees.com/jean_de_l_ours.htm, accessed July 2004. The text currently appears in the Wikipedia entry for Jean de l’Ours, online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_de_l'Ours.
- ⁵⁶ Debenat, “The Wildman: A European Perspective.”
- ⁵⁷ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.192-194 & 199.
- ⁵⁸ An even more ancient role for Neanderthals has been proposed by Joseph Campbell; he has presented evidence that the sacrifice of a Wild Man in the form of a bear or goat has existed in Europe for some 75,000 years and was originally a Neanderthal ritual. The ritual was seemingly adopted by early *Homo sapiens sapiens* and has survived into modern times in the bear cults of the Arctic regions and also among the Ainu, a Paleo-Siberian hunter-fisher group indigenous to Japan. Joseph Campbell (1960) *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*, Secker & Warburg, London, p.339-347; Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.191-192 & 194-199.
- ⁵⁹ Paul Ormieres (1974) “Les Néanderthaliens dans les Pyrénées,” unpublished study, Narbonne, excerpts translated posthumously by Malcolm Smith, online at <http://malcolmscriptids.blogspot.com.au/2015/05/the-wild-man-of-pyrenees.html>.
- ⁶⁰ Michel Raynal (1989) “L’Homme Sauvage dans les Pyrénées et la Survivance des Néanderthaliens,” *Bipedia* 3.1, 1-16; online at http://cerbi.ildi5.com/IMG/article_PDF/article_35.pdf.
- ⁶¹ Science (AAAS journal) – The Neanderthal Genome, online at <http://www.sciencemag.org/site/special/neandertal/feature/index.html>.
- ⁶² Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ALeuchter_Wilder_Mann_KGM_F145.jpg.
- ⁶³ Online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kniender-wilder-mann-3.jpg#file>.
- ⁶⁴ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.59, 82-83 & 165-167.
- ⁶⁵ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BL_Harley_4380_Dance_of_the_Wodewoses.jpg.
- ⁶⁶ Australian Museum – Homo Neanderthalensis – The Neanderthals, online at <http://australianmuseum.net.au/homo-neanderthalensis>.
- ⁶⁷ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.lx (Time Chart).
- ⁶⁸ Both populations were, of course, *Homo sapiens*. In contrast, Bernheimer sees the abduction of a female by a Wild Man not as sexually motivated human behaviour but as one embodiment of a widely diffused mythological motif in which the kidnapper is “a demon of death” who takes the woman away to the Otherworld, a plot whose prototype may lie in the abduction of Persephone by Hades [Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.125-129 & 132-135]. Albrecht Dürer’s engraving, *The Coat of Arms of Death* (1503), combines in the figure of a single Wild Man the two opposing roles of fertility and death [Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.184-185].
- ⁶⁹ The reverse circumstance – the abduction of aboriginal women by invading pioneers, who would predominantly have been young unmarried men – is proposed as a possible historic kernel for the recurring folkloric motif of the fairy-human marriage, which invariably involves coercion of a fairy female by a human male who wishes to take a wife and settle down. H. N. Gibson (1955) “The Human-Fairy Marriage,” *Folklore* 66 (3), p.357-360; Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.174-175.
- ⁷⁰ Ruth Bollongino1, Olaf Nehlich, Michael P. Richards, Jörg Orschiedt, Mark G. Thomas, Christian Sell, Zuzana Fajkošová, Adam Powell, Joachim Burger (2013) “2000 Years of Parallel Societies in Stone Age Central Europe,” *Science* 342 (6157), p. 479-481.
- ⁷¹ Tia Ghose (2013) “Ancient European Farmers and Hunter-Gatherers Coexisted, Sans Sex,” online at <http://www.livescience.com/40332-genetics-of-european-farmers.html>.
- ⁷² Debenat, “The Wildman: A European Perspective.”
- ⁷³ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.27 (III 125-128).
- ⁷⁴ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.15 (P 184); likewise p.13 (II 40): “This fellow – how like in build he [Enkidu] is to Gilgamesh.”
- ⁷⁵ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.11 (I 290). More particularly, Enkidu was created as a foil to Gilgamesh, to curb the cruelty of the latter towards his subjects. Thus p.4 (MB Ni): “Let her [i.e., the creator-goddess Aruru] create the equal of Gilgamesh, one mighty in strength, and let him vie with him, so Uruk may be rested!”
- ⁷⁶ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.10-11 (I 271 & 289). Of course, this forms an interesting constellation with Enkidu’s introduction to human society with the hair and clothing of a woman.
- ⁷⁷ Marina Warner (1994) *Managing Monsters – Six Myths of our Time: The 1994 Reith Lectures*, Vintage, London, p.55.

- ⁷⁸ “Valentine and Orson” (1911) In: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 27; online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Valentine_and_Orson.
- ⁷⁹ T. Goode (1846) *The History of Valentine and Orson*, London; online at http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/pdfs/PN970_G6_V3_1846_DUP.pdf.
- ⁸⁰ Walter Crane (1870) *Valentine and Orson*, [Walter Crane’s Toy Books, New Series], Edmund Evans / George Routledge & Sons, London, p. 3 (panel a) and ; bibliographic details online at <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026612/00001/citation>.
- ⁸¹ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WalterCrane,_Valentine-03.jpg (panel a) and https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WalterCrane,_Valentine-08.jpg (panel b).
- ⁸² Velma Bourgeois Richmond (1975) *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, Bowling Green Univ. Popular Press [Center for the Study of Popular Culture], Bowling Green OH, p.107-118.
- ⁸³ The prophetic brass head is a recurring motif in the Middle Ages. Such a device was first attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac – a brilliant polymath who led the Catholic church as Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) – in William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (ca. 1125); he reputedly constructed the head using Arabic celestial science learned in al-Andalus. The motif was subsequently attached to other figures such as Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, and Roger Bacon. See E.R. Truitt (2015) *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art*, Univ. Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p.69-95.
- ⁸⁴ Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, p.113-115.
- ⁸⁵ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.71 (Si I 10’) & p.80 (X 113-114).
- ⁸⁶ Henry Watson (fl. 1500-1518) *The Hystory of the Two Valyaunte Brethren Valentyne and Orson, Sonnes vnto the Emperour of Grece*, Wyllyam Copland for John Walley, London; from the title to Ch. 118, online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A14257.0001.001/1:5.114?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>.
- ⁸⁷ “... Valentine holding up his shield, Orson , evidently surprised and delighted, beheld his own image.” *The History of Valentine and Orson* (1846), p.8. Marina Warner makes the same point in Warner, *Managing Monsters*, p.51.
- ⁸⁸ Monica S. Cyrino (2010) *Aphrodite*, Routledge, London & New York, p.65-66.
- ⁸⁹ Claude Gaignebet (1972) “Le Combat de Carnaval et de Carême,” *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 27 (2), p.313-345, at 329-330; online at http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess_0395-2649_1972_num_27_2_422502.
- ⁹⁰ Madeleine Jeay (2011) “Traduire des Romans Français en Angleterre au Début du XVIe Siècle: L’Exemple de Valentin et Orson,” *Œuvres & Critiques*, XXXVI (1), p.21-35, at p.27 fn 33; online at http://periodicals.narr.de/index.php/oeuvres_et_critiques/article/viewFile/1165/1144.
- ⁹¹ Alta Green (1915) *Woman in Epic and Romance*, BA Dissertation (Dept. of English), Univ. Illinois, p.49; thesis online at <https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/54506/womaninepicroman00gree.pdf?sequence=2>.
- ⁹² In this version, Orson’s liaison is with Galazye (see text); Rozemonde is now a “passionate Saracen queen” who desires Valentine rather than Orson.
- ⁹³ Watson, *The Hystory of the Two Valyaunte Brethren Valentyne and Orson*, Ch. 116, online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A14257.0001.001/1:5.112?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>.
- ⁹⁴ Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, p.115-116.
- ⁹⁵ “The real Goddess from time immemorial has been celebrated by either prostitute-priestesses or virgin-priestesses. The difference between prostitute and virgin in this case is, in liturgical terms, merely a modest technical difference similar to such as might arise between Methodist and Presbyterian. [...] The fact is that female sexuality was considered essential in the service of the Goddess.” Conan Kennedy (1997) *Ancient Ireland – The Users’ Guide*, Morrigan Book Company, Killala, Co. Mayo, Ireland, Kindle edition; Entry: “Trousers and the Goddess,” Kindle locations 3257-3260. Author’s italics (for emphasis) removed as they lack context in the excerpt.
- ⁹⁶ “Valentine and Orson” (1911) In: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 27; online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Valentine_and_Orson.
- ⁹⁷ E.g., W. Seelmann (1884) *Valentin und Namelos – Die niederdeutsche Dichtung – Die hochdeutsche Prosa – Die Bruchstücke der mittelniederländischen Dichtung*, Diedr. Soltau’s Verlag, Norden & Leipzig.
- ⁹⁸ “Shamhat” is not so much a personal name as an epithet, meaning something between “good-looking” and “well-endowed;” the hunter is genuinely anonymous. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.225.
- ⁹⁹ Mandell, “Liminality, Altered States, and the Gilgamesh Epic,” p.124.

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- ¹⁰⁰ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.86.
- ¹⁰¹ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.56.
- ¹⁰² George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Penguin, London, p.xi.
- ¹⁰³ Paul Thompson (2000) "The English, the Trees, the Wild and the Green – Two Millennia of Mythological Metamorphoses," In: *The Roots of Environmental Consciousness: Popular Tradition and Personal Experience*, eds. Stephen Hussey & Paul Thompson, Routledge, London & New York, p.20-54, at p.28-30.
- ¹⁰⁴ Lorraine Kochanske Stock (2002) "Civilization and its Discontents: Cultural Primitivism and Merlin as a Wild Man in the 'Roman de Silence,'" *Arthuriana* 12 (1), p. 22-36, at p.35.
- ¹⁰⁵ Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, p.106.
- ¹⁰⁶ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.4 (MB Ni).
- ¹⁰⁷ Debenat, "The Wildman: A European Perspective."
- ¹⁰⁸ Frank, "Hunting the European Sky Bears," p.12-17.
- ¹⁰⁹ Frank, "Hunting the European Sky Bears," p.12-17; Siefker, *Santa Claus*, p.158.
- ¹¹⁰ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.17.
- ¹¹¹ Frank, "Hunting the European Sky Bears," p.17.
- ¹¹² Frank, "Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT)," Part 2, Sect. 2.0.
- ¹¹³ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.10-11, 68 & 123.
- ¹¹⁴ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.39;
- ¹¹⁵ Frank, "Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT)," Part 2, Sect. 2.1-2.2.
- ¹¹⁶ Frank, "Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT)," Part 2, Sect. 3.0.
- ¹¹⁷ Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.68-69 & 157.
- ¹¹⁸ And is indeed so titled by Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*.
- ¹¹⁹ Frank, "Recovering European Ritual Bear Hunts."
- ¹²⁰ Online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%3AMamoiada_-_Costume_tradizionale_\(16\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%3AMamoiada_-_Costume_tradizionale_(16).JPG) and [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mamoiada_-_Costume_tradizionale_\(19\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mamoiada_-_Costume_tradizionale_(19).JPG).
- ¹²¹ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poertschach_Krampuslauf_The_Dark_Hellfaces_Prebl_29112013_787.jpg.
- ¹²² Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poertschach_Krampuslauf_The_Dark_Hellfaces_Prebl_29112013_787.jpg.
- ¹²³ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Krampus_Morzger_Pass_Salzburg_2008_04.jpg.
- ¹²⁴ The different traditions that surround Merlin's identity in legend are often independent and sometimes mutually exclusive, even when penned by a single author at different times (as, for example, with Geoffrey of Monmouth; Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.13). In this paper I treat Merlin as a single mythological figure and – as far as possible – weave the various strands into a unified (but necessarily variegated) fabric. See also the next note.
- ¹²⁵ Merlin is a composite character whom Geoffrey of Monmouth based on two historical persons. The first (and more influential) one is the 6th-century Welsh bard Myrddin Wyllt, who was driven mad by the slaughter he witnessed at the Battle of Arthuret and who fled civilised society to live in the woods as a Wild Man. The semi-legendary 6th-century Scottish figure Lailoken, another soothsaying madman who roamed the Caledonian Forest, may also have contributed to this part of Merlin's character. The second historical influence comes from Ambrosius Aurelianus, a sub-Roman military ruler who – according to the 6th-century Welsh monk Gildas – fought successfully against the Anglo-Saxon invasion. Ambrosius was later transformed into the brother of King Arthur's father Uther Pendragon, and probably served as an inspiration for Arthur himself.
- ¹²⁶ Malory Project – Vulgate Merlin, online at http://www.maloryproject.com/vulgatemerlin_intro.php.
- ¹²⁷ Lorraine Stock writes as follows of the wodevose in Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*: "featuring a bestial appearance and ferocious attitude, wielding his thorny club, and eventually promoting forbidden sexuality, Guillaume's Dangiers is unquestionably a prominent exemplar of the medieval literary Wild Man." Stock, "Civilization and its Discontents," p.32.
- ¹²⁸ Helen Young (2009) "Wodevoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," *AUMLA: Journal of the Australian Universities Modern Language Association*, Special Issue [35th Biennial Congress

- of AULLA, "The Human and Humanities in Literature, Language and Culture," Sydney, 2009], p.37-49, at p.38.
- ¹²⁹ Maier, "Gilgamesh: Anonymous Tradition and Authorial Value," p.88. The description is so raw that Maier's translation reads "Six days and seven nights Enkidu attacked, fucking the priestess" (p.84).
- ¹³⁰ J.A. Giles (1848) *Six Old English Chronicles*, Henry G. Bohn, London, p.173-276; extracted as "Arthurian Passages from *The History of the Kings of Britain*" by Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed./trans. J.A. Giles, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/geoffrey-of-monmouth-arthurian-passages-from-the-history-of-the-kings-of-britain>. The relevant information is contained in Book VIII, Ch. 19.
- ¹³¹ Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, as in previous note. The relevant information is contained in Book VI, Ch. 17-19.
- ¹³² Carol E. Harding (2015) *Merlin and Legendary Romance*, Routledge, Oxon & New York, p.159.
- ¹³³ Gareth Griffith (2012) "Merlin," In: *Heroes and Anti-heroes in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, p.99-114, at p.102-103.
- ¹³⁴ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.99.
- ¹³⁵ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.5 (I 101-104).
- ¹³⁶ J.A. Giles (1848) *Six Old English Chronicles*, Henry G. Bohn, London, p.173-276; extracted as "Arthurian Passages from *The History of the Kings of Britain*" by Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed./trans. J.A. Giles, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/geoffrey-of-monmouth-arthurian-passages-from-the-history-of-the-kings-of-britain>. The relevant information is contained in Book VI, Ch. 19.
- ¹³⁷ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.4-5 (MB Ni, I 94-100).
- ¹³⁸ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.99-100.
- ¹³⁹ Ilana Ben-Ezra (2013) "Merlin: The Medieval Embodiment of Overcoming the Devil," *Binghamton Journal of History*, Spring issue, e2, p.3; online at <https://www.binghamton.edu/history/resources/journal-of-history/ben-ezra.pdf>.
- ¹⁴⁰ Harding, *Merlin and Legendary Romance*, p.159.
- ¹⁴¹ Christopher W. Bruce (1999) *The Arthurian Name Dictionary*, Garland, New York & London, p.71.
- ¹⁴² Basil Clarke, ed. (1973) *Life of Merlin* [Geoffrey of Monmouth - *Vita Merlini*], University of Wales Press, Cardiff, p.57.
- ¹⁴³ Lancelot Project (Univ. Pittsburgh) – L'Iconographie du Merlin et de la Suite Vulgate dans Paris BNF Fr. 95 et Londres, BL Add. 10292 – Merlin, Entry S II 3. 1 MM 18. 1, online at <http://www.lancelot-project.pitt.edu/LG-web/Arth-ME-SV/MerlinComp-NoBL.html>.
- ¹⁴⁴ As for previous note, but entry S II 206. 16.
- ¹⁴⁵ Online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000108b/f234.image> (panel a) and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000108b/f453.image> (panel b).
- ¹⁴⁶ Clarke, *Life of Merlin*, p.63
- ¹⁴⁷ "The bear and the deer consistently appear with the birth-giving goddess. She often incarnated in these forms to assist with the birthing and nursing of the young. Ancient Greeks considered these two animals as incarnations of Artemis, and other European folktales with deep prehistoric roots also connect the bear, deer and birth-giving goddess." Gimbutas, *The Living Goddesses*, p.12-14.
- ¹⁴⁸ Clarke, *Life of Merlin*, p.75-77.
- ¹⁴⁹ Roger Sherman Loomis (1997) *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, Academy Chicago, Chicago, p.130.
- ¹⁵⁰ Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p.130.
- ¹⁵¹ Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p.130.
- ¹⁵² Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p.130.
- ¹⁵³ Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p.131-132. The creature described is based on the giant Master of Animals in Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*; Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.27.
- ¹⁵⁴ Patrick K. Ford (1996) "Welsh Arthurian Literature," In: *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacey [updated paperback edn.], p.507-509, at p.509.
- ¹⁵⁵ Stock, "Civilization and its Discontents," p.28.
- ¹⁵⁶ Kyoko Yuasa (2016) *C.S. Lewis and Christian Postmodernism: Word, Image, and Beyond*, Wipf & Stock, Eugene OR, p.71-72.
- ¹⁵⁷ J.A. Giles (1848) *Six Old English Chronicles*, Henry G. Bohn, London, p.173-276; extracted as "Arthurian Passages from *The History of the Kings of Britain*" by Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed./trans. J.A. Giles, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/geoffrey-of-monmouth-arthurian-passages-from-the-history-of-the-kings-of-britain>.

- [arthurian-passages-from-the-history-of-the-kings-of-britain](#). The relevant information is contained in Book X, Ch. 2.
- ¹⁵⁸ George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p.30-37 (IV 1-182, Bo2 12'-24' & OB Ni 1-26').
- ¹⁵⁹ Univ. Rochester – Robbins Library Digital Projects – TEAMS Middle English Texts – Prose Merlin – Merlin and Nimiane; and Arthur and the Giant of St. Michael's Mount, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/conlee-prose-merlin-merlin-and-nimiane-and-the-giant-of-st-michaels-mount>.
- ¹⁶⁰ Lucy Allen Paton (1907) "The Story of Grisandole: A Study in the Legend of Merlin," *PMLA* 22 (2), p.234-276.
- ¹⁶¹ The woman is actually named Avenable, but is disguised as a squire named Grisandole [Paton, "The Story of Grisandole," p.234]. The *Roman de Silence* (mentioned earlier) recapitulates the Grisandole story insofar as it culminates in the capture of Merlin by Silence, a woman masquerading as a man [Stock, "Civilization and Its Discontents," p.27]. The fictional Silence enjoyed military success as a knight, including a dramatic rescue of the king, thereby prefiguring Joan of Arc by some two centuries.
- ¹⁶² Paton, "The Story of Grisandole," p.235.
- ¹⁶³ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.142.
- ¹⁶⁴ Norris J. Lacy, ed. (2010) *Lancelot-Grail – The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, vol. 10: *Chapter Summaries for the Vulgate and Post-Vulgate Cycles and Index of Proper Names*, p.23 (Vulgate, Vol. II, Ch. 35). Grisandole is of course the opposite to the duplicitous male "handmaidens," being a virtuous young woman masquerading as a man. [See previous two notes.]
- ¹⁶⁵ Online at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000108b/f531_image.
- ¹⁶⁶ The loss of reason is specified in Dan 4:36.
- ¹⁶⁷ Dan 4:25 & 4:36. The historical figure behind the madness/return motif may in fact be Nabonidus, the last neo-Babylonian king; Marc van de Mierop (2016) *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323 BC*, Wiley Blackwell, Sussex, p.300-301.
- ¹⁶⁸ Clarke, *Life of Merlin*, p.53.
- ¹⁶⁹ Interestingly, the *Alexander Romance* uses a similar motif for the conception of Alexander the Great. It reports that Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh of Egypt, fled to the Macedonian court after his defeat by the Persians in the mid-4th century BCE. Nectanebo was a powerful magician and prophet (cf. Merlin). He used his art to appear to the wife of Philip of Macedon as the god Amun in the form of a dragon (cf. Uther Pendragon) and she slept with him, thereby conceiving the heroic Alexander (cf. Arthur). Alexander's upbringing was entrusted to Nectanebo. [Sophie Page (2004) *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*, Univ. Toronto Press, Toronto & Buffalo, p.10-11; E.A. Wallis Budge (2009) *Egyptian Magic*, Routledge, London & New York, p.91-95; D. G. Hogarth (1896) Nectanebo, Pharaoh and Magician, *The English Historical Review* 11 (41), p.1-12; Alexander Romance ("Pseudo-Callisthenes") – Book 1, Chapters 1-12, online at <http://www.attalus.org/translate/alexander1a.html>]. Graham Anderson remarks that "Nectanebus [...] acts the part of both Uther Pendragon and Merlin" [Graham Anderson (2004) *King Arthur in Antiquity*, Routledge, London & New York, p.147].
- ¹⁷⁰ Arthur's foster-father is Antor in *Merlin* and the Vulgate Cycle, Ector in the Post-Vulgate continuation. Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary*, p.28 & 158.
- ¹⁷¹ This role was established by the time of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (16th century). Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary*, p.359.
- ¹⁷² Cotterell, *A Dictionary of World Mythology*, p.169 [Entry: Merlin]
- ¹⁷³ Anderson, *King Arthur in Antiquity*, p.28-29.
- ¹⁷⁴ We should not be surprised to find Classical or Near Eastern roots to Arthurian legend. For example, the Merlin/Grisandole episode discussed earlier is a fusion of three strands that clearly have Oriental roots with one that is of Celtic origin. Paton, "The Story of Grisandole."
- ¹⁷⁵ Stephen P. Kershaw (2007) *A Brief Guide to the Greek Myths*, Robinson, London, p.70-71. In some versions, conversion of Arkas' mother to a bear does not happen until after his birth, which matches even more closely the motif of Valentine and Orson (where the latter's human mother is replaced by a bear after his birth).
- ¹⁷⁶ Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, frag. 1; Fragment 3 (Callisto and Arcas) at THEOI – Classical Texts Library – Hesiod, Fragments, online at <http://www.theoi.com/Text/HesiodMiscellany.html>.
- ¹⁷⁷ Anderson, *King Arthur in Antiquity*, p.43.
- ¹⁷⁸ Anderson, *King Arthur in Antiquity*, p.42-63.
- ¹⁷⁹ Anderson, *King Arthur in Antiquity*, p.44.

- ¹⁸⁰ In Anderson's terms: the hero tackling a supernatural strength test, acquiring one or more amazingly endowed friends, encountering a monster, giant or dwarf in a forbidden precinct or mysterious place, whereupon the hero becomes distinguished in combat. Anderson p.49-50.
- ¹⁸¹ Bart Besamusca (2007) "The Human Condition, Friendship and Love: The *Epic of Gilgamesh* and Medieval Arthurian Romance," In: *People and Texts – Relationships in Medieval Literature* [Studies Presented to Erik Kooper], ed. Thea Summerfield & Keith Busby, Rodopi, Amsterdam & New York, p.1-15, at p.10.
- ¹⁸² Likewise, Paul Kriwaczek writes that "Gilgamesh [...] was a King Arthur of Mesopotamian antiquity who set out on a quest for the holy grail of immortality." Paul Kriwaczek (2010) *Babylon – Mesopotamia and the Birth of Civilization*, Atlantic Books, London, p.38.
- ¹⁸³ Besamusca, "The Human Condition, Friendship and Love," p.8-9.
- ¹⁸⁴ Warner, *Managing Monsters*, p.59-60.
- ¹⁸⁵ *L'Ystoire du Saint Graal et du Merlin*, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 207, translated by Timothy Husband (1980) *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, p.59-61.
- ¹⁸⁶ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.142.
- ¹⁸⁷ Sarah Roche-Mahdi (1992) *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance*, Colleagues Press, East Lansing MI, p.272-273 (lines 5800-5803).
- ¹⁸⁸ Stock, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p.31.
- ¹⁸⁹ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.135-141.
- ¹⁹⁰ "[A]ccording to the capture to feminine innocence [...] has its important parallels in medieval poetry and art." Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.53.
- ¹⁹¹ Sourced from Anna Rapp Buri & Monica Stucky-Schürer (1990) *Zahm und Wild: Basler und Strassburger Bildteppiche des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Phillip von Zabern, Mainz, p.185.
- ¹⁹² Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tugendreiche_Dame_z%C3%A4hmt_Wildmann.png.
- ¹⁹³ Univ. Rochester – Robbins Library Digital Projects – TEAMS Middle English Texts – Prose Merlin – Merlin's Imprisonment; and Gawain and the Dwarf Knight, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/conlee-prose-merlin-merlins-imprisonment-and-gawain-and-the-dwarf-knight>.
- ¹⁹⁴ Source as for previous note.
- ¹⁹⁵ The Camelot Project, University of Rochester – King Arthur & the Knights of the Round Table – Other Characters of Arthurian Legend – The Lady of the Lake, online at <http://www.kingarthursknights.com/others/ladylake.asp>
- ¹⁹⁶ Sourced from Stephen Wildman (1998) *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- ¹⁹⁷ Online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beguiling_of_Merlin.jpg.
- ¹⁹⁸ Univ. Rochester – Robbins Library Digital Projects – TEAMS Middle English Texts – Prose Merlin – Merlin and Nimiane, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/conlee-prose-merlin-merlin-and-nimiane>.
- ¹⁹⁹ Debenat, "The Wildman: A European Perspective."
- ²⁰⁰ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.20 & 115-116.
- ²⁰¹ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.38.
- ²⁰² The same progression is identified by Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p. 144-146 and Siefker, *Santa Claus, Last of the Wild Men*, p.118 & 130-131.
- ²⁰³ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.5.
- ²⁰⁴ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.7-8.
- ²⁰⁵ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.6.
- ²⁰⁶ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.6.
- ²⁰⁷ Young, "Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men," p.9.
- ²⁰⁸ Somewhat paradoxically, this work considers civilization to be "nature," i.e., innate to humans, and Merlin's wildness to be "nurture," i.e. a learned behaviour. Stock, "Civilization and Its Discontents," p.31.
- ²⁰⁹ Stock, "Civilization and Its Discontents," p.24.
- ²¹⁰ Stock, "Civilization and Its Discontents," p.25 & 24, respectively.
- ²¹¹ Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, p.20.
- ²¹² Meriam-Webster – Salvage Man, online at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/salvage%20man>.

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- ²¹³ Walter W. Skeat (2005) *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Dover, New York, p.536.
- ²¹⁴ J.B. Sykes, ed. (1982) *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford Univ. Press, p.925.
- ²¹⁵ Gary R. Varner (2006) *The Mythic Forest, the Green Man and the Spirit of Nature: The Re-emergence of the Spirit of Nature from Ancient Times Into Modern Society*, Algora Publishing, New York.