

The pahotko-Masks of the Piro (Eastern Peru)

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From April 1968 to March 1969 I travelled the region of the Upper and Lower Urubamba and other parts of Eastern Peru and stayed during this period in various Piro and Matsigenka villages¹. The aim of the undertaking was to learn the way of life of the above-mentioned tribes, both of which belong to the group of Aruak languages, and particularly to record statements of the oral transmission and of the shamanism of these tribes. A collection of ethnographical objects was also made.

Before beginning the journey a statement of Steward's in the *Handbook of South American Indians* had aroused my curiosity (1948, 507/8): "The Chuncho (Andean name of peoples of the eastern slopes of the Highlands)² occupy the Montaña (the eastern side of the Andes of Ecuador and Peru) and the Yunga (the comparable region in Bolivia) . . . The Chuncho as a whole . . . lack common Amazonian traits, such as bitter manioc, the tipiti, the vertical loom, trumpets, *m a s k s*³, and clans."

On the other hand I knew from the publications of Esther Matteson (1954, 1965) that at least one mythical creature, the pahotko or pahota was represented by masks.

When I visited the Piro villages, therefore, I inquired after these masks and at the end of November 1968 in peslu kmihi, to be found on the map under the name of Bufeó Pozo which means "Dolphin-Pool" in English, received a worm-eaten fragment of a mask⁴. The man who gave me the

fragment was called Moran. He had settled in peslu kmihi and was half Campa on his father's side, and half Piro on his mother's⁵.

In answer to questions the mask was called hyalo⁶, hyalotko⁶ and hayo^{6a}. The expression hayo

pieces have been cut to make openings for the eyes. Wax has also been applied to form the bulge of the forehead, the nose, mouth and chin. Five small monkey's teeth are set in the mouth of the mask. Remains of (human?) hair show that the mask once had a beard. Plate no. 1.

⁵ In the settlement area of the Piro, i.e. on the Lower Urubamba, I met at various different times in 1968, Matsigenka and Campa who were living at least temporarily among the Piro.

⁶ In his letter of August, 31, 1974, Mr. Ernst Hauser writes that the terms hyalo and hyalotko are not used by the Piro. He points out, however, that the terms hyalu/hiyalu ('peccary') and hyalutko/hyalutna exist. According to him hyalutko/hyalutna are beings that live underground and do not show themselves; if they did, it would be considered dangerous. They are also said to grunt like peccaries.

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¹ Cf. Baer 1969 a, 1969 b. I take this opportunity to thank the Swiss National Fund for the Furtherance of Scientific Research for its financial support, without which my journey to Peru and my researches there would not have been possible.

² The expression «chuncho» is pejorative and should be avoided wherever possible.

³ My italics.

⁴ Inventory-No. IVc 14503 (Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweiz. Museum für Volkskunde Basel). The mask fragment consists of a piece of gourd shell from which two circular



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was connected with the expression pahotko, but it was said that the hayo was rather different from the pahotko.

Somewhat later, in December 1968, I acquired in Puyha⁷ a second gourd mask⁸ from Dionysia Garcia, Rosalia Pacaya's mother-in-law⁹; both Rosalia and Dionysia referred to it as pahotko. In Puyha I was told that hayo and pahotko were identical; both were represented by masks and the creatures which these names referred to used to live on the Urubamba. In connection with questions I asked when I acquired the mask, Rosalia, probably under the direction of her mother-in-law, committed to paper a text which is reproduced below in the original version, in the bush-Spanish or Loretano Spanish version, also by Rosalia, and in a free English translation, which attempts to follow the Piro text as closely as possible, while at the same time providing a lively translation.

^{6a} This term was discussed with the Swiss missionary couple, Mr. and Mrs. Hauser, who were staying in the Piro area at that time. Mr. and Mrs. Hauser are members of the Swiss Indian Mission (S.I.M.), who offered myself and my family hospitality in 1968/9. I should like to thank the S.I.M. for the reception they gave us and for their generous help.

⁷ Derived from puiyo "sting ray" and ha "water" or "liquid". Matteson (1965: 411) remarks in her section on place-names: "puyha tributary of the Urubamba river; village on the bank of the Urubamba, opposite the mouth of the stream: Ray River". Puyha is situated on the left bank of the Urubamba.

⁸ Cf. plate 2. Inventory No. IVc 13776 (Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweiz, Museum für Volkskunde Basel).

⁹ I met Rosalia Pacaya at the S.I.M. mission station in Pucallpa. In Puyha I discussed with her the myths and stories she had recorded on tape and in writing.

pahotko¹⁰ pirana

Cuento del Pahotko
Story of the pahotko

1 wane hima ritxa wa pahotko wa

Así, dicen, era el pahotko.
It is said that the pahotko was so.

2 pakathima kawhimatna wa mturune.

Un día, dicen, han bañado los muchachos.
They say that the children were bathing one day.

3 waneklu hima wa hepi yineru¹¹ yošmaklo wa masu¹³.

Ai¹², dicen, dos hombres se han metido con pate/calabaza.
Then two people who had put themselves into gourds appeared.

4 waneklu hi rumyekna¹⁴ wa mturune.

Ahí no se han asustado los muchachos.
But the children were not frightened.

5 hiya-himni wa pakata kawatnaka

Por eso dicen, un día, dicen, ellos han bañado otra vez.
It is told that they were bathing again another day.

6 waneklu hima satu pahotko hiphuxewnatka¹⁵.

Ahí, dicen, un pahotko se ha presentado.
Then they say that a pahotko appeared.

7 hiya-himni wane tšina wa pahotko

Por eso, dicen, el pahotko ha dicho:
The pahotko is supposed to have said:

8 wa pamyohohne tšininri waneclu hepipatkawu tšinhimata.	Cinco días después, ai, ya vamos a ser dos, dicen, ha dicho [el pahotko]. In five days we will be two, this is what he is supposed to have said.
9 hi hima pomreru wa pahotko.	No, dicen, es bonito ¹⁶ el pahotko. They say that the pahotko does not look nice.
10 tsuxrirhimni ha wa sotlupitxka hima ritxakmawrupothimlu.	Su nariz, dicen, es muy grande; piedra, dicen, era [el pahotko], bien resbaloso. His nose is said to be very big; he himself is like stone and very slippery.
11 hiya-himni yatkan.	Por eso el se ha ido. It is said that he went away again.
12 waneclu hima piklewatanatkana wa mturunni.	Ahí, dicen, ya (le) tenían miedo, los muchachos. Then the little ones are said to have been afraid of him.
13 hiya-himni wa tsune pirixerewata ha wa tenhima kowata.	Por eso los adultos han amarrado pona y en el alto han hecho barbacoa. Therefore the grown-ups made a high platform ¹⁷ .
14 hiya-himni wa pamyohohne ritxinitka rapokatakna hepi.	Por eso, dicen, cuando cinco días han pasado, han llegado dos [pahotko]. They say that after five days two [pahotko] arrived.
15 waneclu hima yohimatatkana wa mturune.	Ahí, dicen, se han escondido los muchachos. Then it is told how the children hid.
16 ha wa satu hima mturu wane ha wa tsrotsrolexhima hanunrotxeta.	Ahí había otro muchacho y una viejita. Ella era su mujer. But there was a boy and an old woman who was his wife.
17 wale himni wane hwanatni.	Ese muchacho, dicen, estaba ai [en casa pero no escondido]. This boy was there (i.e., he hadn't hidden).
18 wale himni tkašitšatka ¹⁸ wa pahotko.	A él, dicen, le ha agarrado el pahotko. Then the pahotko-woman is said to have seized the boy.
19 waneclu himamka pexnuruneko kašitšunitkalu.	Ahí, dicen, le han agarrado todos. Then they say that everyone held on to him.
20 hi hima tumkata kaspukletanru.	No, dicen, le ha podido soltar. She [i.e., the pahotko-woman] couldn't free him.
21 ha wa tyahiman anumta wa pahotko.	Estaba yendose el pahotko. The pahotko was about to go away.
22 hiya-himni saplewata wa mturu.	Ha gritado el muchacho. The boy shouted.
23 nhanunro hinakatkayitšinhimata.	Mi mujer, donde estas, dicen, ha dicho. We are told that he said: "Where are you, my wife?"
24 waneclu hima tunatka wa tsrotsrolexi.	Ahí, dicen, ha venido la viejita. Then the old woman is supposed to have come.
25 wane hima tšinro wa pahotko paho pkaspukatkeru wa nhanuru.	Ahí, dicen, ella le ha dicho al pahotko: paho, suéltale/déjalo ya a mi marido. We are told that she said: "paho, let my husband go".
26 hitkotxa haluklu tšinhimatlo.	Yo también le quiero, dicen, ha dicho ella al pahotko. "I want to have him too", she said to her [the pahotko-woman].

- 27 wane hima tšina wa pahotko hiphuta hi pitxa hnurni tšinhimata. Ahí, dicen, ha dicho el pahotko: parece que no es ut marido, dicen, ha dicho el pahotko. It is said that the pahotko-woman replied: "It seems that he is not your husband"; that is what she is supposed to have said.
- 28 waneklu hima tkaspukatkalu ha wa rutathimata wa mturu. Ahí, dicen, le ha soltado [el pahotko], y el muchacho ha temblado. And then she let the boy go. They say that the boy trembled.
- 29 ha wa yayitxpothimatanatka. Ya se ha enfermado [el muchacho]. And became very ill.
- 30 waneklu ha wa wanekpexnuhohne hima wan-ako hinatnaka. Ahí, [después de] iguales días ellos [los pahotko] han venido. After another five days the pahotko came again.
- 31 waneklu hima yohimatakana pexnurune mturune. Ahí, dicen, se han escondido todos los muchachos, They say that all the boys hid then
- 32 ha wa hatšitšo ¹⁹ hima rutakna wa pahotkone. e ishanga ¹⁹, dicen, han puesto los pahotko. and with a nettle bush which the pahotko had with them.
- 33 wala ²⁰ himaka teno yoxrotyana ²¹. Con eso arriba metían. They are supposed to have poked into holes ²²,
- 34 hi ritxhimatanu. Span ²³. but no one could be found ²³
- 35 wa hepi satlewaka hima ritxlona wa tširetu ²⁴. Dos ponas encima, dicen, le han hecho. because there were two layers of palm bark which formed a platform ²⁴.
- 36 hiya himni hi rukšikana wa mturune. Por eso, dicen, no han hallado a los muchachos. For this reason, it is said, they couldn't find the children.
- 37 waneklu hima wane tšinatkana wa tsrune hayat-kewhalikaka mala tšinhimatakana pexnurune. Ahí, dicen, han dicho los grandes/adultos: vamos a irnos río abajo, dicen, han dicho todos. Then it is said that the grown-ups decided: "let us go down-river". Everyone is said to have decided this.
- 38 waneklu hima mala yanatakana Ahí, dicen, río abajo se han ido. Then, as we are told, everyone went downriver
- 39 wa mala wane hima rawhohnenatakana. y río abajo ai, dicen, vivían mucho tiempo. and lived a long time there, farther down the river.
- 40 seyoka ²⁵. Terminado. The end.

¹⁰ Rosalia Pacaya writes pagotko instead of pahotko, rixa instead of ritxa, yoshmaklo instead of yošmaklo, etc. This spelling corresponds to that used formerly by Matteson (1951, 1954 a, 1954 b, 1955) in her transliteration of the phonemes and was adopted also in Piro schools. I follow Matteson's spelling here (1965).

¹¹ Yine II pl., m., f. "people, race, the Piro tribe"; yineru, -o, sg., m., f. "person, Piro" (Matteson, 1965: 397).

¹² Bush-Spanish form for the classical Spanish "ahí".

¹³ Masu II f., -ne "gourd, gourd bowl" (Matteson, 1965: 301); the bottle or calabash gourd is therefore intended here.

¹⁴ Himyeka I intr. is translated by Matteson (1965: 310) as "to be startled, shocked, astonished, surprised, frightened".

¹⁵ The verbform here (3. pers. sing. masc) characterises the pahotko as a male being; cf. p. 1.

¹⁶ Rosalia's alternative translation is: "no vale el pahotko", which means "the pahotko is worth nothing". Matteson (1965: 326) translates pomre as "neat, making a good appearance".

¹⁷ Meant here is a layer of palm bark constructed parallel to the already existing floor of the loft or attic of a house.

¹⁸ 3. Pers. fem. sing. of the verb kašitša "to seize" (Matteson, 1965: 449).

¹⁹ Hatšitšo I f., -Vte "tree sp. Black and red ornamental berry". Hatšitšo I m., -Vte "nettle sp." Hatšitšo-ta I tr. "to spank with nettles (customary punishment of children)". Matteson (1965: 257).

²⁰ Wala: the ending -a is 3. pers. sing. fem. and refers to hatšitšo I fem.

²¹ Yoxroka, -ta II tr. "to poke into (a hole), tamp with a stick in a hole" Matteson (1965: 406).

After I had come back from Eastern Peru and was preparing an exhibition in Basel about Peru, Missionary Ernst Hauser placed at our disposal for the accompanying publication, a photograph representing "two masked dancers in the piro village of Bufeo Pozo (peslu kmihi)" ²⁶. The text accompanying the photograph continues (l.c.): "The dancers, photographed several years ago by Missionary Ernst Hauser, were, however, not Piro but Campa ^{26a}. The masks represent spirits but could be influenced by Spanish carnival masks." The mask worn by the figure ²⁷ on the right of the photograph – Plate no. 3 of the present article – is obviously not the same as the mask-fragment from peslu kmihi/Bufeo Pozo mentioned above.

In 1972 Mr. Hauser brought the three clay masks, here reproduced in Plates Nos. 4-6, to Switzerland ²⁸. Mr. Hauser said that these clay masks should be called hayo ²⁹ and that they were acquired in peslu kmihi/Bufeo Pozo and produced by Ponka ³⁰. This Piro woman lives in peslu kmihi and is about fifty years old.

The material of these masks is burnt clay, wax and peccary bristles, from which the eyebrows and hair are made; furthermore peccary teeth are inserted in specially prepared holes in the clay mask and represent the upper or lower teeth of the mask. Two of the three masks have beards made of cotton-wool. It appears also that the clay masks were brushed over with resin immediately after firing, so that the resin was able to spread easily on the still hot surface. This coating of the surface with a sort of laquered resin layer is also usual in the production of painted pots, bowls and dishes. Since pottery-making and firing among the Piro is the business of the women, one might suspect that the three clay masks reproduced here were made by a woman or by various women ³¹.

Let us turn now to the statements Ester Matteson makes about the masks of the Piro. These are as follows:

(1954: 74): "Another demon, reputed to be no longer feared, is the pagotko ³². At a certain stream farther down the Urubamba than any Piro now live ³³, the demon used to emerge from the forest to spank children with nettles, and to steal women who went off alone for firewood. This demon is now impersonated for holiday sport."

(1954: 86/7): "Often on a holiday a man or a woman dresses up as a "devil" and chases the children for their entertainment. Sometimes the costume is just a shapeless mass of rags with a cloth mask. At other times the 'pagotko' appears wearing a clay mask ³⁴ with a beak-like nose extending back over the top of the head. Sometimes alligator teeth are set in like fangs ³⁵, or the mask may have monkey's teeth. Either the geometrical design is painted on the face, or red annato may be smeared around the orifices of the eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears. Tufts of corn-silk may be used for beard, moustache, eyebrows, and tufts under the eyes. The 'pagotko' wears a shaggy

ever, in the village of Shivankoreni (Rio Camisea, near its confluence with the Rio Urubamba) saw Abraham, the village chief, making clay dolls in human shape, which he dried in the sun. These clay dolls were called "samentsi", i.e., were referred to as spirits.

³² g is here the equivalent of h, cf. above.

³³ This place-reference is in contradiction to that to be found at the conclusion of the pahotko story reproduced here.

³⁴ My italics.

³⁵ Wild pig or peccary teeth in the case of the Basle masks, see above.

²² Up on the roof of the house.

²³ The Spanish translation is missing here by mistake. Hitxa is translated by Matteson (1965: 272) as "to be, do, act, happen". A literal translation of hi ritxhimatanu would therefore be: "They are supposed not to have been there."

²⁴ Tširetu II f., "palm sp". "The bark is used extensively for floors and walls of houses" Matteson (1965: 376). The children had hidden between the two layers of palm bark.

²⁵ Seyoka (particle) "it is finished" Matteson (1965: 341).

²⁶ Baer, 1971: 74.

^{26a} This proved, however, to be wrong: both men were Piro as Ernst Hauser reports in his letter of August, 31, 1974.

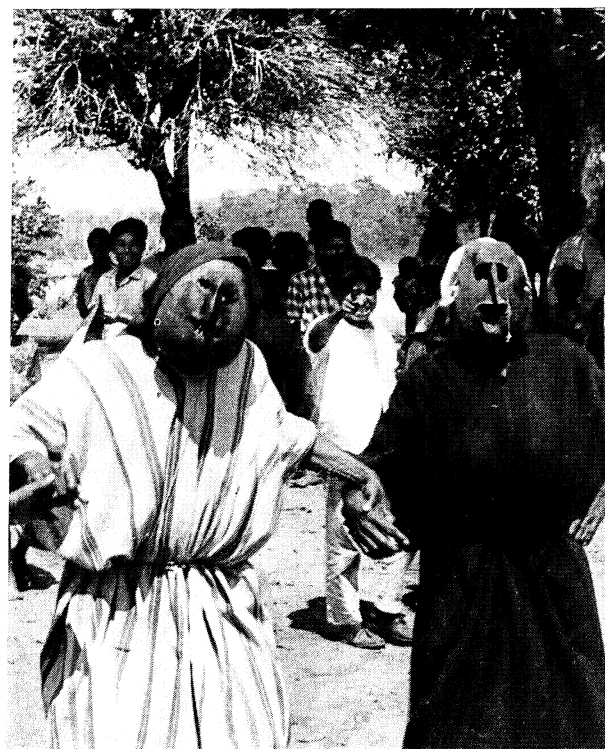
²⁷ Whether we have here to do with a masked dance or simply with an appearance of figures in masks – which is more probable – is not yet clear; for this reason one should speak simply of masked figures.

²⁸ As far as I know these three masks are the only ones of their kind in a museum.

²⁹ Therefore not pahotko! The masks are catalogued in the Basle Museum as Nos. IV c 14719, 14720 and 14721.

³⁰ The name Ponka is the same as that of a certain tree; cf. Matteson (1965: 326).

³¹ Mr. Hauser states in his letter of August, 31, 1974 that all clay masks are made by women. Among the Matsigenka, the neighbours of the Piro, the women make the pottery, i.e., they produce earthenware for ordinary use. I myself, how-





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barrel-shaped 'dress' of banana leaves tied on with strips from the center of a fresh banana leaf. The 'pagotko' carries nettles and playfully threatens the children. They alternately follow shouting saucily, and flee."

The following statements made by Matteson are also significant:

(1965: 411): "pahoya – Piro village, about three days by canoe above the mouth of the Urubamba River; stream emptying into the opposite side of the Urubamba".

(1965: 424): "Demon represented by masks pahota, pahotko."

(1965: 424): "demon . . . , yawlo from Spanish diablo 'devil'".

(1965: 359): "-tko adj.r., vb. r 'disjointed'".

(1965: 314): "-pa deriv. suf., genitive referring to oval or rounded objects; e.g., knapa 'shape of melon', . . . (kna 'pole' + -pa). pahopa II f., 'large round'" ³⁶.

(1965: 356): "-Vta -ta in some words. n. base suf. 'delineated space' 242.4."

As far as I can see, the term hayo does not appear in Matteson, though there is a verb form which can probably be connected with the expression hayo (1965: 260): "hayoka I tr. 'to be annoyed by, bored with'".

If the expression hayo is really semantically connected with the verb hayoka ³⁷, then hayo would

³⁶ My italics.

³⁷ Cf. Matteson on this point (1965: 280): "-Vka (11) v.b stem. suf. Usually semelfactive to -ta (21) repetitive . . . 241.2".



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mean something like "a tormentor, a tiresome nuisance", a meaning very much in agreement with the statements up to now ^{37a}.

Finally I reproduce two entries from my diary; they are the result of information received from the teacher José in Puiha in December 1968: "The name pahuia/pahoya is supposed to come from the mythical creature 'hayo (sic!) – parece gente'; this creature, however, is also referred to at times as 'animal'".

"Hayo and pahotko are supposed to be identical; they are represented by masks. In earlier times these beings lived on the Urubamba".

Summary of Data. Discussion and Conclusions

It is clear from the information presented here that

1. the Piro know of demon-like creatures who used to beat children with nettles and abduct women. These creatures came from the bush and appeared each time at the Piro villages on the Urubamba; thus they were connected with the bush and with the river ^{37b}. Today they are still represented at festivals by masks ³⁸. These

^{37a} Mr. Hauser offers another possibility: in his letter, he writes that the noise of the bathing children (cf. the pahotko story above) annoyed the hayo/pahotko in their holes; they then came up and frightened the children. Thus, according to him, hayo would mean 'he who is annoyed', not 'he who annoys'.

^{37b} Mr. Hauser claims that the hayo [viz. pahotko] come only from the bush, where they live in holes, and are not connected with the river.

³⁸ Which festivals are meant here is not clear. Church, that is Catholic, festivals are probably intended but the carnival period may also be important (when exactly?) Cf. footnote 43.

masks threaten the children playfully with nettles.

2. These masks are clay or gourd masks, although Matteson only records those made of clay.
3. The masks are referred to sometimes as pahotko and are made of clay (Matteson). The meaning of the term pahotko is not explained by her, and the expression hayo does not occur at all in her work.
4. These masks are called hayo and consist of burnt clay or of gourd or calabash (Hauser). The expression hayo possibly means "tormen-tor" or "tiresome nuisance" ^{38a}.
5. As for the closer characterization of the pahotko-being, Rosalia says in her story that two pahotkos, one female and one male, had put themselves or their bodies into gourds.
6. In this story, furthermore, the old woman shouts "paho" at the pahotko-woman who had seized the young man. Since the demonic creatures can be called pahotko or pahota and since the name pahoya ³⁹ is derived from the name of these creatures, it follows that paho is the root of a noun which in itself characterizes the nature of these demonic beings. However, there is also the expression pahopa, which consists of the elements paho and -pa; it is used to designate a large gourd or calabash. One might ask here if the two homonym noun-stems paho are semantically connected or not. No. 5 of this summary can be taken as indication of a close connection between the paho gourd or paho calabash and the pahotko-being ^{39a}.
7. One piece of information (Hauser) said that hayo was something different from pahotko. It was not, however, made clear whether the masks or the creatures they represented were meant.
8. Another statement (José) says, however, that hayo and pahotko are identical and that they are beings resembling humans, but which are also "like animals" ⁴⁰.
9. Furthermore it is said of the body of the pahotko that it is "like stone" ⁴¹, very slippery/smooth". There seem to be certain connections between

the physical construction of the pahotko or hayo creature and the material and form of the head-masks:

<i>Body of the pahotko / hayo</i> "material" "surface"		<i>mask- shape</i>	<i>mask- material</i>	<i>mask- surface</i>
"stone"	smooth hard	vessel- shaped	gourd-shell	smooth (hard)
		vessel- or ball- shaped	burnt clay bristles of wild pig	hard (smooth)
	hairy (?)		hair	hairy

10. Alongside the terms hayo and pahotko the gourd mask was also called hyalo and hyalotko. These terms could be derived from the Spanish "diablo" ⁴². This would fit in with the above-mentioned quotation from Matteson

⁴¹ The Piro and the Matsigenka know of mythical creatures whose bodies are "stone-hard". Examples are: the Xixia (Piro) and the Nigari (Matsigenka). The Xixia is finally burnt and medicinal and magical plants sprout from his ashes (kamalexite). In Hauser's letter, hayo and pahotko are equated; they are said to have a "human" core but clothes of stone. In addition, the letter mentions other beings called "sapanu" or "xixiya", which are also represented by masks. According to him, they sleep during the dry season, at which time they are like stone. They are awakened by thunder and begin to devour people. They have pockets all over, into which they can put people.

⁴² According to Matteson there is a sort of demon called yawlo, a term which she sees as being derived from the Spanish "diablo". Cf. also footnote 6.

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^{38a} Mr. Hauser has now come to the conclusion (letter of Augst, 31, 1974) that hayo, pahotko and sapanu (sapanu: another type of masks) are made of burnt clay as well as of calabash.

³⁹ -"ya (42) vb. Theme suf. Locative, right here, right there; by, from, for, to, at . . . 241.2 Matteson (1965: 393).

^{39a} Mr. Hauser's letter states that paho designates every thing that is vessel-shaped; cf. kaxpa-paho 'burnt-clay drinking-bowl'.

⁴⁰ Some of the pahotko masks have beards, see above. Beards, moustaches and a hairy body generally are foreign to the Piro and are seen as something not human, i.e., as being spirit-like, demonic or animal. Perhaps the remark that hayo and pahotko were also "like animals" refers to the plentiful hair of these creatures or of the masks, see plates 5, 6 and 7



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(1965: 86/7) according to which "the devil" can appear and chase children.

When we go on to say further that the "devil" and the pahotko appear at festivals in order to amuse, it might be asked whether the carnival period is not intended here and whether Spanish-Peruvian carnival masks might not have influenced the head-masks of the Piro ⁴³.

The evidence described here allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- a. There is no contradiction between the terms hayo and pahotko. According to this view, the term hayo refers to that type of spirit – tormenting or disturbing spirit – which visited the Piro formerly as a demonic being and which appears today in the shape of masks to amuse the Piro. The expression pahotko, however, is used to identify the spirits. This invites the conclusion that there is an essential connection between the demons and the gourd-type of the same name.
- b. The pahotko or hayo appears in the shape of gourd or clay masks. There is no functional or

⁴³ The combination of moustache and beard is certainly reminiscent of Spanish "characters". Cf. the Piro mask reproduced in Plate No. 7, which P. Alvarez also reproduces but without comment (1970: 60). The representation of Spanish face-traits in Piro masks and the embodiment of demonic but also partially "animal" creatures by means of the same masks need not be mutually exclusive. Mr. Hauser claims that carnival was unknown to the Piro until recently, and that the hayo and pahotko masks were used not during carnival but rather at festivals like July 28. Cf. also footnote 38.

essential difference – as far as we know from present evidence – between the beings or masks referred to by these terms.

The story of the pahotko leaves various questions unanswered. For example it is not clear what the relationship is between the older woman and the boy who lives in her house. Both of them use the terms "husband" and "wife" towards each other and yet a remark of the pahotko-woman's who wants to take the boy away in the story makes it clear that the "marriage" of the two is only in play. Rosalia Pacaya confirmed this orally. She said that the two were not really married! Among the Piro and also among the neighbouring tribes marriages do occur between young men and older women. Is it possible that the two Piro, the boy and the woman, were playing "husband" and "wife" because the boy was not yet allowed or able to marry, i.e., because the period of seclusion previous to reception into the adult community lay still before him?

This question brings us back to Rosalia's story, where it is reported that the "little ones" or young people (mturune) were not afraid at the first appearance of the pahotko in the gourd. Therefore they did not hide.

Later, however, when the pahotko-woman had seized the boy living with the old woman, all the children were afraid and hid. They hid in a specially constructed double floor in the roof. It seems significant that the young people – boys and girls – who were formerly kept secluded a long time ⁴⁴ before they had reached puberty, had to stay in this loft ⁴⁵, so that they were in fact kept separated from the other inhabitants of the house in a special apartment (seclusion).

The circumstance that the children hid from the pahotko between two layers of palm-bark which made a double loft, reminds us of the fact that boys and girls had to hide in the attic before reaching, and in order to reach, full social status ⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ According to similar statements, by Matteson (1965: 140-5) and Salvador Urquia (called Salwa), the period of seclusion of boys and girls was several months or a year. Various factors, for example, the introduction of schools, prohibit any long seclusion nowadays.

⁴⁵ Span. pona. Piro tširetu, i.e., layers of palm bark, see above, pahotko-story.

⁴⁶ Cf. Matteson (1965: 140/5) "yineru-hiwekle – The Life of the Piro". There she says among other things (p. 143/5): "75. The young men used to come out fully developed and fully grown. 76. The girl also used to observe taboos for a year after she began to menstruate. 77. All through the summer and all through the rainy season she remained lying down. 78. Hidden indoors. 79. When she had become fat, 80. she came out, 81. decorated with beadwork. 82. It was the same with the boys. 83. They hid when their voices began to change. 84. When they were fully grown and fat, they came out...". Salvador Urquia (Salwa) describes as follows the seclusion period of the girls which preceded the kihimawulha (pishta: the final ceremony after seclusion; presentation of the young people and their reception into the adult circle of the community, in fact, a sort of initiation) (diary entry): "Antes, las mujeres eran escondidas, algunas veces casi un año. Entonces estaban arriba en la barbacoa (i.e. the attic/loft). Nadie le veía. A veces, de noche, salían para hacer sus necesidades. Como trabajo tenían que hilar... Durante la época se pintaban diariamente con nso (blue-black paint)".

When Matteson says that the pahotko formerly not only beat the children with nettles but also abducted women, then this statement, as well as the text of the pahotko-story, points to certain authorizations which are known in the systems of secret societies and masks of other areas, for example Africa or Melanesia⁴⁷. The men who are responsible for the mask-system demand of the women and children in many cases that they hide or run from the masks or that they avoid them. This obedience is enforced by threats – by concrete social sanctions or by warning reminders of the inescapable sanctions of supernatural powers and forces. In addition one might ask if the pahotko story – apart from the circumstance that it tells of the actions of mythical or demonic beings – might not once have had the social function of warning boys and girls preparing themselves for the concluding or initiation ceremony not to leave their place of seclusion too early and whether the pahotko-masks, which today serve only to entertain, might not originally have fulfilled the same purpose⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Curious parallels to the pahotko-masks can be found among the Karaja (Central Brazil). They have been made known to us by Krause (1910, 1911), Dietschy (1956, b) and especially by the work of Vilma Chiara (1970). These writers report of the Karaja masks, among other things,

- (a) that they follow, seize and beat boys and sometimes also girls and women and that they even force their way into the houses in order to do so.
- (b) that they are made of gourd-shells (head-mask of the Djureheni-spirit), or that they contain gourd material (small pieces of gourd as eyes in the case of the Adjurumari spirit).
- (c) that they came from the water – lake, river – (Adjurumari spirit). This being is said to have left the water once

and to have killed all the small children of the Karaja (Chiara, 1970: 60).

- (d) that they serve to amuse the six to ten year-old children who appear in them (Adjurumari-mask). The mask, however, serves at the same time to scare the younger ones whom the mothers want to discourage from crawling away.
- (e) that they frighten and beat older children six to twelve years old, especially boys. By offering honey and other food-stuffs the girls can usually escape being waylaid by the masks (Lateni-mask).
- (f) that they follow and beat both married and single women (Djureheni-mask). The Djureheni-mask appears singly – in contrast to the other masks which come in pairs. The Djureheni is seen as the chief of the Idjasso, i.e., of the spirits of the dead and of those spirits or masks which come from the underworld.

Furthermore Krause (1911) has drawn attention to various musical instruments (p. 316/7) which contain parts of a gourd, for example to provide resonance, and in whose name the expression adjulona – (h) a (n) djulona can be found. In the same place he says that "a small horn of gourd-shell, which is apparently blown during masked-dances . . . (may) not be blown in the presence of women". (Original in German) I take the expressions adjulona / (h) a (n) djulona and Adjurumari (or Adjuruma-ri) as synonymous, i.e., as terms for one and the same spirit or mask being. The musical instruments should probably then be understood as the voice of the spirit.

- (g) Important also is the indication we owe to Chiara (1970: 145) and Dietschy (1956, a) that all the spirits represented by masks were called "bichos", i.e., animals. This expression is not usually used for wood or bush animals, but rather "when alluding to those supernatural beings which have no human form" (Chiara, 1970: 145) (Original in French). Cf. also note 40) on page 11 of this article.

⁴⁸ The German Ms. of this paper was translated into English by Helen O'Kelly to whom I should like to express my thanks.

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Résumé

Quoique d'après le Handbook of South American Indians (1948: 507/8) les groupes indiens de la Montaña ne possèdent pas de masques, les Piro, groupe Arawak du Pérou Oriental (ainsi que les Matsigenka, par exemple) connaissent les masques. En 1968 l'auteur a acquis cinq masques Piro, dont deux enalebasse et trois en terre cuite; ces masques s'appellent pahotko ou hayo.

Alors que l'expression hayo doit probablement être traduite par «esprit malfaisant ou troubleur», pahotko désigne des êtres démoniaques qui apparaissent dans la mythologie des Piro.

Comme le dit le mythe rendu dans cet article et aussi d'après les déclarations de certains informateurs, les pahotko proviennent de la forêt et sont surtout associés au fleuve Urubamba inférieur.

Les masques pahotko en terre cuite entrent en scène, d'après Matteson (1954: 86/7), aux jours de fête pour amuser les enfants qu'ils font semblant de menacer avec des orties.

Ce même mythe parle d'un couple-démon (pahotko), homme et femme, dont le corps est

dur comme de la pierre, lisse et glissant. On y apprend aussi que ce couple s'était introduit dans des citrouilles ou calebasses. Paho-pa signifie «[grande] citrouille, [grande] calebasse» en piro.

A leur première apparition, les enfants ne seraient pas cachés. Plus tard la femme pahotko aurait saisi un petit garçon et faillit l'emporter. A l'apparition suivante tous les enfants se seraient cachés dans le double fond de la plate-forme de la maison, de sorte qu'aucun ne pût être trouvé.

Etant donné que, autrefois, les jeunes filles et garçons ayant atteint la puberté devaient passer un certain temps sur la charpente ou plate-forme de la maison (réclusion), on ne peut écarter l'hypothèse que les masques devaient se rapporter à cette réclusion des jeunes Piro. Il est bien possible que les masques d'antan avaient pour but d'empêcher les jeunes isolés de quitter trop tôt leur lieu de réclusion sur la plate-forme.

L'entrée par couple des masques pahotko dans la maison (mythe), la frayeur et/ou l'amusement des enfants (mythe, coutume), l'association des démons à la forêt et au fleuve (mythe) et la proche relation démon/masque – citrouille/alebasse rappellent par leur structure l'exemple parallèle des Carajá.