

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Tsimané, also known as Chimané and Mosetén.

“Tsimané’ linguistic origins are often linked to the language spoken by the Moseten people as part of an isolated Bolivian lowland language family (Chicchón 1992). Denevan states that along with the Moseten, the Tsimané’ form an independent linguistic group in the Beni (Denevan 1966; cited by Rioja Ballivián 1996). Their relationship to other South American lowland linguistic groups is less clear, with possible ties to a Macro-Pano family along with the Ge’-Pano-Carib group (Chicchón 1992), the Tacan family group, a Aruaco dialect (Hermosa Virreira 1986), or related to the Arawak speaking Moxos who were gathered into missions (Lathrap 1970). Today, the Tsimané’ maintain their own language distinct from the dominant national language of Spanish. While Spanish facilitates market interaction, it is known to varying degrees with better comprehension among males and the political elite. Twentieth century protestant missionaries were the first to transcribe the Tsimané’ language and continue to compile dictionaries and grammars.” (Byron 67)

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

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Bolivia, Southwest Beni Department and along Maniqui river; San Miguel de Huachi and Santa Ana de Alto Beni.

“They inhabit the tropical forest and border savanna regions in the lowland José Ballivián province, of the Beni department of Bolivia (Figure 3-1). The two closest regional population centers to the Tsimané’ communities we studied are the towns of San Borja (pop. ~16,273) and Yucumo (pop. ~3,090) (INE 2001).” (Byron 62)

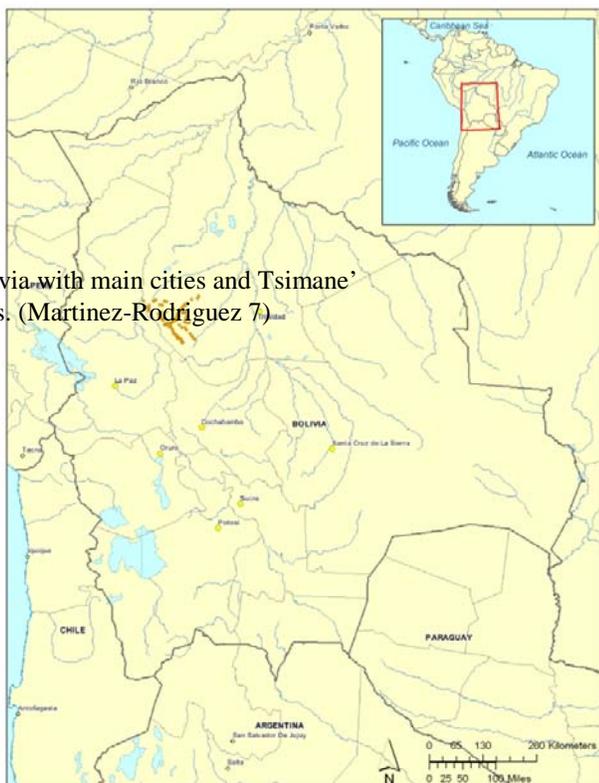
“Smaller Tsimané’ populations live in the Territorio Indígena Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécore, Territorio Indígena Multiétnico, and Territorio Indígena Reserva de la Biosfera Pilón-Lajas. Currently, some Tsimané’ are moving outside of these traditional lands to the area of Ixiamas, in the department of La Paz, aiming at settling in areas where they can find better resources (Huanca 2006).” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 7)

1.4 Brief history: “Francisco de Angulo first mentioned them in 1588 when they described their appreciation for Francisco Pizarro’s conquest of the Incas who had been trying to subjugate the Chimane. Roman Catholic missionaries first reached the Chimane in 1621, but it was not until the mid 1650’s that Franciscan missionaries succeeded in large scale conversions of the Chimane. By that time, smallpox had decimated the tribe. Beginning in 1804, the Roman Catholic mission of San Miguel de Muchanes began the acculturation process to convert the Chimane to neo-bolivian institutions, but the Chimane managed to maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity, although the pace of cultural transformation is accelerating.” (Olson 85-86)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: “The arrival of the first Europeans initiated ongoing contact by way of attempted missionization. The written history of missionization in the region in large part focuses

on the larger Moxos group with some reference to the Tsimané’ (Block 1984; Denevan 1966; Hermosa Virreira 1986; Lathrap 1970). Franciscan priest Gregorio de Bolívar is identified as the first individual to mention Indians in the Moseten/Tsimané’ area in 1621 (Metraux 1948:486), in his description of the Spanish myth of a rich kingdom of Moxos, known as El Dorado. The Moxos were successfully missionized while other native groups including the Yuracare, Siriono’, and Tsimané’ are described as “marginal” or “savage tribes” because of failed attempts to Christianize them.

Beginning in 1668, the Jesuits settled in the Beni region and established more than 25 towns (Reyes-García 2001). Mission San Francisco de Borja was established in 1693 along the banks of the Maniqui River. The present day town of San Borja stands a few kilometers from the site of the original mission. The Indians associated with Mission San Borja have been referenced with various names. There is record of attempts by missionaries to offer trinkets to pacify Movima or Churimana peoples (Chicchón 1992). In the 1690s, Indians in several of the missions in the upper Beni rose up against Dominican priests, setting fire to the buildings. The revolt was led by a nonspecified Moseten/Maniqui/Chimane native group, as resistance against missionary dominance (Chicchón 1992). Despite their continuous presence in the area for over two centuries, Jesuit efforts did not succeed in converting the Tsimané’ to a sedentary society (Dalliant 1994). In 1767, the



Map of Bolivia with main cities and Tsimané’ communities. (Martinez-Rodriguez 7)

Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits from all its territories leading many to speculate that the Indians in the missions must have fled back to the forest at that time (Chicchón 1992). Hermosa Virreira (1986) provides a map of the forest tribes and Franciscan missions in Bolivia around 1883 which places the Tsimane' in a region without missionary presence, lending support to this assumption. Chicchón (1992) proposes that a lack of centralized Tsimane' leadership and an extensive resource strategy as a pattern of subsistence contributed to their difficult or impossible missionization by Europeans. This apparent failed missionization is significant for the social and economic trajectory of the Tsimane' people during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as it enabled them to preserve a more autonomous cultural heritage." (Byron 67)

"On the southwest, the territory borders Santa Ana de Yacuma, and on the east San Ignacio de Moxos. Their neighbors are: the Tacana people (Tacanan family) on the northwest, the Movima (isolated language) on the northeast, the Ignaciano or Moxeño people (Arawakan family) on the east, the Yuracaré (isolated language) on the southeast, and some Aymara (Aymaran family) on the southwest (Fabre 2005)." 7

"The Tsimane' are closely related to the Mosekene (also called Mosekén). The Mosekene occupy different territory than the Tsimane', living in the Bopi river, a southwestern tributary to the Beni river, and the Quiquibey river into the localities of Reyes, Covendo, Santa Ana and Muchanes. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (2009) and Fabre (2005) consider the Tsimane' and Mosekene as the same language, and classify it as an isolated language of lowland Bolivia. Adelaar (Adelaar 1991) considers them two different languages but closely related. The Tsimane' call themselves **chätidye'**, which means "relative" in the local language and call the Mosekene *mochene*. Although they identify each other as two different indigenous groups, they seem to communicate without problem (Gil 2002) and their cultures resemble each other (Huanca 2006). The Mosekene are more acculturated than the Tsimane', which is evident in their fluency in Spanish nowadays. Historical reports in 1886 by Cardús (Cardús 1886) to Father Hugolino Gorleri, imply that these groups are related but the Mosekene are getting "civilized" ("they got out of the woods" Cardús 1886: 159), while the Tsimane' are reported as "savages"." 9

Tsimane' social organization and widespread use of forest resources did not allow the successful establishment of continuous missions (Chicchón 1992; Ellis 1996; Nördenskiöld 1924 (2001)). Chicchón (1992) points out two factors for the unsuccessful reduction of the Tsimane': their social organization that lacked a centralized figure and their extensive use of natural resources, which did not allow them to stay in one place for a long time. Huanca (2006) adds three more factors that prevented the Tsimane' association with permanent missionaries: first, Tsimane' were able to flee because their traditionally small kin family units enabled them to move easily; second, Tsimane' were cautious of getting involved with the missions because prior contacts had brought them diseases associated with white outsiders, and third, the Tsimane' shaman's role in that period might have also prevented their conversion to Catholicism. In contrast, the Moxos people, close geographically to the Tsimane', did get established in missions, facilitated by their centralized leadership and sedentary settlement pattern due to their subsistence agriculture (Chicchón 1992).

Although during colonial times Tsimane' contact with missionaries was intermittent, it dramatically affected their culture and environment. As in many other indigenous societies, missionaries disapproved of ritual practices and condemned drinking native beer (shocdye', an alcoholic beverage made from corn, cassava and/or plantain), although it was at the heart of the Tsimane' culture (Barnadas 1984; Daillant 2004). The new colonial order brought the introduction of new crops such as rice and sugar cane (Reyes-García 2001) as well as cattle, iron tools, and fire arms which changed the natural environment (Huanca 2006). The missionaries introduction of cattle is remarkable because it is opposite of the indigenous peoples' ways of getting their food, which is hunting and gathering. Cattle became feral, and spread over the natural savannas of Beni, causing much harm in the area. The selective exploitation of fine woods that began in this time, such as mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*), has continued until today." (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 13)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): "Tsimane' inhabit their traditional territory in the banks of the Maniqui river. The forests in this area classified from wet and moist in the upper Maniqui river (Holdridge et al. 1971), to gallery forests in the lower Maniqui extending to the Moxos savanna (Piland 1991). The wet sub-tropical territory has elevations of 500 m.a.s.l., where the climate favors high diversity of canopy trees of economic interest, such as *Swietenia macrophylla*, and *Terminalia oblonga*. Another important resource in these forests are patches of the palm *Geonoma deversa*, whose leaves are woven into thatching material.

The environment in the savanna region lies in elevations between 150 and 250 m.a.s.l. These areas are botanically less diverse, and are characterized for the severe lack of gradient -5 to 30 cm per kilometer (Chicchón 1992)- and soils impermeable to water, which makes the area easily flooded (Piland 1991). In this region, grasses (Poaceae) and sedges (Cyperaceae) predominate, as well as generalist species like *Hura crepitans* (**conófoto**) and *Attalea phalerata* (**manai**). Slips of gallery forest and patches of forests known as islas, spread through the area. When this ecosystem is flooded, (January-March) this is the only vegetation that can be seen; in April, when the waters begin to retreat, small ponds appear and can disappear completely with the dry conditions that will come in June (Jones 1995).

The climate in the territory is divided in wet and dry seasons, which can be extreme. The wet season begins in October and lasts until April; during the time of this research, the average monthly rainfall for the wet season was 188.4 mm. The dry season usually extends from May to September; for the time of the study it had a monthly average of 62.8 mm. The annual accumulated precipitation was 1860.4 mm. A graphic view of the rainfall seasonality can be observed in graph 1. The average annual temperature was 26.7°C, with extreme temperatures of 35.6°C and low of 11.1°C.

Figure 3.1. Average monthly precipitation (mm) in San Borja for the year months of July 2007 to June 2008..

Regionally, it is important to note the importance of the extreme low temperatures that occur seasonally, locally known as **tyi'mu** (or *surazo*, in regional Spanish), which are a consequence of Artic winds. These winds can reach speeds of 60 km/h, and affect deeply the activities that are carried out in the communities. Tsimane' tend in this time not to carry out much of the regular outdoor activities, classes at school get canceled, and people stay close to their fire pit at home." (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 40)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: "Recent population figures were 5,124 in 1995 (Government of Bolivia 1995) and 7,385 in 1999 (Vice Ministry of Indigenous Affairs 1999). Their marginal geographic location has been overlooked during census taking and formal record keeping is not part of the institutional structures with which they come in contact." (Byron 78)

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): "Their diet is based largely on the cultivation of rice, plantains, sweet manioc and corn, as well as on hunting, fishing and varying levels of market goods depending on their proximity to town. " (Winking)

"Piland (1991) reports 90 plant species cultivated as edible crops, medicinal, and fish poison. Their main staples are plantain (*Musa balbisiana*), rice (*Oryza sativa*), cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), and corn (*Zea mays*). Huanca (1999) points out that plantain, cassava and corn are necessary not only for food, but also a pivotal resource to make native beer. The conspicuous social consumption of native beer is culturally necessary for leisure time, and also to pay back to visitors, such as relatives in **sóbaqui.**" ? (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 48)

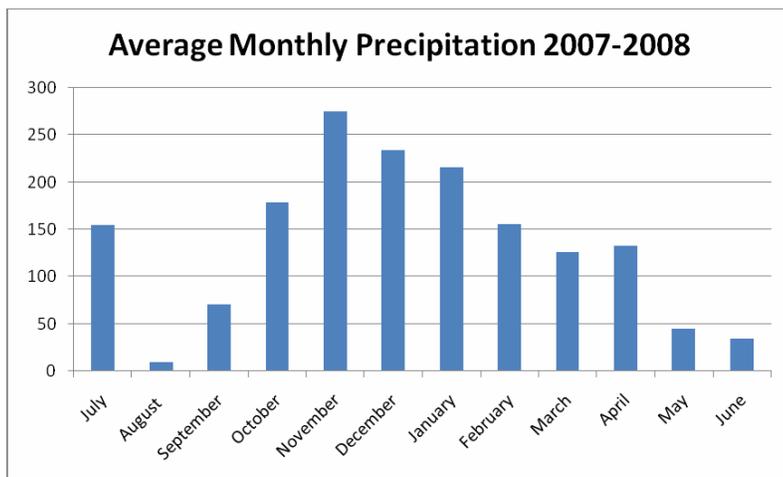
"Traditional Tsimane' crop production includes cultivation of manioc, maize, plantains, peanuts, cotton, sweet potatoes, pineapple, and peach palm (Lathrap 1970:58) for home consumption." (Byron 79)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: "Mammals are disproportionately the most common animals hunted in both communities. Commonly hunted game include collard peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*), white-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*), agouti (*Dasyprocta* spp.), red brocket deer (*Mazama americana*), howler monkey (*Alouatta caraya*), squirrel monkey (*Saimiri sciureus*), and armadillo (*Dasybus novemcinctus*). Birds make up 13-15% of game hunted in Yarand and San Antonio, respectively (Apaza Vargas 2002)." (Byron 78)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: "Tsimane' men traditionally hunted with hand-made bows and arrows. Today more and more male adults and teenagers use rifles and shotguns to hunt game. We found that many younger males are not skilled in crafting or use of the bow and arrow. While not all Tsimane' men own rifles or shotguns, largely due to their high price, most are competent in the use of either one or the other and borrowing of firearms between relatives is common. When firearms are used, men in San Antonio prefer hunting rifles while shotguns are more common in Yaranda. Tsimane' men and boys in Yaranda also use the bow and arrow during barbasco fishing which might explain its persistence upriver and decline in San Antonio where this technology has transformed more into a craft for sale in San Borja (Apaza Vargas 2002). Greater access to cash for the purchase of firearms is also attributed to their higher prevalence in San Antonio. 86

The Tsimane' employ several fishing technologies including metal fish hooks, fishing nets or mosquito netting, machetes, natural poisons, and weirs. Traditional fishing technology is defined by Pérez (2001) as the use of implements produced with local materials from the natural environment (e.g., poisons and weirs). He found a greater use of traditional fishing technologies in the more remote Yaranda and more use of introduced technologies in San Antonio. Fishing practices have been influenced by pressures from external forces. Barbasco or fish poisoning techniques provide one of the highest daily yields for consumption compared to hunting or hook and line fishing." (Byron 85)

2.4 Food storage: "Meat is preserved through techniques of salting and sun drying raw pieces into charqui or by smoking." (Byron 87)



2.5 Sexual division of production: "Spouses engage in extensive cooperation and sex roles are well-defined. Women are responsible for providing childcare and preparing food and *chicha* (homemade beer). Men acquire game and fish and engage in wage labor. Both sexes collect forest fruits, fetch firewood and water, and work in horticultural gardens" (Stieglitz) "Adult females work alongside males in the fields, but to a lesser extent. Women do not typically have their own field per se, barring an absence of a spouse due to temporary labor migration. After burning and drying, logs from the plots serve as firewood for the household. Typically any adult female or male working in the field will bring in wood at the end of the day

or for the mid-day meal. If not, women are more likely to locate firewood from nearby fields and bring it for cooking and heating purposes

Tsimane' women participate more in harvesting of crops such as rice and manioc as well as secondary processing into edible states. The processing of raw food crops is very time consuming and something that women are involved in everyday to some extent. 81

Unlike hunting which is almost exclusively a male activity, fishing is practiced by women, men, and children (Chicchón 1992; CIDDEBENI 1990; Pérez 2001).” (Byron 85)

2.6 Land tenure: “Swidden cultivation, also known as slash and burn agriculture or shifting cultivation, is a method of small-scale farming practiced throughout the Amazon. The Tsimane' open plots averaging half a hectare (Vadez et al. 2003) using steel machetes and axes each year for planting, beginning in late-May to August during the dry season (Figure 3-2). Once all the trees are felled, the field is left to dry out before burning can take place in late August to early October. After burning, a field is partially cleared and then planted. The fields may be weeded once or twice before the harvest season. After one or two seasons of cultivation, a plot is left fallow and often fruit trees are harvested intermittently (cf. Huanca 1999 for detailed study of traditional fallow management practices). This method of cultivation results in a variety of plots under different stages of use and management (Dufour 1990). The Tsimane' do not traditionally use any herbicides or pesticides on their fields. In recent years, some households have occasionally used backpack sprayers acquired through agricultural projects to deliver herbicides to their crops. However, the cost of buying the chemicals and problems with early rains deter wider adoption of the innovation

Adult males take the primary role in the preparation of fields through felling of large trees, clearing of smaller debris, and burning of dried plots. Males as young as 13 years of age may work their own field. Labor is often shared within a household or with kin, but there is no formally organized institution of communal labor. Adult females work alongside males in the fields, but to a lesser extent. Women do not typically have their own field per se, barring an absence of a spouse due to temporary labor migration. After burning and drying, logs from the plots serve as firewood for the household. Typically any adult female or male working in the field will bring in wood at the end of the day or for the mid-day meal. If not, women are more likely to locate firewood from nearby fields and bring it for cooking and heating purposes. Once the fields are planted, they are left to be rain irrigated usually commencing in October. Tsimane' women participate more in harvesting of crops such as rice and manioc as well as secondary processing into edible states. The processing of raw food crops is very time consuming and something that women are involved in everyday to some extent. Older children are often found assisting in the cutting of rice or other harvest activities.” (Byron 81)

Month	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April
Study Quarter	Pilot Phase & Quarter 4 <i>May 10 – Aug. 9</i>			Quarters 1 & 5 <i>Aug. 10 – Nov. 9</i>			Quarter 2 <i>Nov. 10 – Feb. 9</i>		Quarter 3 <i>Feb. 10 – May 9</i>			
Season	Cold Fronts and Winds			Dry	Dry	Dry	Dry/Wet		Very Wet		Wet	Wet
Climate	Cool Dry Season						Rainy and Hot Season					
Crops	Cut Forest/Burn			Burn/Plant	Plant		Weed		Rice Harvest			
<i>Rice</i>	Harvest soft var.			Plant hard/soft		Plant hard	Harvest hard/soft		Harvest hard var.			
<i>Maize</i>				Plant		Fruit Trees		Harvest begins/continues				
<i>Manioc</i>												
Labor	Agricultural Wage Labor											
Hunting & Fishing	Prime Hunting			River levels low-high fishing								
School	In session	2 weeks off	In session/ends		Teacher Training	Vacation			School starts/in session			
Market Sales	Maize sales			Palm mats, Honey, Balsa, Avocado		Maize sales			Rice sales			
	Rice sales			Jatata sales Manioc sales								

Figure 3-2. Seasonal calendar of productive activities. Compiled from information in (Huanca et al. 2002) and interviews with Tsimane' adults during fieldwork.

(Byron 82)

“Gardens around the houses are another source of Tsimane' subsistence. Although there is no intensive household gardening among the Tsimane', they protect species of interest that grow spontaneously in their yards, such as different fruits, medicinal plants, and fish poisons. The contribution of gardens to household consumption is in average 8% (Reyes-García 2001). An analysis of Tsimane' traditional agricultural practices is given by Piland (1991).” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 49)

2.7 Ceramics:

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: “Hunted game is often shared between extended families, although we found less observance of this practice in the more integrated community of San Antonio.” (Byron 87)

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): “We asked the teenage girls whether they reached menarche. While there is only a small sample of girls this age in our sample, the average age of menarche falls around 12- 13 years of age. Again, age estimates are not highly precise, but this provides a comparable number to other populations. Women and girls who are menstruating are forbidden from preparing food or chicha.” (Byron 165)

“Women's age at first marriage in the present sample ranged from 13 to 22 with a mean of 17 ($n = 49$)” (Stieglitz)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: “Marriages are stable, with less than 20% resulting in divorce (Winking et al., 2009). Since for men divorce and remarriage often entails migrating to another village, the probability of conflict occurring with a current wife over directing resources toward the husband's children from a previous marriage is low.” (Stieglitz)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: “There are no restrictions against polygyny but it is rare (5–10% of men).” (Stieglitz)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

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

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

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) : “ Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, as is sororal polygyny, if it occurs” (Winking)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

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

4.22 Evidence for couvades

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

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? “I found that the majority of infants less than one year of age did not yet have official names assigned to them. Some subjects informed us that names were often chosen when someone important visited the village, but the delay in naming children until they are older could be related to high infant mortality and a reluctance to officially recognize the child until her or his survival is more likely (Scheper-Hughes 1987).” (Byron 165)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): “The Mosesten, another ethnic group living along the Bopi, Beni, and Quiquive Rivers (Metraux 1948), have been described as having links to Aymara groups and may have been subjugated by the Incas. Today, there is some intermarriage between Mosesten and Tsimane' and both groups identify as being close relatives. The Mosesten and Mojenos also reportedly see the Tsimane' as brave hunters

and workers, but at the same time as more primitive because they lack a fixed residence throughout the year, hunt with bow and arrow, and though uncommon, still practice polygyny to some extent (Riester 1993).” (Byron 65)

4.18 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: “Villages are composed of household clusters, each of which typically contains three or four residences of consanguineal or affinal kin.” (Stieglitz)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Forager- Horticulture (Byron 78)

“Traditionally, the Tsimane’ settlement pattern was of isolated clusters close to river banks, composed of around five households with kinship nexus (Daillant 1994; Riester 1976), rarely numbering more than 50 individuals (Piland 1991). This pattern is currently uncommon due to increased market integration and missionaries’ influence.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 37)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

5.4 Post marital residence: “Although there are no strict rules of post-marital residence, newlyweds often reside near the wife’s natal kin for a few years. During this time the husband works with affines, but bride service is not formally recognized. After several years the couple and any children may relocate to live near the husband’s kin.” (Stieglitz)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: “Households typically consist of a single nuclear family with related families living close to one another, creating extended-family household clusters. While nuclear families maintain individual gardens, food is often communally shared at the cluster level.” (Winking)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): “The central cult ritual, closely linked with the renovation of the pact between humankind and nature, is the *umba*, which is performed in the round cult house, the *shipa*.” (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? “Babies are usually kept in a hanging hammock, traditionally made of *ashaba*, or from a regular manufactured blanket hanging in the house.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 72)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

5.12 Trade:

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “Bodily evil is manifested in illness, either caused through one’s own fault—not having observed a taboo—or by witchcraft. The shaman’s curing practices consist of chants, sucking, and natural medicines made from plants, animal oils, and healing clays. Western medicine plays an insignificant role in Chimane life. (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

6.2 Stimulants: “*robodye* (a narcotic derived from an as-yet unclassified plant)” (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

6.4 Other rituals: “With the assistance of *robodye* (a narcotic derived from an as-yet unclassified plant) and tobacco juice and by chanting and drumming, the shaman reaches a state of ecstasy. He is able to transport himself to extraterrestrial planes and to summon the spirits to visit with the participants in the *umba*. All participants experience ecstasy. They ingest small figures in human and jaguar forms. Even though presently in animal guise, jaguars are considered human, and the ritually ingested jaguar representations are believed to be human flesh. (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

“It is customary not to take babies out of the household environment because the **O’pito**, spirit of the water, can harm them (Chicchón 1992). If for any reason they have to be taken into trips, it is necessary to avoid the places where the **O’pito** usually prowls. It is also necessary to carry a torch in front and burn tobacco at the back of the traveling party to deter the bad spirits presence. While I was in Ivasichi, a baby died after his family had taken a trip to collect fruits; his death attributed to the **O’pito** spirit, and partially to the parents for not having observed the customs to deter the spirit from following them.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 61)

6.5 Myths (Creation): “The cosmos, the earth, and all living beings, including mountains and stones, are the creation of the mythic brothers Duik and Mitsha. As a unity they are called “Jen” and are believed to be the sun and moon, respectively. Duik and Mitsha are cultural heroes who gave humankind weapons, fire, edible plants and other similar goods. *Faratazik*, master guardians or special keepers of places, animals, fish, and plants watch over the life of their wards, guaranteeing their reproduction and availability to humans. Failure by humans to observe pertinent taboos is punished. Spirits are all benevolent

as long as humans respect them; if not, their benevolence changes, and they pose mortal danger (*zeki*). The logical and automatic outcome is that humans will become possessed by spirits and faratazik.” (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) “Traditional Chimane religion is still very much alive despite Christian attempts to displace it. Human society is a mirror image of the world of animals and plants, and there is a symbiotic relationship between them. The Chimane believe that mutual respect is essential, and it is this maxim that conditions their reasonable and limited approach to the exploitation of natural resources. To maintain this equilibrium is a fundamental objective, and the possible disruption of that equilibrium brings evil into the world. The shaman is of outstanding importance in this context. After years of practice, he watches over cultural and religious norms and presides over the most important cults.” (“Countries and Their Cultures”)

“Tsimane’ traditional spirituality was animistic, believing in spirits that own the river, the forest or animals (Riester 1976). Although there is a strong Christian influence today, the belief in these “owners” of nature is still apparent.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 20)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut:

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate: “Some sororal polygyny has been reported (Huanca 1999; Reyes-García 2001; Rioja Ballivián 1996), although the proportion for the whole Tsimane’ population is only 3%, according to a survey conducted by Godoy in 1996 (Godoy, pers. comm. in Reyes-García 2001). Although these marriages are highly discouraged because of the Christian influences, during my stay I observed two of these unions in Ivasichi.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 38)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

“The Tsimane’ traditionally practice Dravidian cross-cousin marriage (Daillant 1994), so that unions are done between one’s mother’s brother’s daughter or son, or father’s sister’s son or daughter (called *fom*) (Chicchón 1992; Daillant 1994). Although not all adults were comfortable to talk about whether they were married to their *fom* –probably because it is a custom discouraged by the missionaries- I was able to witness two teenage marriage unions that followed these rules in a culturally correct way in Ivasichi, a community where I carried out most of my fieldwork. This pattern of marriage is eroding, though; Byron (2003) reports the lack of marriageable partners for several males in the isolated village of Yaranda.” (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 38)

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Rubber Boom Involvement:

The Republican era (since 1825) is recognized as the beginning of extractive activities in the Beni province, with the exploitation of vanilla (*Vanilla sp.*), quinine (*Cinchona calisaya*), cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*) and especially rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*). Most of these activities took place in the north of Beni department. Thousands of indigenous peoples of the Beni were taken to work in slavery conditions for Bolivian nationals in Northern Beni, Madeira river, and Acre (currently Brazilian territory). These indigenous peoples were committed to continuous work by means of “el enganche” or “el habilito”, a debt peonage system in which indigenous peoples were induced to sign contracts and given “pay advances” in the form of manufactured goods and food which were debited to worker accounts. The companies’ plans were such that the workers’ expenditures and pay advances would always exceed income, creating a permanent negative balance for the worker, which was passed on to his survivors upon death (Jones 1995).

Since rubber and other resources of economic interest were not abundant in the land where the Tsimane’ have traditionally inhabited, it lacked interest for entrepreneurs (Nordenskiöld 1922, Chicchón 1992). This might have helped the Tsimane’ in avoiding the “enganche” economic activities during the rubber boom. Also, the traditional dispersed pattern of settlement

among the Tsimane' prevented them from being recruited by outsiders as laborers to work in northern Beni (Reyes-García 2001). Therefore, the Tsimane' did not suffer the influence of this economic system, which dramatically changed the livelihoods of other indigenous groups in the Beni department." (MARTÍNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ 14)

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