

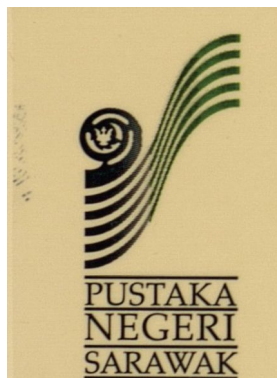
# The Sarawakiana Series - Culture & Heritage

## Sarawak Penan Culture



# PEOPLE OF THE FOREST: THE PENAN





PUSTAKA  
NEGERI  
SARAWAK

*Dengan Ingatan Julius Ikhlas*

*With Compliments from*

PUSTAKA NEGERI SARAWAK  
SARAWAK STATE LIBRARY

The Sarawakiana Series - Culture & Heritage

## SARAWAK PENAN CULTURE

# People of the Forest: The Penan

Bibi Aminah Abdul Ghani, Terry Justin Dit  
& Mawi Taip

Pustaka Negeri Sarawak  
Kuching



PUSTAKA  
NEGERI  
SARAWAK

2009



2009© Pustaka Negeri Sarawak

Published by Pustaka Negeri Sarawak,  
Jalan Pustaka, Petra Jaya,  
93502 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia.

All Rights Reserved

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of Pustaka Negeri Sarawak.

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Bibi Aminah Abdul Ghani

Sarawak Penan Culture : people of the forest: The Penan /Bibi

Aminah Abdul Ghani, Terry Justin Dit & Mawi Taip.

(The Sarawakiana series - culture & heritage)

ISBN 978-983-9205-32-9 (pbk)

1. Penan (Bornean people)—Sarawak. 2. Indigenous peoples—Sarawak.

I. Terry Justin Dit. II. Mawi Taip. III. Title. IV. Series.

305.89920052922

## About the authors



Bibi Aminah Abdul Ghani  
*MA, BA, GCTT, CIT*

Born in Miri, Sarawak, Bibi Aminah has been with Curtin University of Technology Sarawak Campus since 1999. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Education and Linguistics, from Macalester College in St. Paul Minnesota, USA and later received a Master in Teaching English as a Second Language at Georgetown University, USA. She also holds a Graduate Certificate in Tertiary Teaching from Curtin University, Western Australia. She got her Certificate in Training from PSMB. She is currently undertaking a PhD in ethno-linguistic with the Institute of Malay Studies (ATMA) at University Kebangsaan Malaysia.



Terry Justin Dit  
*MPhil, MA,  
Post Grad. Dip. DSS,  
BSoc. Sc*

Born in Sri Aman but raised in Miri, Terry Justin has been with Curtin University of Technology, Sarawak Campus since 2006. He obtained his Bachelor of Social Sciences majoring in Political Science and History, Postgraduate Diploma in Defence and Strategic Studies, and Masters and Master of Philosophy from the University of Waikato, New Zealand. He has written theses on British Counter-Insurgency Tactics and Maritime Piracy.



Mawi Taip  
*MSc, BMass Comm.*

Mawi Taip obtained his Bachelor of Mass Communication (Journalism) from Universiti Teknologi Mara. He also holds a Master of Science (Corporate Communication) from Universiti Putra Malaysia. He has previously worked as Public Affairs Officer at the Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority. For 15 years, Mawi worked as a journalist with the Sarawak Press Group and Malaysia National News Agency (Bernama). His professional experience in journalism includes the coverage of various international events such as the ASEAN Summit, NAM Summit, OIC Summit and the Commonwealth Games. Prior to joining Curtin University of Technology, Mawi was the Sarawak Bureau Chief for Bernama.

This project has been completed under the Curtin Consultancy Services ( Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd.

Incorporated in Malaysia in 2002 under the Companies Act 1965, Curtin Consultancy Services (Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd. is the commercial arm of Curtin University of Technology, Sarawak Campus, Malaysia.

Curtin Consultancy Services (Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd. is optimally positioned to offer a wide range of consultancy services, which can be grouped into three categories:

- Training, professional and continuing education
- Research and development
- Advisory and other services

CCS(M) draws on the expertise of the academic staff of Curtin University of Technology, both from the Miri Campus in Sarawak and the Bentley Campus in Western Australia, as well as from an expert group of external consultants.



# **Contents**

**Introduction**

**Identification: Penan or Punan?**

**Main Penan Settlements**

**Long Latei'**

**Ba' Puak**

**Long Kevok**

**Long Keluan**

**Ba' Abang**

**Long Beku/ Long Lewe'**

**Ba' Data Bila**

**Arts and Crafts**

**Religion**

**Marriage**

**Ethnobotanical Knowledge**

**Musical Instruments and Songs**

**Conclusion**

**Notes**

**Glossary**

**Bibliography**

1

4

6

7

10

13

15

20

22

31

33

36

37

37

41

43

44

45

47

# Acknowledgements

The researchers are grateful to the following people who have contributed to the project development and completion:

Curtin:           Sopia Reggie, Felicitas Erin Usup, Shamsul Anuar Mohd Hussein, Khairul Anwar Sajali

Long Bedian:   Richard Jau (driver), Adam Ding (driver), Wan Ngau (KK Long Bedian)

Long Latei':    Jangin (KK Long Latei')

Ba' Puak:       Emang Moyong, Araw

Long Kevok:    Mdm. Yiam (wife of KK Lg. Kevok-Seman Ngang), Miriam, Ayub Geng (Chairman, Lg. Kevok JKKK)

Long San:       Penghulu Paul Kallang, Ah Hu (driver), Philip (driver), Roger Usak (porter), Pilat Jalong (porter)

Long Keluan:   Jagai Asat (KK Lg. Keluan), Merinting Saran, Kuleh Amat, Lasen Kuling, Tamen Lejau@Labong

Ba' Abang:      Masmut Barah

Long Beku/Lewe': Rimau Abo (KK Lg. Beku/Lewe'), Angit Jalong, Ngang Avun (longboat driver), Sing Irang, Luwat Lejau, Mathew Usat, Irang Baya, John Avon, Beran Sinan Tawang (porter), Uket Achat (porter)

Ba' Data Bila:   Sedin Laeng (KK Ba' Data Bila), Payong Yek (wife of KK Ba' Data Bila), Daud Sedin, Nelson Ding, Busak Seluang, Belawan Sehang, Abai Sehang, Aleng Sedin

Video & Multimedia Production: Peter Jamba Ental

Research Assistant and Translator: Eileen Foong

Graphic Design and Multimedia Production: Norajiki Awang Jalil





*Ketua Kampung Sedin of Ba 'Data Bila*



*Three-peaked Batu Siman (above)  
Uket and Beran heading home after setting up the trap.*

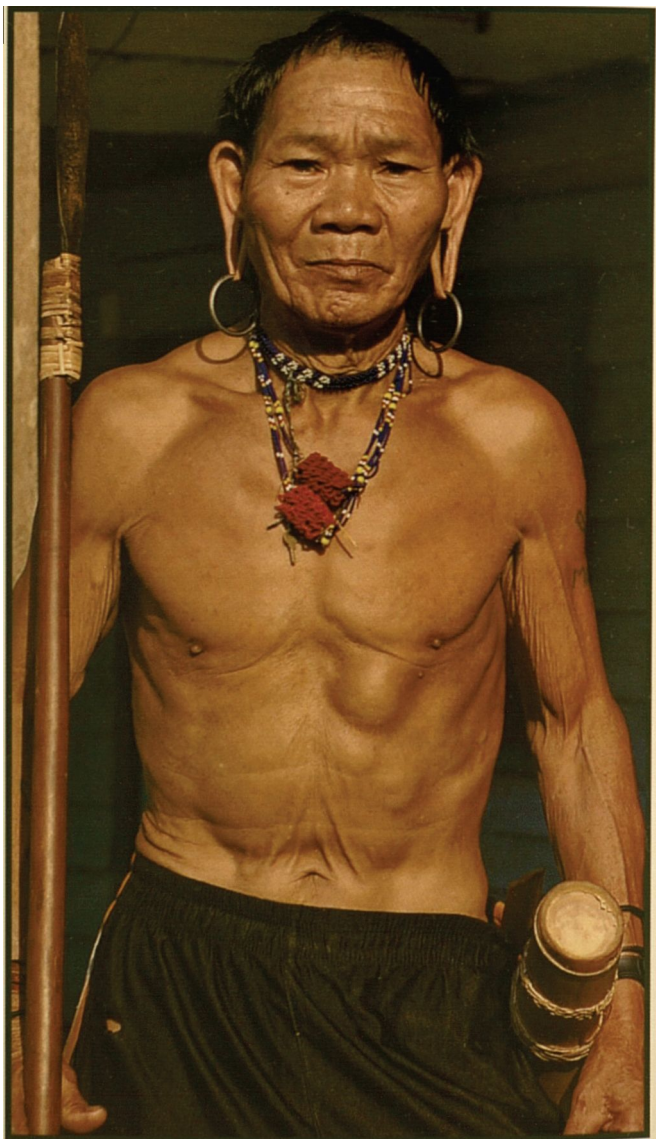


*A young mother with her baby in Ba 'Puak*

# Introduction

The *Penan* are included in the politically coined term *Orang Ulu*. The *Orang Ulu* is a complex cluster which includes about 27 indigenous minority groups in Sarawak (Ding Seling and Langub, 1989, pi9). The term *Orang Ulu* literally translates as "people of the upper river". The *Penan* are a gentle people with a highly egalitarian society with little gender division amongst them. Whilst tribes like the *Kayan* and *Kenyah* have long settled, the *Penan* are divided into two groups. One group continues to find solace in their nomadic way of life. However an increasing number of *Penan* are shifting to semi-nomadism or even to a settled existence. Many live within or at the edges of the jungle and take advantage of the jungle as their source of food, shelter and domestic materials.

Traditionally, the *Penan* have led a nomadic way of life. Their settlements consisted of huts or *sulap*, made out of wooden poles and roofed with palm leaves which were once readily



*An elderly Penan male with his  
hunting gear, Long Latei'*



available in the jungle. Semi-nomadic refers to the group that stays in a particular locality more or less permanently by building more durable shelters, cultivates hill paddy and raises poultry, but are still dependent largely on hunting and gathering. They may occupy the area for a period of days or months until the resources have been exhausted. The settled-Penan groups practice swidden agriculture and stay permanently in durable houses in villages (Metcalf, 1974; Langub, 1989). With greater exposure to the modern world and access to primary and secondary (in some cases even tertiary) education, many Penan are gradually moving away from their traditional nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles and practices.

This publication and the accompanying DVD focuses on the Penan from the following settlements: Long Latei', Long Kevok and Ba' Puak in the vicinity of Long Bedian; Long Keluan, Long Beku/Long Lewe' and Ba' Abang in the area of Long San; and Ba' Data Bila (See Map 1). It focuses on the life of the nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled Penan in term of their dwellings.

settlements, family units, agricultural activities, hunting activities, economic activities, marriage and religion, education, arts and crafts, and ethno-botanical knowledge.



Map 1: Miri Division : Penan Settlements (source: Miri Resident Office)



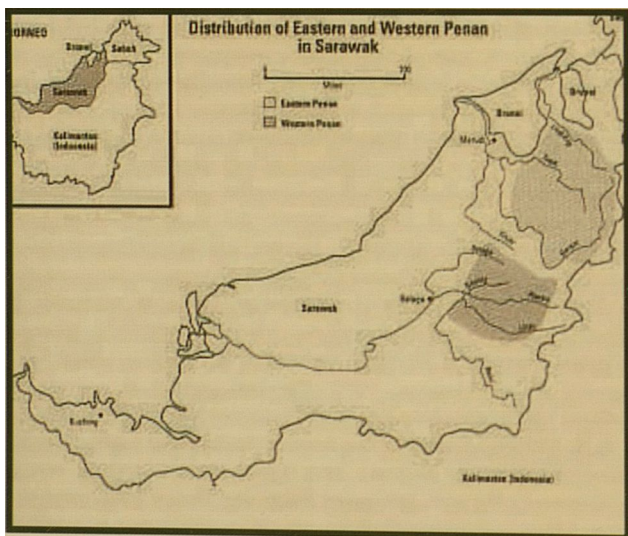
# Identification: Penan or Punan?

There has been confusion about the terms *Penan* and *Punan* in ethnographic literature. In Sarawak, these two groups tend to be collectively grouped with various other tribal peoples. According to Needham (2007), investigations confirm that there are a number of nomadic peoples in Borneo and the Penan form one group. The affected groups themselves however, are aware of their cultural and their profound linguistic differences. The confusion is perhaps due to early documentations. Langub (1989, p.169) states that early Western writers like Hose and McDougall, Harisson and others used the two terms indiscriminately. Sercombe and Sellato (2007, p7) note that the term '*Punan*' which may also be articulated as '*Penan*' have long been widely used by the settled tribes to refer to the various nomadic tribes of hunter-gatherers. They state that in Kalimantan, the nomads are generally known as *Punan* while in Sarawak and Brunei, *Penan* became

the default term. Harisson (1949 in Hoffman, 1984, p128) stated in his writing that *Pitnan* is synonymous with the Malay word *hulu* or "upriver". Other people define the term as "people who live at the source of the river", "people who live deep within the forest", "people always moving from place to place" and "people who do not plant gardens and swiddens and must hunt for their food". The Kenyah look at this term as "to assemble, pile up or gather things together". In other words, the term *Punan*, is more of "a description of the geographical location and behavioral characteristics of the peoples" (Hoffman, 1984, 128). Urquhart states that the term 'Penan' is used by the Kenyah and the term 'Punan' is used by the Kayan to refer to the nomadic people (Langub, 1989, p169). Hoffman (1984, p128), states the term *Punan* has been an *exonym* - a name by which a group is referred to by other peoples or the outsiders. He notes the different usage of the terms as dialectal variant.

Needham (1953 in Langub 1989, p169) affirms that there are actually three distinct groups:

'Penan', 'Punan' and 'Punan Bah'. Penan are divided into 'Eastern' and 'Western' Penan. The Eastern Penan occupy largely the Baram and Limbang watersheds namely east of Baram River - Tutoh, Patah, Apoh, Upper Akah, Selaan, Selungo, upper Limbang and Upper Baram River. The Western Penan occupy the Balui watersheds, Silat and tributary of Baram namely Belaga district and the Silat River- watershed of Long Belina, Long Tikan, Lo Bo Pumu, Long Jekitan and Long Beku (Brosius, 1992). (See Map 2)



Map 2: Map of Eastern & Western Penan areas (source: Sercombe & Sellato, 2007, p291)

In the past, the Penan were mainly a hunting and gathering society. According to Sercombe and Sellato (2007, p4), hunter-gatherer refers to groups of people who rely on hunting wild animals and gathering wild plants and fishing for food. They do not have history of agricultural skills but they are highly skilled hunters and are skilled in surviving in the rain forest.



*Sing of Long Lewé' collecting wood to construct a trap*

The Punans<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, are a distinct tribal group with a hierarchical class structure that have settled in the Belaga area. They have been agriculturist and sedentary for a long period. However, Needham states that there are various

nomadic Punan groups in Borneo (in Sercombe & Sellato, 2007, p50).

The Punan Bah are the subgroup of the Kajang people (de Martinour, 1974; I. Nicolaisen, 1976 in Langub 1989, p170). The Punan Bah speak a dialect related to the Sekapan, Kejaman and Lahanan which is not intelligible to the Penan. These groups are also very different culturally. The Punan Bah are a hierarchical society while the Penan are egalitarian (Langub, 1989, p170). An example of the egalitarianism of the Penan is illustrated by the Long Lewé' villagers. In the past, to select a leader, the group would vote. The uniqueness of this electoral process is that a fern frond is used in the voting process. The fern frond is held by one person, with each side of the fern blades representing one of the contesting candidates. Each member of the group will pick their chosen candidate by plucking one side of the blade of the fern frond. The candidate that is chosen by the group is the candidate that has the most number of blades plucked.



The Punan Bah are different in their subsistence technology, settlement and social organisation as well. The Punan Bah have been agriculturalists for a very long time while the Penan, were or have until recently, been practising nomadism (Langub, 1989, pi70).

## Main Penan Settlements

The Penan in Sarawak reside in what were once the most inaccessible areas of tropical forest in the watersheds of the Baram and the Rejang rivers. According to Langub (1989, pi70), there were 78 settlements of Penan in Sarawak. Based on the information obtained from the Miri Resident's Office (2008), there are currently about 121 settlements (settled, semi-nomadic and nomadic) expanding from Baram to Belaga.



Due to timber logging and the opening up of palm oil plantations in these areas, most of the Penan settlements can now be accessed by land. In 2008, the Penan population was about 16,281 with

3% still nomadic and about 20% semi nomadic or semi settled (State Planning Unit, 2008). In Miri Division alone, there are about 11,155 Penan inhabiting the headwaters of Tutoh and Magoh in the Baram District. Others could be found in Bintulu, Limbang and Belaga (Miri Resident Office, 2008). The Penan settlements tend to concentrate in what was once primary forest adjacent to an area occupied by a specific sedentary agricultural people. A primary forest area is an area that has never been cleared for cultivation or one which has previously cultivated but left empty for a period of time (Hoffman, 1984, pi29-130). In Bintulu, Niah and Suai, the Penan's immediate neighbours are the Ibans, Malays and to a certain extent, the Chinese. However, in the Baram and Rejang watersheds their closest neighbours are the other *Orang Ulu* tribes (Langub, 1989, pi72). The proximity of the Penan to certain ethnic and tribal groups have had an impact on their customs, traditions and language.

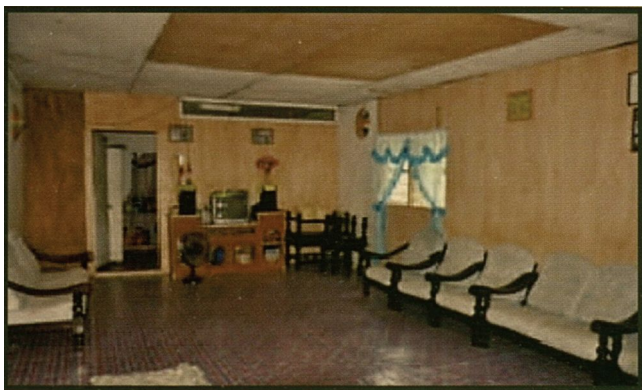
# Long Latei'



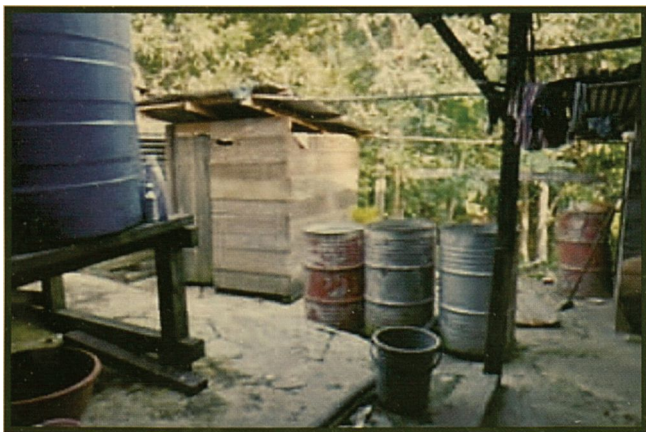
*The main long house in Long Latei'*

The Penan of Long Latei' belong to the Eastern Penan family group. Eastern Penan normally have a group size of 20 to 40 people with an average household size of 4-5 people (Brosius, 1992). The village chief Jangin, reported that they have been settled in a permanent long house style settlement since 1987. They began with 36 *bilik* (literally "room" in Malay or Iban language) or *amin* which now have increased to 68 *bilik/amin*. A *bilik* or *amin* in a longhouse setting represents one family unit. The land where they have constructed their longhouse is their ancestral land. Jangin, the

village head states that in the 1970s, the Penan in Long Latei' were still settling in small huts and practising a nomadic life style. Now they have settled permanently in a longhouse with modern amenities such as electricity and running water.



*The Ketua Kampung's living room which has modern amenities (above) and running water (below)*





Although they are now settled and begin to plant hill paddy for their staple food source, the older generation still prefer sago to rice. The Penan in Long Latei' view rice as a supplementary food source. The rainforest still figures prominently in the daily lives of the Long Latei' community. It is a source of food and medicine, and also of cultural value to them.

The Penan in Long Latei' hunt primarily using shotguns and blowpipes with the help of hunting dogs. Jangin conveys that in the olden days, hunting was specifically done by the men but collecting jungle produce was a task shared between the men and women. He states that even though some of them now work with timber companies near their Ionghouse for subsistence, many still go into the jungle to hunt and gather food to supplement their income. Now the Long Latei' Penan have to travel further into the jungle for sources of food and supplies of traditional medicine. When the men go hunting, the women of the Ionghouse will occupy themselves with doing craftwork. The women of Long Latei' are highly

skilled craftsworkers. They weave baskets and mats from rattan to sell to tourists and the people who live near their settlements.



*The Penan women of Long Latei 'keeping themselves busy with basket and mat weaving activities*

With more exposure and interaction with the outside world, there is an increasing opportunity for Penan children and teenagers to participate in primary and secondary schooling. In Long Latei', some of the young Penan have managed to get secondary education up to Form Five level and they normally go to secondary schools in towns like Long Lama or Marudi. However, one of the

constraints faced by the majority of the parents is the financial burden of sending their children to school. Even with government assistance, they still find it difficult to support the material demands (uniforms, text books, school fees and so forth) that come with their children's education.

As the sedentary younger generation of Long Latei' children become more exposed to outside influences through primary and secondary education there is a strong possibility that their ancestral skills of living and surviving in the jungle will become lost forever.



*The Penan children of Long Latei'*

# Ba' Puak

Ba' Puak is a nomadic Penan settlement, located in the Long Selulung area, about 3 hours drive from the Kayan settlement of Long Bedian. The settlement is isolated and can only be accessed using a disused logging road. The Penan settlement in Ba' Puak is very different from the settlement in Long Latei'.



At Ba' Puak, the settlement consists of huts called *sulap*. These huts are made using cut down tree trunks, lashed together using vines, with the roofs made using palm leaves and tarpaulins. Tarpaulins are used because the giant palm leaves are now difficult to obtain. The huts are cramped, with no privacy for the occupants. A small hearth or *purok* is all that constitutes as a kitchen in these huts.

The majority of these huts are built on the spines of steep ridges, with a small stream dividing the settlement into three clusters of huts. The





*A stretch of small huts built along the spine of a steep ridge well hidden among the trees*

majority of these huts lie abandoned temporarily with most of the occupants away in the dense jungle hunting and foraging for food and jungle produce. Only a few inhabitants stay behind and the foraging parties might be away for a day, a week or even a month<sup>2</sup>.

Three huts are different from all the others in that they are built using sawn timber planks and have corrugated zinc roofing. However, the design of these huts remains faithful to the traditional layout, as mentioned above.



*More permanent structures in Ba' Puak (left)*



*The inside view of the permanent hut in Ba' Puak*

Emang Moyong, a member of the Ba' Puak Penan, states that in Ba' Puak, 15 families with an average household size of two children form the settlement. Over the years, non governmental organisations (NGOs) have provided and assisted the Ba' Puak community with building materials so that the Penan can build a permanent structure to store their belongings when they go on foraging trips into the jungle. At Ba' Puak a small longhouse had been built for this purpose. A unique feature



*A bachelor hut in Ba' Puak*

of the Ba' Puak settlement is the existence of a small hut that is meant for unmarried members of the group.



The small hut is basically a very basic 2 feet by 6 feet narrow structure built next to a main hut. It is normally of similar height as the main hut. It is unknown how many persons this small hut can accommodate.

The small Ba' Puak Penan community also have small garden plots in which they grow tapioca, sago palm, chilli, lemongrass and sugar cane. They have also attempted to plant hill paddy like the other indigenous communities surrounding them.



*The garden plot in Ba' Puak*

Hunting is done using a blowpipe and shotgun and the common hunting prey seems to be wild boar and deer. The Ba' Puak Penan too are forced to go further and deeper into what remains of the primary rainforest to hunt, as animals are getting scarce.

Apart from hunting and farming, another economic activity in which the Ba' Puak Penan rely upon for income is craftwork. Traditional baskets and mats are made and then taken to larger outlying settlements to sell. However, as is the case with finding hunting prey, the women folk of Ba' Puak find it difficult to produce these traditional craft items in numbers that make a good profit for them and their families because of the difficulty in finding rattan nearby. They have to walk hours in the deep jungle to find the much needed material. The challenges faced by the Ba' Puak Penan are similar to other Penan communities.

# Long Kevok



*Settlement type in Long Kevok*

Long Kevok is a settled Penan community whose people migrated from Long Palo. The total population of this sizable Penan settlement is about two hundred people, with an average family size of eight children. In 2003 the long house that consisted of 24 *bilik/amin* was destroyed in a fire that razed the whole longhouse to the ground<sup>3</sup>. The current settlement consists of individual *kampung* or village houses which they built and designed themselves.

The Penan in Long Kevok mainly cultivate hill paddy and fish. At times, some of the elders in the community go into the jungle to hunt and search for jungle produce. Like the Penan in Long Latei', the Penan of Long Kevok also highlight their concerns about the river which they rely upon for fish being polluted. They also voice their discontent about the fact that jungle produce are becoming scarce and thus difficult to obtain.



*A government school and clinic in Long Kevok*

State sponsored education has made a tremendous impact on the lives of the young Penan of Long Kevok. This settlement is equipped with a

clinic, a well equipped primary school and a village library.



*The village library in Long Kevok*

Like the Penan in Long Latei', the Penan youngsters from this settlement will continue on with their secondary education at either Long Lama or Marudi. One young woman, Miriam who has completed her secondary school education is employed at the library in her own village. A Form Five school leaver, the son of the Village Chief, works as a Medical Assistant in Long Kevok Clinic. The Penan in Long Kevok still inherit the skills of making rattan mats and baskets as part of their economic activities. Unfortunately, many of





*The Ketua Kampung's wife, and Miriam, the village librarian of Long Kevok*

the youngsters in this village have only vague memories about their traditional arts like music, dances, songs and games.



*A young man of Long Kevok plays a modern musical instrument like guitar*

# Long Keluan



*Settlement types in Long Keluan*



*The multipurpose hall in the Long Keluan*

Long Keluan or Ba' Keluan is situated some twenty minutes drive from Long San. According to Jagai Asat, the village chief, they settled in this area in 2000 with 35 *bilik/amin* with an average of 15 people in a family. Most of the inhabitants of this particular settlement have travelled out of their village in order to find employment elsewhere.



*A man in Long Keluan showing his skill in blacksmithing*

They either go to Long Lama, Marudi or Miri in search of employment and a hope for a better life. The Penan of Long Keluan are provided with a generator for electricity supply by the government. Jagai reports that the generator was provided to their settlement in 2008. For their water



*A woman assisting her husband in his parang- making task by cranking the blower*

supply, the villagers depend solely on the Keluan River. Like other sedentary communities in Sarawak the villagers of Long Keluan farm and rear chickens. They plant vegetables, tapioca and hill paddy. One inherited and valuable skill that this group of Penan have is the art of blacksmithing.



In the village there are three blacksmithing workshops that take up the task of preparing machetes or *parang ilang*, hoes and *beluing* (*hand sickle*) for the Kayan, Kenyah or other groups, who highly regard their blacksmithing workmanship and skills.

Merinting Saran, one of the village blacksmiths, states that he began to take up blacksmithing full time in 1997. In general, he claims that the blacksmiths in the village can normally finish one *parang* a day. However, they rely heavily on scrap metal, such as disposed leaf springs of timber trucks as raw material for their blacksmithing. The scrap metal is obtained from the timber camps which dot the surrounding areas. Iron bars (*bareh* in Penan) for blacksmithing used to be bought from traders in Long Akah or Marudi in the past but this has since ceased, due to the fact that the bars are no longer commercially available.



An interesting aspect of blacksmithing at Long Keluan is the usage of ancient and modern technology to facilitate the blacksmithing process. In order to achieve the working temperature to forge iron, a hand cranked forge blower is used by the Long Keluan blacksmiths. In the olden days, a blower called '*pusan*' was used. The *pusan* is a type of an ancient blacksmithing blower used for blacksmithing. It consists of two bamboo tubes, open ended at the top, with pistons made up of wooden rods inserted into them. To make the piston as efficient as possible the ends or the bottom of the pistons are wrapped in rags to act as gaskets. Two small bamboo tubes protrude from the bottom of the *pusan* act as blow tubes. At Long Keluan the *pusan* was used as a back up blower for the more "modern" hand cranked forge blower. To generate the air to fan the fire, an assistant to the blacksmith pushes the two pistons up and down in a pumping motion.



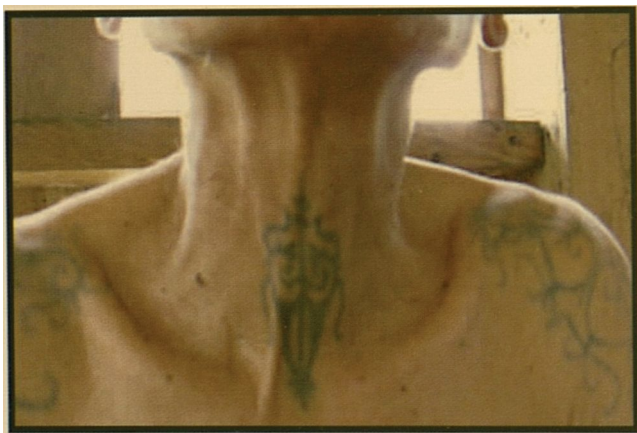


*Top left clock-wise,*

- 1. A piston  
wrapped in  
rags*
- 2. Modern hand-  
cranked  
blower*
- 3. A woman  
cranking the  
blower*
- 4. TamenLejau  
proudly  
displays his  
finishing work*
- 5. Merinting  
demonstrating  
how the pusan  
works*

Like the Penan in other settlements, the Penan in Long Keluan also hunt for their meat<sup>4</sup>.

Penan in Long Keluan still have strong recollections about their ancestral cultures in



*Tattoo design on a man's neck*

relation to tattooing and musical instruments. Kuleh Amat, a Penan man in his 70s relates his knowledge about the Penan tattooing process.

He states that in the Penan culture, tattooing was traditionally done by the men. Resin, or better known by its Malay word *damar* or *nyateng* in *Penan*, is mixed with honey and water was used as part of the ink for the tattooing process. Thorns

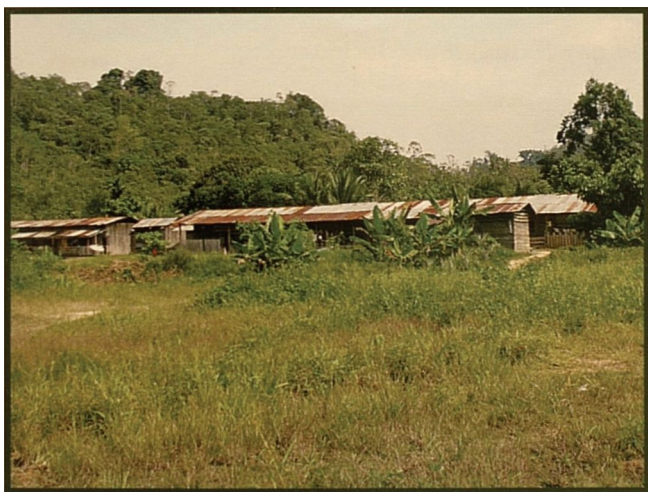
(*ridan* in Penan) from a type of jungle tree or plant was used in place of the needle. Men normally have their tattoos done on their body, neck and arms. Women, on the other hand, only have tattoos on their fingers. There seems to be no religious or social hierarchical significance to the tattooing, rather it was more of a form of body decoration.



*Plain tattoo design on a woman's fingers and more elaborate tattoo design on a man's forearm*



# Ba'Abang



*Settlement types in Ba 'Abang (above & right)*

Ba' Abang is another small Penan settlement situated some three hours drive from Long San, the nearest Kenyah settlement. Instead of having one longhouse to accommodate the total population, this settlement is made up of a cluster of slightly shorter "longhouses". It was observed that six to seven *bilik* reside in one house. There were four separate "longhouses" that make up the settlement, with stand alone kampong style single houses some

distance away. These single houses were built by families who had settled at a later time. These houses normally consist of fifteen people of an extended family. Similar to Long Keluan, Ba' Abang is situated next to a primary forest.



*Single house which can accommodate up to fifteen people in Ba' Abang*

The people in Ba' Abang's lifestyle are similar to any other rural community scattered throughout Sarawak. They rear poultry and have vegetable gardens, plant hill paddy and hunt for meat to supplement their daily diet. Unlike the people in Long Keluan whose source of income

relies on blacksmithing, the people in Ba' Abang rely on their skills at making fine rattan mats, intricately decorated baskets, traditional backpack, rattan bangles (*selungan* in Penan) and other craft work to supplement their income.



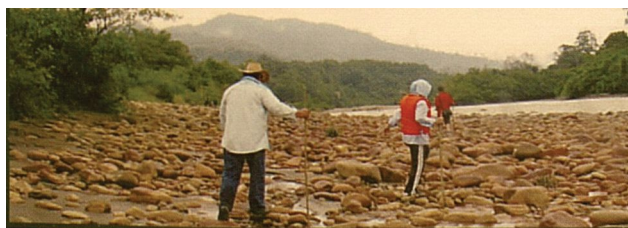
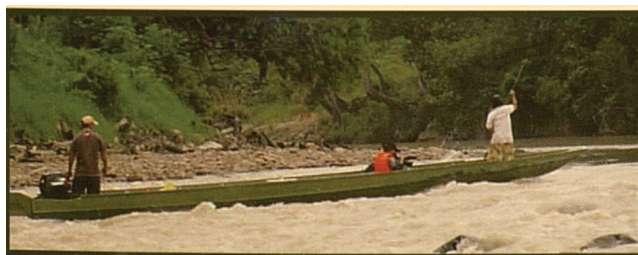
*Masmut demonstrating her rattan mat-making skill*



*A customer buying selungan in Ba' Abang*

# Long Beku/Long Lewe'

Long Beku/Long Lewe' is located not far from the Kenyah settlement of Long San. It can be reached by boat after a journey that normally lasts 45 minutes during high tide. During low tide however, the journey takes an hour due to the rapids and exposed rocks (see pictures below).





The Penan in Long Lewe' are a settled community. They migrated from Long Beku to Long Lewe' some fifty years ago. Because of their origins from Long Beku, the peoples who settled nearby still refer to the Long Lewe' Penan as from Long Beku, which might be confusing to



*The Ketua Kampung's of Long Lewe' house*

people who are not from the area. The settlement consists of 21 *bilik/amin* with an average of 7 to 8 people in a family. They also have the tendency of having 1-3 families in a house. A house of this size

*The boat operators maneuvering through the rapids (top left); A long pole is used to check the depth of the river while maneuvering through the rapids (middle); The passengers have to walk on the rocky riverbank until it is safe to get back into the boat again (bottom left).*

(see picture above) can easily accommodate up to 15 people. This sizable settlement also had a large number of children, some of whom were not attending school because of homesickness.

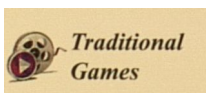


*Another style of house in Long Lewé'*

According to the village head, the current settlement will soon move to higher ground so as to avoid being flooded during the rainy season.

The Penan in Long Lewé' are unique in that they still hold strong to a lot of their traditions. They still play, from time to time, the traditional game of spinning tops called *asing*. In contrast, the Penan in the other settlements only have a vague memory of their traditional games and recreational

activities. The Penan at Long Lewé have primarily 2 types of spinning tops. They are made from a type of wood from a *tanyit or tapang* tree (*koompassia excelsa*). One type of spinning top observed is oval, shaped like a heart and about the size of a tennis ball. It is similar in appearance to the Malay "*gasing jantung*" spinning top. The second type of spinning top observed was of an ovoid shape, but flat. The tightly coiled rope used to spin the tops was made from tree bark fibre in generations past. In the present day, because of its availability, nylon rope have substituted the fibre rope.



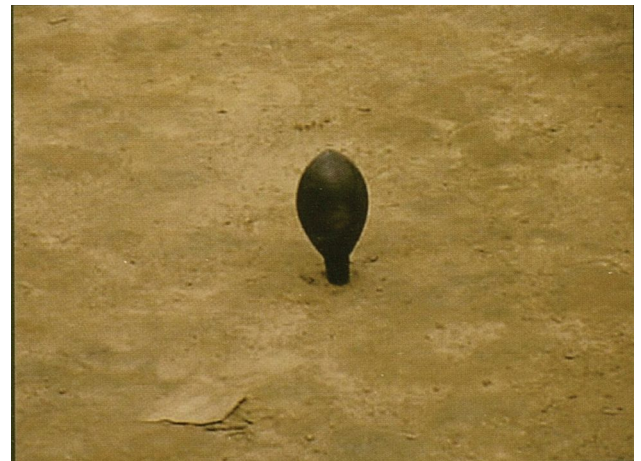


*The oval -shaped spinning top (above)*



*The using spinning on its base*

*The ovoid but flat-shaped spinning top (below)*



The Long Lewe' Penan also place high importance on retaining and honing their hunting skills. According to them, to train to be good hunters the men and boys of Long Lewe' normally have target practice exercises, to hone their blowpiping skills. This is done by making rattan rings (*telekit* in Penan) of differing diameters and placing them at different distances.



*Ketua Kampung of Long Lewe' holding the telekit*





*The telekit tied to a pole ready for target practice exercises*

For beginners, the rattan ring of approximately 15 centimeters in diameter is placed at a distance of 6 meters away from the person. The ring is suspended by a rattan string on a pole. The objective of the exercise is to make the blowpipe dart go through the rattan rings. As they get more proficient, the persons involved face the daunting task of having the challenge of blowing the dart through diameter of the rings as they become ever so smaller and placed further and further away. When young boys are ready, they will be asked

to accompany the men during hunting trips to try out their skills. Today, the blowpipe is a secondary weapon to the single shot shotgun.

Even though blowpipes are now secondary hunting weapons, the Long Lewe' Penan are still familiar as to how they are made. According to Ngang Avun, a Long Lewe' Penan, a steel rod is used to bore the hole into the selected hardwood which has been cut into a required length and thickness. The metal rod used to bore the hardwood is called *kerajang*. Once the hole is made, another steel rod called *syok* with a sliver



*The different sizes and length of blowpipes*

of rattan tied at the end is used to smoothened the bored hole further. The sliver of rattan functions the same way as sandpaper, to smoothen the inner bore. The inner bore of a blowpipe must be perfectly straight, like the barrel of a gun. A good blowpipe depends highly on the wood selected, the weight and workmanship.

The skills of trap and snare making are also evident in Long Lewé'. An animal trap for small animals in Penan language is called a *biyew*. Both



*The men of Long Lewé' demonstrating how snares are set up*

the Penan men and women have this skill. They normally trap birds, jungle fowl and small animals like mouse deer and civets. When it comes to trapping animals, the Penan have their own superstitious beliefs in regards to this subject. According to Rimau Abo (the Chief of Long Lewe'), when one goes trapping and gets the first kill, the meat must not be shared with anyone else, even the bones must be carefully disposed off. Only the subsequent kills are allowed to be shared. The Long Lewe' Penan believe that if the first kill by a person is shared with the rest of his village, then that person will not catch anything after that.

One other superstitious belief of the Long Lewe' Penan is that the trapper must not tell anyone that he or she is out to set animal traps. Once the trap is set, if there is a stream nearby, the trapper must wash him or herself in the water for a few minutes otherwise, animals will not enter the set trap(s). If bait is used in the trapping process, the hunter must not take their meal immediately after setting the trap when he or she gets home. He or she must wait at least for half an hour to one

hour before taking any meal. The belief is that the animal(s) that is intended for the set traps will successfully eat the bait without getting caught if the precautions mentioned above are not followed.

Another form of *biyew* is the *pepok* which is constructed out of a strong triangular lattice work frame and is a form of gravity trap. The lattice work is bound together using rattan called *lake'savit pedun* and a vine, *lake' lunuk*. The trap is suspended using rattan vines and bait placed underneath the trap. If an animal takes the bait (which can be from jungle fruit called *bua'ta*), this action will trigger the trap. The "A" shaped frame will fall down and trap the unfortunate animal. This form of trap can be custom made for small animals like porcupine, jungle fowl and mousedeer or it can be constructed to trap larger animals like wild boar and deer. Animal traps (*biyew and pepok*) are normally set during dusk.

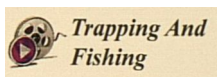


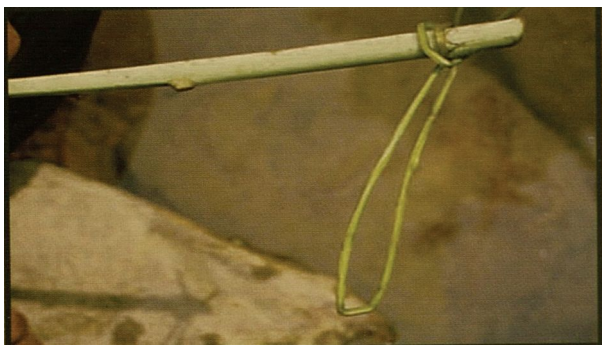
The village chief also shared his knowledge about a unique traditional Long Lewe' Penan fishing method. A short stick is notched at the end and a thin vine quickly tied to the end. The vine is tied in a loop and earthworms are then be hung from the loop as bait. A large leaf, shaped into a cone acts as a container to hold the fish catch. For this fishing method to be effective, the ideal spot for fishing is where the river is calmest.

The interesting aspect of this traditional fishing method comes next: a short stick is used to beat the surface of the water to attract fish to come closer to the surface. The fish are attracted by the sound of the stick beating rhythmically on the surface of the water. When the fish comes close to the surface, the loop with the earthworms is then dipped into the water. As the fish goes for the bait, the stick is quickly lifted from the water and the caught fish flicked into the conical shaped leaf.

It takes dexterity to do this in one swift single motion. The process is repeated until the amount of fish is deemed sufficient for a meal. This

fishing method is meant to catch very small fish about the size of a human finger called *skei'tok*, according to Rimau Abo (2009).





*A thin vine tied to a short stick to catch fish*



*A type of large leaf is shaped into cone to act  
as a container*



*The loop is dipped into the water to catch fish (above), and the caught fish flicked into the cone-shaped leaf (below)*



Apart from recreational activities like top spinning and blowpipe practice, the Long Lewe' Penan also play the *sape*, an instrument which they adopted from the neighbouring Kenyah settlements. Their traditional dances for both male and female resembles those of the other Orang Ulu tribes, with slight differences.

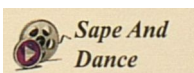






*Irang shows her skill in dancing the traditional  
dance (above)*

*The sape players in action (left),*



# Ba' Data Bila

Ba' Data Bila is a remote Penan settlement which can be reached after an arduous seven and a half hour trek from the junction near Long Muboi.



*The long journey to Ba' Data Bila*

The logging road which at one time connected Ba' Data Bila with the other surrounding settlements has been left in disrepair and is impassable for vehicles, with the exception of motorcycles. The inhabitants at one time provided fresh garden produce to traders but that has stopped since the road link had been cut. The settlement itself

consists of nine completed houses, with a further eleven houses yet to be completed.



*Settlement type in Ba' Data Bila*

The majority of the people who stay at the settlement are mature adults, with the majority of children and young people away at boarding school or working in the various settlements and timber camps near the area. The current settlement was established in 2000, but the area has always been the traditional ancestral land of the Ba' Data Bila people. In a complex twist, the older



*The paddy field of the Ba' Data Bila Penan*

generation of Ba' Data Bila Penan had earlier migrated and settled with the Kenyah at Long Muboi during the 1950s and 1960s. However due to competition over land, the Penan were gradually forced to leave Long Muboi and return to their ancestral land. Its remoteness from the surrounding communities does have its advantages when compared to the other accessible Penan settlements.

Village life is regulated by a set of rules that

are normally posted at the village chief's house, as was seen in Ba' Data Bila. For various offences like drunkenness and fighting, hefty fines are imposed and the severity of the fines acts as a deterrent for anti-social behaviour amongst the villagers.

4	<b>KEPUTUSAN UNDANG-UNDANG YANG AKAN DI JALANKAN DALAM KAMPONG BERKUATKUASA MUKA BERGAS 2000</b>	
4.1	Menjual minuman keras di dalam kampung akan dikenakan denda RM 500.00.	
4.2	Bermain judi akan dikenakan denda RM 500.00.	
4.3	Mengoyak atau conteng surat undang-undang ini dari tempatnya dilekat akan didenda RM 300.00.	
4.4	Membawa masuk minuman keras di rumah orang tanpa kebenaran dikenakan denda RM 50.00.	
4.5	Mabuk serta buat kacau di rumah panjang akan didenda RM 25.00/ Parang.	Mabuk serta buat kacau di rumah panjang akan didenda RM 25.00/ Parang.
4.6	Membuat bising atau kacau di rumah panjang selepas jam 10.00 malam akan didenda RM 50.00/ Parang.	
4.7	Bertumbuk serta merosak harta awam/ orang lain akan dikenakan denda RM 50.00/ Parang serta ganti barang/ harta yang telah dirosakkan.	
4.8	Bergaduh, bertumbuk sehingga ada yang sakit/ keluar darah akan didenda RM 500.00( Kalau balas bertumbuk akan bayar denda RM 300.00). Yang bersalah tanggung belian pergi berubat.	

*The set of rules posted on the wall, Ba 'Data Bila*



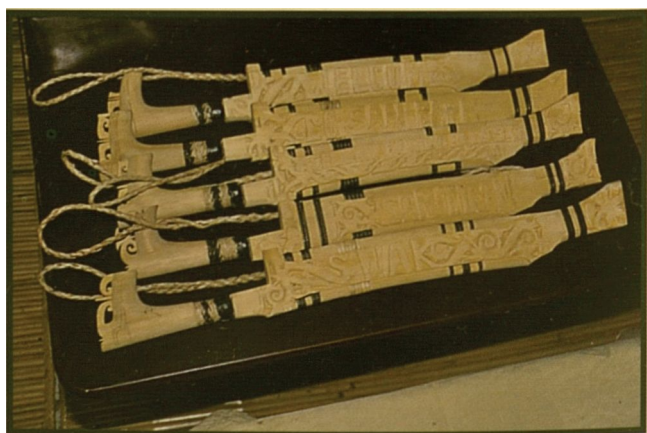


*The wild orchid found in the vicinity of Ba' Data  
Bila settlement*

The flora and fauna surrounding Ba' Data Bila is still plentiful and diverse whereas the other Penan settlements have to face the challenges of deforestation and the disappearance of plants and

wildlife which are of strong ethnobotanical and cultural value. Like the other Penan settlements, the challenges faced by the Ba' Data Bila Penan are similar. The common complaint heard was the difficulty in obtaining official documents like birth certificates and identity cards. The financial constraints of sending children to school was highlighted not only in Ba' Data Bila, but in all the other settlements as well.

## Arts and Crafts



*The parang made by the Penan*

The Penan are skilled in traditional handicraft making and blacksmithing, their



*The decorative or ceremonial parang made for the Kenyah and Kayan*

handiwork is highly sought after by other ethnic groups in their area and fetch high prices in the town areas. These traditional skills have proved invaluable to the Penan because these skills assist them in adapting to the modern world. Whereas in the past the Penan were strictly a hunter gatherer society, the passage of time and the impact of deforestation and modernisation has forced the Penan to adapt and adopt a more materialistic outlook to life. Blacksmithing is a skill that was learnt and copied from the other neighbouring tribes but today, the Penan communities located not far from the Kayan and Kenyah settlements seems

to be the sole providers of tools and traditional iron implements to these communities. An example of this interdependency can be seen through the making of ceremonial swords or *parang* for the Kayan community.

However, raw materials for both blacksmithing, mat weaving and basketry are becoming difficult to obtain and locate, and this can be a financial hindrance to the Penan communities that rely on these skills and products to supplement their meagre income from selling jungle produce and meat from hunting. It was also observed that the amount of man hours to weave intricate mats does not seem to equal the amount paid by the buyers. Because the Penan cannot sell their products directly on the open market, the weavers have no choice but to take whatever amount that they are offered. The same mats which are bought cheaply from the Penan are then sold for very handsome prices in the urban areas like Long Lama, Marudi and Miri. The same difficulties are faced by the blacksmiths. Days of hard work scavenging for disused metal and crafting the







*parangs* and other farming implements for sale to the local Kayan and Kenyah settlements seemed not to be financially rewarding due to the same dilemma faced by the mat weavers - low prices offered for quality products because the Penan do not have any way to market their products themselves.



*Top left clockwise:*

1. *Intricately woven bangle, the work of art in Ba' Data Bila;*
2. *Intricately designed basket, Ba' Abang;*
3. *A pincer made by the Penan of Long Lewe';*
4. *Rattan baskets and mats, Ba 'Abang;*
5. *A delicately carved blowpipe, Ba' Data Bila.*

# Religion



*A church in Ba 'Abang*

In the past, the Penan have been described as animists. Today however, the majority of them have converted to Christianity. Two denominations figure prominently amongst the Penan - the Roman Catholic Church and the evangelical Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB). No Penan interviewed could remember the old religion, and two factors might account for this: Firstly, the communities interviewed truly have forgotten the rituals and

ceremonies of the old religion or secondly, because of the adoption of Christianity, it might seem blasphemous for the Christian Penan to discuss about their old animistic religion.



*A church in Long Lewé'*

## Marriage

There seems to be little protocol when it comes to a traditional Penan wedding. The Penan are an egalitarian society unlike their class conscious neighbours, the Kayans and the Kenyahs. According to Madam Yiam, the wife of the Seman Ngang, the

village chief of Long Kevok, if a couple decide to get married they must first get parental consent to do so. Gifts are not required, but if the groom can afford it, then he can present to the bride's parents a blowpipe, a *parang*, *sarongs* and an engagement ring.

## Ethnobotanical knowledge

The Penan in the various settlements have varying degrees of familiarity and knowledge of ethnobotany. It is sad to state that for those communities that had direct contact with the outside world through logging and palm oil plantation activities, the younger generation might not be familiar and might lose their ancestral knowledge of the usage of plants for medicinal and cultural purposes. All is not lost however, if the older generation educate their children on the cultural significance of retaining their traditional ethnobotanical knowledge. The Penan elders at Long Latei', Long Kevok, Long Lewe' and Ba' Data Bila still retain the knowledge on the usage of traditional



medicinal plants but if the knowledge is not passed on, then it will slowly fade away forever. Below is a list of plants which are part of the ethnobotany of the Penan encountered in the various settlements:



*Top left (clockwise): Ujung Tobeng, Tuak, Laka daha'a, Ujung But*

Plant name	Usage
<i>Akar Tuban</i>	Cure for boils.
<i>Kayew</i>	Toothache remedy.
<i>Kelang burak</i>	Used as a traditional form of soap.
<i>Laka Daha 'a</i>	For the treatment of ulcers.
<i>Laka Kemelut</i>	Used as a traditional form of soap.
<i>Laka Sevului Pu 'an</i>	Diarrhoea medicine.
<i>Lake 'Sakit Jipen</i>	Toothache remedy
<i>Ngetimang</i>	A type of tree bark that can be used to cure headaches. The tree bark is secured to the forehead.
<i>Pitah Ujung Selegah</i>	Used to keep children entertained during their nomadic days. The leaves when crumbled produces a red pigment.
<i>Savitk Levu</i>	Used to increase appetite.
<i>Shakila Abat</i>	These two plants have a mythical qualities to them. According to the informant at Long Lewé', <i>shakila abat</i> is a plant that is taken as a herb during confinement after giving birth. Before uprooting the plant however, a rooster must be sacrificed, a porcelain plate and a <i>parang</i> must be left near where the plant had grown as tokens to the spirit that protects the plant. After consuming the <i>shakila abat</i> , the woman under confinement must not have any contact with males otherwise death will fall upon the person who had taken the herb.
<i>Nyere Mbuk</i>	<i>Nyere Mbuk</i> is a plant that is used to cure abdominal pains. However like the <i>shakila abat</i> there are protocols that must be observed when uprooting this plant. A <i>parang</i> is jabbed into the ground next to the plant and permission is asked from the guardian spirit of the plant to take out the plant <sup>5</sup> . The person who consumes the <i>nyere mbuk</i> must not be allowed to consume deer meat or oily food.
<i>Shakului</i>	Plant used to cure abdominal pain.

<i>Tabat Kihan Lipan</i>	Antidote for the sting of the centipede.
<i>Tang Ngalai</i>	Plant with contraceptive properties.
<i>Tawan Bahak Iteh'</i>	For the treatment of swollen breast and toothache.
<i>Tuak(l)</i>	To make the resin used on the tips of the blowpipe darts more poisonous (Ba Data Bila).
<i>Tuak(2)</i>	Eye drop remedy, made from the bark of the tree (Long Lewé').
<i>Ujung But</i>	For the treatment of gastric pain.
<i>Ujung Telawa</i>	Used as a natural dye for colouring handicraft.
<i>Ujung Tengelai</i>	For the treatment of muscle pain.
<i>Ujung Tobeng</i>	A vine that is useful as an antidote for bee stings.
<i>Ujung Tobok</i>	A leaf used as an animal call to attract deer.
<i>WaiJanan</i>	Used to soothe insect bites.
<i>Wai Selapang</i>	Cure for food poisoning.

# Musical Instruments and Songs

The Penan have their own musical instruments, apart from the ones that they have adopted from neighbouring tribes like the *sape* and *kelorei*. Musical instruments like the *atui*, *oreng* and *keringut* were instruments that were played by the Penan at Ba' Data Bila. The *atui* is constructed out of a long log from a species of softwood which is suspended using rattan vines on a frame. One or two persons can play the *atui* beating it using the *pipok atui*. The *atui* is a significant musical instrument in the Penan community because in the olden days when hunters manage to kill a clouded leopard, the kill was announced to the whole tribal group by the rhythmic beating of the *atui*.

The *oreng* is a form of jew's harp made out of the sliver of the stem of a sago branch. While the *oreng* in the present day is played when important guests come to visit the village, in the olden days, it was played when one was sad, happy



*Atui, a traditional musical instrument played only when a clouded leopard is killed*

or for courting purposes. The women were the ones who usually played the *oreng* during courtship. It is a delicate piece of musical instrument and it takes plenty of practice to play it. The pitch of the *oreng* can be adjusted to the user's preference by carving the *oreng* into various levels of thickness.

The *keringut* is a nose flute made out of bamboo normally played by men. During a courtship session, while the women play the *oreng*, the men will respond by playing the *keringut*. The *pagang* is a Penan bamboo harp which is made of





bamboo. A pagang produces a melodious twanging sound when plucked.

Besides musical instruments the Penan also have their form of traditional songs and lamentations. The Long Lewé' Penan demonstrated this during the stay at Ba' Data Bila.



*Musical Instruments  
And Song*

*The pagang, a musical instrument only played by  
the women*

# Conclusion

The Penan of Sarawak, who were once a nomadic hunter-gatherer society, are like any other indigenous tribal society in Sarawak today. They have experienced intensively the effects of modernity. They are sent to school and made to join the mainstream workforce and turned into village dwellers. Many of them know the importance of education for their children and have made efforts to keep their children in school despite the financial burden that they face.

However, they face a greater challenge in coping with modernity due to the fact that their exposure to it comes much later compared to other tribal groups. Although there is a danger that their traditional culture might one day disappear, there is still a glimmer of hope. The younger generation is where the future of the Penan lay their hopes. Exposure to their traditional way of life by the elders might ignite in them a desire to know and to find out more about themselves as a people. It is

hoped that the Penan can adapt and adopt in order to survive and thrive in the 21 st century.



*The Penan children along with other Orang Ulu children came back to school after a long school holiday*



# Notes

1. There is still a lack of literature on the Punan peoples. It is probably due to the scarcity of information available that have led many to confuse them with the Penan.
2. According to Chen (1990, p23), the Eastern nomadic Penan tend to build a main camp which serves as a storage camp and they also tend to build their huts some four to seven feet above the ground. They then move from one temporary camp to another in search of food. The Western nomadic Penan conversely tend to build their huts slightly lower at three feet off the ground and usually settle in a main camp for about two years. In the meantime, they move about in smaller groups leaving behind the children and the old in the main camp. Chen reported that the movements of the nomadic groups occur on average of three times a year. This will vary according to the amount of food available especially the availability of pigs and sago. Once the area is nearly exhausted of its resources, the group will move on to a new place bringing with them their few belongings. Chen also stated that the nomadic Penan have some kind of pattern of movement although it is not necessarily consistent. They practice the concept of *molong* or conservation. They tend to return to their original site after a certain period. This will allow the sago palms and other jungle produce to regenerate for use again.
3. According to Ayub Geng who is the Chairman of the Village Committee (Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung or JKICK in Malay). 'You have to travel further into the forest to find what you want and need!' (Ayub, 2009).
4. The Penan at Long Keluan revealed that the tips of their blowpipe darts are coated with a mixture of plant resin and cobra venom. The other Penan communities interviewed did not indicate the adding of cobra venom in their poison dart resin, only poisonous plant resin or tajem.
5. According to the informant from Long Lewé before the parang is jabbed into the ground, "the plant must face towards the sunrise. Once it is assured that the plant is facing the sunrise only then can the plant be uprooted from the earth."



# Glossary

This glossary of Penan terms has been compiled from information obtained in the interviews with various Penan community members.

<i>atui</i>	A wooden xylophone that only to be played when one gets a clouded leopard.
<i>bareh</i>	A type of iron used as the main item in blacksmithing
<i>belatik</i>	A wild boar trap
<i>belu 'ing</i>	A hand sickle
<i>Bilik/amin</i>	A bilik or amin in a longhouse setting represents one family unit.
<i>biyew</i>	Small animal traps for as birds or four legged animal such as fox, mouse deer, monkeys.
<i>bua 'ta</i>	A type of jungle fruit
<i>burak</i>	Rice wine
<i>kelorei</i>	A traditional musical instrument where a few bamboo sticks of different lengths and sizes are tied together and attached to a gourd at the bottom end of it. The sound is produced by blowing through the gourd.
<i>kerajang</i>	An iron rod used during the first process of poking hole in a blowpipe
<i>keringot</i>	A bamboo nose flute
<i>lake' savit Pedun</i>	A type of rattan use to tie the animal trap
<i>lake' lunuk</i>	A type of rattan use to tie the animal trap
<i>nyateng</i>	Resin or better known by its Malay word <i>damar</i>
<i>oreng</i>	A type of jew's harp made of the sliver of the stem of a sago branch.
<i>pagang</i>	Bamboo harp

<i>parang</i>	Machetes
<i>pepanak</i>	An action of hitting the opponent's spin top
<i>pepok</i>	Another form of small animal trap.
<i>pipok atui</i>	Two small sticks used to hit the atui
<i>purok</i>	A hearth normally located in the middle of the hut
<i>pusan</i>	An ancient blacksmithing blower used for blacksmithing.
<i>ridan</i>	Thorns of a plant
<i>sape</i>	A string instrument adopted from the neighbouring Kenyah
<i>selingan</i>	Rattan bangles usually worn at the male's calf
<i>ske 'tok</i>	A fish species
<i>sulap</i>	A small hut made out of wooden poles and roofed with palm leaves
<i>suwak</i>	Thorns
<i>syok</i>	An iron rod used to polish a blowpipe's bore. A small piece of rattan is attached at the tip of the rod
<i>tajem</i>	A name of a tree ( <i>antiaris toxicaris</i> ) that produces latex and the latex usually used for blow pipe dart poison.
<i>tanyit</i>	A name of a tree species. In Malay, tanyit is known as "Pokok Ketapang" ( <i>koompassia excels</i> )
<i>telekit</i>	A ring of rattan used for target practice.

# Bibliography

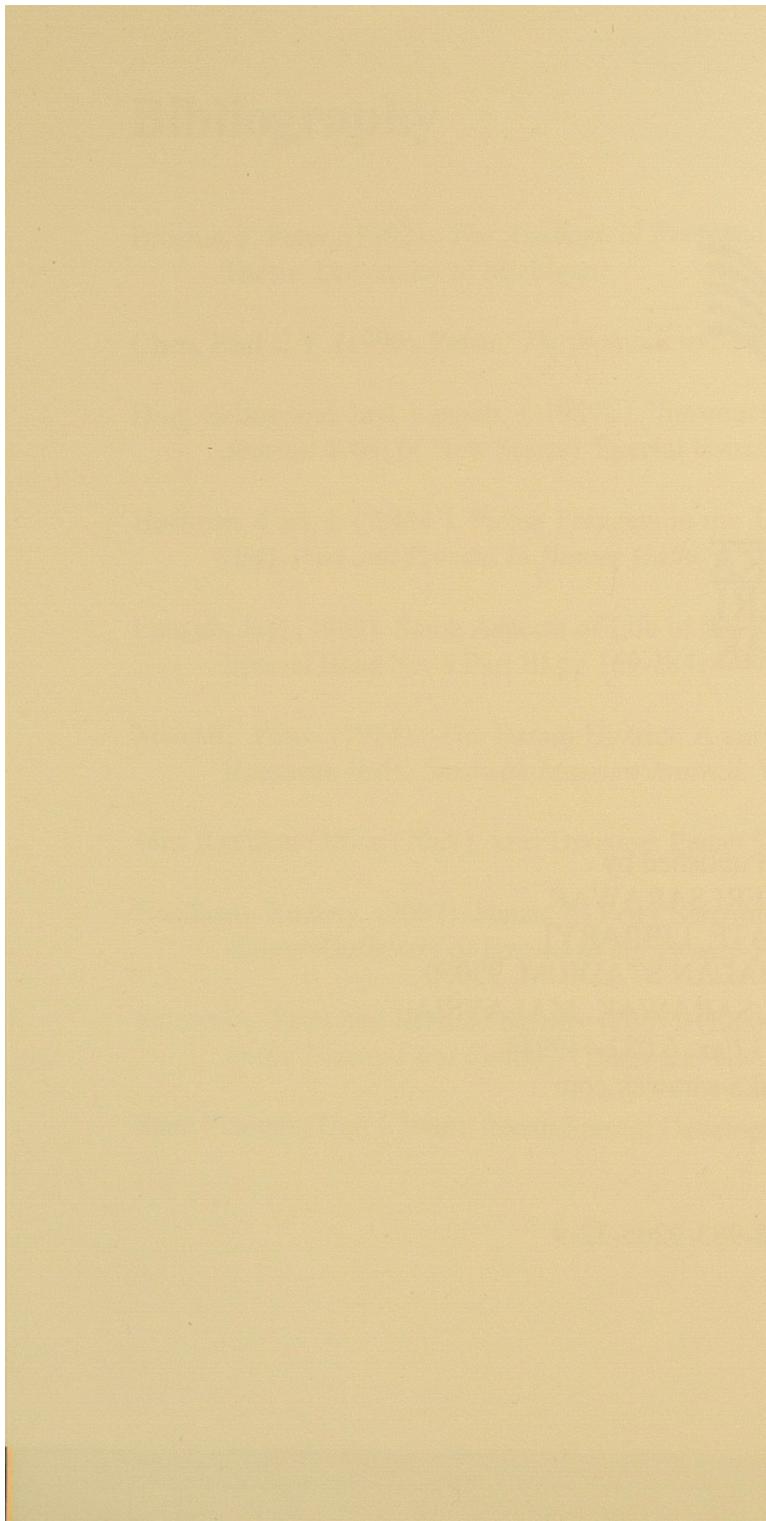
- Brosius, J. Peter. (1992). *The Axiological Presence of Death: Penan Gang Death Names*, 2 volumes, PhD Thesis, University of Michigan.
- Chen, Paul C.Y. (1990). Penan: *The Nomads of Sarawak*. Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications.
- Ding Seling and Jayl Langub. ( 1989). "Introduction." Orang Ulu Cultural Seminar. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 40(61))( New Series). Special Issue No. 4 Part III. ppl-7.
- Hoffman, Carl. L ( 1984 ). Punan Foragers in the Trading Networks of Southeast Asia. In Carmel Schrire (Ed). *Past and Present In Hunter Gatherers Studies*. pp123-149. London: Academic Press, Inc.
- Langub, Jayl (1989). Some Aspects of Life of the Penan. *Sarawak Museum Journal*. 40(61)( New Series). Special Issue No. 4 Part III. pp 169-184.
- Metcalf, Peter. (1974). The Baram District: A survey of Kenyah, Kayan and Penan Peoples. In Kerome Rousseau (Ed). *Sarawak Museum Journal*. Vol. 22. No 43. pp 29-41.
- Miri Resident Office (2009). Miri Division: Penan Settlements.
- Needham, Rodney. (2007). Penan. In Peter Sercombe and Bernard Sellato (Eds). *Beyond the Green Myth: Hunter-Gatherers of Borneo in the Twenty-First Century*, pp 50-60. Denmark: NIAS Press.
- Sercombe, Peter and Bernard Sellato. (2007). (Eds). *Beyond the Green Myth: Hunter-Gatherers of Borneo in the Twenty-First Century*. Denmark: NIAS Press.
- State Planning Unit ( 2008). Penan Special Development Programme.



PUSTAKA  
NEGERI  
SARAWAK

Produced & Published by  
PUSTAKA NEGERI SARAWAK  
[SARAWAK STATE LIBRARY]  
JALAN PUSTAKA, OFF JALAN STADIUM, 93050  
PETRA JAYA, KUCHING, SARAWAK, MALAYSIA  
TeL: 6 082 442000 Fax: 6 082 449944  
<http://www.pustaka-sarawak.com>

@2009 ISBN 978-983-9205-32-9











# People of the Forest: The Penan

---

## The Sarawakiana Series

Sarawak boasts of superlatives, exhibits the bizarre and confounds even jaded mind. It was and still is to many as exotic as the ancient rainforest and its many fold denizens.

Within the last three decades, its people have actually shed blood, sweat and tears to improve upon what those before them have laid down for peace and progress. That is why Sarawak is what it is today : the envy of many.

The Sarawakiana Series is a series of custom-made Interactive CD-ROM with written supplement which gives the viewer a glimpse of the State's rich archive particularly on its History, Race, Culture, Belief and Tradition. Based on thorough research and studies, it was compiled in a Multimedia CD accessible for an everlasting experience.

A tree survives on its roots

A culture survives on its past

ISBN 978-983-9205-32-9



9 789839 205329