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1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Ese Ejja/Chama/Ese Exa/Huarayo Society, Huarayo language, of the Tacanan/Tiatinagua language family (4)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): ese (4)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): The Ese Ejja are a very widely diverse group in regards to their location. "The Huarayo traditionally occupied the right side of the Madre de Dios River Basin to the Andean east slopes, the region demarcated by tributaries of the Inambari and Beni rivers. In the 1990s the Huarayo live only in a few scattered locales: on the banks of the Madre de Dios (the larger villages of Palmareal in Peru and Riberalta in Bolivia), on the Río Heath (a small camp), and on the Río Tambopata (Chonta and the settlement of Caserío de Infierno). Some individuals live near a Dominican mission, El Pilar. The lower flows of rivers are in the Selva Baja (lower forest) region; upper flows of the tributaries of Río Madre de Dios reach the Selva Ceja region (cloud forest), where there is increased precipitation." (1)

1.4 Brief history: It appears the Ese Ejja have similarities with many of the main language families. "The Huarayo language has morphological similarities to languages of the Panoan Family and genetic similarities to those of the Arawakan Family. The Huarayo are a South American Indian group in the Peruvian department of Madre de Dios and the Bolivian department of Pando. The name "Huarayo" or "Guarayo" probably dates to the time of Inca rule. Since the end of the nineteenth century, "Huarayo" has been a common name for all related groups and subgroups. The auto denomination "Ece'je" means "people.""(1)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: The most influential people on the Huarayo appeared to be the late Incan empire; however pressures from the missionaries and rubber boom lead to the sparse distribution of the group seen today. "In the past, the Madre de Dios and Beni valleys were probably one of the migration routes for the Proto-Arawakan, the Proto-Maipuran, and possibly the Proto-Panoan tribes. No archaeological evidence of the Huarayo exists, but according to early chronicles, they were likely vassals of the Inca or perhaps their servants guarding the Anti-soyo, the forested eastern slopes of the Inca Empire. There are indications of intensive contacts between the Huarayo and the Inca via trade or tribute. It was said that the Huarayo were entitled to collect the tribute from other groups for the Inca and also to capture their youths for service in the Inca army. Their knowledge of weaving, raising maize, and the use of the sling is diffused from the Andean Indians." (2)

There were also some influences from Westerners. "Huarayo contacts with Westerners began in 1539, when Pedro Anzules de Camporedo reached the Rio Beni. The expedition of Pedro Candia and Mercedian missionaries Diego de Porres and Diego Martínez came to the region of the upper Inambari from 1587 to 1588. In the seventeenth century missionaries of the Jesuit and Franciscan orders entered the area but were few in number. The reports of missionaries and travelers are confused. The Franciscan mission of La Concepción de Apolobamba was founded in 1690 on the left bank of the Beni; the missions of San José de Uchupiamonas and San Antonio de Ixiamas were established in 1713 and 1721 respectively. Under pressure to assimilate to Western ways, the Huarayo moved nearer to the Río Madre de Dios." (2)

They also felt the effects of missionaries. "In the beginning of the twentieth century, Dominican missionaries started to operate in the Madre de Dios region. Later, the temporary missions of Lago Valencia (1933), El Pilar (1943), and Fundo Concepción (1950) were founded, and an Adventist mission opened in Palmareal (1972). The second wave of the rubber boom (1941-1945) had a harmful effect upon the Huarayo. After 1955 the remaining Huarayo families from the Tambopata and Inambari regions settled on the left bank of the Madre de Dios. In 1960 they chose a place on the opposite side of the river and built the village of Palmareal. The Huarayo living in the Caserío de Infierno, Chonta, and Riberaita are highly acculturated, whereas the Huarayo in Palmareal are less so." (2)

1.6 Ecology: The Huarayo are mainly hunter gatherers, who originally didn't practice agriculture, but now practice some agriculture due to their exposure to such practices from neighbors. "Some of the Huarayo are mainly involved in hunting and fishing, although the number of those who practice slash-and-burn horticulture is increasing. The chacras (fields) in which they raise plantains, sweet manioc and some maize, sugarcane, and rice, are located on the opposite river bank. In the village, they grow guayaba- fruit trees." (3)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: 730 total population size with 500 individuals in Bolivia and 230 individuals in Peru, mean village size Unable to find, home range size Unable to find, density Unable to find (4)

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Traditionally manioc and maize. "The chacras (fields) in which they raise plantains, sweet manioc and some maize, sugarcane, and rice, are located on the opposite river bank." (3)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Specific game Unable to find, but some fish in the diet. "Some of the Huarayo are mainly involved in hunting and fishing..." (3)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns: The Huarayo has a wide variety of methods for hunting and fishing. "Hunting with bows and arrows, or rarely, with stolen shotguns is strictly a men's task, as is fishing, except in the case of fishing with barbasco poison." (3)

2.4 Food storage: Unable to find information

2.5 Sexual division of production: There is a noticeable sexual division of labor within the Huarayo. "Hunting with bows and arrows or, rarely, with stolen shotguns is strictly a men's task, as is fishing, except in the case of fishing with barbasco poison (e.g., *Tephrosia cinerea*, *Lonchocarpus nicu*), in which women also participate. Gathering wild fruits and catching small animals is women's activity, but men collect Brazil nuts and honey. In agriculture, men and women work together. Men do the heavier jobs (preparing chacras, felling and burning trees, carrying loads at harvest time, and the like). Women take part in planting and harvesting. They also care for the small children, cook, wash, and do all the housework. For a fee, men roast and smoke meat or fish, manufacture weapons, and build houses and canoes." (3)

2.6 Land tenure: Women are the primary owners of land. "Men are responsible for preparing the chacra; it is then given to women for use as property." (3)

2.7 Ceramics: No traditional or current presence of ceramics. "The Huarayo never manufactured pottery; vessels were made from calabashes, Brazil-nut shells, and reed *paca* (especially for cooking small fish), or aluminum wares brought by Whites were used." (3)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Sharing between relatives is the only type observed. "Whether or not they live together, brothers and sisters and parents and children share food. If a hunter is successful his wife will distribute his game, first to her close kin and then to his. Close kin also share their possessions, so a man may ask his brother to borrow his rifle or his canoe while he would be reluctant to do so with a non-related person. In such cases, he would be more likely to take the desired object without asking." (9)

2.9 Food taboos: Unable to find

2.10 Canoes/watercraft: Canoes are currently present in the Huarayo societies. "Men still manufacture wooden objects such as mortars, paddles, rafts, canoes, cooking utensils, and bows and arrows." (3)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Unable to find

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Unable to find

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): Unable to find

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Unable to find

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Unable to find

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Unable to find

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): First marriage begins at a young age, and varies for men and women. "Marriageable age is between 17 and 18 for men and between 14 and 16 for women." (6)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Proportion of divorce, Unable to find. However it is fairly easy to divorce. "Divorce is equally easy for men or women; one or the other leaves the house." (6)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Since polygyny is a privilege of the prestigious members, I assume the percentage of polygynous marriages was very small. "Polygyny was and still is the privilege of chiefs and shamans." (6)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry: None, due to the lack of inheritance, and lack of marriage ceremonies. (6)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: No inheritance observed because belongings destroyed. "In the past, when a man died, all his belongings were destroyed: his weapons were broken, his dog killed, his chacra destroyed, his house set afire." (6)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: None observed.

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Unable to find

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): The sources hint at a mostly exogamy society. (6)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?

It appears there is only one father, and the child is made from the father's blood. "The child has her father's 'blood' (Ese Ejja, ená; Spanish, sangre). (9)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"):

The mother is like a bag only, doesn't contribute to the child, but is still considered related to the child. "...while the mother does not contribute with any substance to the foetus: 'she is like a bag'." (9)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No. (9)

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Rape occurred in the past and present, and often went hand in hand with kidnapping. “Owing to exogamy, women were often kidnapped and raped, and women are sometimes obtained by rape today.” (6)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): Unable to find any preferential categories having to do with cross cousins, however in the case of marriages, age for both sexes was important. “According to a former custom, old men were to marry young women, and young men were supposed to marry old women.” (6)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Unable to find

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Unable to find

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? Children are placed with families without any children. “The common practice of placing children with childless families to be raised and educated gave men the possibility of taking small girls into their households, where they were then raised by their future husbands.” (6)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: Unable to find

4.22 Evidence for couvades: Unable to find

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): Unable to find

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect: Unable to find

4.24 Joking relationships: Unable to find

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Sources didn't state for what the descent is referring to, but stated bilateral descent found. “Some information suggests a traditional pattern of bilateral descent.” (5)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: There are no strict rules, but a sickness associated with incest. “However, everybody agreed that one should not marry (or have sexual relations with) someone whom she/he considers the same as oneself, uapapojama, literally non-other. Sex between uapapojama is thought to cause ñiñe, fits of madness and fainting (in Spanish, ataque).” (9)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? Not today. “The marriage ceremony no longer exists.” (6)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? Unable to find

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): Unable to find evidence for preferences related to within/outside a community, however there appears to be a different preference between the elders and young folks of the group. “Moreover, over time I became aware of a strong preference among elders for residential group endogamy, which clashed with young people's desire to marry out. People spoke of incidents in which mothers had been seen chasing after their sons and dragging them away from their girlfriends' houses in the opposite village.” (9)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? No. (9)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Yes, conflict between parents and children. (9)

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Unable to find

4.15 Out-group vs. in-group cause of violent death: All death appeared to be due to raiding to steal and rape women. “In the past, raids and wars among the local Huarayo groups were very frequent. The main purpose was stealing women. The men were killed, and women and girls were raped.” (7)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Stealing and raping women. (7)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): No relationships appeared to be for positive reasons, mainly for raiding and stealing women. “Huarayo also fought with Atsahuaea, Iñapari, Arasairi, Piro, Mashco, and Toyeri groups.” (7)

4.18 Cannibalism: It is suspected, but not enough proof to say yes for sure. “Missionary activities eventually helped end raiding and alleged cannibalism.” (7)

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: The only citation listing size of villages were that of a larger village in Bolivia. “With around 400 inhabitants, of which 200 are adults, it is a large village by regional standards.” (9)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Traditionally mobile, but now semi-sedentary. “Nineteenth-century sources describe them as nomadic (Armentia 1976) but, over the course of the twentieth century, they have progressively adopted a semi-sedentary lifestyle. None the less, small groups frequently travel over long distances and seasonal as well as permanent migrations are common. One of the main reasons given for travel is the desire to visit kin.” (9)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Traditionally chiefs. “Huarayo society was traditionally egalitarian, with men serving as chiefs of separate local groups. A man's status was based on his knowledge of the environment and herbal medicine and his ability to narrate myths; today knowledge of Spanish is also necessary.” (7)

5.4 Post marital residence: Post marital residence appears to be uxorilocal. “In the past, a young man had to work in the house of his parents-in-law for one or two years. He had to help his future father-in-law in hunting, cultivating the chacra, or building canoes. This tradition is partly maintained today.” (6) “Households generally consist of a couple, their unmarried children, and their married daughters with their husbands. Uxorilocal residence ends with the birth of the second child, after which the daughter and her husband move to a house of their own, often near the woman's parental home, and give the firstborn to its grandparents. Owing to this custom, another common type of household is that of grandparents, or indeed a single grandparent, and one or more grandchildren.” (9)

5.5 Territoriality? (Defined boundaries, active defense): Unable to find

5.6 Social interaction divisions (age and sex): In regards to children, there is a distinct social interaction of siblings. “Only babies are looked after by their mothers; other children are in the care of their older brothers and sisters, who teach them customary behavior and how to behave in the forest.” (6)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Special friendships do exist between same sex siblings. “A particularly strong bond exists between sisters, and if a woman has none she is pitied as she is ‘all alone’.” (9)

5.8 Village and house organization: The organization as changed over time from being communal housing to separate houses. “In the past, a number of extended families occupied a single communal house, with each nuclear family assigned a place on the perimeter of the maloca. Now the Huarayo use separate dwellings for each extended or nuclear family. It seems that bilocal residence prevails.” (6)

5.9 Specialized village structures (men's' houses): Doesn't appear to be any specialization between different village structures. (6)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere: It appears since they produce hammocks, that is where they are sleeping. “Formerly, the production of cotton fabric (e.g., for hammocks) was also a woman's task.” (3)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc.: Moieties. “Gareth Burr observes that ‘the Ese Eja community [of Sonene] is divided in two patrimoieties’ (1997: 90). He states that ‘organizational categories such as moiety and the residential system do not regulate or determine people's lives ... [and] moieties do not regulate marriage’ (1997: 82-3), which can be moiety-endogamous as well as -exogamous. What seems to matter is the ‘emotional power of the patri-moiety.’” (9)

5.12 Trade: Traditionally the Huarayo traded with the Incan Empire, however now due to distances between villages no longer do so. “The chronicles mention Huarayo trade with the Inca. Today the Huarayo in Palmareal occasionally exchange goods when frontier guards or traders visit their village. The Huarayo do not trade among themselves anymore because of the considerable distances between settlements. Only on rare occasions does a motorboat come with Huarayo visitors from Bolivian Riberalta.” (3)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies: Yes. “A man's status was based on his knowledge of the environment and herbal medicine and his ability to narrate myths; today knowledge of Spanish is also necessary.” (7)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Shamans are present with them being the only ones with knowledge of medicine. “The shaman (eyámitecua) is an important personage: he mediates between living people and the souls of the dead and the spirit world, which most commonly is approached only through him. The shaman is primarily a healer and seer. He is the only person with an extensive and special knowledge of medicinal herbs and their uses. This knowledge is, as a rule, passed on to his eldest son.” (8)

6.2 Stimulants: A stimulant drink is used to have dreams about their enemies. “In the past, the Huarayo, by drinking ayahuasca, reached a dream state in which they struggled with enormous animals. The shaman explained the dreams, interpreting who or what was responsible for illness, which was the enemy, and the way to win the battle.” (8)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): In regards to death rituals, the ritual has changed from the traditional ways due to missionary influences. “The corpse was wrapped up in his cushma, deposited in a canoe, and shipped down the river. Today, owing to missionary influence, the dead are buried. The corpse is wrapped in his cushma and put in a grave together with his diadem, food, and favorite animal (e.g., a monkey).” (6) In regards to puberty, there is a ceremony for boys and girls. “In the past, as part of their initiation rite, boys consumed these drinks to foresee their future. The boys were circumcised, and the girls were ritually deflowered.” (8)

6.4 Other rituals: There are some rituals that involve healing from shamans. “The Huarayo believe that a supernatural cause of disease is the thorn of the chonta palm sent into victim's body by a malinga shaman or by the evil spirit Edosikiani. A cure may be accomplished with herbs or by shamanistic means: blowing tobacco fumes over the patient, singing, massaging the affected part of the body (biomagnetism), performing sleight-of-hand tricks, and sucking the painful place. On the third night the curing process ends. From the victim's body the shaman sucks the bloody thorn and then destroys it. Today, spraying alcohol from the shaman's mouth over the body of the patient is also part of the curing process.” (8)

6.5 Myths (Creation): The Huarayo believes in a simple type of deism. “Most Huarayo believe that they derive from a mythical forefather, Gemasho.” (5)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Some instruments are observed for music. “Drinking bouts were accompanied by music (drums and flutes) and chants.” (8)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Unable to find

6.8 Missionary effect: Unable to find

6.9 RCR revival: Unable to find

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The Huarayo have multiple afterlife beliefs including forms of animism. “According to Huarayo belief, the deceased leaves the settlement in the guise of a peccary (huangana) and proceeds to the River of the Dead (Kwei ay enama). With the help of Edosikiani, the peccary swims across the river. On the other side it transforms again into a human and settles there. Only in the guise of a huangana is it possible to visit people again; therefore the huangana is considered to be a dead relative. Contact with the huangana is secured by a shaman. Every Huarayo possesses at least three souls. The first thinks and talks and after the death of the human being settles beyond the River of the Dead. The second—enashahus, the soul of rivers—leaves for the depths of waters, and the third, ekwikya, stays and looks after the dead body. The ekwikya is able to bite and even to kill; therefore food is buried with the corpse to keep the ekwikya with the deceased.” (8)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people: Unable to find

6.12 Is there teknonymy: Yes. “This is expressed through the use of teknonymy, whereby daughters-in-law and sons-in-law are referred to respectively as ‘grandchild's mother’ and ‘grandchild's father’.” (9)

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): Animism. “The influence of Christianity in Palmareal is not especially strong. According to the accessible information, animism still prevails.” (8)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Yes. “Huarayo art is limited to body and face painting. Red (achiote) and black (huito; i.e., Genipa americana) pigments were used.” (8)

7.2 Piercings: Unable to find

7.3 Haircut: Unable to find

7.4 Scarification: Unable to find

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): I found instances of the Huarayo wearing clothes in the past and present, but no other noticeable adornments. “In the past, the Huarayo produced stone axes, wooden knives, and long sleeveless shirts (cushmas). The fabric for cushmas consisted of bark beaten to the required shape with wooden clubs. The shirts were decorated with patterns such as zigzags, jaguar patches, and bird footprints using the red pigment achiote (Bixa orellana). Today, however, all Huarayo wear ready-made clothes obtained in exchange for game and skins.” (3)

“Sometimes they also painted cushma and manufactured elaborate feather diadems and necklaces from animal teeth and from shells.” (8)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Yes. “Sometimes they also painted cushma and manufactured elaborate feather diadems and necklaces from animal teeth and from shells.” (8)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Unable to find

7.8 Missionary effect: Unable to find

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: Unable to find

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Siblings are classified with parallel relative patterns. “Here ‘non-other’ corresponds to the category of parallel relatives.” (9)

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Both. “There is also some evidence of levirate and sororate in the past.” (6)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): The Huarayo has an interesting kinship system similar to the Iroquois. "According to certain indications, we can assume that Huarayo kinship is Iroquoian. In Huarayo kinship terminology, the differences in the referential and appellative terms are preserved." (5)

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

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