

## 1. Description

- 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Kubu (AKA Orang Rimba, Orang Hutan, Anak Dalam); Austronesian language family of Indonesia (Sumatra) [1]; The Kubu use the language of the dominant group with which they associate, such as Riau or Djambi Malay, Minangkabau or Mandailing Batak [2].
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): kvb [1].
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Spread across Jambi, Riau and south Sumatra, eastern swamp region [1]. The Kubu now often live near Malay villages [2].
- 1.4 Brief history: The Kubu (Koeboe, Orang Darat) live in Sumatra and are found throughout the east-coast lowlands westward to the foothills of the Barisan Range. "Kubu" is a generic label used by outsiders for a number of scattered former hunter-gatherers in Sumatra. Kubu groups themselves prefer to be called "Orang Rimba" (people of the forest) or by the name of a local ethnic group. Named Kubu groups are the Mamk, Sakai, Akit, Talang, Tapung, Orang Utan, Orang Rawas, Lubu, Ulu, Rawas, Duwablas, Mountain Kubus, and Benua [2]. The Orang Rimba are an indigenous minority population inhabiting the primary and secondary lowland forests of south-central Sumatra, the largest and most western of the Indonesian islands just south of Malasia. Kubu is the most commonly used exonym by local villagers and the general Indonesian populace. However, it is a title they resent being designated by, as it is a pejorative term connoting "savage" or "primitive." They practice a nomadic or semi-nomadic form of hunting and gathering economy, occasionally supplemented with basic slash and burn (swidden) agriculture. Slave raiding on the inter-local level was a real and serious threat to the Orang Rimba until only a few generations ago. Such dangers may have increased with the spread of Islam from the 14th century onwards. In the Islamic faith, it is forbidden to enslave other Muslims. The non-Muslim indigenous populations of the interior, such as the Orang Rimba, were, therefore, obvious targets for slave raids and other forms of persecution [3].
- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: For centuries, the Orang Rimba have avoided sustained contact with neighboring agricultural peasantries, preferring to trade only with a select few trusted villagers. Various historical accounts report that in certain areas they had practiced a form of "silent trade," whereby forest products were placed on the fringes of the forest to be collected by villagers, who would exchange these products with needed goods, such as salt and metal for spear heads and machetes, by placing them in the same spot—both sides never meeting face to face. This form of barter may have been replaced, in some cases, with face-to-face encounters with a Malay intermediary known as jenang or bapak semang. He was seen as a guarantor of their autonomy, and the forest products they forfeited to him (e.g., rattan, damar, "dragon's blood," and honey) were often of much greater value than the goods received (e.g., salt, tobacco, metal tools, and clothing), which were to be seen as gifts rather than direct equivalents of the goods offered. This system lasted until recent years and still persists in some areas, but in a less paternalistic and strictly economic form. Such extreme xenophobia may have been a response to the fears of slave raiding in past times [3].
- 1.6 Ecology (natural environment): The Orang Rimba inhabit the primary and secondary lowland forests of south-central Sumatra, primarily at the foothills of the Barisan Mountain range, which consists of 35 active volcanoes lining the entirety of the range [3].
- 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Population was at 35,000 in 1935 [2] and at 10,000 in 1989 [1]. Precise population figures are difficult to obtain, but 2,600 to 3,000 are realistic estimates, with the large majority living in Jambi Province, and nearly one third of the total population concentrated in the Tembesi-Tabir interfluvium, where slash and burn agriculture has intensified in recent decades, thus leading to higher birthrates (infant mortality remains high). Significant numbers are also found in South Sumatra Province, while remnant populations and new migrants can also be found in West Sumatra and the Riau Provinces. Group sizes range from small nuclear domestic units to larger swiddening (slash and burn) camps, which can reach 100 or more persons [3].

## 2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Tubers, wild yams, cassava, wild plants, fruits, and vegetables, rice, and other foods collected from the forests are some of the main carbohydrate staples of the Orang Rimba [3].
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Certain forest game, such as wild boar, turtle, mouse, deer, porcupines, wild pigs, fowl, and snake are foods quite common to the Orang Rimba. Most of their protein-lipid sources come from hunting, fishing, and trapping [3].
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The only weapon traditionally used by hunters is the long shafted spear, which is used effectively from close range, but is rather limited in reaching animals in the canopy. Some men are now using self built flintlock guns from materials purchased in the surrounding transmigration sites, while others consider their use a violation of adat [4].
- 2.4 Food storage: Storage sheds (gelubo) are built sometimes to store foods like rice and large game. For the most part food is consumed as it is collected [4].
- 2.5 Sexual division of production: Traditionally, the role of an Orang Rimban man is that of "the hunter," the provider of meat, and the protector of women and children. A woman's role is twofold, that of "the gatherer" of wild food, which includes digging edible tubers, and that of "the nurturer" of the young. Even child labor is utilized to its fullest extent. As soon as children can walk, they learn, mostly through imitation, the tasks appropriate to their gender. Girls will look after their younger siblings, fetch water, cook, weave sleeping mats, collect firewood, help clear swiddens, and other household chores. Boys will also help clear swiddens and follow older boys and adult males on fishing and hunting excursions [3].
- 2.6 Land tenure: They practice a nomadic or semi-nomadic form of hunting and gathering economy, so there is no real sense of land ownership [3].
- 2.7 Ceramics: There is a very long history of Chinese and Indian trade in the region as evident in the ancient trade items that the Orang Rimba still possess, which include Chinese ceramics from the 10th to 13th century. These are passed down among generations valued as sacred ancestral heirlooms [4].
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: In cases where residential groups consist of nuclear family dwellings, it is common for two or more kin-related families to consolidate their efforts by sharing game and other wild foods to compensate for their small group sizes [3].

- 2.9 Food taboos: The foods commonly eaten by Muslim villagers, such as goats, cows, buffaloes, and chickens, are foods that are forbidden to the Orang Rimba [3]; this is because there is a traditional taboo against raising or eating domestic animals which they considered defiled or polluting, offends the ancestors and gods, influence them to ignore the community, making life in the forest impossible. The Orang Rimba follow a Malay variant of these beliefs, which restricts or prohibits females (and often children) from eating certain varieties of animals (rodents, civets, otter), fish, frogs, river mollusks (snails, crabs, shrimp), honey (particularly when it is uncooked), bee larvae, and varieties of fruit, primarily because they are believed to be 'hot' foods. Some of these foods are believed to have the potential to negatively affect female fertility, complicate pregnancy or childbirth, and in cases of overindulgence lead to sickness, insanity or accentuate sexual urges. [4].
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? : The Orang Rimba believe that their gods live on the water, in small boats or canoes [4]. Canoes may be used oftentimes for fishing; however, not much information could be found on the use of canoes among the Orang Rimba.

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Information could not be found.

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Information could not be found.

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): Information could not be found. (Orang Rimba do not keep track of age or birth dates)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Information could not be found. (Orang Rimba do not keep track of age or birth dates)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Average family size may be anywhere from 3-7 individuals [5], and includes parents and their offspring, as well as adopted children oftentimes [3]

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Plant contraceptives and abortifacients are not used and infanticide is unheard of. A postpartum taboo on sexual intercourse is adhered to for several years after a child is born, in order to allow for a sufficient weaning period. During a swiddening cycle, taboos are more lax; hence, when groups revert back to nomadic foraging, a woman may have more children to feed than she can comfortably manage. "Blood money" is paid to a woman's parents if a child is thought to have died of milk deprivation caused by closely spaced pregnancies, which are thought to disrupt an infant's weaning cycle [3].

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Information could not be found; however, most Orang Rimba marry very young [6].

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Divorce is not uncommon but becomes increasingly rare after the first child is born. Divorce may be initiated by the family of the bride, often when a husband does not adequately provide for his wife and children, or does not share with or show the proper respect to his spouse's consanguines. If a woman wishes to remarry, she will be expected to wait at least two to three years in order to avoid being perceived as overly eager in her desire to form a union with another man. If a woman remarries shortly following her divorce, she will be fined 500 sheets of cloth by her ex-husband and may lose custody of her children. A man is expected to abstain from marriage for at least six months, and a lesser fine, perhaps 20 sheets of cloth, must be paid to the family of his first spouse in the event that he remarries too soon. [3].

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Polygyny does occur oftentimes in Orang Rimba society; however monogamy is the most common arrangement. In cases when a father dies, men, particularly those wishing to acquire a second wife, will often assert their claim to the widowed woman. In such instances, a woman can be taken against her will if her male relatives are unable to ward off such men. Having a second wife increases a man's prestige and contributes greatly to the labor force, particularly because child-labor is also utilized. Moreover, female children will one day fetch bride-service and the requisite subordination of any in-marrying male. A woman's matrimonial value is decreased and she is also rendered a more vulnerable target because male support is lacking; an upper limit of seven wives has been reported [3].

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry? : Female children are particularly coveted for the brideprice they will someday fetch, traditionally in the form of sheets of cloth, and more recently gold and currency. Female children are also valued for the subsequent labor power of an in-marrying male they will bring. During the brideprice period before marriage, which can last months or years, the male suitor is scrupulously tested for his honesty and generosity, which he demonstrates by sharing the spoils of his hunting and whatever other resources he acquires. He is also expected not to be "proud", which might be revealed through not showing proper respect to the bride-to-be's family or "saying one thing and doing another." If he is unable to demonstrate proficiency in subsistence-related skills, including collecting forest products, the male suitor will be thought to be either insincere in his intentions of marriage or simply incompetent in his ability to support a family and, consequently, he will be deemed an unworthy candidate for marriage into the girl's family. Due to the years of gender segregation, sexual activity will not commence until up to 2-3 years after marriage, until a girl overcomes her initial fears and feels comfortable enough to engage in sex [3].

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Inheritance among the Orang Rimba is predominantly matrilineal. Daughters inherit the heavy or immovable property, which implies rights to resources found in their customary forests based on a mixture of private and collective ownership over fruit and honey trees. Women also inherit sacred family heirlooms and cloth which is a form of family wealth and status. Women also have primary distribution rights and manage the cloth. Sons inherit the light or moveable property, which often includes male subsistence-oriented tools such as spears, slender-shafted axes for chopping down trees, cone-shaped turtle spears, village-bought machetes, and knives [4].

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: An Orang Rimban man will commonly exhibit "macho"-like characteristics, asserting a "don't fool with me" status to other men. Such a disposition is largely because of the ever-present need to claim one's rights to women, particularly spouses, but also female children of marriageable age who are increasingly coming under the eyes of amorous young bachelors. While a male's masculinity is often exaggerated in manner, he may be openly affectionate and nurturing towards his young children, particularly infants. Obedience to adults, particularly fathers, is an enduring characteristic of Orang Rimban family life. Orang Rimban children are highly disciplined and are expected to both respect and obey their elders. A child that does not obey a parent is referred to as "evil" and, in extreme circumstances, may be subject to physical punishment. This is more common among

same-sex parent-child relations. For example, a father will not beat his daughter, and a mother will rarely, if ever, beat her son. More commonly, however, children are scolded verbally to invoke a sense of shame that is especially felt when their behavior is called into question publicly before the scrutiny of the camp. [3].

- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Male homosexual behavior has been reported in rare instances among adolescent boys and young adult males, whereas it is practically unheard of among married men. In most cases it may amount to mere sex rehearsal or exploration. If discovered, there may be a fine to pay and temporary social stigmatization, but often after time has passed the incidence is looked upon humorously with no shame or embarrassment. The sense of shame and ideals of purity regarding the female body and sexuality that are so deeply inculcated in a girl throughout her entire life may inhibit any actual lesbian activity from occurring, even if such desires should arise. However, while questioning men regarding the issue, they claimed that such conduct would not be seen as a serious offense, most probably because it does not threaten the delicate balance of power relations between men as do other forms of sexual misconduct, such as adultery. [3].
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): A pattern of group endogamy exists among the Orang Rimba. Most family members, fathers and brothers in particular, will fiercely resist any attempts by an outsider male to marry into the family. The outsider male must first gain the family's trust, and the suitor's bride-service is aimed at achieving this end. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred over unions with non- or distant kin, as trust has already been established through previous consanguinal relations between siblings [3].
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? There is no evidence of partible paternity among the Orang Rimba.
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): According to many, it is the lesser gods who create the souls of humans; a male god places a flower in the hair bun of his wife, which eventually transforms into a soul baby that tends to resemble a toddler [4].
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? : Babies are born in a specific area of the forest considered blessed by the Gods and set aside as a 'maternity wing'. A Shaman responsible for all tribal rituals selects this area [6].
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Incidence of sexual harassment and rape is rare and always subject to interpretation by the parties involved. For example, in cases where men elope with women in an attempt to bypass the authority of the latter's disapproving family, the family of the girl may claim that she was carried off against her wishes or while under duress. If the daughter agrees that this was the case—which may be in her best interest in instances where she fears punishment—her family may claim abduction, or even rape, if it can be established that sexual intercourse had occurred. In such instances, the male would be required to marry the girl and pay severe fines, as well as endure a beating by the girl's younger siblings [3].
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) : Cross-cousin marriage to first or second cousins is preferred over unions with non- or distant kin, as trust has already been established through previous consanguinal relations between siblings [3].
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? : Far from embracing a woman's natural sexual desires, the Orang Rimba see women as innately vulnerable and, therefore, in need of protection against the predation and charms of men. Strict rules prohibiting male-female contact outside of marriage serve to combat or remedy a male's natural proclivity to seek a female. Adultery, "wife stealing," and excessive intimacy with an unwed girl are the most serious breaches of Orang Rimban customary law, and severe punishments may be administered by a headman or other male litigant when such transgressions occur, demanding a payment in compensation. In most cases, the woman involved will not be held accountable. Her actions are more often viewed as a subconscious response to the male offender's sorcery or "love magic." Full responsibility, therefore, is brought to bear on the actions of men, while strict behavioral constraints are adhered to by both sexes in order to temper suspicions and prevent such transgressions from occurring. Women have the responsibility to uphold ideals of purity and chastity, otherwise a sense of shame and embarrassment will be brought to bear on herself and her family [3].
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring : Adultery is considered one of the most serious crimes in Orang Rimban customary law, and severe punishments are often administered for committing this crime. Thus the occurrence of adultery is very low, and there is no evidence of gift giving to any extramarital partners or offspring [3].
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? : In instances when a mother has died, her brother, rather than her spouse, will claim legal custody of the children, as is prescribed by traditional adat law. This often leads to a dire situation for fathers, who are pressed to either run off with their children or mount a defense against their brother(s)-in-law for custody. "Legally," however, a widowed male will be required to join the group of a brother-in-law and remain subordinate to him. A man who loses a spouse, therefore, also loses a degree of autonomy over his children and himself if he wishes to remain with his children without fleeing the area [3].
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females : Information could not be found.
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades : There is no evidence of couvades among Orang Rimba.
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) : There is no evidence for distinctions between potential fathers.
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? : Men will also display affection openly by embracing and weeping upon uniting with long-separated male relatives. Group weeping in cases where long-separated parties unite is also common, as well as in the event of death, in which case weeping may continue sporadically for weeks on end. Embracing, however, is restricted to the same sex, and it is more common that a woman will bow her head and sniff the hand of a male relative, which signifies respect during such greetings and farewells [3].
- 4.24 Joking relationships? : Men will have joking relationships with other men of the same age specifically about sex-related topics; women are expected to uphold the ideals of chastity and purity yet they sometimes comment on sex-related topics around other women who are of the same age [3].
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Patterns of descent tend to be predominantly matrilineal [4].
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Incest taboos are strictly adhered to, and there are no known cases of reported incest. Sexual relations among parents, siblings, and offspring are considered incestuous; it is considered a mild form of incest when persons descending from

same-sex siblings marry. However, disagreement occurs between males and children for instance in cases of males marrying adopted daughters as they are not related by blood [3].

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? : The first evening of a balai ceremony is always dedicated to a couple's religious marriage ceremony, a sacred consecration of their marriage before the gods. Afterwards it is a festive night of socializing, feasting, singing and dancing. Traditionally, the balai marriage ceremony is supposed to mark the endpoint of the bride service; however, usually the bride is already pregnant at this point (and thus the couple is referred to no longer by their given names but by 'mother or father in waiting'). This gives them their new status as adults [4].

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?: When a couple is expecting a baby, they are usually referred to as 'mother or father in waiting' [4].

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) : Most family members, fathers and brothers in particular, will fiercely resist any attempts by an outsider male to marry into the family. The outsider male must first gain the family's trust, and the suitor's bride-service is aimed at achieving this end [3].

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? : Both sexes will seek an industrious mate, but in many cases their families will assist, or even determine, their children's spouse, particularly in the case of females. The ability to bear children and perform adequately in household and subsistence-related activities is a necessary prerequisite for both sexes in order to allow a stable union to develop. In most cases daughters will acquiesce to the wishes of parents, their fathers in particular, as after many years of segregation from males outside the immediate family, they have developed no other ties with men, romantic or otherwise, and, therefore, may see marriage as an opportunity to progress to the next stage in their development [3].

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: In the case of second marriage, a second wife may have to endure a ritual beating by the first wife so that the former may account for her shame as well as assert her dominance in the new arrangement. The new wife is expected to remain subordinate indefinitely. [3].

### **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Information could not be found; however, there is not a lot of evidence for warfare among the Orang Rimba.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Homicide among the Orang Rimba is virtually unheard of and displays of anger more commonly serve as mere outlets for one's frustration [3].

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Wife stealing is a reported occurrence. The putative punishment would have been severe fines or death by the spear of the woman's male siblings or husband. If it were perceived that the woman fled intentionally and was willingly cohabiting with another male, she would also be the subject of death threats made by her male siblings, father, and/or husband for her immoral conduct [3].

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Their long history of avoidance of the outside world is deeply rooted in an ideology, passed down from their ancestors, that envisages the bifurcation of humanity into two types: Malays—who live in permanent villages and follow the dictates of Islam; and the Orang Rimba—who live in the forest and follow the traditions and customs of their ancestors. This distinction is the inspiration and guiding principle of their lives, and any crossing or confusing of these two domains would be seen as a breach of the sacred mode of life passed down from their ancestors. The coexistence of these two groups, the Orang Rimba and Muslim villagers, is an excellent example of a "commensal relationship," two groups who can reside in the same area without competing, because they have independent or different values and customs. The foods commonly eaten by Muslim villagers, such as goats, cows, buffaloes, and chickens, are foods that are forbidden to the Orang Rimba, whereas certain forest game, such as wild boar, turtle, and snake, foods quite common to the Orang Rimba, are taboo to the Muslim villagers. Encompassing agricultural peasantries and continual influx of transmigrants from Java continue to clear Orang Rimban forestland for their slash and burn fields. Also threatening to Orang Rimban environments are the large-scale logging operations that continue in both South Sumatra and Jambi Provinces. Exchange contacts have also increased and diversified as a consequence of their broadening knowledge of the outside mercantile economy. Although they are enjoying greater access to the wider market economy, there are few Orang Rimba environments that are not somehow threatened by the forces of encroaching development. [3].

4.18 Cannibalism? There is no evidence of cannibalism among the Orang Rimba.

### **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Group sizes range from small nuclear domestic units to larger swiddening (slash and burn) camps, which can reach 100 or more persons [3].

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): They practice a nomadic or semi-nomadic form of hunting and gathering economy, occasionally supplemented with basic slash and burn (swidden) agriculture. In recent decades, some groups have adopted a more sedentary life, shifting their economic orientation towards subsistence horticulture and rubber tree cultivation and tapping. This has led to higher birthrates among women, but infant mortality remains high, particularly in areas where deforestation has occurred, where they are coping with the transition to sedentism without proper healthcare and hygienic education [3].

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): They have an egalitarian social system based on sharing and reciprocity, which occurs within the context of a system of relationships in which women have great rights over forest resources and extraordinary distribution rights. The authority of adult men is marked by their duty and obligation to protect and shield the rights of women from a dangerous outside world, and all outside males who are not immediate kin, through the manipulation of a convoluted system of law and fines paid in sheets of cloth. Although females have great rights in their society and the complete freedom to bully men through their passions and voice, their social mobility is extremely limited [4]. Older males may sometimes be the informal 'heads' of nomadic groups; however there's no real prescribed political system in place for the nomadic group [3].

- 5.4 Post marital residence: Postmarital residence is uxori-local. A male will marry-in to his spouse's group and, after an unspecified period of bride-service to his father-in-law, he will remain under his authority and be expected to provide his labor power and moral support indefinitely. He will eventually replace his father-in-law's position, either by usurping his power when he is physically unfit or too old to make important decisions or when he finally dies. Newlyweds will construct a shelter in which they will cohabit, signifying the commencement of their new marital arrangement. Consisting of tree stalks for scaffolding and tied with vine with logs sometimes overlain with bark for flooring, these temporary shelters are not built with walls and are customarily constructed by women [3].
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): As the Orang Rimba are a nomadic peoples, constantly on the move, there is no evidence of defined boundaries or of an active defense system in place. Orang Rimba traditionally migrate whenever there has been a death in the family/group [4].
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): Young boys and girls will mix freely with each other. When a girl reaches menarche, and for the remainder of her pre-marriage years, the only men she will interact with will be her male siblings and father. It is not uncommon for an adolescent or young-adult girl to eschew intimate contact even with her male family members, who, following the same code of conduct, may speak to her only when necessary. Women are fiercely protected from outsiders and are regarded as legal minors. Women do often enjoy considerable autonomy within the domestic context, holding considerable influence in private family matters and in the unconditional loyalty they receive from their children. In legal matters, however, in cases of dispute or whenever personal rights are called into question, women are always subordinate either to their male consanguines or affines. Women are enjoying greater autonomy these days as contact with neighboring village populations increases. They often travel to village markets to buy supplies unaccompanied by men – but always accompanied by other women or children [3].
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Information could not be found.
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Local residential camps are usually comprised of only close kin. Groups with distant or no kinship ties, although cooperating occasionally, perhaps by sharing game or storing foodstuffs for one another, will occasionally suspect each other of wrong doings. The nuclear or extended family, therefore, is the core and basic building block of Orang Rimban social life. Constituting their domestic sphere, it is the fulcrum from which all notions of self and collectivity, as well as relations with others, emanate [3].
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): Domestic space is delineated by the male and female domains in their split-level shelters. The upper level is the male domain, where visiting men are welcome to sit, smoke tobacco, and pass the time of day; the lower level is strictly for women and children. The lower level physically marks off a boundary from the rest of the shelter and is strictly off limits to all adult males except for a woman's spouse [3]. The women's space is always built lower than the male's space, and is referred to as the 'roots' or 'trunk' of the home, suggesting their position of precedence in the home. The husband is more strongly associated with the framing of the home, which is referred to as the 'bones or skeleton of the family'. It symbolizes his duty to protect the safety and rights of his wife and children. [4].
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? : Generally sleep on sleeping mats on the floor [4].
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The Orang Rimba are organized by kinship systems, with matrilineality prevailing [4].
- 5.12 Trade: Various historical accounts report that in certain areas they had practiced a form of "silent trade," whereby forest products were placed on the fringes of the forest to be collected by villagers, who would exchange these products with needed goods, such as salt and metal for spear heads and machetes, by placing them in the same spot—both sides never meeting face to face. This form of barter may have been replaced, in some cases, with face-to-face encounters with a Malay intermediary known as jenang or bapak semang. He was seen as a guarantor of their autonomy, and the forest products they forfeited to him (e.g., rattan, damar, "dragon's blood," and honey) were often of much greater value than the goods received (e.g., salt, tobacco, metal tools, and clothing), which were to be seen as gifts rather than direct equivalents of the goods offered. This system lasted until recent years and still persists in some areas, but in a less paternalistic and strictly economic form [3].
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? The Orang Rimba have developed strong notions of law and social order. In some areas, they have assimilated to an archaic Malay hierarchy where various ranks preside under the authority of a high-ranking headman. These hierarchies most likely served as a mechanism through which they could be governed, however loosely, by the wider rural society, and to extract valuable forest products for external exchange. But they also serve as a legal mechanism through which serious disputes can be resolved. Incumbents are elected to office by their own kinsmen after demonstrating their mastery of formal adat customary law, which is exhibited through a public recital of its precepts. In areas where the Orang Rimba have not assimilated to this hierarchy, marked inequalities between men still persist, mainly as a consequence of uxori-local postmarital residence and the requisite subordination of in-marrying male's to their father-in-laws [3].

## **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

- 6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Information could not be found.
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Forest deities are contacted regularly by experienced shamans who, while in trance, are endowed with the special ability to see and communicate with these otherwise invisible beings. Such sacred communication insures protection from physical and supernatural dangers and promotes success in hunting and the general well-being of the group. It also serves to maintain and regenerate the delicate dialectical balance between themselves and the forest, and the sacred mode of life practiced therein [3].
- 6.2 Stimulants: The Orang Rimba gather 101 medicinal plants and fungi to treat over 50 maladies, including skin rashes, coughs, malaria, hepatitis, rheumatism, diabetes and dysentery. Some plants are also considered natural contraceptives. Usually the sap, roots, bark and/or leaves are boiled, then the water drunk as a herbal extract [6].
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Orang Rimba do not practice any formal puberty rituals or rites of passage. However, when both genders have demonstrated a degree of self-reliance, which for boys includes proficiency in hunting and forest-

product collecting, they will be accorded relative degrees of respect by their elders. An indication that a child or adolescent has reached a level of self-sufficiency may be when she or he has a personal debt recorded in a villager's debit book. This implies that debts will be paid for products credited without the help of the young person's parents. Other indications that a child has "come of age" might be smoking cigarettes bought with their own earnings with other males, and for girls, covering the breasts with a sarong. Marriage, however, is the decisive indication of adulthood, perhaps more so for men than women. A woman achieves the full respect accorded to womanhood when her first child is born [3].

6.4 Other rituals: Information could not be found.

6.5 Myths (Creation): The Orang Rimba say that everything in the universe was created by two higher order gods: a senior god called the 'god of all animal life', and a junior called the 'god of all tree and plant life'. In their creation myths, the senior god created the heavens, sky, earth, animals and humans, and the junior god created the trees and all plant life. The Orang Rimba commonly refer to these two gods together as Tuhan Kuaso, the all-powerful god of the universe. Before Tuhan Kuaso created the land and the forests, they say that in its original state the earth existed in an endless sea. Before creating land, the senior god of animal life created the sky, the sun and the moon [4].

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Dancing to lively music is common place as part of prayer rituals [4].

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: In general, there is male domination in the area of RCR, as males typically perform the rituals and ceremonies undertaken in religious practice [4].

6.8 Missionary effect: Through Indonesia's Department of Religion and occasionally missionaries—sometimes foreign—attempts have been undertaken with varying degrees of success to convert them to Islam, the nation's predominant religion. Christian missionaries have also played an active role in persuading the Orang Rimba to abandon their traditional mode of life in the forest and assimilate to Malay ways, which involves taking up permanent residence in or near one of the nearby villages [3].

6.9 RCR revival: Information could not be found.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: There does not seem to be any idea of a state after death, with the most common belief being "when we are dead, we're dead" [4].

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? Information could not be found.

6.12 Is there teknonymy? : Yes. As people grow older they are rarely called by their given names and almost always replaced by kin terms or teknonyms, which denote gender, marital and adult status, and generation level, and marks one's place and social status as junior or senior in relation to others in the community. After reaching adulthood, it is often considered offensive to refer to someone by his or her given name, particularly when addressing someone of a higher generation level [4].

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): The settled Kubu are Muslims, although some traditional beliefs and practices survive especially amongst the nomadic Kubu[2]. The Orang Rimba identify all that is sacred with the forest. The Orang Rimba integrate and associate religion, the supernatural, notions of well-being, subsistence practice, and survival in general with their forest environment. Richly imbued with nurturing and life-giving qualities, their forest world is viewed as a pantheistic totality where a wide variety of deities reside under the auspices of a benevolent and omnipotent Godhead (Behelo). Despite their rich and complex system of beliefs, they are, nonetheless, considered pagan savages or "infidels" by their Muslim agriculturist neighbors [3].

## 7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: There is no evidence of body paint.

7.2 Piercings: There is no evidence of piercing.

7.3 Haircut: Orang Rimba are described to have wiry, curly dark hair. Women typically wear their hair long, whereas men have short hair [4].

7.4 Scarification: There is no evidence of scarification.

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): There is no evidence of any extra/unnecessary body adornment [4].

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Information could not be found.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Among males, loincloths are worn that cover the genitalia while exposing the buttocks. Women wear wraparound skirts known as sarongs and often go bare-breasted, particularly if they are nurturing young children. No sense of embarrassment is felt by such bodily exposure, because domestic units are comprised of only close kin [3].

7.8 Missionary effect: While in the village to trade, Orang Rimba now adhere to village etiquette and wear Western-style trousers, Indonesian sarongs for women, and shirts. Back in their forest camps, however, they revert back to their traditional attire. Men these days, however, are increasingly wearing short pants, even while in their forest camps. Since their introduction in recent decades, brassieres have been commonly worn by women, often with no shirt. In the past, women wore brassieres outside their shirts as decorative attire, ceasing only when local villagers explained the proper manner in which they are to be worn. Orang Rimban women, nonetheless, continue to wear only brassieres without shirts while in their forest camps to provide easy access for breastfeeding an infant [3].

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: Although the Orang Rimba wear these Western-style clothing when in the presence of outsiders, they always revert back to their traditional dress codes when amongst themselves [3].

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Kinship is determined bilaterally [4].

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Information could not be found; however there is no indication of such a practice occurring among the Orang Rimba.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Information could not be found.

### **9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):**

Orang Rimba do not keep track of age or birth dates [3].

Many villagers have an assumption that the Orang Rimba inherently lack intelligence, and are inferior with limited intellectual capacity [3].

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