

## Varieties in Indonesian Traditional Health Care<sup>1)</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

Azwar Agoes — *Jenis-jenis pelayanan pengobatan tradisional Indonesia*

Indonesia merupakan negara kepulauan yang amat luas, terdiri atas pelbagai suku dan jenis kebudayaan. Cara-cara pengobatan tradisional tumbuh sesuai dengan kehidupan dan interaksi penduduk dengan sekitarnya, termasuk hubungannya dengan cara-cara pengobatan modern yang dikenal melalui adanya Puskesmas pada setiap Kecamatan.

Banyak orang menganggap pengobatan tradisional Indonesia identik dengan jamu. Berdasarkan hasil beberapa seminar pengobatan tradisional maupun laporan-laporan terdahulu, dapat disebut bahwa sesungguhnya ia terdiri atas empat kategori, yaitu:

1. Pelayanan kesehatan/pengobatan suku terasing,
2. Fitoterapi atau penggunaan jamu,
3. Terapi-manual dan
4. Psikoterapi oleh dukun dan ahli kebatinan.

Diterangkan tiap-tiap komponen dan di *review* pustaka yang ada korelasinya.

*Key Words:* Indonesian traditional medicine — herbs — faith healer — shaman — phytotherapy

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### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. *Geography*

Since ancient days Indonesia with the present population of about 150 millions has been known as the pearl of the east with its beautiful land, fresh water and tropical climate contributing to the creation of a deep-rooted civilization that had fostered various ethnic groups combined with different backgrounds.

Indonesia occupies an excellent geographic position where it encompasses mountainous areas in which the temperature fluctuates between hot and rainy seasons with a special humidity for forests and greenish slopes to create different environments that are considerably advantageous for the diversification of its flora. This fact incited researchers and scientists to ac-

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quaint themselves with medicinal plants, folks and tribes' health care and gave them the opportunity for scientific and historical studies.

The Republic of Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world, straddling the equator between 6 degrees north and 11 degrees south, between 95 and 141 degrees east. The greatest distance from west to east is 5110 km and from north to south 1888 km; the total land area is 1 918 569 sq km. There are 13 667 islands of which approximately 931 (70%) are inhabited. Administratively it is divided into 27 provinces, comprising 241 regencies, 58 municipalities, 3350 subdistricts and 62 362 villages.

## 2. Drug Policy

The general aim of the health development as stated in the "Broad Outlines of the National Policy" (*GBHN*) is to provide more opportunities to every citizen for acquiring a state of health as complete as possible by providing health services which are more extensive, more evenly distributed and within the reach of the community.

With regard to medical services, emphasis is laid on the community with low income in rural as well as urban areas. The health service system is aimed at an even distribution among the community with its active participation; this includes traditional remedies, which have been proved to be effective and safe. Since drugs are an indispensable element of health care, the health policy and programmes should be backed up by an adequate drug policy and programmes. The main objectives of the Drug Policy and Programmes in Indonesia are (Sirait, 1979):

1. To guarantee a sufficient supply and availability of drugs to meet the health needs of the majority of the people which are evenly distributed, with the price within the purchasing power of the majority of the people.
2. To guarantee the efficacy, safety and quality of the drugs, and
3. To guarantee their proper use, and to avoid misuse and abuse of drugs.

Both public and private sectors play their roles in providing health services. The public sector provides health services through the health centres and its referral system consists of district/municipal hospitals, provincial hospitals, and central hospitals. The private sector provides medical services through private practitioners, private clinics and private hospitals.

## 3. Health Facilities

Basically Primary Health Care (PHC) in Indonesia is in line with the definition put forward at the Alma Ata Conference of 1978:

It was stated: "... essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and families through their full participation and at a cost that the community and country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination ..."

Village Health Community Development (VHCD), or in Indonesian "Pembangunan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa (PKMD)", is one of the operational

forms of PHC. VHCD is a set of activities carried out by the community on the basis of mutual and self-reliance of the community with the ultimate goal to improve the quality of life of the people through the improvement of their health states (Subroto, 1979):

In 1975 a survey was carried out (Leimena, 1981) even before the national seminar on PKMD was held in 1976. It revealed that there were already several hundred village locations where some sort of village self help health programmes were going on with the collaboration of the health centres. While some were stimulated by health workers others were initiated purely by the community.

At sub-district level (*Kecamatan*) there is a Health Centre (HC) which is a unit of health services providing easily accessible, comprehensive health care through an integrated, curative and preventive system. Each of the HC is headed by a medical doctor and has from eight to ten paramedical personnel. It serves from 30 000 to 60 000 people. There are in 1983 about 5153 HC spread over the whole country.

#### 4. *Traditional versus Western Medicine*

The so-called Western or Modern Medicine, no doubt, is practised all over the world as an accepted system. Tremendous advances have been made to enrich the knowledge and expertise of this system. Still many countries all over the world are finding it inadequate to reach the vast majority of the population living in rural areas (Hlaing, 1980; Agoes, 1980).

According to the statement of WHO (1979) there are several systems of traditional medicine practised in the South East Asian region, including *Ayurveda*, *Unani-Tibbi*, *Siddha*, Tibetan and also the traditional Chinese system. For many centuries such systems of medicines have rendered valuable services in the delivery of health care to the population of respected countries especially in the rural areas.

A part from this category Indonesia has its own special system, which we could call Indonesian Traditional Health Care System, a conglomeration of all those mentioned above.

The Western system requires the use of costly and sophisticated equipments, laboratories and highly trained manpower at various stages. It would involve not only large investments but other social and economical problems. It will, therefore, be a difficult task for the western system alone to look after the entire health care needs of the developing countries. Traditional Medicine and Primary Health Care are complementary systems which are widely accepted as having high potentials for achieving objectives of *Health for All in the Year 2000*.

While the former is an age-old practice, the concept of the latter is also nothing new and when fully developed will conform with the life style of the majority of the people.

WHO (1979) gave a hint that it is worthwhile to mobilize local resources in the form of traditional medicines, and to make the greatest possible use of them in the delivery of health care in the region, particularly PHC. In recent years, most countries in the developing nations, traditional practitioners and healers are already serving a great percentage of the people in comparison with practitioners of modern medicines, *but* an organized approach or a national policy on traditional medicine is yet to evolve in most of the countries including Indonesia.

## INDONESIAN TRADITIONAL MEDICINES

### 1. *Definition*

According to the summaries of a *Seminar on Traditional Medicine Health Care* held by the Department of Health in 1978, the term of Indonesian Traditional Medicine is:

- 1) A science and or art to treatment conducted by a Traditional Healer (*Pengobat Tradisional* or *batra* for short), that are not at inaccordance to the belief in the One and Only God, as efforts to cure, to prevent the diseases, to reinstitute and to improve physical, mental and social health of the community.
- 2) All efforts conducted to reach curing, protecting and promoting the health standard of the community, based on ways to thinking variances or sciences apart from modern medical science, handed down from generation or gained by persons privately and conducted in other ways than modern medical science *inter alia* covering acupuncture, *dukun* (medicine man), faith healer, *shinshe*, Arab medicine man, using herbs, massage and other varieties used in the community.

A combination of traditional practice and modern medical care does not occur infrequently as it is carried out by the general public, well-to-do and educated people<sup>1)</sup> or even western-educated medical doctors themselves (*terkun* or *dokter-dukun* which means shamanic doctors).

### 2. *An art of cultural heritage*

Most outsiders identify Indonesian Traditional Medicine only with *jamu*, herbs used by the people for prophylaxis or curing diseases. On the contrary, according to our studies<sup>2)</sup>, actually it could be analyzed and grouped into 4 categories, namely:

1. Health Care System of Isolated Tribes
2. Phytotherapy or using herbs
3. Manual therapy: massage and *kerokan* ("skin coin-scrubbing")
4. Psychotherapy by *Dukun* and *Ahli Kebatinan* (Faith Healer or Spiritualist).

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1) In PELITA III (*Third Five-Year Plan Book*) it was stated that: The Indonesian culture that has been developing for centuries is a very important asset for the Indonesian people. Tradition and historical heritage which have a value of national struggle, national pride and utility continue to be maintained and developed with a view to enlarging, enriching and giving form to the national culture. Within the framework of improving the level of health and raising the intelligence of the people, health service and nutritional quality will be improved.

2) Traditional Medicine in Indonesia essentially may be considered to be a medical science and art constituting part of the culture and has been handed down from generation to generation orally as well as in written form (Agoes, 1975a). This medical science and art constitute efforts by the use of knowledge and experience to offer medical treatment to somebody by using the natural wealth of Indonesia or by other means.

## HEALTH CARE SYSTEM OF ISOLATED TRIBES

The Indonesian isolated tribes are estimated to amount to 1 579 680 people (Agoes, 1976), made up by members of the Kubu, Suku Laut, Dayak, Belu, Waropen, Muyu, Mejbrad, Tengger, Baduy, Lio, Tano, Niha, Sasak and others. The kinds of medicines they use and curing methods they practice have been reported by Dutch researchers and after the independence of Indonesia by Indonesian observers themselves.

In our field study of the Kubu tribes (Agoes, 1975b) we recorded a traditional curing ceremony which was referred to by that tribe with the term "Be-sale".

On the evening that had been determined beforehand, the equipments for the ceremony had been prepared in a certain house, such as a mini doll-house which had been hung to the ridges of the house filled with offerings, *keris* (traditional weapons, knives), and raw eggs. The medicine man and his woman assistant supported the sick person while walking around, chanting magic formulas in the form of monotonous verses until the medicine man fell into a trance. The omen whether the sick one would recover or die would be shown by the results after those eggs had been thrown out of the window: it would either remain intact (the patient would recover) or it would break (the patient would die).

Kubu tribes found that the emergence of disorders of mood, thought and behaviour (Dongen, 1910; Agoes, 1975c) has invariably been explained by supernatural concepts of taboo violation, witchcraft, the intrusion of harmful objects into the body, or loss of a vital substance and possession by angry or evil spirits. Incest and murder are taboo violations, almost universally believed to have deleterious effects on the mind of the perpetrator, with punishment in the form of insanity coming from ancestral dieties or God, or from the individual's conscience. Witchcraft inflictions are usually associated with nefarious activities of others, such as witches, sorcerers and black magicians, whose special powers or use of sympathetic magic enable them to "inplant" insanity on the victims. Witchcraft is often thought to be responsible for the introduction into the victim magical or foreign substances that produce illness by upsetting the natural equilibrium of the body.

To restore health these substances have to be extracted from the victim through blowing, sucking, bleeding etc. Strange behaviour is also explained by the presence of an alien spirit sometimes sent by malevolent sorcerers, or by ancestral deities as a punishment for failure to honour the dead<sup>1)</sup>.

In this magnificent talk Professor Saanin (1979) explained rituals and "medicinal fiesta" of other tribes, Dayak, Batak, Toraja and Bali. He wrote:

1. In the animistic world of the Dayaks serious illness of members of the tribe will be treated by the tribe's medicine man who by subsequent yelling and uttering parts of prayers to the "Gods" and by performing ritual dances around the patient and by sprinkling water in which several kinds of flowers and herbs have been soaked, the healer tries to chase away from or out of the body of the

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1) There are many ways of worshipping ancestors or also called spirit worshipping, worshipping non-living matters. They seemed to be irrational but are of great psychologic worth. Anxiety of which they do not know the sound reason, will projected to their ancestors, their souls or magic matters and then it becomes a real anxiety, which without any worship party such as *Selamatan* (meal offering) or *Sesajen* (flower offering) could not disappear (Dipojono, 1972; Cox, 1977; Soemarmo, 1972).

patient the evil spirits who cause the illness. In many cases the ceremony of healing is sided by "klentangan" music. To the whole family of the patient the duty is imposed not to leave the quarters for one till three days after the ceremony and to the other members of the tribe during the same period not to enter the quarter of the sick.

2. The *pawang datu* of the Bataks is not the same as the King or *Sibayah*. But a King should be a *Datu*. In big ceremonies, the *Datus* play a very important role. To be a *pawang* he must study the religion, the magic formulas to be found in holy books, receipts, witchcraft spells etc, wisdom to be used to get happy, prosperous, healthy, etc. That wisdom he gets straight from a spirit, during a mental condition of possession. Well known are the *shamans* of the Bataks, *si baso* or *hasandaran*, who are generally women. The condition of possession is reached by rhythmic drum music and dances, inhaling *menyan* (incense, or benzoin) smoke, or by drinking *tuak* (alcoholics). In trance she begins to talk with the spirits. The audience then can ask her about the prognoses of his illness, about someone's fate who has been abroad for a very long time etc. When in trance the *shaman* is not always quiet. Sometimes he is restless, cries, falls down, tosses about etc. He behaves like the spirit who possesses her. When the spirit in his former life was crippled or stuttered, the *shaman* in trance will also stutter and be crippled.
3. The Madurese *Kejiman* medicine man when in trance, speaks Arabic, Chinese or Dutch conforming with the spirit who has taken possession of him. Sometimes a *shaman* needs a translator for words uttered during the trance.
4. The most famous witches or medicine man are of the Dayaks of Kalimantan (Borneo) and the Torajas (Sulawesi (Celebes)). While always busy, they sing long *litanys*, tell about their journey to haven. Their own spirits fly away through the main pillar of the house, creep on all fours on the roof top and thereafter via the rainbow reach the kingdom of heaven. The *litania* is sung the whole night with several times a pause. Dayaks say that the language of the *litania* is the language of gods or spirits, not the language of the *shamans*. Sometimes they do not understand the language themselves.

In trance the capability of the *shamans* is much more than they are capable to do in every day life. We know for example that the Kubus in Central Sumatra, while singing and dancing in trance, can walk on glowing coal. Also Balinese child dancers, in trance can walk on glowing coal, while dancing difficult dances, they never have learned before. Trance or possession usually refers to a relationship between spirits and humans, manifested as the spirits entering the human being and taking control of his behaviour.

## PHYTOTHERAPY

The use of herbs in treating diseases or for preventing them is already a common practice in Asia dan Africa and is gaining nowadays more foot in western countries. Many books have been issued on medicinal herbs and their mode of application. Analysis and research in the last few decades have revealed the medicinal compounds present in the herbs the knowledge of which have evolved in the manufacturing of synthetic pharmaceutical products. The proses of modernization has made it possible to introduce *jamu* in all parts of the archipelago and even abroad. The greater part is used by women, but there are also several kinds that are quite popular among men. The purpose of the use ranges from preserving health in general to the crushing of kidney stones and to promote sexual prowess. It is said that the sales promotion outside Indonesia is based on the fact that women using *jamu* look younger than they actually are, preserve their slim body build and always render satisfaction to their husbands.

The choice of medicinal herbs to be used can be determined by practically everybody just by looking at the indications as printed on the label of the packing of herbal medicines industrially prepared for the market.

Many *dukuns* or medicine men prepare their own blend of herbs for their patients. Normally the medicine man mutters some prayer formulas before handing over the herbs to the patient, either to give more effectiveness to the medicine, or for the psychological effect on the patient.

We have reported (Agoes, 1976) the use of *jamu* among women in Palembang municipality:

From 942 women who answered our questionnaires we can draw conclusions that the indication in general were *improving metabolism*: slimming 34.65%, tonics 26.73%, appetite stimulant 10.8%, *obstetric-gynecology*: promote lactation 47.61%, fluor albus 19.04%, inducing late menstruation 14.28% and intensifying sexual desire and pleasure 5.49%. These last two applications could be assumed as drug misuse.

Elderly women generally take *jamu* to maintain good normal health against kidney stones or jaundice. No case of the use against diabetes, parasitic or microbial infection, promoting hair growth, back pain, influenza, cough, odorous perspiration, indigestion, high blood pressure, gonorrhea or tuberculosis which are printed as indication on those various preparations' labels.

The Indonesian National Institute for Health Research and Development made two surveys (Sirait, 1979):

1. In 1972 a household survey showed that 12.7 percent of the sick people undertook self-treatment, of which 21.6% used traditional medicines (*jamu*).
2. In 1976 a Utilization Survey of Indonesian Traditional Medicines or *jamu* was carried out on 8999 members of 1832 households. Forty-seven point nine percent or 4316 persons used them, of which only 21.78% used *jamu* for treatment of diseases. The complete results were: to keep healthy 48.98%, to keep strong 22.47%, treatment of diseases 21.78%, for beauty 2.99%, to enhance sexual ability 0.20%, for menstrual disorders 1.91%, as contraceptives 0.36% and others 1.31%. The same survey also showed that the ratio of the *jamu* users in the rural areas (48.9%) is about the same as in the urban (46.9%).

Most of the *jamu* users get "ready-for-use" *jamu* from *jamu* peddlers (*jamu gendong*) or *jamu* shops. Others prepare *jamu*, using *simplicia* which can be obtained from *jamu* shops, markets or other channels. Only a few prepare their own *jamu* using fresh parts of the medicinal plants.

In the past few years finished products of traditional medicines have been produced by large-scale companies using modern equipment. The finished products of traditional medicines are presented in powder form. Nowadays, some of them are also presented in the modern dosage forms such as capsules, tablets, dragees, elixirs and even as beverages which are not always rational. There are now 166 companies producing traditional medicines, 62 of them supervised by pharmacists (Sirait, 1979).

Most of the *simplicia* and traditional medicine raw materials can be obtained locally and only a small part is imported. The manufacturers of traditional medicines obtain *simplicia* from traditional medicine wholesalers, collectors or directly from the peasants.

Since 1976 all traditional medicines produced and marketed with trade names or brand names and those produced by traditional medicine manufact-

urers should be registered every two years. For the second registration period (1978 to 1981) 1513 traditional medicines (finished products) were licensed and registered.

The Ministry of Health has promulgated the legislation affecting production and distribution of traditional medicines. Programmes on traditional medicines have been formulated:

1. To assess scientifically the efficacy and safety of traditional medicines and to select those which can be rationally used in organized health care, especially in primary health care. Those which are selected will also be recommended to be planted by the people in a "medicinal garden" or "*apotik hidup*" literally translated as a "green pharmacy".
2. Standardization of *simplicia* by setting up specifications and proper methods of analysis for *simplicia*, in addition to the existing *Materia Medica Indonesia*, which only contains 20 monographs.
3. Improvement of the quality of *simplicia* by providing guidelines and by the education of the people for growing, harvesting, collecting, preserving and storing medicinal plants and *simplicia*. For this purpose good seeds and seedling centres will be necessary.
4. Improvement of the quality of traditional medicines (finished products) by developing the concept of "Good Practices in the Manufacture and Quality Control of Traditional Medicines".
5. Improving the effectiveness of traditional medicines by converting the finished product form to a more effective, convenient and rational dosage form such as extracts. The conversion of the dosage form and mode of use from traditional ones should only be allowed after getting clearance from the Ministry of Health.
6. Control of traffic and utilization of traditional medicines by *registrations* of finished products, imported *simplicia* and by *control* of packaging, labelling and advertisement.
7. Information and education concerning the preparation and use of traditional medicines.

Legislation and regulation control are parallel to and aimed at achieving the objectives of the Health and Drug Policy. The following are some of the drug legislations affecting traditional medicines:

1. A ministerial decree on the manufacturing and distribution of traditional medicines which among others regulate the requirement for manufacturers's facilities and manpower.
2. A ministerial decree on compulsory registration of traditional medicines.
3. A ministerial decree on compulsory registration and licensing of imported *simplicia*.
4. A ministerial decree on packaging, labelling and advertisement of traditional medicines.

## MANUAL THERAPY

Probably the oldest literature on "manipulation" as manual treatment is in the *Kong-Fou*, said to have been written about 2700 BC. The *Kong-Fou* was brought to the attention of the Western world by missionaries returning from Peking to France. This gives evidence that the practice of manipulation is very old. However, it is also close to being universal. It was practiced not only by the Chinese and Japanese but also by the ancient Greeks, Egyptians, Babylonians, Syrians, Tibetans, Hindus, as well as the Aztecs and Incas of Central and South



America. Hippocrates, known as the Father of Healing, stated (Dintenfass, 1970):

It is most necessary to know the nature of the spine, what its natural purposes are, for such a knowledge will be a requisite for many diseases .... One or more vertebrae of the spine may or may not go out of place very much. They give way very little, and they are very likely to produce serious complications and even death, if not properly adjusted ....

Galen, the celebrated physician to the Emperor of Rome, also wrote of the importance of spinal manipulation in treating many physical conditions. In Indonesia a traditional medical-healer practicing in the form of massage is called "*tukang pijet*". This art is not the exclusive monopoly of experts for sprained ankles and other joints, because there are also children and adults without any neuromuscular disturbances but suffering from fever, cough, or mental disorders who underwent a massage.

Setyonegoro (1979) noted that "non-medical therapies" consist of *inter alia* physical therapies through manipulation and muscular retraining such as osteopathy, chiropraxis, impact therapy, rolfing, manipulative therapy, touch for health, skin brushing, and the Bates method of eyesight training.

Skin coin-scrubbing is a unique and perhaps specific Indonesian curing method. The skin of children and adults is scrubbed with a piece of metal (mostly a coin) after the location where this is to be done has been rubbed with oil (coconut oil, olive oil, peanut oil), an ointment (Vicks) or a balm (Tiger balm). The traces of the scrubbing on the skin are very peculiar and impressive to the patients. Especially for sufferers of influenza, fatigue and rheumatic pains, this treatment gives a feeling of relieve. Common cold can sometimes be cured in a quicker way by this treatment than by modern tablets.

## PSYCHOTHERAPY

This kind of therapy is practised by many traditional healers (*dukun*)<sup>1)</sup>, both men and women, by applying a therapy that comprises wide aspects. This kind of therapy finds a satisfactory "market" (satisfactorily accepted by society) and a seminar officially held by the Department of Health in 1978 on this matter had attracted many kinds of traditional healers from the provinces. On this occasion demonstrations of their traditional healing methods were also given, such as the one in which a ball-point and human anatomical diagram are used to show the point of trouble, the methods of acupressures, analysis of colours and chiropraxis accompanied by magic incantations.

To the traditional healers symptoms of diseases and the feelings of the patients are the important issues, not the cause of them. The patient is suffering

1) More explanation about *dukun*, especially on Java island, see Geertz (1960), ... there are all kinds of *dukuns*: *dukun bayi* midwives, *dukun pijet* masseurs, *dukun prawangan* mediums, *dukun calak* circumcisors, *dukun winit* harvest ritual specialists, *dukun temanten* wedding specialists, *dukun petungan* experts in numerical divination, *dukun sibir* sorcerers, *dukun susuk* specialists who cure by inserting golden needles under the skin, *dukun japa* curers who rely on spells, *dukun jampi* curers who employ herbs and other native medicines, *dukun siwer* specialists in preventing natural misfortune (keeping the rain away when one is having a big feast, preventing plates from being broken at the feast, and so on), *dukun tiban* curers whose powers are temporary and the result of their having been entered by spirit ....

from headache, has the fever, has trouble with eczema, or is insane, impotent, or the woman, though young, is incapable of bearing a child etc., are the issues and not the cause of all the ailments (Saain, 1976).

In Java this category of healer is also called faith-healer or spiritualist. Magic incantations are very common means to the traditional healers. In the sequence of the words we can recognize terms originating from the Hindu or Islam faiths and the metaphores are adapted to modern times. As supporting requisites are sometimes used water, or *sirih* leaves or red pepper which is chewed and then rubbed on the forehead of the patient.

Healing by prayers has also different modes of practices and are based on differences in the basic believe of the healer. There are also differences in the kinds of media used, basically depending on the type of the sickness<sup>1</sup>.

1. Prayers in which are included the request for help to the disciples of Muhammad.
2. Prayers to Allah with the request for help to well-known Islamic scholars of the first ten centuries of the Moslem Era.
3. Inclusion of the request for help to Indonesian Islamic scholars during the time Islam was preached to the Indonesian people and the late *kyais* (great Islamic teachers) of different areas of Indonesia.
4. Prayers with request only to Allah.

The Moslem *dukun* (medicine man or healer) basically uses an Islamic prayer, containing verses of the Holy Quran. The verses cited are related to the reasons or motives of their descent or with the circumstances in which the verses are issued. Many of the verses cited in the prayer are in relation to the pre-Muhammad era and mentioned in the Holy Quran<sup>2</sup>. To the patient it was explained beforehand, that the prayer for curing the sickness is directed toward God (Allah) and that God only cures the sickness if He so desires, and that God only deserves to be thanked if the patient becomes well again.

In 1951 the Department of Religious Affairs issued a list of 73 "Believers' Sects". The number increase to nearly 10 times in 1972 to 644 in all provinces (Subagya, 1976). *Kebatinan* teachings attract all men of all classes. Persons of high rank having heavy obligations need help to break down their emotional conflicts occurring every day in their lives. Low ranking people are more at-

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1) Among the people of confession the prayer is mostly based on the religion of the healer. A Christian will pray as a Christian and a Moslem as a Moslem. However Saain (1979-b) had an experience as a patient of one Christian healer on one occasion who used three kinds of prayers, subsequently an Islamic one in Arabic and Indonesian, a Christian prayer in Indonesian and an Ambonese prayer in the Ambon dialect.

2) As explanation can be mentioned that verses included in the prayer for curing the ill effects by burns were related to the prayer of Abraham, when he was sentenced by the unbelievers to death by fire. For healing of an illness due to venoms of animals, verses related to the history of the prophet Salomon (Sulaiman) etc.

tracted by magic strength so as to gain emotional peace (Dipojono, 1968; also see<sup>1)</sup>).

Many kinds of *Kebatinan* teachings represent themselves as the "genuine" *Ilmu Kejawan*. But this is not always true. In general (Dipojono, 1970) their teaching is an amalgamation of Hindu-Buddhist-Islam philosophy and the animistic-dynamistic elements. Javanese elements would supplement not only in the learning of materials but also in the use of their terminology which appears to have different meanings<sup>2)</sup>.

Some disciples of the *Jawa Dwipa* Teaching believed that their *Kebatinan* did not conform to Hindu-Islam or Buddhist learning; but genuinely of Javanese order, in that the teaching is as old as the Javanese themselves, that is before Hindu-Buddhist-Islam Learning existed.

## MAGIC AND RELIGION

When one intuitively has the experience that something is supernatural, than we call it magic or religion. If this experience brings the human being in a mental condition of humility and meekness toward the supernatural powers, than it is a religion. Magic is to rule over the supernatural power, to influence this power and with that to take his fate and the fate of others in his own hand. Religion, on the other hand, brings people to pray and humility.

In magic one believes that a ceremony automatically will be effective, when carried out in due time, in a correct manner, by the right man. The religious man does not believe in all these. For him the ceremony is to surrender to the will of the supernatural power, because the supernatural power holds the fate of mankind in its hand. It is sometimes difficult to tell the difference between what is magic and which one is religious<sup>3)</sup>.

Mostly every Indonesian knew two kinds of magics practiced both in urban or rural society. Black magic causes harms and sorrow, while a white magician is loved by the community; he knew much more about religion and magic. He served as a mediator between the common people and the invisible world of spirits and powers. We called him "pawang", experts in religious business and

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1) Dipojono (1970) and Soemarno W. S. *et al.* (1972) wrote that there were three groups of *Kebatinan*: 1) The group of *private believe*, 2) The group of *medicine men*, and 3) The group for educational purposes. See also Geertz (*op. cit.*).

2) The "Jawa Dwipa Teaching" or *Ilmu Kejawan*, according to Sumitro (1979): 1) Prepares man as well as possible in order that he will acquire his future life, the life after death, the private life that is eternal which is the human end. 2) Assists fellow men affected by internal disorders or external elements, *i. e.* diseases, magic strength etc. 3) Gives information to those searching after the Jawa Dwipa belief.

3) According to some *Ulamas* (Islam Teachers) eventhough Al-Quran verses were used in an amulet by the *dukun* to protect the users, the practice could be categorized into magic. Sometimes a person stained his body with blood from sacrificed animals to strengthen his body and become healthier, then the meaning of the act was both magical and "religious".

When a Dayak of olden times offered the head of his enemy to his ancestors, wrote Saanin (1979b), this act was of a religious character. He intended to give a servant to his ancestors. When the death's skull was put on the main pole of his house, then it was of a magical and "religious" character. It served as a sacrifice offering to his ancestors and a source of strength for living.

magics. He used magic or mystic powers by praying and paying tributes, brought charity and peace. Another person who practiced black magic was called "tukang sihir" (a witch). He asked devils and evil spirits for help. Mostly he practiced black magic for his own benefit, caused fear and sufferings to destined persons (witchcraft).

Seeing this from the Islamic or Christian standpoint, the religious *pawang* is a witch, and the spirit he calls are the devils. But in the sense of folk religion and syncretism, it is to be understood, that although they are Moslems or Christians, they do not fully realize the meaning of the new religion they adhere to.

There are two kinds of *pawangs*: the familial and the mediamic. The familial *pawang*: because he is the community or village chieftain, the community will turn to him in matters concerning spirits, with offering, sacrifice and prayers. In modern times there is a separation between worldly or profane powers and spiritual powers. The mediamic *pawang*: he becomes a *pawang* because of his capabilities. Besides male *pawangs*, there are female *pawangs*. There are two kinds of mediamic *pawangs*:

1. The *Shaman*, with the capability to be possessed by one or more spirits.
2. The *Tukang Tenung* (fortune teller) who acts as a mediator. He can send his soul to heaven or to the centre of the earth to communicate with the spirits who live there.

The *shaman* has connections with the spirit directly. When he is in trance or possessed, then it is not he who speaks, but the spirit who possesses him. The witch, on the other hand, after he has come back from the outer world or from the centre of the earth, gives a release about his experiences, so the people around him know about the spirit's world only indirectly.

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