RIO MAYO PASCOLA MASKS:

A STUDY IN STYLE

by

James S. Griffith

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1 9 6 7

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: Tanner S. Griffin

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Clara Lee Tanner — April 21, 1967

CLARA LEE TANNER (Date)

Associate Professor of Anthropology

PREFACE

This paper grew out of a much larger project: the description of the various sorts of masks used by both Indians and people of European descent in the area that includes the Mexican states of Sonora and Sinaloa and parts of Nayarit, Durango, and Chihuahua, and extends across the international border into Arizona as far north as the Gila River. Starting with the Mayo Indians, I rapidly collected so much material that it became obvious to me that this larger project was not practical for a Master's thesis. I, therefore, selected an area in which to concentrate.

Like any other human endeavor, this thesis would not have its present form without the assistance and encouragement of many people. The field work during which the collections and observations were made was financed in part by a grant from the Eben F. Comins Fund of the Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona. My debt to the trustees of that fund is obvious.

Without the cooperation and patience of all the Pascolas whom I interviewed, no masks would have been photographed in the field and few would have been collected. Sr. Julio Siaruki, Kobanaro of the pueblo of San Pedro, was indispensable in his role of guide and interpreter. Numerous other individuals, both Mayo and Mexican, helped at one time or another. Professor Conrado Espinosa, late of Barobampo, Sinaloa, made the introduction that started me on my way.

Dr. Frederick Dockstader of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York, and Dr. Michael Harner of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California, both generously allowed me to examine and photograph masks in their museums. Dr. Dockstader was particularly kind in supplying information concerning the collections in his institution. Sr. Raúl Camfer of Mexico City graciously permitted me to examine and photograph material in his private collection. Mrs. Muriel Thayer Painter of Tucson kindly allowed me to use her unpublished material on ceremonialism at Pascua Village.

I am grateful to my thesis chairman, Mrs. Clara Lee Tanner, and to the members of my committee, Drs. Edward Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson, for their assistance. Mrs. Tanner and Dr. Spicer have been unstinting of their advice and encouragement from the beginning of the project to its end. Dr. Thompson gave valuable editorial advice and assistance. Mr. Wesley Niles of the University of Arizona Herbarium helped in the identification of the woods. Mr. Ernest Leavitt of the Arizona State Museum discussed design analysis with me, and Mr. Ward Weakley, graduate student in the Department of Anthropology, gave generously of his time and critical faculties. Mr. Darryl Clark prepared Figures 3-9. I am also grateful to the many faculty members and graduate students who examined the sample and shared their ideas with me.

Finally, I must acknowledge that without the aid of my wife, Loma, nothing would have been accomplished. My constant companion in the field, she took most of the photographs which appear in this

thesis and did almost all of the darkroom work. In an attempt to emphasize her contribution to the project, I have cast many of my statements regarding field impressions and experiences in the first person plural. In closing, I should add that while whatever may be of value in this thesis is due in great part to the efforts of the people mentioned above, I reserve total credit for any errors that might appear.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Continued

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

Among the items of ceremonial use manufactured by the Mayo Indians living in the area of the Rio Mayo, Sonora, Mexico, is a type of wooden mask called a Pascola mask, after the ceremonial practitioner who uses it. These masks comprise a local or tribal style which falls within a more general regional style. Within this local style are variations based upon several factors, including the period in which the mask was made, the purpose for which it was made, and the idiosyncracies of the carver who made it.

The masks are not only objects of art whose appearance must be described, but also functional objects that exist within a particular culture. This cultural setting is described in terms of four contexts: fiesta, mythic, technical, and commercial. The masks as well as their place and importance in their culture are thus described in such a way as to facilitate comparison with future studies of other aspects of the ceremonial art of a little-known area.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the better known kinds of masks used in northwestern Mexico is the Pascola mask of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora. "Pascola" is an hispanicized Mayo word meaning "Old Man of the Fiesta" (Spicer 1940: 174). Although it has long been known that the Mayo Indians, a group culturally related to the Yaqui, have similar masks (Beals 1945: 119, 126), no attempt has been made to compare or separate the two art styles. In this paper the Pascola masks of those Mayos living in the Rio Mayo area of Sonora are described and placed in their cultural context.

The Mayo Indians are a Cáhitan-speaking people currently living in and near the valleys of the Mayo, Fuerte, and Sinaloa rivers in the northwestern Mexican states of Sonora and Sinaloa (Fig. 1). Their first important contact with Europeans was in the early sixteenth century (Spicer 1962: 46), and the first Jesuit missionaries entered the area from the south in 1591 (Beals 1943: 2). Conversion to Christianity was completed early in the next century in a campaign noted for its ease and rapidity (Spicer 1962: 48). A period of peaceful interaction followed, during which time there was little contact between Mayos and secular Europeans (Spicer 1962: 49). It was apparently during and shortly after this period that Mayo ceremonialism reached its historic form, a fusion so complete and

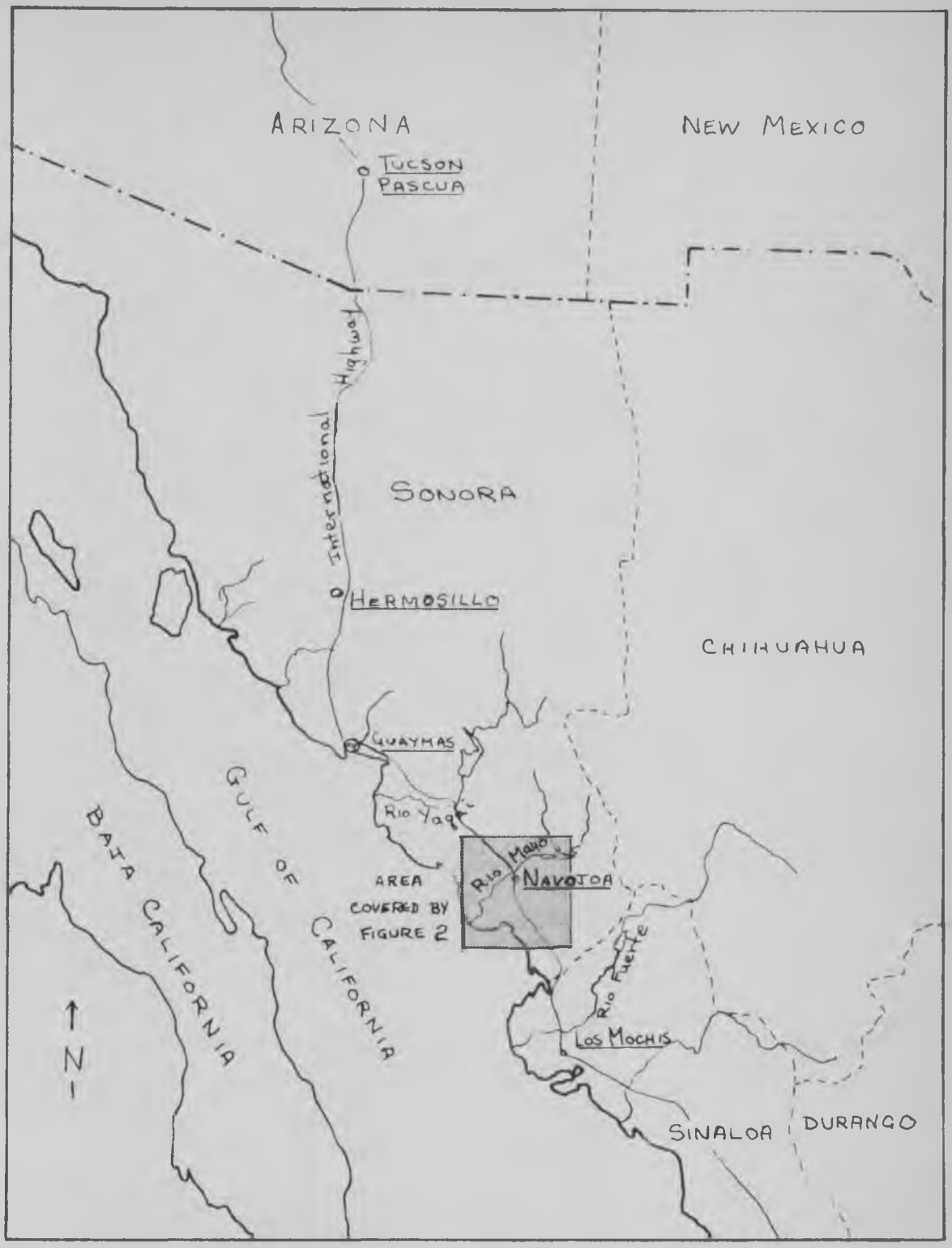


Figure 1. Map of Northwestern Mexico

complex that it is often impossible to separate the Christian from the aboriginal elements.

Today most Mayos are involved in some way with the land, either as ranchers, as farmers, or as agricultural laborers. The Pacific Ocean is also a source of food for those living near the shore (Crumrine 1964: 1). Mayos live both on small isolated ranches and in communities ranging in size from small villages to sections of large towns and cities, such as Navojoa. Whatever the size of the community, however, conservative Mayos are usually concerned with preserving their traditional Mayo Catholicism, outward manifestations of which include processions, music, dances, and the use of masks.

It was this traditional use of masks that first led me to the Mayos. Mayos use two kinds of masks which differ one from the other not only in their appearance but in their cultural meanings and associations.

The masks most familiar to non-Mayos living in the area are the large case-masks worn during Lent by a group of characters who are called Fariseos (sp: Pharisees) and who figure in the annual re-enactment of the Passion (Beals 1945: 98-103, 144-161). These masks are of hide, often with the face area scraped and painted, and usually with ears, horns, and nose of hide or cardboard attached. They appear on Fridays during Lent, and on Holy Saturday.

Although there seem to be well-defined village styles of construction and decoration for these masks, they are not ideal subjects for detailed analysis for several reasons. In the first

place, there are strong sanctions against selling them and they are supposed to be burned every year on Holy Saturday after the Gloria (Beals 1945: 101). Even though this rule is not consistently observed in all villages at the present time, it does present both practical and ethical problems for collecting. A second and related difficulty arises from the varying attitudes toward the photographing of Fariseo masks, so that any sample taken would be of necessity incomplete. A third difficulty lies in the combination of limited occasions during which the masks are visible and the amount of territory it would be necessary to cover in order to observe Fariseos at all Mayo villages.

The other type of mask used by the Mayos is the Pascola mask worn by a ceremonial performer bearing the same name. Pascolas are an indispensible feature of Mayo ceremonial life, as no fiesta may be held without at least one in attendance. They act as ritual hosts to all fiestas, and their duties include clowning, cracking jokes, dancing, and generally providing comic relief to the serious business of worship.

The advantages of the Pascola mask as the subject for a detailed study are several. In the first place, being semi-professional performers, Pascolas are more used to having dealings with strangers than are the Fariseos, who are ordinary individuals serving under a vow, often for only three years. Pascola masks are not generally considered sacred, and even where there is a feeling against selling a mask, there is seldom any objection to having it photographed and examined. Furthermore, Pascola masks are considered

to be saleable items, and it is understood that the outside world takes an interest in them. There is even an incipient tradition of carving masks of this sort expressly for sale to outsiders. Finally, Pascolas are readily identified as such by their friends and neighbors; they are relatively few in number and may easily be found and interviewed in their homes as well as at the fiestas in which they are exposed to the public eye.

Although Pascola masks were examined in both Sonora and Sinaloa, the size of the southern sample is small and information is lacking from certain areas on the upper Fuerte and lower Sinaloa rivers. Therefore, this discussion is limited to the Pascola masks of the Sonora, or Rio Mayo area. There appears to be a distinctive style of Pascola mask in the south, but its precise range in space and time is as yet unclear.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this study was done between the months of March and June, 1965. We were based in Navojoa, and from there made excursions into the surrounding countryside (Fig. 2). A total of 3-1/2 weeks was spent in the field. Our procedure was twofold; we attended all possible fiestas and also searched out Pascolas in their homes. At the fiestas we would ask permission to photograph the masks of all the Pascolas present. This permission was granted in all cases but one. The majority of the photographs and all the collected masks were obtained by searching out and visiting Pascolas and reputed

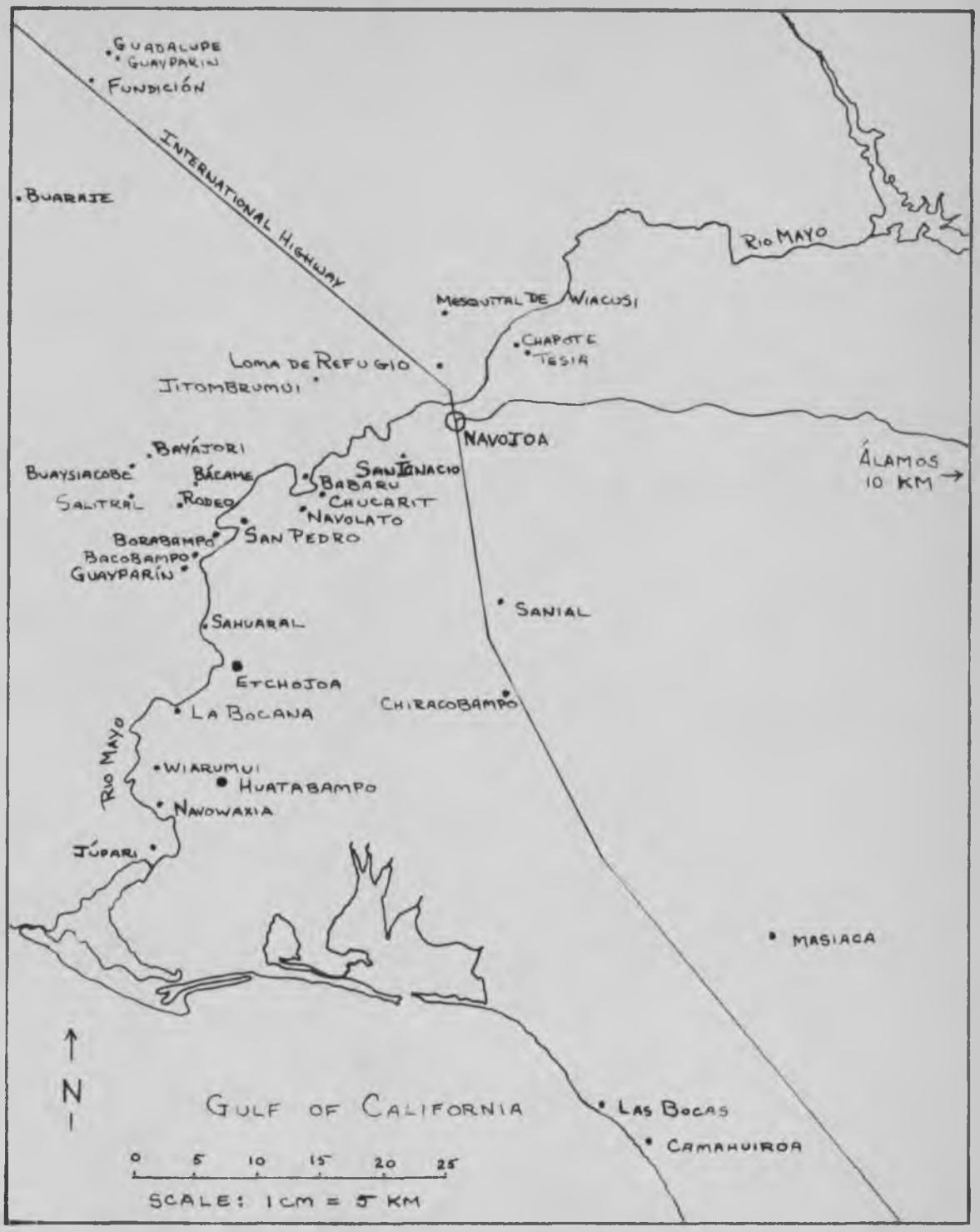


Figure 2. Map of the Rio Mayo Area

mask makers on non-fiesta occasions. To assist us in this task, we were fortunate in obtaining the services of the Kobanaro or Mayo religious leader of the town of San Pedro. His participation in Mayo ceremonial life was of inestimable assistance to us, involving as it did the acquaintance of almost every Pascola in the area. Without the enthusiastic cooperation of this man, our results would have been far different.

Our main objective was to collect or photograph as many Pascola masks as possible, and to obtain for each mask data concerning its age, provenience, and maker. The nature of the survey rendered difficult the sort of prolonged contact with an informant that leads to information on such topics as meaning. This information will be sought on later trips. In line with the stated objective, we photographed every mask for which permission was given, and purchased every mask which was offered for sale. Each reputed mask maker was visited, if possible, and was requested to make two masks for us. It should be noted, however, that not all these orders were filled, even though a two month interval usually elapsed between the placing of the order and the final attempt at collection.

The masks were all purchased for cash, except one which was traded for sheet brass. The going price was between 20 and 40 pesos for a used mask, and about 50 pesos for a new one. Exceptions were of course found, and actual prices were both above and below this norm. Only in two cases were photography privileges paid for in cash. Usually we exchanged a polaroid portrait of the mask owner

for the privilege of photographing his mask. In a few cases guides and informants were paid. In addition to functioning as portrait photographers, we acted as chauffers and contributed small sums to fiestas, as well as to individuals as mentioned above.

Interviews were conducted mainly in Spanish, with the Kobanaro of San Pedro acting as interpreter when necessary. For this service, as well as that of guide, he received a regular salary.

The Sample

The masks analyzed in this study fall essentially into three groups: (1) masks made for sale to non-Mayos, (2) masks which, after a longer or shorter period of use (or in some instances, before ever being worn) were sold to non-Mayos, and (3) masks which were not offered for sale. The first two categories are grouped together for the purpose of this study and total 36 masks. Each mask is designated by a number preceeded by the letter "m" and the masks are arranged by age, with the older masks having the lower numbers. Within this age arrangement, however, the masks are also grouped by maker so that a strict time sequence is not always adhered to. All of the masks in the collection are illustrated in Figures 10-15. Except for those in color (Fig. 10), they appear in numerical order.

The masks not offered for sale, with only one exception, were photographed. These 36 masks are designated by the letter "P" followed by a numeral. The order in which the numbers were assigned represents only the order in which the photographs were

obtained. All of the masks in this series were photographed in the field, except P1 through P8, which are in museum collections, and P33 and P34, which are in a private collection in Mexico City. All of the dated specimens from collections are here reproduced, excepting four which appear in publications (Table 5). Because of the variable quality of the field photographs, not all of the previously published masks are shown here. The illustrations in this "photographed" series are also grouped by age and maker, rather than numerical order (Figs. 16-18).

The masks are described in detail in Table 1, the descriptive code for which is explained in Table 2. Details of age and provenience are given in Table 3, and information on the mask makers is presented in Table 4.

The Cáhitan Pascola Mask

The Pascola mask of the Yaqui and Mayo Indians is unique to the area of northern Sinaloa and Sonora. It resembles no mask used elsewhere in Mexico and the United States (always excepting the recent Yaqui colonies in Arizona). The earliest examples of this type of mask are at least as old as the later 19th century.

The mask is a small (averaging 19 cm. by 13 cm.) wooden face mask, apparently depicting either a male human being or a goat-like animal. The base color is normally black, although a few exceptions have been observed, most frequently among the Mayos. The mask has a beard and eyebrows of either animal hair, usually horse or goat, or

Table 1. Attributes of the Rio Mayo Pascola Masks

See Table 2 for explanation of code for attributes

P = present
A = absent
0 = no information available
1 through 9, numbered variation of attribute

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15	M16	M17	M18
1										P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
4	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
5	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	P
6	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	P
7	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	0
8	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	0	A
9	3	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	0	3
10	P	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	0	P
11	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	0	3
12	3	3	4	1	1	1	2	4	3	1	2	3	2	1	4	4	0	1
13	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
14	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
15	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	P
16	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P
17	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	P

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15	M16	M17	M18
18	1	1	2	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	0	1
19	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A
20	A	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	A
21	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	P
22	A	P	A	A	P	0	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A
23	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	0	3
24	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	0	A
25	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	A	0	P
26	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	0	3
27	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	0	P
28	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	0	P
29	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	0	A
30	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	0	0
31	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	0	P
32	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	0	0
33	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	0	P
34	2	2	3	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	1	2	0	1
35	P	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	0	A
36	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	0	1
37	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A
38	4	4	2	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	1
39	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	A
40	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	A
41	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	A
42	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15	M16	M17	M18
43	P	P	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
46	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
47	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P
48	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	3	3	3	1	0	1
49	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	0	0
50	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	2
51	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	4
52	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	A
53	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
54	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	A
55	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
56	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57	1	4	5	1	4	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	3	2
58	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	P
59	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	P
60	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	A
61	P	P	A	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P
62	P	P	A	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P
63	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	P	P	P
64	P	P	P	P	A	A	0	A	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	P	P
65	A	P	A	P	P	P	0	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	P
66	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P
67	P	P	0	A	P	A	0	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	A

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15	M16	M17	M18
68	A	P	P	P	A	P	O	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	A	A
69	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	A
70	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	O	A
71	A	O	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	O	A
72	A	O	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	O	A
73	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	1	3	3	2	2	3	2	1
74	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	P	P	P	P	O	O	A	A	O	O	O
75	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	O	A	A	A	A	A	A	P
76	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	O	P
77	6	6	6	6	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	5	5	5	6	6	6

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M19	M20	M21	M22	M23	M24	M25	M26	M27	M28	M29	M30	M31	M32	M33	M34	M35	M36
1	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
4	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P
5	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P
6	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	A	A
7	P	P	P	0	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A
8	A	P	P	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	P	P	A	P
9	3	2	1	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	1	2
10	P	A	A	0	A	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P
11	1	2	3	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
12	4	1	3	0	1	3	1	4	4	4	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	3
13	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1
14	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	P
15	A	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P
16	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
17	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P
18	3	3	3	0	2	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2
19	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
20	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
21	A	A	A	0	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
22	A	A	A	0	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A
23	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

Table 1 -- Continued

Attribute	Collected Masks																	
	M19	M20	M21	M22	M23	M24	M25	M26	M27	M28	M29	M30	M31	M32	M33	M34	M35	M36
25	A	A	A	O	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
26	2	2	2	0	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	2
27	P	P	P	0	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P
28	P	P	P	0	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P
29	P	P	P	0	A	A	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	P	P
30	A	A	A	0	A	A	P	O	O	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A
31	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A
32	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A
33	A	A	A	0	A	P	A	P	P	A	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A
34	1	1	2	0	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	1
35	A	P	P	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P
36	1	3	3	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
37	A	A	A	0	P	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A
38	4	1	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	1	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	1
39	P	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	P	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	A
40	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	A
41	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
42	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
43	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
44	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
46	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
47	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P
48	4	3	3	0	5	1	3	1	3	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	2	4

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M19	M20	M21	M22	M23	M24	M25	M26	M27	M28	M29	M30	M31	M32	M33	M34	M35	M36
49	P	A	P	0	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A
50	1	3	1	0	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
51	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
52	A	A	A	0	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
53	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3
54	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P
55	3	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1
56	3	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1
57	5	3	4	5	5	1	5	4	5	4	3	1	1	2	2	5	2	2
58	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
59	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
60	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
61	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P
62	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P
63	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P
64	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	0	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
65	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
66	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
67	A	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	0	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P
68	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	0	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A
69	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	A	A	A
70	P	P	P	0	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
71	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
72	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A

Table 1 -- Continued

	Collected Masks																	
Attribute	M19	M20	M21	M22	M23	M24	M25	M26	M27	M28	M29	M30	M31	M32	M33	M34	M35	M36
73	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
74	P	P	P	P	P	A	0	P	A	A	P	0	0	P	P	A	P	P
75	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	P
76	P	A	A	0	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P
77	3	3	3	6	6	6	6	6	4	4	6	6	6	2	2	6	6	6

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
1	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5
2	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4
3	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
4	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	0	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
8	A	A	P	P	P	A	P	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	0	A
9	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	0	2	2	3	3	2	0	2	2	2	3
10	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	P	A	A	P	A
11	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
12	2	4	1	3	0	4	1	1	3	3	0	1	3	1	4	1	1	1
13	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
14	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
15	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	P	P
16	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A
17	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	P
18	1	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	0	2	0	2	1	1	1
19	A	P	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
20	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
21	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
22	0	A	0	A	A	A	P	A	A	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	0	0
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
24	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
25	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	0	0
26	2	3	2	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	0	3
27	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
28	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P
29	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P
30	A	P	A	0	A	0	A	0	P	P	A	A	P	0	A	A	P	P
31	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
32	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
33	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	A	A	A
34	2	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
35	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
36	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	3	2
37	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	A	A
38	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	0
39	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	0	0	0	0	0
40	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	0
41	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	0	A	P
42	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	A
43	P	A	P	A	P	P	A	P	A	0	P	P	A	A	A	A	0	A
44	3	1	0	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
45	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	0	0	0	0	0
46	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	0	0	0	0	0
47	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	0	A	0	0	0	0	0
48	2	3	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	3	1	3	3	3	1	4	4	3

Table 1 -- Continued

Attribute	Photographed Masks																	
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
49	P	P	P	0	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	0	P	P	A	0	A	A
50	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
51	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
52	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A
53	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3
54	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
55	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	1
56	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
57	3	4	3	2	4	4	1	4	5	3	5	2	5	5	4	0	4	5
58	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	A	0	0	P
59	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	A	P
60	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	0	A	A
61	P	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P
62	A	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0
63	P	P	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	A	A	A	A	P
64	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	0	A	0	P	0	P	P	0	P
65	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	P	0	0
66	A	A	P	0	0	P	P	P	0	0	0	0	A	P	P	P	0	0
67	P	P	A	0	0	P	P	A	0	P	0	0	P	0	0	P	0	0
68	0	0	P	0	0	0	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	P	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	0	A	A
70	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P
71	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
72	A	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	P	P

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
73	5	5	5	6	5	6	6	6	2	0	3	5	2	3	1	2	2	2
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	A	A	0	0	P	0	P	A	A	A
75	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
76	A	A	P	P	0	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	1	0	3	6	6	1	1	6

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P19	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36
1	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7
2	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2
3	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
8	0	A	0	A	0	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	P	P	A	A
9	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	0	2	2	1	2	2
10	A	0	A	P	0	A	P	0	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	0
11	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
12	2	1	2	1	3	3	2	1	0	0	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	3
13	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	2	1
14	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
15	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	0	0	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P
16	A	P	0	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A
17	A	A	P	3	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
18	1	0	3	2	2	3	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3
19	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
20	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
21	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	0	0	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A
22	0	P	P	0	P	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	P	A	A	0	A	A
23	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
24	0	0	A	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	0	0	0	A	0	A	0	0

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P19	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36
25	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	0	0	0	A	0	A	0	0
26	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
27	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	0	0	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P
28	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P
29	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	P
30	P	P	0	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	P	A	0	A	P	0
31	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A
32	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	A	A	A	A
33	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	P	P	P	A
34	0	1	0	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	1	3
35	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
36	0	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
37	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A
38	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0	6	2	4	4	4	5	3	0
39	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	A	P	0	P	P	P	A	A	P	P	P
40	P	P	P	P	P	0	P	P	0	0	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
41	0	0	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	A	P	A	P	A	P	0
42	0	0	P	P	A	P	A	A	0	0	A	A	0	P	A	P	P	0
43	0	0	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	A
44	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	0	0
45	P	0	0	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0
46	P	0	0	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0
47	A	0	0	0	A	0	0	A	0	0	A	A	0	A	A	A	0	0
48	2	4	1	3	1	3	3	3	0	0	3	1	3	1	2	1	3	3

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P19	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36
49	0	P	A	A	A	0	P	A	0	0	A	A	P	A	P	A	P	P
50	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
51	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
52	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	0	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
53	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
54	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	A	P	A	A
55	1	0	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
56	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	2	0	1	0	3
57	0	0	3	1	2	5	5	5	5	0	3	2	5	5	4	4	5	5
58	0	0	A	A	P	P	P	A	P	0	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P
59	0	0	P	P	A	P	A	A	0	0	A	A	0	P	A	P	P	0
60	0	0	P	P	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	0	A	P	A	P	0
61	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	0	0	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	P
62	0	0	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A
63	0	0	P	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	P	A	P	A	P	A	A	A
64	P	0	A	A	0	A	0	0	0	0	A	A	0	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	P	P	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P	0	0	0	A	P	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	P	P	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	A	0	0	0	A	0	0	0
69	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	0	0	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	P
70	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	0	0	P	A	A	A	P	P	P	0
71	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	0	0	0	A	A	P	0
72	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	0	0	0	A	P	P	0

Table 1 -- Continued

	Photographed Masks																	
Attribute	P19	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36
73	2	2	2	2	1	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	6	3	0	3	3	4
74	A	A	0	0	P	0	0	0	A	A	P	P	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A	A	A	0	0	A	A
76	0	A	0	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
77	1	1	6	6	2	3	6	6	6	6	2	2	0	2	0	0	6	6

Table 2. Code for the attributes used in describing the masks in Table 1

Code Number	Descriptive attribute
1, 2	Identification
3	Collected Specimen
4	Length exceeds 19.9 cm.
5	Width exceeds 13.7 cm.
6	Width/length exceeds .709
7	Brow ridge present
8	Brow angle slight
9-1	Brow overhang absent
9-2	Brow overhang slight
9-3	Brow overhang acute
10	Brow keel present
11-1	No painting at ridge line
11-2	Painted line at ridge line
11-3	Dots at ridge line
12-1	Eyes to ridge same as face
12-2	Eyes to ridge contrast face
12-3	Same, extending below eyes
12-4	Same, contrasting brow area
13-1	Eyes with ends rounded
13-2	Eyes with inner end rounded
13-3	Eyes with ends pointed
14	Eyes slanting out and down
15	Painted rims or sockets contrasting face
16	Carved rims
17	Curved line below each eye
18-1	Nose swaybacked
18-2	Nose straight
18-3	Nose hooked
19	Nose with external nostril swell
20	Nose with flat ridge
21	Nose with line or dots on ridge
22	Nose with bottom contrasting sides
23-1	No nostrils
23-2	One nostril
23-3	Two nostrils
24	Nostrils painted
25	Nostrils carved
26-1	Mouth not everted
26-2	Mouth in snout
26-3	Mouth in tube

Table 2 -- Continued

Code Number	Descriptive attribute
27	Lips red
28	Upper teeth present
29	Lower teeth present
30	Corresponding cuts
31	Metal on upper teeth
32	Metal on lower teeth
33	Tongue out
34-1	No sharp ridges around face
34-2	Sharp ridge surrounding face area
34-3	Sharp ridge on chin only
35	Face set off by lines or element
36-1	No face flattening
36-2	Face carved vertically flat
36-3	Face horizontally flat; cheeks vertically convex
37	Face of a color contrasting sides
38-1	Forehead cross absent
38-2	Forehead cross Latin
38-3	Forehead cross Greek
38-4	Forehead cross Patée
38-5	Forehead cross "Alcario"
39	Forehead cross incised
40	Forehead cross painted
41	Forehead cross flanked by element or units
42	Forehead cross with jewels or mirrors
43	Lateral intermediate area utilized
44-1	Cross on lower intermediate area absent
44-2	Cross = forehead cross
44-3	Cross ≠ forehead cross
45	Cross = forehead cross in decoration
46	Cross = forehead cross in application
47	Other design on lower intermediate
48-1	No design on cheek
48-2	Vertical triangle on cheek
48-3	Horizontal triangle or wedge on cheek
48-4	More complex arrangement on cheek
49	Cheek design incised or outlined
50-1	No separate design on upper lip
50-2	Moustache on upper lip
50-3	Upper lip contrasts face

Table 2 -- Continued

Code Number	Descriptive attribute
51-1	No framing for mouth
51-2	Mouth framed with lines or dots
51-3	Lower lip framed with lines or dots
51-4	Upper lip framed with lines or dots
52	Lower face contrasting upper face
53-1	Lower face without design
53-2	Lower face with cross
53-3	Lower face with other design
54	Diagonal line off face to side
55-1	Upper border absent
55-2	Lower border = lateral border
55-3	Upper border ≠ lateral border
56-1	Lower border absent
56-2	Lower border = lateral border
56-3	Lower border ≠ lateral border
57-1	No middle border
57-2	A border)
57-3	B border)
57-4	C border) lateral border
57-5	D border)
57-6	E border)
58	Borders incised or outlined
59	Jewels, mirrors, etc. applied
60	Life forms and representative designs
61	Other separate elements and units
62	Dots used for framing
63	Dots used for other purposes
64	Hair is goat
65	Hair is stitched
66	Holes drilled through
67	Brows exceed or equal beard in length
68	Beard/mask ratio exceeds .886 (887)
69	Nose-eye hair
70	Nose-mouth hair
71	Gap below nose-mouth tuft
72	Gap above nose-mouth tuft
73-1	Mask age A
73-2	Mask age B
73-3	Mask age C
73-4	Mask age D
73-5	Mask age E
73-6	Mask age F

Table 2 -- Continued

Code Number	Descriptive attribute
74	Carver of A and B age masks over 50
75	Mask carved for sale to non-Mayos
76	Cheek swellings
77-1	Made by - Alcario
77-2	Tránsito
77-3	Plácido
77-4	Marcelo
77-5	Silvestre
77-6	Other

Table 3. Rio Mayo Pascola Mask Makers

Name	Location	Age in 1965	Occupation	Masks
Marcelo Alamea	Loma de Refugio	about 35	Fiddler	M27, M28
Placido Alamea Father of Marcelo	Jitombrumui	over 60	Retired Pascola, instrument maker, fiddler	M19, M20, M21, P13 P24, P37
Manuel Bacasewa	Alamos	under 50	Furniture maker	M30, M31
Felipe Buitimea	Bagajori and El Rodeo	about 60	Unknown	M22, M23
Alcario Caamea	Wiarumwi	about 80	Pascola, canoe maker	M6, M17, M8, M9 M10, M11, P11, P34
Candelario	La Bocana	unknown	Flute and drum player	M16, M17, M18, P21
Transito Duarte	Navajoa	75	Pascola	M32, M33, P23, P29 P30, P32
Rosario Jilomeno	near Guadalupe	unknown	Unknown	M25, P26
Silvestre Lopez	Borabampo	between 30 and 40	Deer singer, Curandero, maker of deer instruments	M13, M14, M15, P9 P10, P16, P17, P19 P20
Benito Moroyoki	Embarcadero	about 56	Pascola	M29

Table 3 -- Continued

Name	Location	Age in 1965	Occupation	Masks
Brígido Moroyoki	Buaysiacobe	over 60	Retired fiddler	M35, M36
Francisco Parras	Salitrál	about 30	Pascola	P14, P18
Escolástico Piña	Masiaca	56	Pascola	M12
Domingo Vaípuri	Guayperin, near Guadalupe	unknown	Unknown	P36
Brígido Valenzuela	Guayperin, near Bacobampo	about 50	Unknown	M34, P27, P28
Álvaro Villanueva	Sanial	under 50	Furniture maker	M24
Teodoro Wikosa	Tetanchopo	unknown	Flute and drum player	P35
Manuel Yocupicio	San Ignacio	over 50	Pascola	M26, P15
Luciano Angwamea	Bácame	deceased	Unknown	M2
Lupe Montañez	Los Camotes	deceased 1945	Unknown	M4
Pedro Osimea	El Rodeo	deceased 1947	Pascola	M5
Acencio Valenzuela	Nabolato	deceased 1930	Unknown	M1

Table 3 -- Continued

Name	Location	Age in 1965	Occupation	Masks
Santos Valenzuela	Guayperin	deceased recently	Flute and drum player	P22
Andres Wokovatchi	Baburu	deceased in 1940's	Pascola	M3
Guillermo Yocupicio	Loma de Refugio	deceased 1959	Unknown	P25

Table 4. Masks in Museums or Private Collections

Mask	Collection	Catalogue No.	Remarks
P1	Lowie Museum, University of California (Berkeley)	3-3325	Collected near Navojoa in 1930's by Ralph Beals
P2	Lowie Museum, University of California (Berkeley)	3-3168	Collected near Chucarit in 1930's by Ralph Beals
P3	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	19/7741	Collected at Sahuaral in 1935 by D. B. Cordry.
P4	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	11/2333	Collected "between Huatabampo and Navojoa" in 1911 by E. H. Davis
P5	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	12/9496	Collected at Masiaca in 1911 by E. H. Davis
P6	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	12/9497	Collected at Navowaxia in 1911 by E. H. Davis
P7	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	11/2334	Collected "between Huatabampo and Navojoa" in 1911 by E. H. Davis
P8	Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation	11/2332	Collected "between Huatabampo and Navojoa" in 1911 by E. H. Davis
P38	In the private collection of Raúl Camfer, Mexico City		Assumed to be Mayo, collected by D. B. Cordry.

Table 4. Masks in Museums or Private Collections

Mask	Collection	Catalogue No.	Remarks
P39	In private collection of Raúl Camfer, Mexico City		Attributed to Alcario Caamea, given "by the Indians" to the ballerina Guillermina Bravo "for dancing for them," "at least fifteen years ago."

ixtle fiber (Dominguez 1962: 129). The beard is commonly at least as long as the body of the mask itself, while the brows may be either long or roached.

Such natural features as eyes, nose, and mouth are realistically depicted. The mouth is frequently open, showing teeth and tongue. In addition, several decorative units and elements are usually painted or incised on the mask. The most distinctive and common of these is a cross (Fig. 3), usually a "cross patée" (Laliberte and West 1960: 62), which almost invariably appears on the forehead and sometimes on the chin as well. In addition, there may be triangles on the cheeks, flowers, plants, lizards, stars, and other geometric or life forms on the forehead and sides, and a border around the edge of the mask (Figs. 4-9). This border may consist of lines or triangles in arrangements of varying complexity.

While masks displaying one or two of the features described above are to be found in other parts of Mexico and the Southwestern United States, the full description applies only to the Pascola masks of the Yaquis and Mayos.

Within this general type, there are several local or tribal styles, none of which has been defined as yet in the literature. Although this is not the place for a detailed discussion of these styles, a few general statements drawn from personal observation would not be out of place.

To the north, in the area from central Arizona to the Rio Yaqui, one style of Pascola mask seems to be used. This mask tends

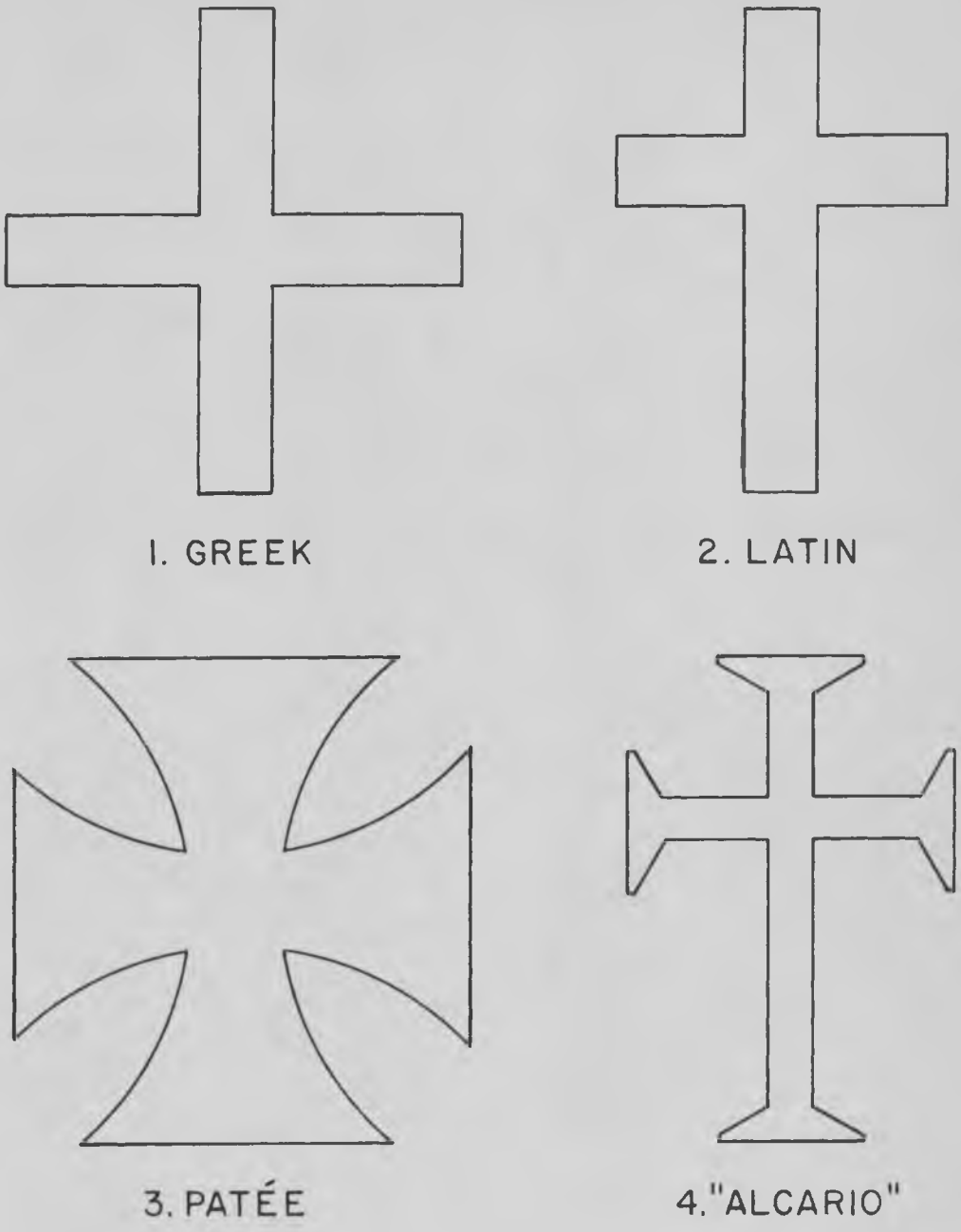
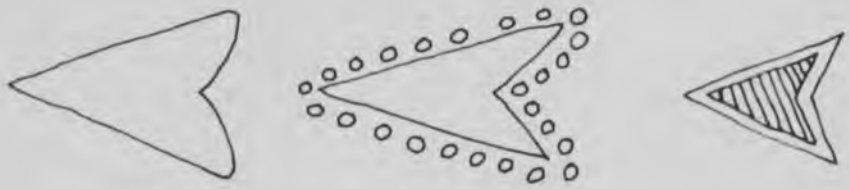


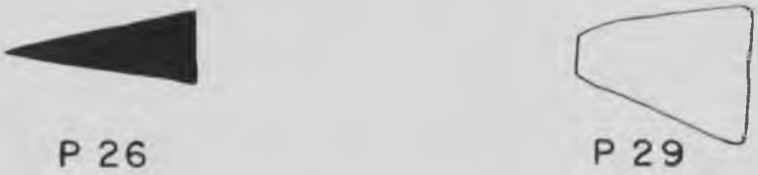
Figure 3 Types of crosses used to decorate pascola masks



P 14 P 16 P 35

P 9

HORIZONTAL WEDGES



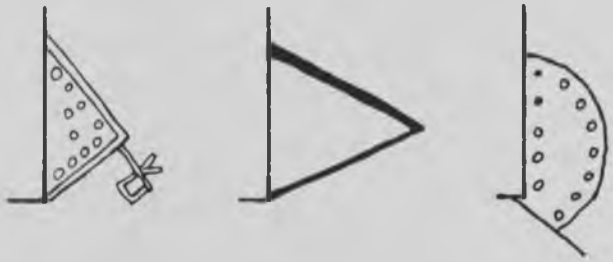
P 26 P 29

HORIZONTAL TRIANGLES

Figure 4 Horizontal design units from the cheek subfield

M 1 P 33

VERTICAL WEDGES AND TRIANGLES



P 5 P 20 P 3

UNITS ATTACHED TO THE NOSE

M 29 M 5 M 16

MISCELLANEOUS UNITS

Figure 5 Other design units from the cheek subfield

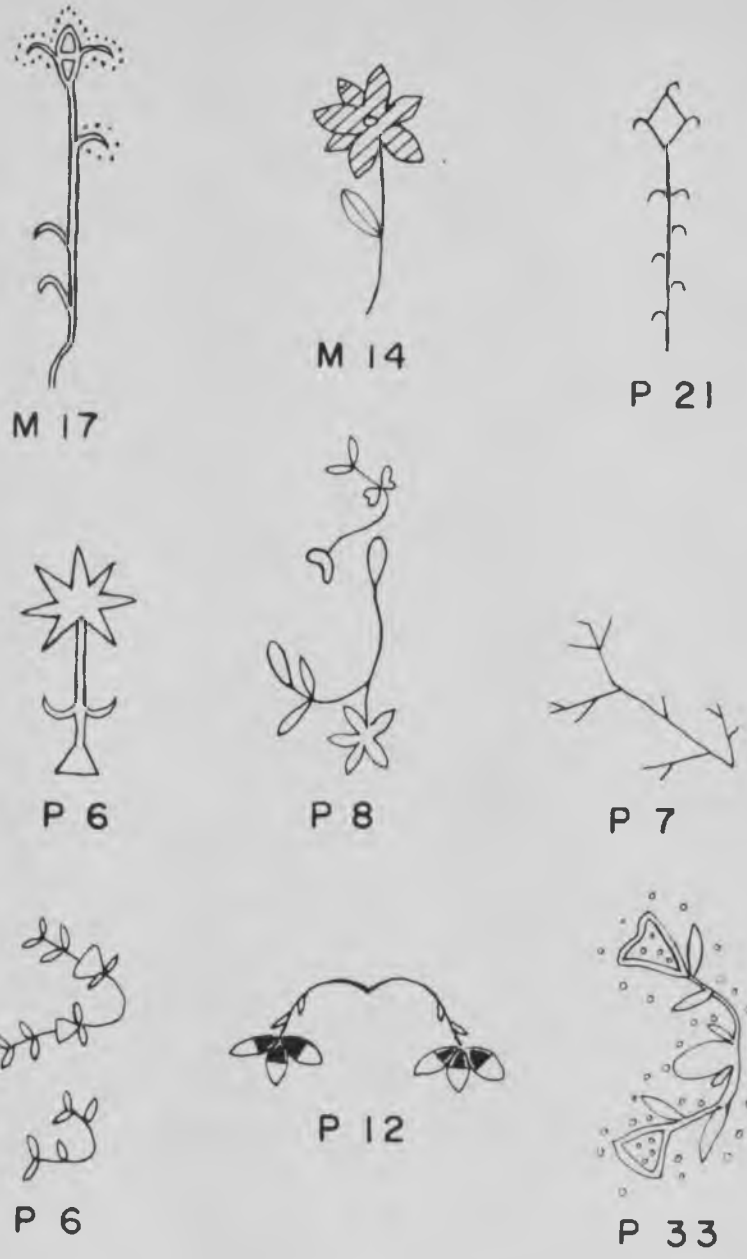
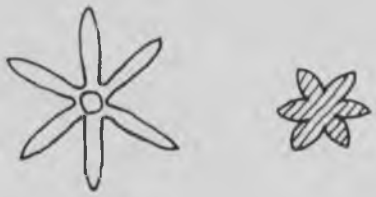


Figure 6 Floral design units from the intermediate field



P 5 P 12

FLOWERS

M 15 M 29 P 22

STARS

M 26 P 4 P 35 M 5

LEAVES

Figure 7 Other representational design units from the intermediate field

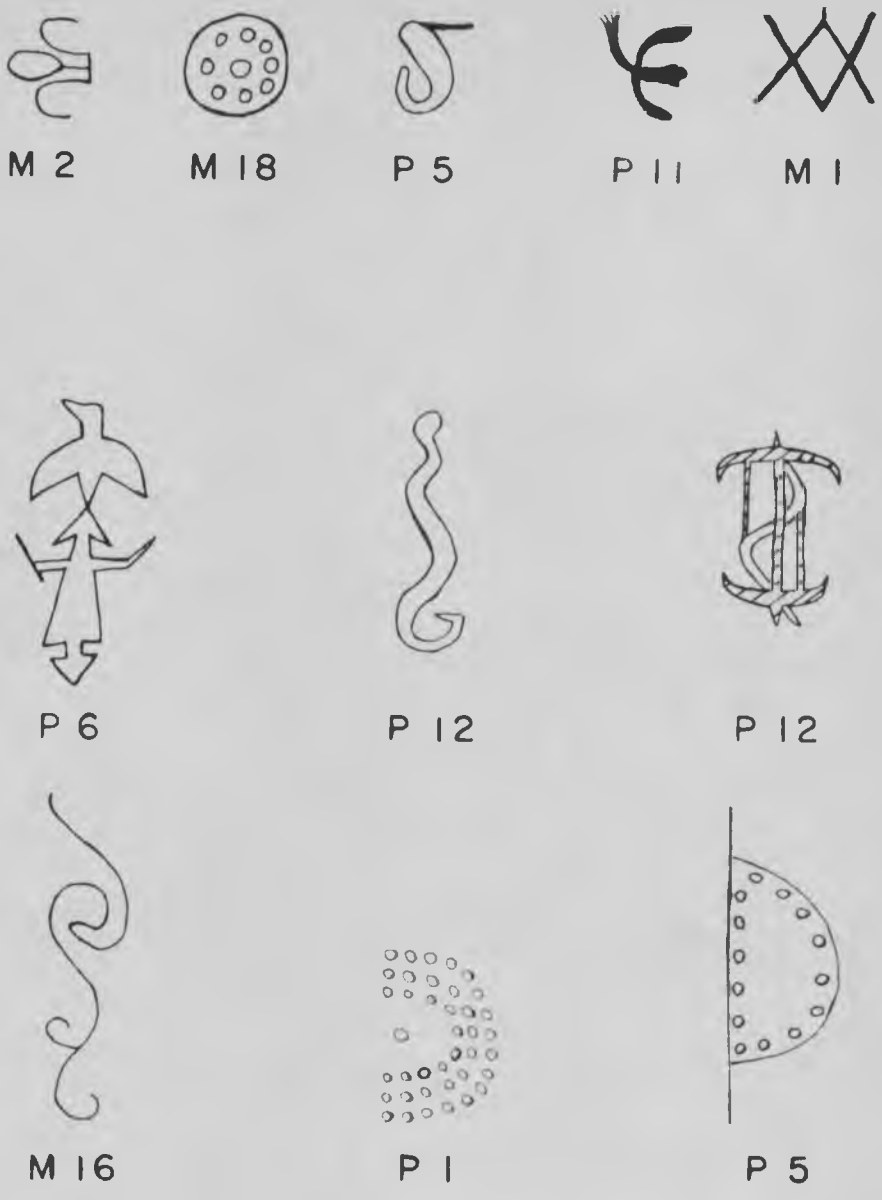


Figure 8 Representational and non-representational design units from the intermediate field

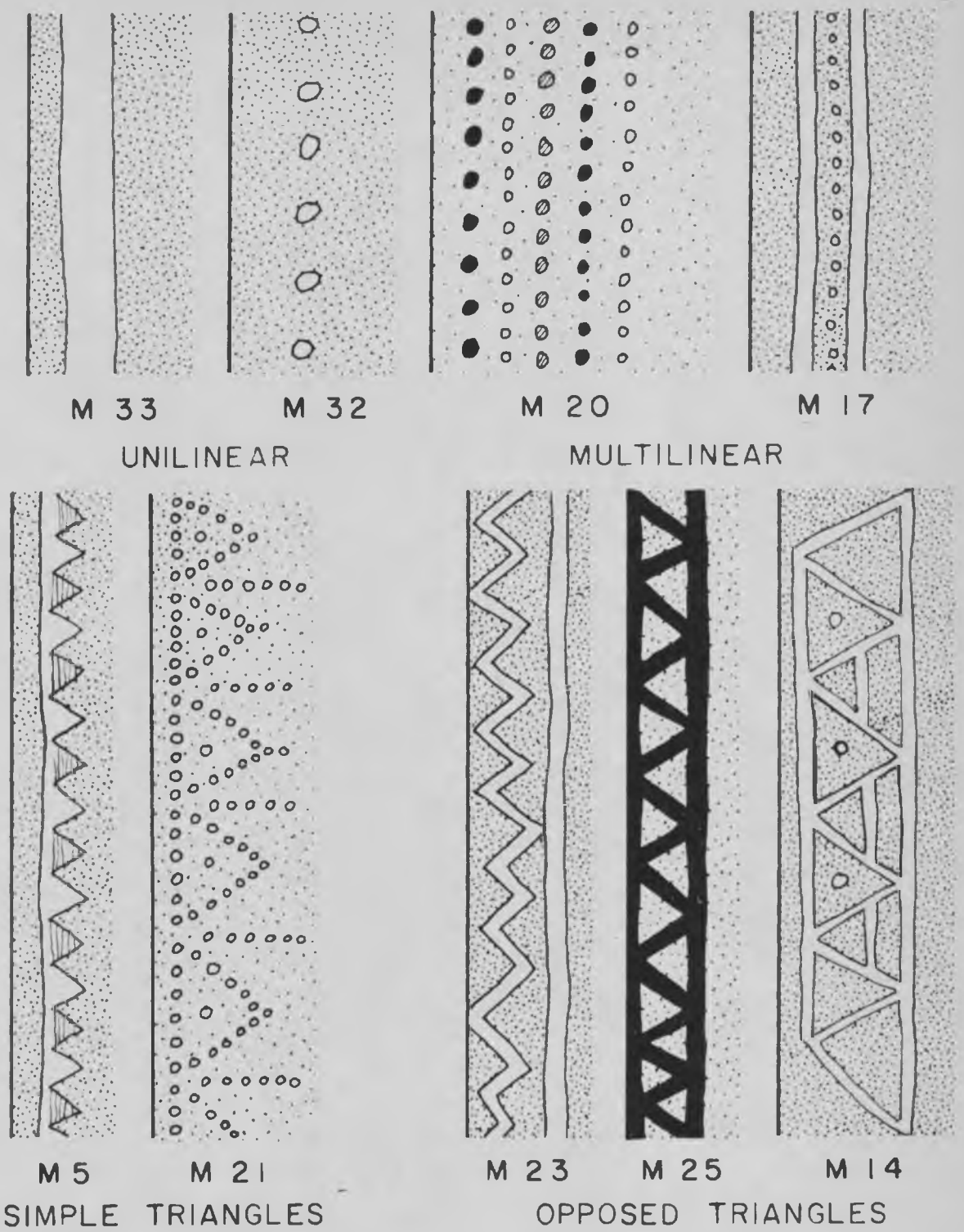


Figure 9 Types of border decorations

to be longer and thinner than the Rio Mayo masks. Beards are quite long, and eyebrows are almost always roached. Sometimes there are long tufts of hair on the cheeks. The base color is almost invariably black, and frequently there are vertical triangles under the eyes. Occasionally one finds figure-eight-shaped mouths and lizards on the sides of the masks.

The verticality that Yaqui masks possess is generally lacking in the Rio Mayo area. The mask itself tends to be rounder than the Yaqui one, and the beard is often only as long as the wooden part of the mask. The brows are usually almost as long as the beard, and there are no tufts of hair on the cheeks. The vertical triangles mentioned for Yaqui masks are usually absent, and instead one finds horizontally oriented triangles or wedges on the cheeks. The face is frequently set off from the sides of the mask by the use of hair, lines or other elements, color contrasts, and sculptural devices such as flattening. A small percentage of the Mayo masks have a face color other than black. The figure-eight mouths and lizards mentioned above do not appear in the Rio Mayo area.

The situation to the south is less clear, but it appears that the masks on the lower Rio Fuerte exhibit some resemblance to those from the Rio Mayo, while the few that I have seen from the upper Fuerte and Sinaloa rivers combine a Yaqui-like verticality with a Rio Mayo-like interest in isolating the face area. Much more field work must be done in this region before the picture here becomes as well defined as it is on the Rio Mayo.

CHAPTER 2

RIO MAYO *PASCOLA* MASKS

Sculptural Details

The average length of a Rio Mayo *Pascola* mask is 19.9 centimeters, while the average width is 13.7 centimeters or 71% of the length. When seen from the front, the wooden portion of the mask presents a smooth, unbroken oval. Viewed in horizontal cross-section, the mask may either slope gradually down from the upper edge to the nose in a flattened but regular arc, or may slope more steeply and directly to a flattened face.

There are two kinds of facial features currently depicted on Rio Mayo *Pascola* masks: the more prevalent human type, and the less common type that depicts a goat-like animal. When human features are depicted, the profile slopes downward and outward from the upper edge of the mask, with the slope terminating either in a brow ridge or with the eye holes. Above the eyes, and just above the optional brow ridge, there is a row of tufts of hair. The brow ridge may be smooth from side to side or come to a central peak over the nose. The ridge may overhang the eyes. Eye shape may be round, pointed at both ends, or pointed only at the outer corner. Eye rims may be carved in shallow relief.

The nose, which commonly starts at the brow ridge or the hair-line, is usually thin and long, frequently pointed at the tip, and often swaybacked. Although one or two nostrils may be depicted on the lower surface of the nose, there are seldom any indications of exterior nostril swellings on the sides.

The area from the eyes to the chin may be flat or laterally convex. The degree of convexity varies considerably. Occasionally the cheeks are carved in relief, but more often than not the face is vertically flat from chin to eyes. In the case of a few very flat faces, the mouth may stand out as a shallow tube.

The mouth is typically shown open, with lips indicated by painting or carving, or both. The lips are aften everted, giving a snout-like character to the mouth. Viewed from the front, the mouth most usually takes the form of a horizontally oriented oval with pointed or rounded ends. The corners of the mouth are seldom turned either up or down. Either one or both sets of teeth may be depicted. They may be carved out of wood, or they may be applied bits of metal or animal tooth. Frequently one or more teeth will be painted gold or may have a white or yellow metal overlay. The tongue may be shown, usually painted red, and frequently sticking straight out, rather than hanging downwards.

The area immediately below the mouth is oftem flat, forming with the cheeks the only broad vertical surfaces in the face. Viewed from the front, the chin is frequently in the form of a vertical letter "U." Below it, and frequently following its outline, there

is always a fringe of hair tufts. This fringe often extends up the sides of the chin to the corners of the mouth, and sometimes goes all the way up the sides of the face to join the brows. Below the beard, the mask slopes inward and down to the lower edge.

If the face depicted is that of a goat, there are some striking differences. The profile still slopes down from the upper edge, and there is still a hair line, but the brow ridge is altogether lacking. The eyes are not overhung by any carved brows, and the face consists of a large snout which slopes down and out to a mouth. Nostrils may be carved in the sides of the snout, and the mouth has teeth. The tongue protrudes from the mouth. There are no defined and flattened cheek areas, and the chin slopes sharply inward to the beard. Other features are shared with the "human" type of mask.

The interior of the masks are hollowed out to form a shallow cup, and is frequently given a very smooth finish. It is never decorated, although one carver puts a coat of red paint or a metal plate on the inside of the nose and mouth area to "protect the wood." The eyes are always carved through, and are used by the wearer as eye holes. The mouth is sometimes carved through, but the nostrils are rarely pierced. The mask is held to the dancer's head by a strap which is tied to two holes near the edge at about eye level.

Color

The usual base color of a Pascola mask is black. Exceptions to this rule do occur, however, on the Rio Mayo. In the present

sample there are two with brown base color, two with blue, and one each with silver and pink. The pink mask (M20 Fig. 13) was made to order for us, and was described by its maker as a "norteamericano Pascola" mask. In addition to the above masks, a slightly larger number have black as a base color and white or red faces. Some of the masks made by one man, Alcario Caamea, are painted with a variety of colors in a fashion that makes it impossible to determine a base color. These will be referred to as "polychrome" masks; Alcario's work as a whole will be discussed later.

Although white and red are the colors most commonly employed in decorating the masks, they are not the only ones as gold, silver, brown, green, yellow, blue, pink, and tan may be seen. The various possible color variations and combinations are illustrated in Figure 10, and described in the captions of Figures 11-19.

Design Analysis

The following design analysis is based upon the work done by Leavitt (1962) with Southwestern pottery design. His terminology and definitions will be employed, with one addition that is explained later. The analysis itself is divided into two parts: layout and design. Layout deals with the arrangement and utilization of available space on the masks, and with the organization of that space into fields. Under the heading of design are the descriptions of the actual elements, units, and motifs employed by the artists.

Figure 10. Typical color variations on Rio Mayo Pascola Masks

a. M3. By Andrés Wokovatchi (d) of Baburu. Made prior to 1940. There is repair work on the upper forehead.

b. M8. By Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made in 1963. This is a good example of a "polychrome" mask. Note the red on the temples.

c. M23. By Felipe Buitimea of El Rodeo. Made in about 1961. This mask has a small white cross on each lateral intermediate sub-field at about eye level in addition to the visible one on the chin and the usual forehead cross.

d. M26. By Manuel Yocupicio of San Ignacio. Made in early 1965. The face is scooped out, rather than flat or convex.

e. M29. By Benito Moroyoki of Embarcadero, near Wiarumui. Made in 1965. Note the realistic moustache.

f. M31. By Manuel Bacasewa, of Álamos. Made in 1965, for sale to "an American."

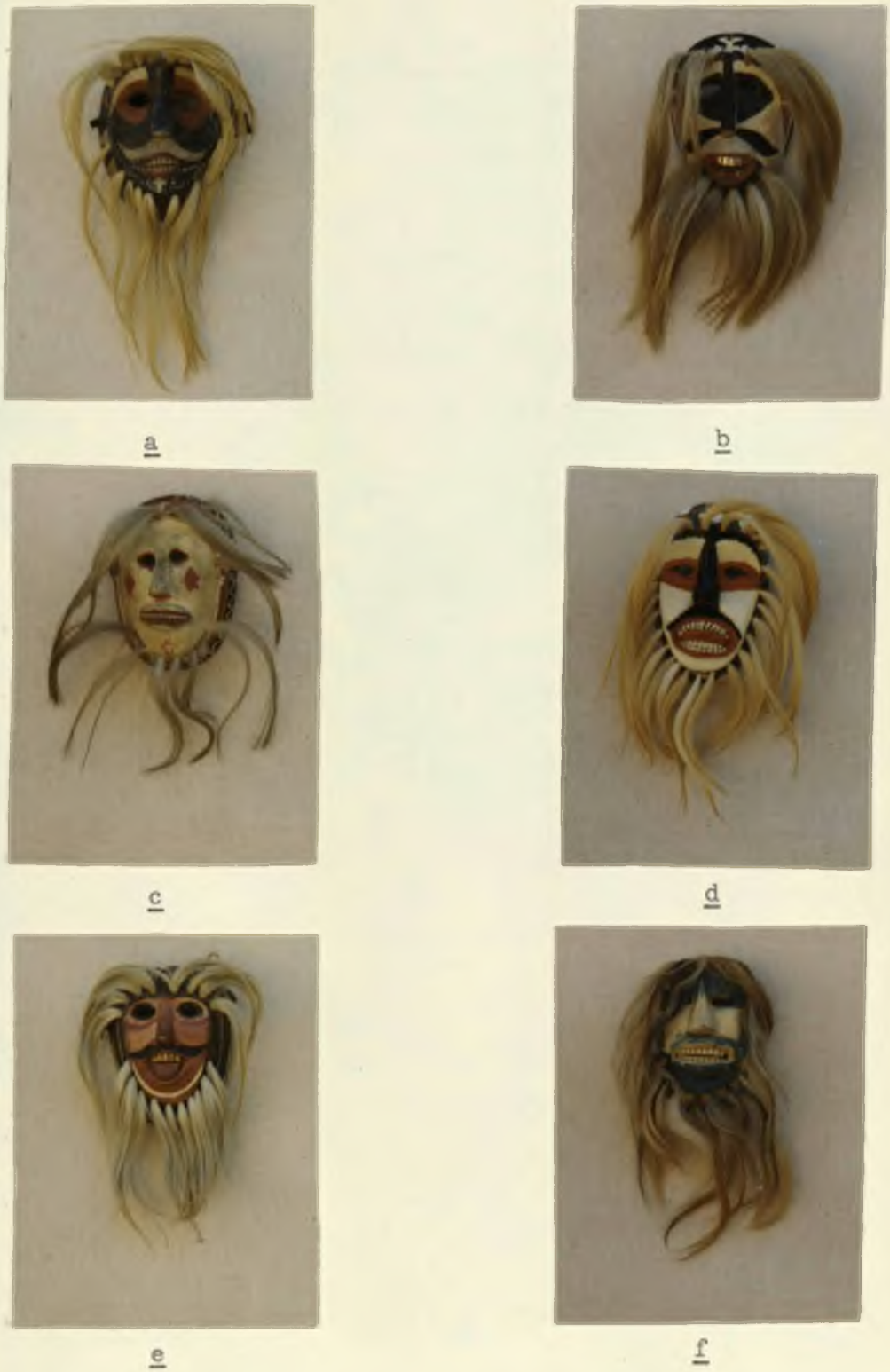


Figure 10. Typical color variations on Rio Mayo Pascola Masks.

Figure 11. Masks M1, M2, M4-M7

a. M1. By Acencio Valenzuela (d) of Nabolato. Made prior to 1930. Black, with red and white. Teeth are in the form of a plug inserted into the mouth.

b. M2. By Luciano Angwamea (d) of Bácame. Made prior to 1935. Previously black base; now brown with red and white. There are mirrors and very small "jewels" on the forehead.

c. M4. By Lupe Montañez (d) of Dos Camotes. Made prior to 1945. Brown with red. Note the flaring nostrils and the unique cameo cross on the forehead.

d. M5. By Pedro Osimea (d) of Sahuaral. Made prior to 1947. Very faded black with red, white, and green.

e. M6. By Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made about 1953. Black with white. The face has been scraped, flattened, and repainted.

f. M7. By Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made about 1962. Black with silver. Has brass teeth. The mask has been repainted, and the hair is removed for replacement.

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 11. Masks M1, M2, M4-M7.

Figure 12. Masks M9-M14.

a. M9. By Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made about 1964. Polychrome, with brown, white, pink, tan, and black. It has brass teeth.

b. M10. By Alcario Caamea, of Wiarumui. Made about 1964. Polychrome with black, white, and red. The teeth are scraped bare. Note the clear "Alcario" type cross on this and the next mask. The face is said to be that of a man.

c. M11. By Alcario Caamea, of Wiarumui. Unused. Polychrome with red, black, and white. According to Alcario, the hair is not right and needs replacing. The face is said to be that of a woman.

d. M12. By Escolástico Piña of Masiaca. Made about 1955. Brown, with black and red.

e. M13. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made about 1959. Black (over-painted with green ink) with red and white. One tooth is decorated with metal foil.

f. M14. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made about 1964. Black, with red and white. The face is very flat. Note the gold teeth.

Figure 12. Masks M9-M14.

Figure 13. Masks M15-M20.

a. M15. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made in late 1964. Black, with yellow and red. (The yellow may be white with colored pencil overlay.)

b. M16. By Candelario of La Bocana. Made about 1959. This is the most heavily repainted mask in the sample. See page 71 for a description. Currently black with white and red.

c. M17. By Candelario of La Bocana. Said to be new but probably older. The face is white with pink, red, and black. The rest is black with white. One of the two goat-faced masks in the sample (See Fig. 14).

d. M18. By Candelario of La Bocana. Made to order. Black, with white, red, and pink. Note the gold tooth and the realistic moustache.

e. M19. By Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui. Made about 1960. Black, with silver and red. The border includes square, semi-circular, and triangular mirrors. A very delicately executed mask.

f. M20. By Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui. Made to order. Pink, with black and red. Described as being a "norteamericano Pascola."

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 13. Masks M15-M20.

Figure 14. Masks M21, M22, M24, M25, M27, M28.

a. M21. By Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui. Made to order. Black, with red and white. The forehead cross is a result of my request.

b. M22. By Felipe Buitimea of El Rodeo. Made in about 1961. Black, with white and red. One of the only two goat-faced masks in the collection, (see Figure 13).

c. M24. By Alvaro Villanueva of Sanial. Made in about 1963. Black, with red and white. The back is signed "Alvaro Villan."

d. M25. By Rosario Jilomeno of Guayperin. Made about 1964. Yellow, with black and red.

e. M27. By Marcelo Alamea of Loma de Refugio. Age unknown. Black, with white and red.

f. M28. By Marcelo Alamea of Loma de Refugio. New, finished to order. Black, with red and silver.

Figure 14. Masks M21, M22, M24, M25, M27, M28.

Figure 15. Masks M30, M32-M36.

a. M30. By Manuel Bacasewa of Álamos. Made to order. Natural wood, with blue and white.

b. M32. By Tránsito Duarte of Navojoa. New. Black, with red and white. See page 94 for a description of the treatment of the back.

c. M33. By Tránsito Duarte of Navojoa. New. Black, with red and white. See page 94 for a description of the treatment of the back.

d. M34. By Brígido Valenzuela of Guayperin. New. Black with white. This was his first attempt at mask making. Later unfinished masks by the same man may be seen in Fig. 19.

e. M35. By Brígido Moroyoki of Buaysiacobe. Made to order. Black, with white and red.

f. M36. By Brígido Moroyoki of Buaysiacobe. Made to order. Black, with white and red. This mask and M35 are the only asymmetrical ones in the sample. One Mayo upon seeing them, remarked that the maker was very old and sick.

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 15. Masks M30, M32-M36.

Figure 16. Masks from Museum Collections and Masks by Silvestre Lopez.

a. P4. Collected in 1911 between Huatabampo and Navojoa. Now Heye Foundation specimen 11/23333. Black, with scraped decoration. The name ANGEL appears on the forehead. Not visible are eight tufts of hair above the mouth - a unique feature. This mask and the three following were photographed in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

b. P5. Collected in 1911 at Masiaca. Now Heye Foundation specimen 12/9496. Black with white. Note that the hair tufts are very small and close together.

c. P7. Collected in 1911 between Huatabampo and Navojoa. Now Heye Foundation specimen 11/2334. Black, with red face and white and scraped decorations.

d. P8. Collected in 1911 between Huatabampo and Navojoa. Now Heye Foundation specimen 11/2332. Black, with red face and white decorations. The teeth are from a small animal.

e. P9. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made about 1964. Black, with silver and red. This mask and all subsequent ones were photographed in the field.

f. P10. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Age unknown. Black, with white and red.

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 16. Masks from Museum Collections and Masks by Silvestre Lopez.

Figure 17. Masks by Silvestre Lopez and Tránsito Duarte.

a. P16. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made in 1960. Black, with silver and red. The string between the teeth is probably the end of the string used for tying down the hair.

b. P17. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made in 1962. Black, with white and red.

c. P19. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made in 1962. Black with red, silver, and white.

d. P20. By Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo. Made in 1960. Silver, with red, pink, and black.

e. P23. By Tránsito Duarte of Navojoa. New in 1965. Black, with red and white.

f. P30. By Tránsito Duarte. Unfinished. Black, with red and white.

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 17. Masks by Silvestre Lopez and Transito Duarte.

Figure 18. Masks by Tránsito Duarte, Alcario Caamea, and Plácido Alamea.

a. P29. By Tránsito Duarte of Navojoa. Unfinished. Black, with red and white. This mask was being made for a young Pascola.

b. P32. By Tránsito Duarte of Navojoa. Made about 1955 (there was linguistic confusion about this date). White face with red, while the border is black with red and white. This mask was repainted by its current owner.

c. P11. By Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made about 1958. Polychrome, with black, white, and brown. Note string protruding from mouth. Both this mask and the next have pink plastic tongues.

d. P34. Attributed to Alcario Caamea of Wiarumui. Made before 1950. Polychrome, with white face and green, red, and black intermediate field and border.

e. P13. By Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui. Made in 1962. Black, with white and red.

f. P24. By Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui. Made in 1945. Black, with white, pink, and silver. There is a very large "jewel" and some abalone shell inlay over the forehead cross.

a

b

c

d

e

f

Figure 18. Masks by Transito Duarte, Alcario Caamea, and Placido Alamea.

Figure 19. Miniature and unfinished Masks, and costumed Pascolas.

a. P37. Miniature mask by Plácido Alamea of Jitonbrumui. Unfinished, flesh colored, with black.

b. P28, P27. By Brígido Valenzuela of Guayperin. Unfinished. Note the incising on the border of P27.

c. A masked Pascola dancing at Magdalena, Sonora. The mask is P13.

d. A Pascola after a fiesta on the Rio Mayo. His mask is on the back of his head. Note the large flower on the top of his head.

a

b

c

d

Figure 19. Miniature and unfinished Masks, and costumed Pascolas.

Layout

The largest area to be defined is the field of decoration, or that part of the blank surface which can be decorated. A swift survey of the sample is sufficient to indicate that this applies to the whole exterior of the mask. By this I do not intend to mean that the entire surface of every mask is decorated, but rather that there is no part of the surface that is not decorated on some mask, and that there are some masks on which the entire surface in question is decorated. The entire outer surface of the mask is thus potentially a field for decoration. Within this broad area, it is possible to define three fields of design, or subdivisions of the total field (Leavitt 1962: 4, 5). These three fields, any or all of which may appear on any given mask, are the face, the intermediate field, and the border.

The face includes such features as the eyes, nose, mouth, cheeks, and chin. Its limits are determined by extending the brow and beard lines until they meet, forming a more or less oval outline. It may be set off from the rest of the mask in several ways. It may be carved flat or painted in a color contrasting with that of the intermediate field and the border. It may be partially or totally surrounded by a carved ridge or by a painted or incised line. In cases where the face is only partially surrounded, the ridge is most common over the eyes and on the chin, and the line is most common on the chin. The face may also be set off by tufts of hair; the brow and chin are always so set off.

The border is that area lying immediately adjacent to the edge of the mask. The intermediate field is that area lying between the border and the edge of the face. These two fields of design are further distinguished from each other by the fact that, while the border decoration is usually continuous or banded, the design on the intermediate field almost invariably involves separate elements and units.

These three fields of design may be divided further into sub-fields. This term, while not used by Leavitt, is consistent with his system. Sub-fields are informal divisions of the fields of design, and may exist either according to a system of naturalistic logic, as in the case of the sub-fields of the face, or a system of areal distribution, as with the sub-fields of the side and border.

The sub-fields of the face are as follows: eyes, cheeks, nose, upper lip, lower lip, and lower face. These last three can sometimes be treated together as the mouth area. Each of these sub-fields may be plain or decorated. In addition, there are sometimes a face border and diagonals from the face to the edge of the mask. These should be considered when present.

The border and the intermediate fields are each divisible into four sub-fields. These are the top, two lateral areas, and the bottom. As most masks are bilaterally symmetrical, it is usually convenient to treat both lateral areas together. It is difficult to generalize on the dividing lines between these sub-fields, but they are frequently found at the level of the eyes and the level of the mouth.

Design

There are several ways in which the surface of a Mayo Pascola mask may be embellished. Decorations may be painted on, or incised and painted, or merely incised. There may also be applied decoration such as mirrors, glass "jewels," and metal flower forms that can be inset into or glued on the surface.

Decoration of the face seems to fall into three classes. The first of these includes such items as nostrils and moustaches which portray natural features of the human or animal face. The second category seeks to reflect the shape of the sculptural features of the face. Such items as curved lines below the eyes and lines or rows of dots around the mouth fall into this category. It is not always easy to draw the line between these two classes in specific instances. When faced with the question, for example, of whether the row of dots over the mouth of mask M5 (Fig. 11d) represents a moustache or is simply a reflection of the shape of the mouth, I have consistently employed the latter classification. On the other hand, the object over the mouth of M3 is obviously a moustache. (Fig. 10a)

The third class of decoration is that employed to fill smooth, flat, or slightly curved areas such as the cheeks or the lower face. Decoration of this class neither portrays natural features nor reflects sculptural ones. Of course it is possible that all the material in the last two categories represents portrayals of face painting patterns which are no longer used, but as no informant has

remembered any case of face painting among the Mayos, this must remain in the realm of pure speculation.

It would be fruitless to list the elements or units of design employed in the first two categories. Leavitt (1962: 184-185) suggests that a major purpose for design analysis is to provide material for comparative studies; this is better done by approaching the first two classes in terms of the features which they portray or reflect, and which seem to determine their shape, rather than in terms of their form. It is in the third class that the traditional approach of isolating and listing design elements, units, and motifs seems to be valid. All three classes employ lines, line segments, and dots. As the use of certain classes and elements seems confined to certain sub-fields, the next step in the analysis is to examine each sub-field separately.

The eyes may be decorated in a number of ways, each falling within either the first or the second of the classes discussed above. Designs of the first class is limited to the painting of eyebrows above the eyes, as in mask M18 (Fig. 13d). The design of the second class are more varied. The sockets of the eyes may be painted, the eyes may be surrounded by one or more wide or narrow rings of a color contrasting with that of the face, or they may be set within wide or narrow bands, also of a contrasting color. There may also be curved lines or rows of dots below the eyes.

The nose may have decoration of the first two classes. In the first class, there may be one or more nostrils indicated by dots;

When painted, these are frequently red. The outer flare of the nostril is shown in white in one case. Decorations of the second class include a stripe or row of dots down the ridge of the nose, a row of dots outlining the tip, and the painting of the lower plane surface of the nose in a color contrasting with that of the face. Red is a popular color for this.

The cheeks, if they are decorated at all, have decoration of the first or third class. Decoration for the first class is confined to a red splotch on each cheek, as in mask M12 (Fig. 12d). Because the third class must be described in terms of the formal divisions of design, some terms must now be briefly defined. Elements are the simplest complete forms in design (Leavitt 1962: 22), units are formed of elements in combination (Leavitt 1962: 24), and motifs are formed of units and/or elements in combination (Leavitt 1962: 24). The two simpler forms, elements and units, appear on the cheeks. The basic elements on the cheeks are "S" shapes, isosceles triangles, wedges, and an irregular polygon (Figs. 4, 5). These may be used singly or combined to form units (Figs. 4, 5). Both the units and the elements may be outlined by dots.

The upper lip may have decoration of the first class, in this case a moustache, or of the second class. The second class decoration is either a line, a band, or a row of dots reflecting the shape of the mouth. It may be either attached to or adjacent to the mouth. The lower lip, if decorated at all, has a second class decoration of the sort described for the upper lip. If there is an upper lip decoration, the lower one may or may not join it at the corners of the mouth. Both lips may be painted red.

The lower face may have embellishment of the third class. Crosses, parallel lines, and triangles are the elements employed in this sub-field. The face border, when it appears, consists of one or more lines. A very few masks, the work of one man, have diagonal lines proceeding downwards from the face to the border or edge of the mask. These may be simple lines or tapered bands. They are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

The decorations found on the intermediate field and border are of the third class of design as defined above, and are themselves divisible into two categories. A certain number of the units and elements are representational; they depict such objects as flowers, leaves, animals, and anchors in a recognizable fashion. The cross is included in this category, as is the star, because these are representations of meaningful objects in this case, rather than simple geometric constructions. Letters of the alphabet and one name (mask P4) are also considered to be representational. It seems very likely that many of the units in this category are functional in purpose.

The other category within the third class of design is non-representational, and includes such geometric constructions as triangles, squares, rectangles, and circles, as well as other rectilinear and curvilinear elements and units. Should later interviewing prove some of them to have a meaning attached, they may be reclassified as representational. The non-representational elements may appear on either the border or the intermediate field; the representational ones are limited to the intermediate field.

It will be noticed that while the non-representational material is broken down into elements, it was considered more convenient to stop at the unit level when dealing with the representational material. The unit seems to be the significant level for this material, while the elements used in the construction of identical units may differ within a single mask. For example, the flowers shown in Figure 6 utilize elongated diamond-shaped elements as petals. These petals vary within the individual flower, as well as from flower to flower on the same mask, thus rendering a further breakdown quite meaningless.

The most commonly decorated sub-field of the intermediate field is the top, and the most frequently appearing unit in this sub-field is the centrally located cross. A few exceptions occur. Two masks (M18 and M28) have non-representational units, but the majority of the masks utilizing this sub-field do so with a cross. The crosses are of three main types: Latin, Greek, and the cross patée. There is also a distinctive form used by one man, Alcario Caamea, whose highly individual work is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. His crosses, which appear to be combinations of the Latin and patée types, are here called Alcario crosses. All four types are shown in Figure 3.

The central cross is often flanked by other elements and units of both a representational and non-representational nature. Representational material includes leaves, letters, stars, and floral units. These may either flank the cross or partially surround it.

Non-representational material includes lines, both solid and dotted, triangles, and circles. The flanking elements and units always exhibit bilateral symmetry.

Also arranged in bilateral symmetry are the decorations in the lateral sub-field, which may be continuations of the top flanking material or separate elements and units having no connection with the top. Representational units such as crosses, anchors, snakes, and possible anthropomorphs (Fig. 7) appear, as do such non-representational elements as circles and curved lines, both dotted and solid. "Legged diamonds" (Fig. 7) and circular and curvilinear units also appear. Random dotting occurs in all sub-fields of the intermediate field.

The bottom sub-field is less frequently decorated, floral units, crosses, and random dotting being the only recorded material in this spot. The intermediate field is also a favored area for the application of such decorative objects as small mirrors, "jewels," and others.

The border is divided into the same sub-fields as is the intermediate field, the laterals once again being almost invariably identical because of bilateral symmetry. Each of the sub-fields may or may not have decoration. The decoration may be the same in all, or different in any or all. If a border exists, it is almost always in the lateral sub-fields. These two sub-fields are also the most complex if there is a variation in complexity.

The border is almost always continuous, either with its own framing line or using the edge of the mask as an implied framing line.

The elements employed are straight and curved lines and equilateral or isosceles triangles. The lines may be solid or dotted, and dots may be used for outlining or other embellishment. There are four types of borders: unilinear, multilinear, simple triangle assemblages, and opposed triangle assemblages. An arrangement of triangles between two framing lines is considered to be opposed. One, two, or three colors other than the base color may be used. An idea of the range of possibilities within each border type is given in Figure 9.

Hair

All Mayos who were approached on the subject felt that a Pascola mask must have a beard and eyebrows, both composed of tufts of hair attached to the wood of the mask. It is also felt that this hair must be white. A preference is frequently expressed for goat hair, although horse hair is used. The horse's mane and the goat's flanks are the favored sources of hair. Ixtle, or mescal fiber, is apparently not used on the Rio Mayo, although the Yaquis are reported to use it (Dominquez 1962: 129). One mask has a row of hair tufts on the upper lip (Pl4).

Two methods of attaching hair are employed. In the first, the hair is plugged into a hole in the wooden surface of the mask. This hole does not necessarily go all the way through the wood. The plug is a piece of wood, and glue may be added. In the other system, a hole is drilled all the way through the wood, and the hair is doubled up and pushed through from the front. It is then stitched in place from behind with either commercial or home-twisted thread or string.

Rio Mayo masks feature long brows and a beard of about the same length. The average beard in the sample is 88% as long as the wooden part of the mask. Hair may fully surround the face, but isolated cheek tufts appear in only three masks in the sample. Two of these (M30 and M31) are the work of the same man, and were both made for sale to non-Mayos. The third, P3, was collected in Sahuaral by D. B. Cordey in 1935.

Applied Decoration

Some masks have applied decoration in addition to the more common incising, painting, and use of hair. This decoration, which may be inlayed or attached to the surface of the mask, may appear in all three of the fields of design.

The face may have applied decoration of two sorts. The mouth may contain teeth, which are of some bright metal except in one case (mask P8) in which real animal teeth are used. In addition, small round mirrors may be set above the eyes and on the cheeks (mask P13). Decoration applied to the intermediate and border fields is concentrated on the top and lateral sub-fields. Metal flower forms; round, rectangular, and triangular mirrors; bits of abalene shell and glass "jewels" may be used. The jewels range from pinhead size to 2.4cm. in diameter. Nails may also be used in the intermediate field.

Miniature Masks

Only one miniature mask was found during the field work (P 37). This was made by Plácido Alamea of Jitombrumui, on order "from

Guadalajara." It was the consensus among those who saw the mask that it would be placed on a chain of some sort and sold, presumably in a curio shop. Everyone stated emphatically that they knew of no Mayo use for miniature masks.

The mask (Fig. 19a) was about 5 cm. long, with a large straight nose and open mouth. It had been painted flesh-color, with a large black moustache and eyebrows. It had no other decoration, either incised or painted. Hair had not yet been put in place, and holes for its installation had been drilled on the chin only. Although it was too small for any conceivable use as a face covering, its eyes had been drilled all the way through the wood.

Manufacture

There seem to be few fixed rules regarding the manufacture of Rio Mayo Pascola masks. Carvers use any available tools. These range from a single knife to knife, chisel, brace and bit, and sandpaper. As mask making is neither a major source of income nor a major ceremonial occupation, the men who have tools are usually those who pursue some other craft such as the making of musical instruments or furniture, or the building of dugout canoes (Table 3). In Sinaloa, tools may be loaned by one man to another, frequently a compadre, for the purpose of making a mask. I have as yet found no specific instance of this in Sonora.

The wood selected for a mask is of medium hardness, neither as hard as mesquite nor as soft as balsa. The favorite wood on the Rio Mayo is Torote Prieto (Bursera inopinnata Bullock). Of the 42

masks for which data concerning wood is available, 23, or about 55% are of this wood. Other woods used are Cottonwood root (Populus sp.) for about 21% of the masks, Palo joso (Albizzia sinaloensis Britt. and Rose) about 12%, and Guácima (Guazuma ulmifolia Lam.) for about 12%. (All the scientific names are from Gentry 1942.)

Selection of wood is apparently a matter of personal preference tempered by availability, especially in a few cases where a carver apparently had wood left over from a larger and more lucrative project. The prime example of this is the case of Alcario Caamea, who makes dugout canoes of cottonwood, and apparently uses the left-over wood for masks.

Although I have not examined many unfinished masks, the following seems to be the general woodcarving procedure. Starting with a half-cylinder of wood of about the proportions desired for a mask, one roughs out the back cavity and the face, smoothing it all down and even incising the decoration before drilling the hair holes. These holes may in some cases be burned through with a poker or hot wire. It is my impression that the holes are drilled before the mask is painted in a majority of cases; however, I have encountered instances of the hair itself being applied both before and after painting. Mirrors and other applied decoration seem to be put in place after painting in most cases. On a few masks the general outlines of the painted areas are first drawn in with a pencil.

The preferred paint nowadays is zapolina, a term that seems to be applied to any commercial enamel paint. Questioning of carvers

did not elicit any statements concerning the prior existence of any home-made coloring for the masks. Exterior surface finish can range from quite coarse to very smooth and glossy, and from extremely sloppy (M30, for example) to equally neat (M19). This latter range applies to the inside finish of the masks as well.

The last thing to be added to the mask is the string for tying it to the Pascola's head. This is apparently supplied by many makers, and may range from a piece of braided leather to home - or commercially made twine. One mask has a tie of home-spun cotton (M13). Shoe or boot lace is quite popular. When a used mask is sold, the tie is frequently left on, although one man removed the braided leather from his mask before handing it over to us.

Although I have not actually watched a mask being carved from beginning to end, I have observed several stages in the process, and have discussed the matter with several carvers. No trace of ceremonial behavior connected with mask making or with the preparation of the mask for use by the Pascola has been found.

Changes After Use

After a mask is used for a while or when it changes hands, it may undergo a partial or complete refurbishing. The hair may be replaced, and the mask may be repainted and redecorated. Old hair holes may be plugged with wood and new ones drilled. This practice is by no means confined to old or worn masks, and may even be done to a new mask which does not suit the taste of its owner. In the case of several masks purchased, the seller suggested that we get the mask

rehaired and repainted in order to render it as good as new. Some men scrape away the sweat stains from the inside of a used mask when they sell it.

Split or otherwise damaged masks may be repaired by glueing or stitching to keep the split from getting larger, or by patching with wood. On one mask (M3) a small strip of wood has been overlaid on a presumably damaged area on the top of the border, and painted to match its surroundings.

One notable example of a redecorated mask is M16; it was apparently damaged in some way and redone in a completely different scheme. A triangle border and some painted scrollwork on the intermediate field (Fig. 8) were covered up with a heavy coat of black paint which was then decorated with scattered white dots. Another such mask is M6, which was made by Alcario Caamea and redecorated by its subsequent owner.

The redecoration and repair of a mask is apparently no more a matter for ritual or uniform behavior than is the original manufacturing process.

CHAPTER 3

SUBSTYLES

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to describe an art style which, although it falls within a regional style, is distinct in itself. It is only necessary to glance briefly at Figures 10-19 however, to see that the masks in the present sample are far from being carbon copies of each other. There are variations in dimensions, color, hair placement, and design. Indeed, every statement made in the descriptions just completed has not one, but usually several exceptions. Obviously, the next task, therefore, is to attempt to determine whether or not this seeming chaos can be reduced to any order, or, in other words, to see whether there are sub-styles and regular variations within the generality that we have labelled "Rio Mayo Pascola masks."

The method of determining sub-styles is as follows. Each mask in the sample was assigned a number, and then described in terms of 72 categories relating to the physical appearance of the mask. These categories, along with the code used in the descriptions, are listed in Table 2. The masks were then further described in terms of four non-physical attributes. These were: the age of the mask, the maker's age in the case of a contemporary mask, the purpose for which the mask was made, and in some cases the name of the maker.

These categories (73, 74, 75, and 77) and the coding system used are also to be found in Table 2. After all this information was set down for each mask, a master chart was made (Table 1) that gives all 72 categories for all of the masks in the sample.

The information thus organized was then put on I.B.M. cards, and the physical attributes were examined in terms of each aspect of each non-descriptive category. This was done as Project Number 040-665955 of the Numerical Analysis Laboratory at the University of Arizona. In this way it was possible to determine, for example, how many masks of a certain age possessed a given physical characteristic. In addition to the number of masks, percentages were obtained in terms of the total sample for each attribute. While the information thus obtained is not really adequate for precise statistical analysis, because of the widely varying sizes of the samples involved, it served as a guide and indicator for the study which follows.

Age

One of the questions most frequently asked concerning a work of art is, "How old is it?" The obvious correllary is, "Does this class of objects change with time?" As the present sample does have considerable depth in time, it is only natural that it be examined with an eye to the determination of possible trends or directions of change. This was done, using the methods just described. As there are certain limitations inherent in these methods, as well as in the sample itself, a general discussion is necessary before the results of the time study can be presented.

The only portion of the sample for which I have definite, unimpeachable dates consists of those masks which I observed in the process of manufacture. This includes four which were made to our order, and two partly finished masks, one by Brígido Valenzuela and one by Tránsito Duarte. I am also very sure of the newness of most of the other masks which were said to have been manufactured in 1965. An exception to this is found in the case of M17, which was said to have been made on our order, but which from all indications is actually an older mask, refurbished for sale by Candelario (last name unknown).

When it comes to assigning a date to an older mask, I have only the word of the seller to go on. Ignorance or lapse of memory is quite possible, especially in the case of an older mask, or in other instances in which the seller was not the original owner. The language barrier has led to confusion in assigning a date in at least one case for certain (P32). Finally, one must take into consideration the temptations open to prospective sellers in a situation where newer masks are more valuable than older ones.

Eight of the masks in the sample were encountered and described in museum collections (Table 5). In all cases the collection date was available, but there was no data on the age of the mask at the time of its collection. Although all of the masks show signs of use, and some show much more than others, it is impossible to attempt even a relative chronology in the light of our knowledge concerning refurbishing practices on the Rio Mayo. The available information concerning these masks, which are the oldest in the sample, is given in Table 4.

Table 5. References to Published Illustrations of Rio Mayo *Pascolas* and *Pascola* masks.

Illustration	Reference
Pascolas	
Rio Mayo *Pascolas*	Beals 1945, pl. 16-1
Pascolas and Musicians	Dominguez 1962: 183-6
Posed photograph of a *Pascola*	Toor 1947, Fig. 20
Masks	
P6, in color	Anonymous 1963: 8
P1	Beals 1945, pl. 13, right
P2	Beals 1945, pl. 13, left
P3	Dockstader 1964, Fig. 211
A mask	Dominguez 1962: 186

Armed with the above reservations, therefore, it is safe to examine the sample in the time perspective of six time periods: Period 1, 1965; Period 2, 1960-1965; Period 3, 1950-1960; Period 4, 1940-1950; Period 5, 1930-1940; and Period 6, pre-1930.

One important factor that must be kept in mind while reviewing this study is the widely varying sample sizes for the periods that have been set up. There are 18 masks from Period 1; 24 from Period 2; 11 from Period 3; and 4, 5, and 8 respectively from the last three periods. In addition, within these samples there is further reduction of the effective sample, due to the fact that there are several masks for which certain sorts of information are simply not available. This is primarily due to the imperfect nature of the field photographs from which the uncollected portion of the material was described. A final factor influencing the accuracy of the analysis is that many of the masks made in 1965 were carved to order for us, and thus fall within what will be demonstrated to be a different substyle from that consisting of masks carved for use by Pascolas.

In an effort to save space, I have reproduced only those percentages which are mentioned in the text, or appear to be of some importance in the study at hand. This material may be found in Tables 6, 7, and 8. Even though the sample is small and varied, some interesting trends may be observed.

As far as the basic proportions of the masks are concerned, there seems to be a steady decrease in length (attribute #4), width

Table 6. Trends of change through time for selected sculptural attributes of Rio Mayo Pascola masks.

	Time Period											
	1 1965		2 1960-65		3 1950-60		4 1940-50		5 1930-40		6 pre 1930	
Attribute	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
4 length	25	12	35.7	14	40	5	50	2	28.5	7	100	4
5 width	41.7	12	28.5	14	60	5	100	2	71	7	100	4
6 relative width	33.3	12	50	14	80	5	100	2	85.7	7	50	4
9c over-hanging brows	22.2	18	27	22	30	10	25	4	75	8	66.6	3
14 eyes slanting	11.1	18	26.1	23	36.4	11	0	4	12.5	8	0	5
19 nose	0	18	4.6	22	0	11	25	4	14.3	7	0	5
25 nostrils carved	7.7	13	14.3	15	28.6	7	50	2	14.3	7	0	4
28 upper teeth	88.9	18	95.5	22	73	11	75	4	50	8	80	5
29 lower teeth	77.8	18	77.3	22	72.7	11	75	4	50	8	80	5
33 tongue	27.8	18	36.4	22	45.5	11	25	4	12.5	8	60	5

Table 7. Trends of change through time for selected attributes related to the elaborateness of embellishment of Rio Mayo Pascola masks.

	Time Period											
	1 1965		2 1960-65		3 1950-60		4 1940-50		5 1930-40		6 pre 1930	
Attribute	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
41 forehead cross fl.	5.9	17	52.4	21	27.3	11	33.3	3	87.5	8	100	5
42 forehead cross with j. or m.	6.2	16	40.9	22	36.6	11	33.3	3	12.5	8	0	4
43 lat. int. area	11.8	17	19.1	21	27.3	11	25	3	75	8	40	5
48 cheek design	43.8	16	72.7	22	45.5	11	75	4	87.5	8	60	5
55 border	41.2	17	14.3	23	45.5	11	25	4	37.5	8	40	5
56 border	43.8	16	52.2	17	71.4	7	33.3	3	28.6	7	80	5
57 lat. border	17.6	17	76.5	21	18.2	11	25	4	12.5	8	20	5
58 borders incised or outlined	29	17	50	20	81	11	75	4	75	8	80	5
59 jewels, mirrors	12.5	16	54.5	22	54.5	11	33.3	3	12.5	8	25	4
60 life forms and rep. designs	0	16	33.3	21	9	11	0	3	25	8	100	4
61 sep. ele.	43.8	16	66.6	24	54.6	11	75	4	87.5	8	20	5
62 dots for framing	25	16	27.3	22	27.3	11	25	4	62.5	8	20	5

Table 7 -- Continued

	Time Period											
	1 1965		2 1960-65		3 1950-60		4 1940-50		5 1930-40		6 pre 1930	
Attribute	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
63 Dots for other purposes	37.5	16	36.4	22	27.3	11	0	4	87.5	8	40	5

Table 8. Trends of change through time for the treatment of the face and the arrangement of hair of Rio Mayo Pascola masks.

	Time Period											
	1 1965		2 1960-65		3 1950-60		4 1940-50		5 1930-40		6 pre 1930	
Attribute	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
34 no sharp face ridge	72.8	18	70	20	81.8	11	75	4	85.7	7	60	5
34b face area ridge	55.6	18	45	20	27.3	11	25	4	71.4	7	40	5
34c chin area ridge	22.2	18	25	20	54.5	11	50	4	14.3	7	20	5
35 face set off by lines	29.4	17	0	21	18.2	11	100	4	25	8	20	5
36 no face flattening	38.9	18	47.6	21	9.1	11	25	4	75	8	20	5
36b face carved flat vert.	22.2	18	23.8	21	9.1	11	0	4	75	8	20	5
36c face hori. flat	16.7	18	23.8	21	0	11	25	4	0	8	0	5
37 face color	12.5	17	21.9	23	27.3	11	0	4	25	8	60	5
65 hair stitched	69.2	13	62.5	16	80	5	100	4	28.6	7	75	4
70 nose-mouth hair	43.8	16	63.6	22	90.9	11	100	3	75	8	80	5

(#5), and relative width (#6) since 1940, and quite possibly since before 1930, although a short-lived increase in these three attributes can be seen between 1930 and 1940 (Table 6). Most of the other sculptural qualities have remained more or less constant, with the following exceptions. There is a decrease in the percentage of masks with overhanging brows (#9c), an increase and then a decrease in the incidence of eyes slanting down and outwards (#14), and a similar peaking and diminishing of flat nose ridges (#25). The proportion of masks with external nostril swellings (#19) fluctuated in an apparently aimless fashion. Upper teeth (#28) and lower teeth (#29) decrease in popularity very slightly and at the same rate until about 1960. They then occur more frequently, but with the incidence of upper teeth alone rising more sharply than upper and lower teeth together. The proportion of masks with the tongue out (#33) declines sharply after 1930, rises again to a peak in 1950-60, and then declines steadily until the present.

On the basis of a casual examination of the sample, I had expected to find a marked decrease in elaborateness of decoration from the older masks to the more recent ones. To a certain extent this is borne out by the analysis (Table 7). There appears to be a gradual and uneven decrease in the incidence of units and elements of design on the laterals of the intermediate fields (#43) and flanking the forehead cross (#34). The use of elements and units on the cheeks (#48) also appears to decrease gradually, as does the practice of outlining and incising borders (#58).

The use of elements and units of a non-representative nature (#61) seems to have remained constant through the years. On the other hand, despite wild fluctuations, there has been an overall increase in the use of life forms and representational units (#60). The popularity of the upper, middle, and lower borders (#55, #57) also seems to fluctuate, but without a noticeable pattern. The use of dots, both for framing (#62) and for other purposes (#63) does not seem to fall into any pattern either.

The use of glass "jewels" and mirrors as items of applied decoration (#42, #59) increased up to 1965, at which time this practice experienced a sudden loss in popularity. This is quite probably a reflection of the fact that a large proportion of the masks from that year were made expressly for sale to non-Mayos. The previous increase in popularity of these forms of embellishment is probably a reflection of the increasing availability of small mirrors and imitation jewels in Navojoa stores.

Another area in which change was suspected is the setting off of the face from the intermediate field (Table 4). This can be accomplished sculpturally, or by means of lines or elements, or by painting the two areas in contrasting colors. Flattening the face (#13b) and surrounding it wholly or partially with a ridge (#34) seem to have undergone a slight increase in popularity. The use of lines or elements to set off the face (#35) seems to have been fairly constant, discounting a wild fluctuation in the period 1940-1950. Contrasting colors (#37) for face and intermediate field experienced

a sharp decline in popularity in the 1930's and has remained fairly constant until the 1960's, when another slight drop can be observed.

The arrangement of hair on masks seems to have remained fairly constant throughout the period under consideration, except for a slight but steady decrease in the appearance of hair above the mouth and below the nose (#70). Although remarks from informants on the Rio Fuente in Sinaloa had led me to expect a rise in popularity of stitching as opposed to plugging as a means for attaching the hair, this does not seem to obtain in the Sonora area.

In summary, the contemporary Pascola masks are smaller and narrower than the oldest ones. Fewer representative units appear, and the cheeks and the intermediate field are a little more likely to be bare. Embellishment seems a bit less elaborate. The one exception to this is the use of applied decoration, which has increased. Although faces are still set off, it is more likely now that this will be accomplished sculpturally than with contrasting painting. There seems to be an overall gradual change from the earliest times to the present, rather than any sudden innovations along the way. The changes observed in 1965 may be carried on by a continued increase in the manufacture of masks for non-Mayo use.

Age of Maker

As a corollary to the problem of changes in style through time, it was thought advisable to examine those masks made between 1960 and 1965, to see if the masks in this group that were made by older men showed any greater similarity to the masks of an earlier

time period than did those made by younger men. Accordingly, the masks made during this period were divided into two groups: those made by men over 50 years of age and those made by men under 50 (Table 9). The two samples thus obtained were then examined comparatively. The results were mostly negative.

Although some characteristics seem more popular among the older men than among the younger ones, all seem to involve less meticulous and less elaborate work rather than an adherence to the standards of earlier times. There is less incising and framing of decorative material, less framing of eye-sockets, and simpler border types in the work of the older carvers. There is less general relief in the carving of the masks, as well. Older men tend to use more upper and lower borders. Other differences, such as less popularity of the patee cross and more metal on teeth among the older group, seem to be reflections of individual carvers' predilictions.

Intended Use of Mask

Another of the questions frequently asked concerning an object of "native" or "tribal" manufacture involves the purpose for which the object was made, and may be paraphrased, "Is it authentic, or was it made for sale to tourists?" While the wording is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as one class of objects is as real as another, the question is of some interest. It recognizes a potential difference between objects made for use within the culture that produces them and objects made, as it were, "for export," and therefore not necessarily conforming to the same set of rules. An examination of the data

Table 9. Analysis of selected attributes of Rio Mayo Pascola masks made between 1960 and 1965 according to the age of the maker.

Attribute	Age of Maker: Over 50 %	Over 50 No.	Under 50 %	Under 50 No.
4	53.3	15	0	6
6	26.7	15	83.3	6
8	33.3	18	15.4	13
9a	26.3	19	6.7	15
9c	10.5	19	33.3	15
11a	73.7	19	92.3	13
13a	10	20	50	14
13c	40	20	14.3	14
15	75	20	61.5	13
26b	73.7	19	57.1	14
26c	10.5	19	28.6	14
31	21.1	19	7.7	15
33	15.8	19	33.3	15
35	15.8	19	0	13
36a	16.4	19	28.6	15
36b	10.5	19	42.9	15
37	20	19	7.7	15
38d	35	20	69.2	13
40	85	20	66.7	12
44a	89.5	19	71.4	7
44b	10.5	19	28.6	7
46	10.5	19	28.6	7
49	26.3	19	45.5	11
51a	68.4	19	46.2	13
51b	21.1	19	46.2	13
55a	30	20	69.2	13
55b	50	20	23.1	13
56a	42.1	19	87.5	8
56b	42.1	19	12.5	8
56c	15.8	19	0	8
57e	20	20	63.6	11
58	30	20	70	10
61	45	20	84.6	13
62	20	20	36.4	11
64	52.6	19	77.8	9
65	64.7	17	37.5	8
66	83.3	18	57.1	7
68	43.8	16	60	5
69	75	20	50	12
70	57.9	19	76.9	15
71	5.6	18	8.3	12
72	16.7	18	25	12

regarding the circumstances of manufacture of the masks in the present sample reveals that there are indeed masks that were carved for sale to non-Mayos, as well as those made for use by Mayo Pascolas. In order to determine what, if any, differences exist between these two classes of masks (Table 10), I followed the same procedure that was described earlier in this chapter.

Once again, there are limits to the degree of importance that can be attached to the data and method. Sample size is still a confusing factor, as there were 59 masks made for Mayo use, and only eight made for "export." In an attempt to compensate for this, only major differences in frequency of 15 percent or more were considered worthy of examination. In addition, individual makers are heavily represented in the smaller sample. Of the eight masks made for sale to non-Mayos, four were by makers not represented in the larger sample, and three more were by members of one family.

There does indeed appear to be considerable difference between the two groups of masks here under discussion. The masks made for sale to non-Mayos are smaller in both dimensions, as well as being relatively narrower than those made for indigenous use. This may well reflect the general decrease in size that is observable over the years, except that the decrease here is greater in proportion than it is for the whole sample in 1965, the year in which the "export" masks were manufactured. It may also represent a saving of material or time on the part of the carver.

Table 10. Popularity of attributes of Rio Mayo Pascola masks according to the purpose for which the mask was made.

Attribute	Purpose for which mask was made: For sale for non-Mayos %	No.	For Pascola use %	No.
4	12.5	8	42.9	35
5	25	8	57.1	35
6	25	8	65.7	35
7	75	8	91	56
8	50	8	26.9	52
9a	50	8	11.1	54
9c	12.5	8	37	54
10	50	8	26.5	49
34a	50	8	24	54
36b	0	8	26.8	56
35	62.5	8	8.9	56
13a	12.5	8	29.3	58
13b	62.5	8	48.3	58
14	0	8	19	58
16	50	8	20.7	58
26a	0	8	16.3	55
26b	87.5	8	61.8	55
30	14.3	7	51	49
38a	87.5	8	0	57
38d	12.5	8	12.3	57
39	0	8	81.5	54
40	12.5	8	87.7	57
41	12.5	8	49.1	55
42	0	8	27.3	55
44a	100	8	81.8	44
44b	0	8	15.9	44
47	25	8	0	42
57a	25	8	17.9	56
57b	37.5	8	10.7	56
58	25	8	60	54
59	12.5	8	38.2	55
60	0	8	25.9	54
61	75	8	59.3	59
62	50	8	29.8	57
70	37.5	8	73.2	56
72	0	8	35.3	51

Other sculptural features that undergo a marked change include the brow complex (attributes 7-10). All of these features decrease in frequency, resulting in a general flattening of the mask. The incidence of sharp ridges around the face (#34a) and the incidence of vertically flattened faces (#36b) also decrease. On the other hand, the practice of setting off the face with lines and elements (#35) increases.

Some differences are observable in the sculptural treatment of the face area of the masks made for non-Mayos. Fewer eyes have both ends rounded (#13a), the preference being for only the inner end to be rounded (#13b). More carved eye rims (#16) are in evidence, and fewer masks have the eyes slanting out and down (#14). This last may be simply a reflection of the fact that Alcario Caamea, whose masks tend to possess that feature, is not represented in the smaller sample. In the mouth area, more masks have everted mouths (#26a) and mouths in snouts (#26b) among the non-Mayo sample. Fewer masks have corresponding cuts in the upper and lower teeth (#30) in the "export" sample.

The incidence both of the forehead cross and of all forms of its ornamentation experience a marked decline in the masks' material made for non-Mayos. In fact, the only mask in that sample to possess a forehead cross is the direct result of a request for a cross on my part. By the same token, there is a decline in the popularity of crosses on the lower sub-field, and a corresponding increase in the use of other units in that area. The use of all borders, especially the lateral one, declines, and those lateral borders that appear are

likely to be unilinear, which is the simplest type of border. There is less incising and outlining of borders in the smaller sample. The use of applied decoration and representative units of design likewise declines, while non-representative elements and units are more popular, as is the use of dots for framing. Hair placement does not seem to undergo much change in the "export" masks, except that the use of hair in the area between the nose and mouth declines in popularity.

The over-all picture revealed by these details is one of two distinct sub-styles of Pascola masks which are defined by the intended function of the mask. An examination of the data demonstrates effectively that the "export" sub-style possesses features that are not explainable with reference to time changes, and which seem to follow certain patterns. The mask made for sale to non-Mayos tends to be smaller, with less carving and relief work in general than the other variety of mask. This means that less over-all time and care need to be expended on the export items. The increased use of dots for framing is consistent with this trend, as painted embellishment is easier to apply than the carved sort. The other trend is towards the abandonment of naturalistic units such as crosses. This trend is understood when one considers that the crosses and other naturalistic units seem to have a protective function on the mask - a function which ceases as soon as the mask is used for a purpose other than Pascola dancing.

CHAPTER 4

INDIVIDUAL STYLES

Not all of the consistent variations in the appearance of Rio Mayo Pascola masks are due to the factors examined in the previous chapter. When the masks made in a single year and for a single purpose are examined together, the sample is still far from homogeneous. One of the causes of this heterogeneity is the fact that the masks were made by several men, each of whom possesses certain idiosyncracies in his carving and embellishment of masks. The present chapter is devoted to an examination of some of these individual substyles.

A brief glance at the material in Table 3 should suffice to indicate some of the reasons why it is impossible to define the individual style of every mask maker currently working in the area. For one thing, many men are represented by only one or two masks. For another, several carvers are represented by a mixed sample, including masks made for sale to non-Mayos as well as those made for use by a Pascola. A third difficulty is that masks made at the same time may tend to resemble each other more than masks made over a number of years by the same man. For these reasons, I have concentrated on cases in which a single man is represented by at least six masks made over a period of years for use by Pascolas.

Two of the carvers to be considered, Alcario Caamea and Tránsito Duarte, are elderly Pascolas who carve masks of distinctive appearance. A third, Silvestre Lopez, is a deer singer who is considered locally to be the best mask maker in his area. The other two, Plácido Alamea, an ex-Pascola, and his son, Marcelo, are Pascola musicians. Their masks show an interesting degree of similarity, and so are included in this chapter even though they do not meet all of the requirements mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

In the treatment of each individual I first summarize the relevant information about the man, describing the nature of my contacts with him, and mentioning any ideas or opinions which he has expressed that might cast light upon his personal approach to mask making. I then discuss his masks in some detail, using the same method as was employed in the previous chapter. Finally, I attempt to give a general statement of the salient points of his style as I perceive them. All of the masks mentioned in this chapter appear in the illustrations.

Tránsito Duarte

Tránsito Duarte, a Pascola, is seventy-five years of age. He lives in an adobe house just outside Navojoa, on the Huatabampo road. He is a large, burly man whose continued vigor is attributed to the fact that he attends lots of fiestas and consumes large quantities of bakavatchi, a fiesta stew of bull meat. He is still active in his Pascola role, although he did not appear at any of the fiestas

which we attended. We visited him once, at which time we purchased two masks (M32, M33) and photographed two more that he was making (P29, P30). Two other masks by Transito (P23, P32) were encountered in the course of the field work. They were both in use as "Primera" or favored masks, and were consequently not offered for sale. One of these, P32, had been repainted by its owner.

Although Tránsito said that he had been carving for about 15 years, P32 is the only mask in the sample that was made prior to 1965. Due to the language barrier, there is some confusion as to the age of P32, which was probably made about 1963 but which might have been made as long ago as 1955. I feel the more recent date to be the more probable one. P23 was photographed at the time of its first use.

Aside from a statement that his main (and probably only) carving tool was a large knife, little additional information was obtained from Transito. This was in part due to the brevity of our single visit with him, and in part to his deafness.

The first thing that strikes the viewer of Tránsito's Pascola masks is their simplicity. With the exception of P32, all are predominately black, with simple heavy decoration in white and red. P32 has a white face; in no other case is the face set off from the intermediate field by painting of any form. Five masks have a sharp ridge on the chin, and one has the face carved vertically flat. Separation of the face and intermediate field is achieved to a degree by the placement of the hair, which is set all around the face. All masks have a brow ridge, while overhanging brows and lines and dots at the

brow line are lacking in all of them. The brow hair is set above the ridge line in all of the masks.

Within the area of the face, the eyes are uniformly oval. Carved rims about the eyes are lacking, as are curved lines below them. P32 is the only mask that does not have the eyes enclosed within a white area that stretches from one side of the face to the other and from the brow ridge to below the eyes. The nose is always plain, with neither nostrils, nostril swellings, nor special treatment of the ridge. The nose extends to the brow ridge in every case. One mask lacks a sharp-tipped nose, and one has a sway-backed nose. The cheeks are always undecorated.

In the mouth sub-field, all masks have red lips, the lower of which is everted, and upper and lower teeth. The cuts on the lower teeth correspond with those on the upper set in all masks save one. In no mask is the upper lip everted or decorated with a moustache. Lines around the mouth or framing any part of it are likewise lacking. The tongue is never shown, and in only one mask is the mouth in a snout or tube. There is never decoration of any kind on the lower face.

The forehead cross, which is invariably present and painted white, is an incised Latin cross on all masks except P32, where it is of the more usual Cross Patee, and merely painted on. P32 is also the only mask to have "jewels" applied to the surface. On no mask is there any decoration in the intermediate field, aside from the cross. Lower and side borders are present on all masks, and, with the exception

of P32, which has triangles, are of either type A or B (Fig. 9). Both dots and solid lines are used in the borders. The beard and brows are always of horsehair, and are attached by stitching in those cases for which this information is available. The tufts are long and close together, and there is little difference in length between the brows and the beard. The hair is expertly and neatly placed.

In addition to the above details, Tránsito's masks all have human faces and they all lack representational units of design. Wedges are also lacking, as are dots in the face. There is no use of mirrors, and "jewels" are found only on P32. Nails are used for decoration on the forehead of P29. One unique feature, found in M32, M33, P29, and P30, is a metal plate or a smear of red paint on the inside surface of the mask. This appears in the area where the wearer's nose and mouth would normally come into contact with the back of the mask, and is intended to keep the wood clean, according to Tránsito.

The surface finish of the masks is rather rough and lumpy, a trait which is discernible in P32 even after repainting. The paint is characteristically applied in large quantities, producing a shiny, almost wet-looking surface, and adding to the lumpiness of the finish.

The picture that emerges from the details presented above is that of a plain black mask, simply decorated with incising and white paint, with white around the eyes, open mouths, and linear borders - almost the minimum permissible decoration for a Rio Mayo mask. A distinctive touch is added by the preference for Latin crosses, a

detail sufficiently at variance with the Mayo norm that the cross on one mask has been changed to the more orthodox Patée style by its most recent owner. Further distinctive touches are added by the use of shiny black paint and long, expertly placed hair.

Alcario Caamea

Alcario Caamea lives in Wiarumui, on the west side of the Rio Mayo, near Juperi. He is about 80 years of age and reputedly still active as a Pascola, although we never saw him dance. His main craft occupation is the making of dugout canoes from cottonwood logs, which might well explain his preference for cottonwood as a material for masks. Once again, interviewing Alcario on our sole visit with him was rendered difficult by his age and deafness. At the time of our visit, we purchased two masks of which one (M10) had been used and one (M11) has not. Alcario is also represented in the collection by four other masks (M6, M7, M8, and M9). Of these, M7 has been repainted and M6 has been partially recarved and repainted. Of the two masks represented by photographs, one (P34) is in a private collection in Mexico City, which I have attributed to Alcario on stylistic grounds. The other (P11) was apparently a Segunda, or less favored mask, and might easily have been offered for sale had we been able to interview the owner who was away at a fiesta at the time. Inasmuch as P34 is merely assigned to Alcario, it is not presented as evidence of his stylistic idiosyncracies. By the same token, the two retouched masks, M6 and M7 are given the same treatment as was accorded P32 in the previous discussion.

In the first place, all of Alcario's masks are of uniform length and width, with the exception of M8, and possibly P11. Both of these were in the possession of young Pascolas, and might well have been made especially for them (see also the captions for Figs. M2 and P30). The other masks were between 20.2 and 21.4 centimeters in length and between 14.2 and 14.9 centimeters in width. Both of these measurements are well above the average for the area. The width-length ratio ranges well on both sides of the norm, however. Three of the masks are of cottonwood, and two are of torote prieto. This last information came from mask owners rather than from the maker, however, and should be viewed in the light of the fact that many Mayos seem to feel that all Pascola masks are of torote prieto.

While simplicity was the first impression I received upon viewing Tránsito's masks, almost the opposite can be said of the present sample. Most of Alcario's masks employ several boldly contrasting colors, used in such a fashion that it is often difficult in the extreme to determine a base color. These are the masks previously identified as "polychrome." The other most striking feature of this group of masks is the frequent lack of a clearly defined face area. In no case is the face painted in a color contrasting with the intermediate or border zones, and the only mask to have a framing line around the face is M6, which was recarved for that very purpose after it left Alcario's hands. Furthermore, all of the masks except P34, which is merely attributed to Alcario and may have been retouched as well, have diagonal lines running down from within the face to

points near the edge of the mask. I have seen no other Pascola masks in the Rio Mayo area which share this feature. The lower face is set off from the area by a sharp ridge on all masks except P34. No masks in the sample use any other device to separate the face and intermediate zones. All masks save one have a brow ridge, only one has a brow overhang, and none has a brow keel or painted dots at the ridge. On six of the masks the brow angle is smooth.

The eyes are all set at an angle with the outer corner pointing downwards. Mask M6 is the only one to have painted rings around the eyes. One mask has the eyes in a band of a color contrasting with the face color, but the band tapers to a point at either end, a device used by Alcario but otherwise rare. Four of the masks have curved bands below the eyes. The nose invariably extends to the brow ridge, is sway-backed, has a flat ridge, and lacks nostrils and nostril swellings. All but M6 have a line painted along the ridge of the nose in contrast to the color of the sides of the nose. There are no separate elements or units on the cheeks. All of the masks save one have the mouth in a snout, and all except M6 have a highly stylized moustache on the upper lip. None has framing lines or rows of dots around the mouth, and only one has a framing line below it. Six masks have both sets of teeth, and these are cut with the upper and lower teeth corresponding. Three of the masks have brass facings on some of the central teeth. This use of brass is unique to Alcario's masks. Although the brass is obviously re-used, I have so far been

unable to identify its source. There are no masks with separate elements or units on the lower face.

All of the masks have an incised cross on the forehead. Six have the rather unusual cross with the splayed finials that I have labelled the Alcario cross (Fig. 3d). The two exceptions to this are M6 and P34, both of which have the more conventional cross Patée. There is, however, a strong possibility that at least one of these crosses (that on M6) has been reworked. Only one mask, M7, has non-representative elements or units flanking the cross. These were almost certainly added by another hand than Alcario's. This mask is also the only one with elements on the lateral intermediate sub-field, and once again there is a probability that they were added later. No masks have decoration on the lower intermediate sub-field.

Only four masks have a border. In two cases, this occurs on masks that have been reworked, and in one case, there is room for suspicion that this has also been the case (P34). In all four instances, the borders involve triangles; two are of type C and two of type D (Fig. 9). The borders are incised in each case, however, which to a certain degree argues against their being later additions.

The beard and brows, which are of horsehair in all but one case, are always stitched in place. There is, invariably, a gap between the nose and eye levels. In only one instance are the brows longer than the beard. Two masks have hair holes that have been carved and then filled in with wooden plugs, after which new hair holes were drilled.

In addition, the following traits are entirely missing from Alcario's work: the use of life forms and wedges, the use of dots in the face, and the use of mirrors. The only mask on which dots appear at all is M7; the dots were almost certainly added later. In every case the face is that of a human. On one mask (M7) the letter "A," and on another (M8) the letters "AC" appear beside the cross. As these masks were not discussed with Alcario, I have no way of proving or disproving the assumption that this represents a conscious attempt on the part of the maker to put his initials on the masks. If this be so, it is quite unusual. Onevery old mask, P4, which was collected in 1911, has "ANGEL" written over the forehead cross. M24 has the name of its maker, Alcaro Villanueva, written in pencil on the inside surface. These are the only two masks in the sample, other than the two by Alcario, that have anything approaching a maker's signature on them.

Less easy to quantify, but equally striking, is the use of color in characteristically tapered diagonal bands on the face and intermediate fields, often running from one field to another. The colors are frequently in strong contrast with one another, lending a dramatic appearance to the mask in some cases (M10, Fig. 10b). Often it is this use of color in bands that gives the mask the distinctive aspect that I have labelled "polychrome."

To sum up the foregoing material, then, Alcario's masks are usually large, dramatically painted in a variety of colors, and frequently without a well defined base color. The face and intermediate

fields are not distinguished one from the other, and decoration may run from one field to the other. The eyes and nose have distinctive forms, and an unusual type of forehead cross is employed. Most of the masks have prominent teeth, some of which are often overlain with brass.

That the Mayos themselves consider these masks to be a bit different may be inferred from the following data: with the one exception noted above, every one of this man's masks which we found in Mayo hands was offered up for sale. Of the five masks that were in hands other than Alcario's, at least three and possibly four were Segunda masks. In at least two of these instances, the Primera mask was made by Silvestre Lopez, a popular carver whose work is examined next. One elderly lady told me that while there were two mask makers, Alcario and Silvestre, the latter was the better, and I need not bother to go to see Alcario.

A further indication that Mayo Pascolas feel something to be wrong with Alcario's masks may be found in an examination of M6 and M7, both of which have been modified by subsequent owners. In the case of M7, little real change has taken place, the main additions apparently being rather sloppy configurations of dots. M6, however, presents a much different picture. The face has been scraped down and painted black, leaving a slight ridge around it. There had been diagonal lines sloping downwards from the face to the intermediate field, but little is now left of them. The nose has been slightly repainted. There is just a possibility that the forehead cross has

been changed and that a border has been added, but this cannot be demonstrated.

In view of the extreme individuality of his masks, it is interesting to note that Alcario is considered to be an old-fashioned and conservative Pascola by several people with whom I talked. Such items as a prominent house cross in front of his house and various articles of fiesta paraphernalia within it serve as indicators of his active participation in Mayo ceremonialism. The fact that his price for a new mask is just half the going rate charged by others may be taken as a suggestion that he is not accustomed to cash deals with non-Mayos. It is interesting that such a conservative person should carve masks which are at such variance with the local norm. Mention should be made of the possibility that Alcario's masks represent a much older style of which he is the sole remaining exponent. The fact that none of the masks collected in 1911 have any of the salient characteristics of Alcario's style certainly does not disprove this contention, but it does make it seem a bit less probable.

Silvestre Lopez

The third mask maker under consideration, Silvestre Lopez of Borabampo, differs from the other two in several ways. A much younger man than either Tránsito or Alcario, he appears to be in his thirties or early forties. Although he is not a Pascola, he is involved in the fiesta performing arts as a deer singer. He is also a Curandero, or healing expert, and often practices up in the Yaqui country at Vicam. He owns a Pascola mask which he obtained up there. He is

widely known by the nickname "el Yori," or the "white man," because of his light skin coloration. One man also remarked that his names are Mexican rather than Mayo. Mask making is not his only craft, as he also makes rasps for the deer singers, and has made at least one head for the deer dancer.

Silvestre is by far the most popular mask maker on the Rio Mayo. He is especially popular among the younger Pascolas of whom there seem to be quite a few in his immediate neighborhood. Several of the people who sold us masks and suggested that they be rehaired and repainted specified Silvestre as the man who could best do the work. I have already mentioned the elderly lady who said he was a better mask maker than Alcario. It is interesting that of the nine masks by Silvestre, only three were offered for sale, and of these three, one (M15) belonged to the sister of a deceased Pascola, and another (M13) was so badly split as to render it unusable. The remaining mask (M14) is in need of rehairing, and was said to be too big. Compare this with the sample by Alcario, almost every mask of which was for sale.

Although we asked Silvestre for two masks, and he agreed to make them, they were never finished, and quite possibly never even started. His curing obligations and frequent trips into the Yaqui country seemed to keep him extremely busy. I spoke with him twice, and found him a ready and intelligent informant. It is from him that much of my information concerning the ordering of Pascola masks was obtained.

Only three masks were available for measurement, so that data are of necessity inconclusive. All three masks are shorter than average, two are narrower than average, and the width-length ratio of two is greater than average. The wood is torote prieto in all cases where it has been identified. The masks show a greater diversity of features than those of the other two makers, a fact which may be a function of the larger sample (nine masks), but which is more likely to be due, at least in part, to the greater inventiveness of the carver.

Although lines and elements are never used to set the face off from the intermediate field, this is accomplished in a number of ways. Two masks (M14, M15) have carved ridges surrounding the face. One (M14) has a flat face, while the face of M15 is horizontally flat with vertically convex cheeks. P19 has the face painted in a color contrasting with that of the intermediate area. Although some have gaps in the arrangement of beard and brows, the impression in all cases is that the hair surrounds the face, setting it off from the other fields. All of the masks have a brow ridge, which is embellished with a painted line in the case of two masks. None of the masks has dots at the ridge line, hair at the ridge line, or brow overhang.

As to the rest of the face, there are few binding generalizations that can be drawn. All the masks have oval eyes, noses without external nostril swellings, and open mouths with red lips and upper and lower teeth. Two masks have one nostril; none of the masks

for which there are pertinant data has two nostrils. No mask has a moustache, an upper lip of a color contrasting the face, or a cross or any other element or unit on the lower face. Some have metal teeth, decoration on the cheeks (including horizontal triangles and wedges), and a nose running to the ridgeline.

Although all have a forehead cross, not enough of the photographs show the forehead sufficiently clearly to permit an analysis of this feature. On the three collected masks, the cross is of the patée type. A similar difficulty arises with the use of units and elements in the intermediate field. It is impossible to determine the treatment of this field on most of the photographs from which I have to work. On the three masks in the collection, two use star or flower forms to flank the forehead cross, and none uses any decoration in the lateral intermediate sub-fields. In fact, it can be said that these fields do not exist, as the border extends from the edge of the mask to the edge of the face. All of the masks have borders, as far as can be determined from the photographs. The borders are all simple or opposed triangles.

In addition, no mask has animal forms used as decoration. None use mirrors and two use jewels. Two employ dots in the face area. One mask (P20) is silver in color, one is yellow or tan (P19), and the rest are black. The three masks in the collection all have the hair attached by means of plugs.

The impression left by this man's work is one of diversity within the accepted Rio Mayo range, with a tendency towards older

items (the use of life forms and flattened faces) and a similar tendency towards more ornate forms. The latter tendency is illustrated by the use of cheek designs as well as the preference for triangle borders. The work of Silvestre Lopez presents an interesting contrast to that of Tránsito and Alcario, both for its popularity, its inventiveness, and its greater adherence to traditional style.

Plácido and Marcelo Alamea

The two remaining carvers, Plácido Alamea and his son, Marcelo, can best be dealt with together. Plácido Alamea is a retired Pascola of some 60 years of age who lives in Jitombrumui. After he gave up dancing, because his feet hurt him, he remained involved with the fiesta arts as a violin player. He also makes violins, harps, and masks, and has some reputation as a Curandero. His son, Marcelo, lives in Loma de Refugio and is also a violinist for Pascola dances. He and another brother who is a harpist frequently play with their father at fiestas. We were able to visit Plácido three times and Marcelo once. In addition to this, we saw them both at one fiesta.

These two men are represented in this study by a total of eight masks, one of which (P37) is a miniature by Plácido (Fig. 19a). That is not discussed here. There are three masks by Plácido in the collection, two of which (M20 and M21) were made to order for us. Two of Marcelo's masks were collected, one of which (M28) was made

with at least an eye towards sale to us. The other two masks are by Plácido and are represented by photographs. Although this sample is small, and although three of the masks were made for sale to non-Mayos, there are certain interesting points of similarity between the work of these two men. Some of these points do not appear commonly in other mask makers' work. In the following discussion, the masks made by Marcelo and the two made to order for us are identified only if they constitute exceptions to the general pattern.

There is a greater tendency for the face to be set off from the intermediate field in these masks than is apparent in the work of the three artists previously discussed. Six of the masks have horizontally flat faces with vertically convex cheeks and a ridge separating the face from the intermediate field. Only the two that Plácido made to order (M20 and M21) have painted lines around the faces, and none has faces painted in contrast to the intermediate area. There are no masks with a sharp ridge at the chin only, and only one mask (M28) has a painted line below the lower face. None of the masks have overhanging brows or hair at the ridge line. Six have a brow ridge, two have a smooth brow angle, and only one has a painted line or row of dots at the ridge.

In the face itself, six masks have painted rings around the eyes and painting in contrast to the face color from the eyes to the ridge. Only one mask has the eyes in a band contrasting with the face. The nose ridges are neither sway-backed nor flattened, and they lack vertical stripes or rows of dots. There are no

external nostril swellings indicated. One mask has two painted nostrils; the others for which information is available have none at all. All but one of the noses extend to the ridge line. The noses of these masks are characteristically large and rounded in silhouette.

All of the masks have decoration on the cheeks, two having complex units built up of several elements (M19, M28), and the others having horizontal wedges. Simple triangles, either horizontal or vertical, do not appear on the cheeks. All of the mouths are in snouts, and all have both sets of teeth showing. None has metal teeth, and only one has the tongue out (M27). All have red lips, and all save M21 have the lower lip everted. Only one mask has the upper lip even slightly everted. Only one mask (M19) has a cross on the lower face, and no other decoration appears in that sub-field. The forehead cross is lacking on M20 and M28, both of which were made with sale outside the Mayo community in mind. The crosses that do appear are all painted and some are incised. Four are patée, and one is Greek (M21). This last is rather sloppily painted, and may easily have been intended for patée. M27 has a cross on the lower intermediate sub-field which is equal in all details to the one on the forehead. All masks have borders which are of triangles in all cases save M20. All borders save those on M20 and M21 are incised. Goat hair is used on all masks, and the brows are about the same length as the beards. The hair tends to be quite short and of

uniform length on each mask, and tends to surround the mask completely with a few gaps.

No masks have goat faces and none employs life forms or other representative units. Mirrors occur on two of Plácido's masks, and abalone shell inlay on one of them. Glass "jewels" appear on two of Plácido's masks and one of Marcelo's. Two masks use dots in the border and intermediate fields.

The pattern that emerges in these two cases is that of a group of masks tending to unusual homogeneity in two ways: the faces are frequently carved vertically convex in the cheek areas while maintaining a plane surface horizontally, and the masks tend to be more highly and elaborately embellished than usual. This last is accomplished through the use of complex borders, dots, eye rings, moustaches, and cheek designs, as well as by mirrors, "jewels," and abalone inlay. All these indications, tenuously based on insufficient data though they may be, tend to demonstrate the existence of an Alamea family style, shared by father and son.

Other Individual Styles

There are other possible examples of individual styles to be found within the total sample, but they are not worth examining in detail because of insufficient data, small sample size, or the presence of masks carved for non-Mayos. A glance at the work of Candelario, Manuel Yocupicio, or Manuel Bacasega should suffice to illustrate this point. Nevertheless, the foregoing chapter has demonstrated that

individual styles do exist in the Rio Mayo area, and that they are to a certain extent recognized by the Mayos themselves. Furthermore, these styles can even, as in the case of Alcario, fall outside the accepted range for the Mayo Pascola masks.

The individualities seem to fall into two categories: individual technological quirks, such as Tránsito's fondness for painting the inside of the face, and individual concepts of general appearance and embellishment, such as the Alamea family preference for flat faces. Both contribute to the stamp of individuality that each artist seems to give to his products.

CHAPTER 5

THE CULTURAL CONTEXTS

In his discussion of the Yaqui deer dance, Spicer (1965: 117-131) treats his subject in terms of three separate cultural contexts, which he labels the mythic, fiesta, and technical. These are calculated to reflect realities in Yaqui culture, thus providing a more pertinent framework for discussion than such abstractions as esthetics and symbolism. Because of the similarity between Yaqui and Mayo cultures, and the fact that in both groups the deer and Pascola performers are parts of the same ceremonial complex (Beals 1945: 119), it is possible to employ not only Spicer's approach but his actual terms in a discussion of Mayo Pascola masks.

In the present study, four contexts are examined, three of which are identical with those discussed by Spicer for the Yaqui deer dance. The first, or fiesta context, has the greatest number of Mayo participants. It can be paraphrased as the use, function, and meaning of a Mayo Pascola mask at its public appearances. All the performers and spectators of Pascola activities participate in this context. The second or mythic context is more restricted in the number of its participants. In this it closely resembles the mythic context of the Yaqui deer dance. It includes items that could be discussed under such headings as "symbolism" and "folklore." It is

the most difficult of the several contexts to investigate, and the present discussion relies heavily upon analogies drawn from Yaqui material. The technical context is primarily the concern of mask makers and users, although other Mayos can and do participate. It involves such matters as esthetics and connoisseurship of masks. Finally, inasmuch as the masks change hands, are made to order, and can even be created for and sold to non-Mayos, a commercial context must also be taken into account.

Before discussing the cultural setting of Rio Mayo Pascola masks in terms of the four contexts just enumerated, I must mention certain limitations in the type of data at my disposal. My primary goal while in the field was to get sufficient material for a style study. This made intensive interviewing of any one Pascola impossible. The only man with whom long, repeated discussions were held was our guide and informant, Julio Siaruki. This man, although he knows many Pascolas and is an ideal guide, is not involved in the fiesta arts, and might not be expected to have an understanding of the mythic context. This reason, plus the scarcity of recently published material on this aspect of Mayo life, have forced me to go farther afield and to examine comparative material from other groups in the hope that it would shed some light upon existing Rio Mayo practices. I have not only drawn upon my own observations in the Rio Fuerte area, but upon available literature and unpublished data concerning the Yaqui Indians. Needless to say, this sort of cross-cultural inference is risky at best. It contributes not by providing

answers, but by indicating questions to be asked in the course of further field investigation.

Fiesta Context

Although some masks are now manufactured for sale to non-Mayos, most Rio Mayo Pascola masks are still made expressly for use by a Pascola performing at fiestas. It is in a fiesta setting that the masks are familiar and meaningful to most Mayos. Probably there is not an adult Mayo alive in Sonora today who has not seen a Pascola at a fiesta and noted that a mask is used, whether or not he or she has any knowledge of the matters discussed in the section dealing with the mythic context. This identification of mask with the fiesta context is so strong that many people inquired if we were collecting masks so that we could put on a fiesta in our own country. Only a few men, accustomed to contact with Mexicans and Americans, seemed able to visualize masks used as display items or for decoration. The fact that between fiestas masks are not usually displayed but are kept wrapped up with other items of Pascola equipment tends to reinforce this identification of mask with performance. In describing the fiesta context, I shall draw upon Beals' excellent treatment (1945: 119-126), amended and brought up to date by my own field observations.

The Pascola is a member of a loose grouping of ceremonial practitioners called "fiesta dancers and musicians" by Beals (1954: 119). This grouping, which lacks any formal organization, consists

of two sets of dancers and their respective musicians. The first of these, which now appears only at large fiestas (Beals 1954: 119), is composed of a deer dancer and four accompanying singer-musicians. By way of contrast, the Pascola group is an essential part of any fiesta of any size whatever (Beals 1945: 119). It includes one or more Pascolas, two violinists, a harpist, and usually a man who plays simultaneously upon a drum and a four-hole flute. The number of Pascolas increases from one to three with the size and importance of the fiesta. For quite large and important fiestas there are often two separate sets of Pascolas and musicians.

The Pascola dresses in a distinctive manner for his performance. He wears a white sheet wrapped about the loins and legs from waist to knee. It is secured by three woolen sashes, one around the waist and one extending down each leg and tied just above the knee (Fig. 19d). Although Beals (1945: 119) mentions the use of flesh-colored jerseys for some Pascolas and no upper body covering at all for others, all the Pascolas we saw on the Rio Mayo in 1965 wore white sweat shirts. The feet are left bare.

Around each leg from the ankle to just below the knee each Pascola wears a string of cocoons which have been partially filled with gravel so as to produce a rattling sound when the foot is stamped or dragged upon the ground. These are called Tenovaris (an Hispanicised Mayo word). Around his waist he ties a leather belt from which dangle about 12 small brass bells called Coyoles. These come in several sizes and are arranged with larger bells in

the middle of the belt. The Pascola's personal inventory of musical instruments is completed by a sistrum-like rattle called a Sonazo. This is made of wood, with a thickened area above the handle which is hollowed out to receive two transverse metal wires or nails on each of which is strung a number (preferably 3) of metal disks. This rattle is held in the right hand and played against the left palm. When not in use, it is thrust into the back or side of the belt.

In addition to the above items the Pascola wears a 'kerchief' about his waist and another around his neck. He has his hair done up into a topknot to which a large red or yellow plastic or paper flower is attached. Beals (1945: 119) mentions a rosary and crucifix around the neck. This item has apparently been abandoned in the Rio Mayo area, although it is still worn by Yaqui Pascolas. The final item of equipment is, of course, the mask which is worn alternately over the face and on the back or side of the head.

The dances which the Pascola performs are of two sorts. When the band of two violins and one harp is playing, he dances a step-dance in which he reproduces the rhythm of the tune by tapping his heel and toe. He accents and punctuates the rhythm by stamping or dragging his feet across the dirt floor. His stance is a relaxed slouch, with the head slightly forward, the face down, and the arms dangling loosely beside the body. For this phase of the performance, the Pascola wears his mask on the back or side of his head, and keeps his rattle thrust into his belt.

The mask and rattle are kept in those positions while the Pascola performs his other tasks of praying, clowning, and telling humerous stories. It is only when the flute and drum begin to play that he puts his mask over his face and takes his rattle in his right hand. At this point the character of the dance is much changed, with the emphasis shifting from the footwork, which becomes a simple pawing and stepping motion, to complex rattle play. The Pascola's stance becomes more of a crouch, with the head thrust forward and the masked face peering from side to side, frequently twisted or canted at an angle. These peering gestures are frequently employed by Pascolas and others when they are holding a mask in the hand and showing it to people.

The action described above takes place in a ramada separated from the cross and altar that are the foci of the praying and processional activities of the fiesta. When the Pascolas are dancing or engaged in any other activities of a public nature, most of the people attending the fiesta are to be found watching them. When the Pascolas are resting or eating, the spectators disperse to relax, drink, or chat, still not paying much attention to the praying, singing, and vigil-keeping that frequently go on continuously at the altar. It is probably quite safe to say, therefore, that for many Mayos the Pascolas and their activities are the outstanding features of any fiesta, and that their presence indicates that a fiesta is in progress.

As the presence of the Pascola is essential to the fiesta, so the Pascola's equipment seems essential to his public performances. At one fiesta in Northern Sinaloa, the Pascolas were observed to leave their masks, Sonazos, and Coyoles belts on a table in the ramada whenever they went outside temporarily. The table was guarded or at least watched over by one or two older men whose formal designation I did not ascertain. This may merely reflect a concern lest the Pascola sell his equipment while drunk, or otherwise render himself useless for dancing. A similar concern seems to underly the practice reported by Beals (1945: 123) whereby a Pascola's equipment is carried off for security to ensure his appearance at a fiesta after he has agreed to dance.

One elderly Pascola in Sinaloa said that when he danced, it was for God and in front of the Saints, and for that reason he could not sell his equipment. He added that when he died, he was to be buried with his mask. I did not ascertain whether or not his other equipment was to accompany the mask into the grave with him. Only in this one case did I get such a strong statement on this subject, although traces of the same practice were encountered on the Rio Mayo. One informant in Sonora mentioned the burial practice as something that had once obtained, but which was now strictly optional. He equated the mask in this instance with other symbols of office which are still buried with their owners. This same informant told me that one elderly Pascola near Tesia did not sell his mask, which he had owned for about 60 years, because "he cannot sell it." Whether this

inability was due to adherence to an almost forgotten rule forbidding the alienation of equipment, or simply to a sentimental attachment to an old and valued article of personal use, it is impossible to say. This practice of mask burial, if such it be, has no parallel in Yaqui Pascola behavior.

A more concrete instance of the mask being singled out from other items of Pascola equipment is Yaqui in origin, but may be admitted here for what it is worth. In an interview with a Yaqui Pascola stationed with the Yaqui regiment at Tlaxcala, Fergusson (1934: 187) was told that the dance she had just witnessed was called the dance of the Macho Cabrillo, or male goat. A later visitor to Tlaxcala (Gallop 1939: 149) asked about this dance by name, and was told that there was no such dance, presumably by a Yaqui who did not wish to discuss these matters with strangers. When he asked why Miss Fergusson had been misinformed, he was told that "when we wear our dance masks we are free to say anything we like" (Gallop 1939: 149). Assuming this to be a direct quotation, it certainly seems to indicate that in the eyes of at least one Yaqui, assumption of the Pascola mask is equated with assumption of the Pascola role.

At Pascua village near Tucson, Arizona, the Pascola observes a ritual before donning his mask for the first time at any given fiesta. He holds the mask in his left hand, addressing it and God at the same time. He asks God for protection from the "witch people." He then prays to God and Mary, makes the sign of the cross over the mask, crosses himself, and dons the mask (Painter ms.). Beals

describes the entry of the Mayo Pascolas into the ramada (Beals 1945: 125), but only after they have donned their masks. They may well go through the same sort of ceremony outlined for the Pascua Yaqui. The point is that once again the emphasis is on the mask and the process of donning it for the first time. Even from an examination of the scanty evidence available there is a strong possibility that the mask is the most important symbol of the Pascola's role. Only more field investigation will answer this question.

Mythic Context

Because the mythic context is the one least familiar to present-day Mayos and involves matters that are not topics for casual conversation with unknown foreigners, I was unable to elicit much solid information in this area. For this reason, the present discussion draws heavily from other studies. The most complete picture of the mythic world of the Pascola does not come from the Mayos at all, but was gathered at the Yaqui community of Pascua Village near Tucson, Arizona. The data were acquired over the course of 15 years by Mrs. Thayer Painter, working from the foundation laid down by Spicer (1940). Mrs. Painter has generously permitted me to use her Pascola material, all of which is still in manuscript form. After a careful presentation of this material, I shall attempt to relate it to the available evidence from the Rio Mayo area.

Along with the other fiesta dancers and musicians, the Pascola is involved in a loose cult or series of beliefs and practices

called "the religion of the woods" (Beals 1945: 202). He gets his power both from the Christian deities and from various animals of the woods, and addresses both groups in his prayers (Spicer 1940: 192). These animals of the woods and desert are sometimes referred to as the "little animals of the Pascola" (Painter ms.), and are at times depicted on Yaqui Pascola masks. Standing out from among the little animals in Pascola belief and imagery are the goat and the snake.

Unlike members of other Yaqui religious groups, the Pascola does not serve under a vow of manda (Spicer 1940: 175), although he considers himself to be dedicated in his heart to Jesus (Painter ms.). Mayos, on the other hand, have told me that Mayo Pascolas may make mandas to perform. Whether the manda covers the Pascola's entire career or merely a single performance is unclear. The Yaqui Pascola derives his power from the Yo'ania, or world of the woods, and knows that he has been singled out to be a Pascola when he has had certain dreams in his childhood. These dreams are an indication that he not only has Tekia, or a ceremonial duty acquired before birth, but the power to carry out this duty. Previously he has evinced an absorbing interest in Pascolas and their activities. His dream, which comes at the age of about nine or ten, is sent from God through the Yo'ania. It features a threat or challenge, often of a terrifying nature, which he must meet successfully. The challenger in this case is either a man-sized goat, called the Yochiba'ato, or a snake (Painter ms.).

"In dreams the Yochiba'ato appears as half-human, half-goat with ears, horns, beard, and hooves of a goat." "Everything comes from the Yochiba'ato." (Painter ms.) The triangular flaps at the back of the Pascola's leg-wrappings have been described as being the hair on the flanks of the goat. All the Pascola masks are said to be bearded like goats, and one informant told Mrs. Painter that the triangles on the borders of some masks were the teeth of the goat. Snakes are also featured in Pascola lore at Pascua Village. Pascolas as well as flute and drum players can dream about them, and the flute, the ridge pole of the harp, and the violin bow may all be called "snake." Tenovaris may appear in dreams as rattlesnake rattles, whose noise they indeed resemble. The strips of cloth which Yaqui Pascolas wear on their legs instead of sashes are also connected in legend with snakes, and one man is said to have painted his to look like coral snakes (Painter ms.).

Yaqui Pascolas are in constant danger from witches and the devil while they are dancing. For this reason they pray for safety before a fiesta (Painter ms.), and to this end much of the decoration is applied to the masks. Mrs. Painter has been told that unless the patée form of the cross appears on the forehead of the mask, the Pascola does not feel "protected." She states further that "the regalia has meanings closely associated with the legends of the snake and the goat, as well as with Christian symbolism and flowers. The sign of the cross is freely employed, and the regalia is dedicated to Jesus, as is the Pascola himself." It will be noted that

all the devices mantioned, snake, goat, cross, and flowers, appear in connection with Mayo as well as Yaqui Pascola masks.

There are several reasons why application of Yaqui data to Mayo masks might be expected to bear some fruit. In the first place, there is such a degree of similarity in other aspects of the fiesta observances that it would be strange indeed were there not some similarity between the Pascola masks, especially in the usually conservative area of myth. Yaqui and Mayo fiesta performers appear together at such large semi-commercial occasions as the Fiesta of San Francisco at Magdalena, Sonora. Although Mayos and Yaquis recognize differences between their ways of doing things, they feel that these are outweighed by similarities. Mayos feel that Yaquis belong to "la misma raza" - the same race - as themselves, although they will tell humorous stories pointing out differences of custom and language. All this leads to the belief that Yaqui data may at least be taken as indicative of possibilities worthy of investigation on the Rio Mayo.

Further indications may be found in the identical or similar design elements and units used by both Yaquis and Mayos for the decoration of Pascola masks. All of the mask decorations mentioned by Painter as being meaningful at Pascua Village appear on the Rio Mayo masks. Several Mayo informants have stated that Pascola masks represent goats, and there is the rare occurence of actual goat faces being depicted on masks. One man said that masks have beards like goats. On the other hand, M10 and M25 were described as depicting "a man - a Christian," and M11 was said to represent a woman. In

explanation of the snake on the side of P12, an older Pascola said that it was the "animal of the Pascola." When pressed further on this point, he made a statement concerning the danger that Pascolas were in when they danced, and the need of protection from witchcraft. The geometric decoration on the side intermediate sub-field of M1 may possibly be a stylized rendering of small animals.

It will be noted that 88% of the masks in the sample have a cross on the forehead, and that in 71% of these cases the cross is of the patée type. Questions regarding the reason for the cross were met with statements like "it's custom," or "it's part of our religion." An indication that the cross is not considered a purely decorative unit is found in the fact that while all of the masks carved for use by Pascolas have crosses, only two of these carved for sale to us were so equipped. Of these, M21 has a cross as a result of a special request on my part, while M16 is probably an older mask, repainted for sale to us. On two occasions I commented to mask makers that the masks they had made for me had no forehead crosses. In each case the response was of the order of "you aren't going to dance Pascola. Why do you need a cross?" One man added that if the mask were to be danced with, of course I could always paint a cross on.

Flowers are of vast importance in Yaqui and Mayo ceremonialism. They are used for altar decorations, they appear on fiesta musicians' hats and in Pascolas' topknots, and they are thrown at the Pariseos to divest them of their evil power at the climax of

the Easter drama. Representations of flowers appear on Fariseo masks. Many items of ceremonial equipment such as Matachina wands and crowns are called "flower" in Pascua Village (Spicer 1940: 225; Spicer 1965: 126). The Pascola masks are not called "flower" at Pascua, although this term is used for the tie string that secures the Pascola topknot (Painter ms.). Elaborate flower symbolism is found in the deer dance songs (Spicer 1965: 122-127), and flowers are sometimes used to represent the blood of Christ and the Grace of Heaven (Spicer 1964: 33). In the light of all this emphasis upon flowers, one would expect them to appear on Pascola masks, as indeed they do. However, I have so far been unsuccessful in obtaining any statement of flower symbolism regarding the floral units on Mayo masks. In some cases this lack of success must be attributed to the language barrier, but in other cases I received specific statements that the flowers in question were for decoration only. This statement came out several times in conversation with Julio Siaruki, our guide. He stated, furthermore, that in his youth (he was 67 in 1965) there were more masks with flowers on them, but this was because people in those days knew how to paint and carve better than they do now. It should be pointed out, however, that this man is not a Pascola, is not otherwise involved in the fiesta arts, and may not participate fully in the mythic context.

Aside from flowers, floral patterns, and crosses, only four representational units appear on the masks which I have examined, and the identification of two of these is open to doubt. P12 has an

anchor on the left side and the snake already mentioned on the right. No explanation of the anchor was asked or given, aside from a simple identification. The small units on the sides of M1 may or may not represent the "little animals of the desert." P6 has a bird-like and man-like composite figure on its side, about which I have no information. All these units appear in Figure 9.

In conclusion, it can safely be said that many if not all of the representational aspects of the form and decoration of Rio Mayo Pascola masks possess meaning in the mythic context. It appears that much of this mythic context parallels that of the Yaqui Pascola complex. What is now needed is adroit questioning of older Pascolas by a field investigator with both time and a knowledge of the published and unpublished material, followed by an investigation of the younger men to see if this mythic material is being transmitted.

Technical Context

While dancing ability, knowledge of ritual, and humorous narrative skill are all considered by many Mayos to be indispensable to a Pascola, there is no indication whatever that mask making ability is so considered. When I remarked to a Mayo acquaintance that Plácido had an acute sense of humor, the response was "of course; he is a Pascola." When I said that he was a good mask maker, the answer was, "not everyone knows how." The mechanism of apprenticeship that functions for other aspects of the fiesta skills (Beals 1945: 119) does not seem to apply to mask making.

Two of the masks in the collection, M12 and M34, are the first masks of their respective makers. Escolastico Piña, the carver of M12, is a 56-year old Pascola living in Masiaca. He said that when he started to make the mask, he simply carved a face, and then sanded it very thoroughly several times. At that point he discovered that he did not know how to paint it, but he went ahead and painted anyway. In 1965 he had had the mask for ten years, and was using one made by another Pascola. He needed cash, and so decided to sell both his masks and make himself another. To describe the making process, he used the Spanish word "lucha," or "struggle."

Brígido Valenzuela comes from Guayperin, near Bacobampo, and also appears to be in his fifties. He is not a Pascola, nor is he apparently connected with any of the performing fiesta arts. At the time of my interview with him, he had finished one mask and had two more partly done. The finished one, M34, I purchased. Of the others, one was made for a Pascola on order and the other was made "on speculation" (Fig. 19b). The impression I received was that for this man, mask carving was a useful, economically beneficial, self-taught craft.

Although I could obtain no abstract statement of formal cannons regulating the appearance of an acceptable Pascola mask, it is clear that Mayos have definite ideas concerning what masks should look like. Some makers are preferred over others. The extreme popularity of Silvestre in the Bacobampo area is a case in point. It is also interesting to note that most of Silvestre's masks were not for sale, while only one of Alcario's was not sold. Time and again, when

someone suggested that I get an old mask rehaired or repainted, it would be Silvestre, rather than Alcario, who was mentioned as the man for the job. It has been noted above that one old lady said point-blank that Silvestre was a better mask maker than Alcario, and that we need not bother to go all the way to find Alcario, as Silvestre lived close by.

There is a strong feeling that masks should be freshly painted, and that the hair should be all there and lie straight and smooth. The first thing a Pascola usually does upon taking a mask out of its protective wrappings is to shake it and then smooth down the hair with his hand in an effort to get it to settle into place. In those cases where the masks are kept wrapped in sashes the reason is probably as much for the protection and proper angling of the hair as for the protection of the finish. Exceptions to the rule of mask care are of course found. The owner of P13 consented to sell it some seven months after we had photographed it. The changes that had been wrought in that brief time were remarkable. In the photograph, the face is black with red rings around the eyes, and white brows, under-eye lines, and cheek wedges. Although the red eye-rings still survive, the white paint is rapidly flaking off most of the face areas. The border was also painted in red and white, a fact that can now be ascertained only after close scrutiny, except in those areas which were protected by the beard. Some of the black paint has also begun to wear off, especially on the nose, which is almost always the first area to show heavy wear. The mask has slight chips out of the edge as well. In short, were there

not documentary evidence to the contrary, I would have assumed that such wear would require several years to take place. After seeing the evidence of this mask, I am more inclined to give credence to some of the assigned ages which I had previously suspected. Other masks, most noteably M16, show signs of mistreatment or lack of care. The fact that many Pascolas drink, often quite heavily, before, during, and after fiestas may well account for much of this cavalier treatment.

Commercial Context

Mayo Pascola masks are not only functional items of dance regalia with mythic significance and esthetic value in the culture that produces them. They are also to a degree economic assets, frequently acquired through an exchange of cash or goods. In describing this commercial context, I shall begin with a discussion of mask production for use by Mayos, before going on to the making of masks for non-Mayos and the trade in used masks.

Pascolas may either make their own masks or obtain them from another man, not necessarily a Pascola, but usually a participant in the fiesta complex. Blood relatives, compadres, and customary dancing partners all provide masks, sometimes by sale, and sometimes by gift or loan. A Pascola will frequently have a favorite, or "primera" mask (first), and one or more less favored, or "segunda" (second) masks. It is these less favored ones that are loaned out, given away, or sold. At the time we purchased M12, it was loaned by Escolastico Piña to another Pascola with whom he occasionally danced, while he himself was using mask M8, which had been given him by Alcario, another

dancing partner. Older men will sometimes give a mask to a young Pascola. The subsequent selling of such a mask by a youth is not considered to be good form.

A Pascola may also go to a mask carver with an established reputation and order a mask to be made. In this case, he may or may not specify the features, decorations, and color schemes to be employed. Makers will usually measure the Pascola's face, or otherwise obtain an idea of the size desired. Fit is an important feature of a Pascola mask. Several masks have been sold to us with the explanation that they were too large or too small. Smaller masks are made for boys just starting to dance, as exemplified by M3. Not all mask makers make all their masks to order. Tránsito, for instance, had one mask that he was making for a specific individual, and another that was apparently being made on speculation. Although one of Brígido Valenzuela's masks (P27) "had an owner" while it was still unfinished, the other two (M34 and P28) were made with no specific individual in mind.

Because of our role as potential mask purchasers, it was impossible to determine what prices Mayos pay for their masks, or what percentage of the payment is in cash. Frequent statements concerning the justice of wealthy individuals being charged more than poor ones lead me to believe that the Mayo prices are considerably lower than the ones which we paid. Silvestre mentioned a scale whereby he charged different prices, depending on the quality of finish on a mask and the amount of work he put into it. This goes far to explain the difference in craftsmanship between M14 and M15, both of which are his products.

Masks made especially for sale to non-Mayos can also be made on order, as were M20 and M21, or on speculation, as in the case of M30 and M31. The price usually asked for these masks, as well as those made on speculation, in 1965 was 50 pesos, although individuals asked as low as 25 and as high as 60 pesos. In the case of a special order, an advance was usually asked. This always amounted to one half the total price, and was characterized as being both an insurance of good will and money for the purchase of paint or wood. The balance of the price was paid when the mask actually changed hands. I did not attempt to bargain.

Old masks are considered less valuable than new ones, and only useful for dancing when rehaired and repainted. They are chiefly valuable as items for sale to non-Mayos. The patina of age and use so beloved of museums and collectors has a negative value as far as the Mayos are concerned. The prices asked for older masks in 1965 varied from ten to 40 pesos. An opposite stand was taken by a few Pascolas who thought that the masks would be resold in the United States for huge sums of money, and accordingly asked amounts up to 300 pesos. In such instances we would attempt to bargain.

It should be emphasized that the notion of competitive pricing of services did not enter into mask buying very often. Upon being told what we were paying for masks, a carver would usually adopt that as his asking price. Only in the case of Silvestre, a younger carver than most of those with whom we dealt, was there mention of giving a lower price than that asked by other carvers. When a radically lower

price was charged for new masks, other Mayos would often explain it as being due to the old-fashioned nature of the carver in question. Furthermore, nothing approaching factory conditions existed in 1965 for the making of Pascola masks. One furniture factory operator carves a few masks on the side, and other men have been asked for several masks in one order, but carvers still tend to think in terms of one or two masks. I have discovered no instances of cooperative mask carving.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing pages it has been shown that Rio Mayo Pascola masks, as represented by the sample described in the various tables, constitute a local art style. That is to say, there are certain generalizations that can be made concerning the masks from this particular locality which cannot be made regarding masks from other areas. A Rio Mayo Pascola mask tends to resemble another Rio Mayo Pascola mask more than a Pascola mask from the Rio Yaqui or the Rio Fuerte. This style is not monolithic, however, but rather is made up of several cross-cutting sub-styles. One of these sub-styles is based upon the period in which the mask was made. Thus, a Rio Mayo Pascola mask made in 1911 and a mask from the same area made in 1965 fall into the same general style while retaining the possibility of differing from each other in predictable ways. The passage of time, however, does not seem to be a primary cause of change in itself. For example, any trends that can be detected in 1965 are liable to be at least partially the result of the appearance in the sample of masks made for sale to non-Mayos, and therefore conforming to a different set of rules than the older type of mask which was made for use by a Pascola.

Nor is this the only factor that influences the change in the appearance of Pascola masks over the years. It has been shown that

different mask makers have describable idiosyncracies amounting to individual sub-styles, and these too help to determine the appearance of the body of Pascola masks at any given time. A description of the output of masks in the Rio Mayo area for the year 1965 has the potential of being quite different from the description of a similar output in a year during which Tránsito and Alcario carve no masks. Style changes over time when viewed in this light become more readily understandable phenomena, related on the one hand to such cultural factors as the intended use of the mask, and on the other hand to the personal ideas or stylistic peculiarities of individual craftsmen.

It is my firm belief that the main purpose of a study such as this is to make data available for future studies of a comparative nature. Hopefully, this paper has provided a worthwhile model for later attempts to describe masks in neighboring groups until enough material is gathered to permit a survey of mask traditions of Northwest Mexico. Such a study should examine questions concerning origins of certain aspects of the physical appearance of the masks as well as of their cultural context.

A further function of this study is to point to areas in which more work is needed. In this way, it is indeed a progress report, not only of the broader study of masks and masking in Northwest Mexico, but also of knowledge of the cultural context of Rio Mayo Pascola masks. In Linton's (1936: 403-4) terms, the form and use of the masks have been adequately described. It is the function and meaning of the masks which still need field investigation. Thus, while I have been

able to give a detailed description of the use of the masks in the fiesta context (pp.112-115), I have been unable to do more than hint and speculate concerning the possible function and meaning of the masks in that context. Future field investigation should be aimed towards answering the questions raised on pages 117-119.

It is possible to make the same sort of statement regarding the other three cultural contexts. In the mythic context, Mrs. Painter's material, which I only read after returning from the field, raises many points regarding witchcraft protection, the yo'ania, and the symbols of the goat and the snake that can only be resolved by more field work. There are likewise many questions in the realms of esthetics and economics which must be answered in the field. Only after these points and others raised in Chapter 5 have been followed up will it be possible to write authoritatively concerning the place of Mayo Pascola masks within Mayo culture.

REFERENCES

ANONYMOUS

1963 Indian Masks from the Collection of the Museum of the American Indian. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

BEALS, RALPH L.

1943 The Aboriginal Culture of the Cahita Indians. Ibero-Americana 19. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1945 The Contemporary Culture of the Cahita Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 142. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

CRUMRINE, N. ROSS

1964 The House Cross of the Mayo Indians of Sonora, Mexico. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 8. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

DOCKSTADER, FREDERICK J.

1964 Indian Art in Middle America. New York Graphic Society, Greenwich.

DOMINGUEZ, FRANCISCO

1962 Investigación en Sonora, 1933. In Investigación Folklórica en México, Materiales, Vol. I, ed. by Baltásar Samper, pp. 115-226. Institución Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico.

FERGUSSON, ERNA

1934 Fiesta in Mexico. Knopf, New York.

GALLOP, RODNEY

1939 Mexican Mosaic. Faber and Faber, London.

GENTRY, HOWARD SCOTT

1942 Rio Mayo Plants. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 527. Washington.

LALIBERTE, NORMAN AND EDWARD N. WEST

1960 The History of the Cross. Macmillan, New York.

LINTON, RALPH

1936 The Study of Man. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York.

PAINTER, MURIEL THAYER

1950 The Yaqui Easter Ceremony at Pascua. Tucson Chamber of Commerce, Tucson.

ms. Ceremonialism at Pascua. Manuscript in Mrs. Painter's files.

SPICER, EDWARD H.

1940 Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1962 Cycles of Conquest. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

1964 Apuntes Sobre el Tipo de Religión de los Yuto-Aztecas Centrales. Actas y Memorias del XXXII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico

1965 La Danza Yaqui del Venado en la Cultura Mexicana. America Indígena Vol. 25, No. 1. Mexico.

TOOR, FRANCES

1947 A Treasury of Mexican Folkways. Crown, New York.