Varieties in Indonesian Traditional Health Care

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ABSTRACT

Aswar Agus — Jenis-jenis pengobatan penggunaan tradisional Indonesia

Indonesia merupakan negara kepulauan yang amat luas, memiliki arus penduduk masuk dari berbagai suku etnis dan jenis budaya. Cara-cara pengobatan tradisional serta adanya fikiran dan inovasi pengetahuan dalam masyarakat, termasuk khususnya dengan cara-cara pengobatan modern yang hanyut memenuhi kebutuhan masyarakat pada setiap keponakan. Baru bukan hanya pengobatan modern yang sangat penting dalam masyarakat Indonesia identik dengan jamu. Berdasarkan penelitian terdahulu, penggunaan jamu, dapat dicapai bahwa penggunaan jamu dapat meningkatkan kesehatan dan kehidupan manusia, dalam hal ini semangat dari serangga yang ada keluarinya.

Key Words: Indonesian traditional medicine — herbs — folk healer — shaman — physiotherapy

INTRODUCTION

1. Geography

Since ancient days Indonesia with the present population of about 150 million 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 temperatures 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, folk and tribal 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, be-
etween 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 65760 villages.

2. Drug Policy

The general aim of the health development as stated in the "Broad Out-
lines of the National Policy" (GBHN) is to provide more opportunities to
every citizen for acquiring a state of health as complete as possible by provid-
ing 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 (Sriadi, 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 drug, and

3. To guarantee their price, 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 de-
finities put forward at the Alma Ata Conference of 1978:

It was stated: "Primary health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially
acceptable methods and technologies 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-deter-
nination..."

Village Health Community Development (VHCD), or in Indonesian "Pem-
h bangunan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa (PRMD)", is one of the operational
Form of PHC. VHC OS 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 status (Schroeder, 1979).

In 1975 a survey was carried out (Carrillo, 1981) even before the national seminar on PHCOS was held in 1976. It revealed that there was already several hundred village locations where some use of village off-lead medical services was going on with the collaboration of the health centers. 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 para-medical personnel. It serves from 5,000 to 50,000 people. There are 1,183 such HCs spread over the whole country.

4. Traditional versus Western Medicine

The so-called Western or Modern medicine, no doubt, is practiced 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 (Haugen, 1980; Agoses, 1980).

According to the statement of WHO (1979), there are seven segments of traditional medicine principal in the South East Asian region, including Ayurveda, Unani, Tibeto-Burmese and also the traditional Chinese system. For many remote rural settlers, these indigenous medicines have rendered invaluable services in the delivery of health care to the population of these more remote and isolated areas.

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

The Western system requires the use of costly and sophisticated equipment, laboratories and highly trained manpower at various stages. It would involve not only large investments but other social and economic 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 something new and when fully developed can come in line with the life style of the majority of the people. WHO (1979) gives a hint that it is worthwhile to mobilize local resources in the form of traditional medicine, 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 health are already serving a great percentage of the people in cooperation with practitioners of modern medicine, but we regarded as a part of or a national policy as traditional medicine to be put 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 treat or mend by a Traditional Healer (Perawat Tradisional or sekarang kita sebut praktisi), that are not at inaccordance to the belief in the One and Only God, as efforts to cure, to prevent the diseases, to maintain 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 variences of sciences apart from modern medical science, handed down from genera tion or gained by patient privy and conducted in other ways than modern medical science also allying acupuncture, daktar (medicine man), faith healer, nuat, arab medicine man, using herbs, massage and other variences used in the community.

A combination of traditional practice and modern medical care does not occur as frequently as it is carried out by the general public, well-to-do, and educated people or even western-educated medical doctors themselves (dokter atau doktor dokter which means shamanic doctors).

2. An art of cultural heritage

Most consider identify Indonesian Traditional Medicine only with puwu, herbs used by the people for prophylaxis or curing diseases. On the contrary, according to two studies, actually it could be analyzed and grouped into 4 categories, namely:

1. Health Care System of Isolated Tribes
2. Physical therapy or using herbs
4. Psychotherapy by Dukun and Alih Kesanim (Faith Healer or Spiritual)

1) In a FELITA 13th Field Note Book 2002 are stated that, the Indonesian culture that has been developing for centuries is very important and for the Indonesian people. Tradition and historical language which have a value of cultural struggle, emotional pride and utilization to be maintained and developed with a view of integrating, enriching and giving form to the national culture. Within the framework of improving the level of health and making the intelligentsia of the people, ethical sense and emotional quality will be preserved.

2) Traditional medicine in Indonesia certainly may be considered to be a medical science and or combining part of the culture and has been handed down from generation to generation orally as well as written form (Agus, 1972). The medical science and art continue efforts by the use of knowledge and experience to offer medical resources to community by using the natural wealth of indonesian or by other means.
HEALTH CARE SYSTEM OF ISOLATED TRIBES

The indigenous isolated tribes are estimated to amount to 1,579,680 people (Agost, 1970), made up by members of the Kuba, Suku Laut, Dayak, Belu, Waug nomads, Muga, Meghraul, Penger, Balsey, Lin, Taro, Nila, Sukan 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 Kuba tribes (Agost, 1976b) we recorded a traditional curing ceremony which was referred to by that tribe with the term 'Be-sal':

On the occasion that had been determined beforehand, the equipment for the ceremony had been prepared in a certain house, such as a mini doll-figure which had been hung on the ridge of the house filled with offerings, anti (traditional weapons), kisan, and raw eggs. The medicine man and his woman assistants opposed the sick person while walking around, chanting magic formulas in the form of mnemonic verses until the medicine man fell into a trance. The onlookers 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).

Kuba tribes found that the emergence of disorders of mood, thought and behavior (Dorgon, 1980; Agost, 1976c) has invariably been explained by supernatural concepts of taboo violations, witchcraft, the intrusion of harmful objects into the body, or by a vital substance and possession by spirits 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 duties 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 "implant" insanity on the victim. Witchcraft is often thought to be responsible for the introduction into the victim magical or foreign substances that produce illness by upsetting the natural equilibria of the body.

To restore health these substances have to be extracted from the victim through blousing, sucking, bleeding etc. Strange behavior 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.1)

1) In the animistic world of the Dayak nomadic tribes of members of the tribe will be conscripted by the other medicine man who by subsequent yelling and stirring parts of graven to the "Gods" and by perfuming should cause the patient and by sprinkling water in which several kinds of flowers and herbs to have been soaked, the spirits tries to drive away from or get out of the body of the

1) There are many ways of worshipping ancestors or also called spirits worshipping, worshipping non-living matters. They seemed to be irrational but are of great psychologica; worth. Among them they do not know the exact reason, will prepared as their ancestors, deities or magic masters and then it becomes a real society, which without any worship party such as Allomagia (real offering) or Tengan (flower offering) could not disappear (Lipogono, 1902; Cas. 1977; Seur- man's, 1975).
patries the evil spirits who cause the illness. In many cases the ceremony of healing is aided by "mannagu" masks. To the whole family of the patient the deity is implored not to leave the quarters for not till three days after the ceremony and to the other members of the tribe during the same period not to enter the quarters of the sick.

2. The process of the occasion of the shaman is not the same in the King or Shway. But a King should be a Dama. In the Dama, the spirits play a very important role. To be a passing to must study the religion, the magic formulas to be found in holy books, recite, worship spirits 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 shaman of the Banks, if Bank or Bamidawar, who are sometimes -wumen. The condition of possession is reached by rhythmic drum music and dance, inhaling spirit drugs (cannabis) smoke, or by dripping castor (cannabis) into the nose. In trance the shaman in talk with the spirits. The audience then ask her about the prognosis of his illness, about someone's face who has been abroad for a very long time etc.

When in trance the shaman is not always quiet. Sometimes he talks, sings, and falls down, talks about me. The behaviors the spirit that possesses her. When the spirit in his former life was crippled or screamed, then the shaman in trance will also make and be crippled.

3. The Mbadume (Kijumia) medicine man when in trance, speaks Arabic, Chichewa or Dutch, conforming with the spirit who has taken possession of him. Sometimes a shaman needs a translator for words used during the trance.

4. The most famous witches or medicine men are of the Dama of Kalimunen (Banda) and the Tsefui (Kabwe) (Chirima). While always before, they sing long songs. Tell about their journey to heaven. Their own spirit. By moving through the main pillar of the house, creep on all fours on the rooftop and thereafter via the rainbow reach the kingdom of heaven. The Trance is sung at the whole night with several times a pause.

Thereby say that the language of the witches is the language of gods or spirits, not the language of our humans. Sometimes they do not understand the language themselves.

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

PHYOTHERAPY

The use of herbs in treating diseases or for preventing them is already a common practice in Asia, in Africa and is gaining nowadays more feet 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 purpose of modernisation has made it possible to introduce jasmin 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 jasmine look younger than they actually are, preserve their aim body well and a yields respect to their husbands.

The choice of medicinal herbs to be used can be determined by practically everybody just by looking at the location as printed on the label of the packing of herbal medicines industrially prepared for the market.
Many dairies or medicine men prepare their own blend of herbs for their patients. Normally the medicine man writes some prayer formulas before handling 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 (Agoe, 1976) the use of jamu among women in Palimbang municipality.

From 82 women, who answered our questionnaires we can draw conclusions that the indication in general were: headache, toothache, stomachache, indigestion, hysterical stomach, menstrual pain, inflammation of the eyes, colds, sore throat, and fever. The indication for men were: headache, toothache, cough, asthma, kidney stones, and jaundice. No case of the use against diabetes, cancer or renal failure, pregnancy, hair growth, back pain, infertility, cough, asthma, prostration, inflammation, high blood pressure, poison or infections which were proved as indication on these various preparation 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 (jama).

2. In 1976 a Utilization Survey of Indonesian Traditional Medicines or jamu was carried out on 8995 members of 1832 households. Forty-seven point nine percent or 4216 persons used jamu for treatment of diseases. The complete results were: to keep healthy 48.9%, to keep strong 22.47%, treatment of diseases 21.78%, for beauty 2.99%, to enhance sexual ability 0.5%, 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 (46.5%).

Most of the jamu users get "ready-to-use" jamu from jamu peddlers (jama gending) or jamu shops. Others prepare jamu, using simplicia which can be obtained from jamu shops, market 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, draughts, elixirs and even as beverages which are not always rational. These are now 166 companies producing traditional medicines, 62 of them supervised by pharmacists (Sirait, 1979).

Most of the simplicia and traditional medicinal 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 producers.

Since 1976 all traditional medicines produced and marketed with trade names or brand names and those produced by traditional medicine manufact-
areas 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 equitably used in organised health care, especially in primary health care. Those which are rejected will not be re-registered to be planned by the people in a "traditional garden" or "brush: brush" literally combined as a "green pharmacy".

2. Standardisation of simple by setting up specifications and proper methods of analysis for simple, in addition to the existing Ministry Medical Syndicate, which only consists 10 members.

3. Improvement of the quality of simple by providing guidelines and by the education of the people for growing, harvesting, collecting, preserving and storing medicinal plants and simple. For this purpose, good seeds and seeding criteria will be necessary.

4. Improvement of the quality of traditional medicines (finished products) by developing the concept of "Gmp Practices in the Manufacture and Quality Control of Traditional Medicines".

5. Improving the effectiveness of traditional medicines by converting the finished product form in a more effective, convenient and rational dosage form such as capsules. The conversion of the dosage form and medical use from traditional use should only be allowed after getting approval from the Ministry of Health.

6. Control of traffic and utilisation of traditional medicines by registrators of finished products, imported simple 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 manufacturer'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 simple.

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 Kung-Fou, said to have been written about 570 BC. The Kung-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 (Dinsdain, 1979):

"In most therapies it is known the nature of the spirit, what its natural purposes are, for such a knowledge will be a requisite for many diseases. . . . They are more effective of the spirit 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 attended.

Galen, the celebrated physician to the Emperor of Rome, also spoke 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 "Jalang Jepet". This art is not the exclusive monopoly of experts for sprained ankles and other joints, because there are also children and adults without any neurasthenic disturbances but suffering from fever, cough, or mental disorders who underwent a massage.

Seymour (1979) noted, "Non-medical therapies" were of aer and physical therapies through manipulation and muscular training such as osteopathy, chiropraxis, is the therapy, acupressure, manipulative therapy, touch for health, skin brushing, and the Bates method of eyeight training.

Skin coin-emburying is a unique and perhaps specific Indonesian coin method. The skin of children and adults is scraped with a piece of metal (made to be soaked with oil (coconut oil, olive oil, even oil), and lemons (vicks) or a balm (Tiger balm). The traces of the scratching on the skin are very peculiar and improve the patient. Especially for sufferers of influenza, fatigue and rheumatic pains, this treatment gives a feeling of relief. Common cold can sometimes be cured in a quicker way by this treatment than by modern tablets.

Psychotherapy

This kind of therapy is practiced by many traditional healers (duakas); both men and women, by applying a therapy that comprises side aspects. This kind of therapy finds a satisfactory "market" (widespread acceptance 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 pain of trouble, the methods of acupuncture, analysis of colours and characteristics accompanied by magic incantations.

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

1 More explanation about duakas, especially from Java island, see Gers (1969). . . . There are all kinds of duakas: duakas hutan (forest), duakas hutan (forest), duakas hutan (forest), duakas hutan (forest).
from headache, has the fever, has trouble with asthma, or is insane, impotent, or the woman, though young, is incapable of bearing a child etc., are the issues and not the cure of all the ailments (Sakati, 1978).

In Java this category of healer is also called 'faith-healer' or spiritualist. Magic incantations are very common verses to the traditional healers. In the sequel of the words we can recognize terms originating from the Hindu or Islamic faiths and the metaphor have been adapted to modern times. As supporting requisition we sometimes used water, or ash 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 belief of the healer. (There are also differences in the kind of media used, basically depending on the type of the sickness) 1).

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 Modern Era.

3. Induction of the request for help to Indonesian Islamic scholars during the time Islam was preached to the Indonesian people and the late Kyai (great Islamic teachers) of different areas of Indonesia.

4. Prayers with request only to Allah.

The Modern healing (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. To the patient it was explained beforehand, that the prayer for caring 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 78 "Believers' Sects". The number increase to nearly 10 times in 1972 to 644 in all provinces (Subagja, 1976). Kesatuan teachings attract all sects 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

1) Among the people of confession the prayer is mainly based on the religion of the healer. A Christian will pray as a Christian and a Muslim as a Muslim. However Sakati (1979-b) had an exception as a patient of one Christian healer on one occasion who used three kinds of prayers, subsequently an Islamic one or Arabic and Indonesian, a Christian prayer in Indonesia and an Ambonese prayer in the Ambon District.

2) As an exception, can be mentioned that verses included in the prayer for curing the ill effects by herbs were related to the prayer of Abraham, when he was strengthened by the blindness to stand by fire. For healing of an illness due to symptoms of animals, verses related to the history of the prophet Salih and Daud etc.
trated by magic strength so as to gain emotional peace (Dispoeno, 1968, also nec). Many kinds of Kebatinian teachings represent themselves as the "genuine": Inma Rajasen. But this is not always true. In general (Dispoeno, 1970) their teaching is an amalgamation of Hindu-Buddhist-Islam philosophy and the animistic-dynamic element. 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.

Some disciples of the Java Dupa Teaching believed that their Kebatinian did not conform to Hindu-Islam or Buddhist learning; but generally 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, then 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, then it is a religion. Magic is to rule over the supernatural power, to influence this power and wish 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 in 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 is religious.

Mostly every Indonesian knew two kinds of magics practiced both in urban or rural society. Black magic causes harm and sorrow, while white magic 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) Dispoeno (1970) and Soetarto W. S. et al (1972) wrote that there were three groups of Kebatinian: 1) The group of private believers, 2) The group of medicine men, and 3) The group for educational purposes. See also Cears (cf. cts.).

2) The "Java Dupa Teaching" or Inma Rajasen, according to Subrino (1979): 1) Preachers as well as Devas in order that he will acquire his future life, the life after death, the private life that is in control which is the human and 2) Java's fellow men affected by natural disasters or evil, diseases, magic, etc. See also Cears. For further information to those teaching after the Java Dupa tradition.

3) According to Subrino, Eman (Jien Tschetscher) mentions Al-Qur'an verses were used in assimilation by the diviners to project the cure, the practice need be categorized into magic. Sometimes a per- son nailed his body with blood from sacrificed animals to strengthen his body and become healthier, then the meaning of the act was both magics and "religion".

When a Dukun of Al-Qur'an offered the head of his enemy to his ancestor, when Al-Qur'an (1958), the act was of a religious character. He intended to give a sacrifice to his ancestor. When the death's skull was cut on the main pole of his house, it was a religious and "religion" character. It served as a sacrifice offering to his ancestor 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 ‘yakong oto’ (a witch). He asked devils and evil spirits for help. Mostly he prac-
ticed black magic for his own benefit, caused fear and sufferings to deserved per-
sons (witchcraft).

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

There are two kinds of passing: the familiar and the mediating. The fami-
iliar passing: because he is the community or village chief, the community
will turn to him in matters concerning spirits, with offering, sacrifice and pray-
ers. In modern times there is a separation between worldly and profane powers
and spiritual powers. The mediating passing: he becomes a passing because of
his capabilities. Besides male passing, there are female passing. There are two
kinds of mediating passing:

1. The shaman, with the capability to be possessed by one or more spirits.
2. The yakong fomang (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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