

Jamu ‘Herbal Medicinal’, Tamba ‘Medication’, and Ritual ‘Ritual’ on Javanese Traditional MedicineAri Wulandari^{1*}, Marsono², Suhandano²¹Student, Postgraduate Program, Faculty of Culture Sciences, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia²Lecturer, Postgraduate Program, Faculty of Culture Sciences, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia***Corresponding author**

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Abstract: This research tries to describe *jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’, *tamba* ‘medication’, and *ritual* ‘ritual’ to overcome various diseases and health problems in traditional Javanese medicine using anthropological linguistic approach by qualitative research design. The data collection by participant observation and interview. The results of this study concluded that *jamu* to maintain health and overcome the types of natural diseases, *tamba* to overcome a natural diseases, and *ritual* to overcome an unnatural diseases. *Jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’ can be distinguished by (1) materials ---plants, animals, natural substances other than plants and animals, (2) tastes ---sweet, bitter, spicy, salty, and (3) types ---*jalu usada* ‘men medication’, *wanita usada* ‘women medication’, *triguna usada* ‘men, women, children medication’, *rarya usada* ‘children medication’. *Tamba* ‘medication’ includes (1) *tamba njaba* ‘external medication’ ---outside patient’s body; (2) *tamba njero* ‘internal medication’ ---inside patient’s body; (3) *tamba njaba njero* ‘external and internal medication’ ---outside and inside patient’s body’. The *ritual* ‘ritual’ for healing unnatural diseases which is related to the supernatural world. In addition, there are also rituals to deal with the *pagebluk* ‘plague’.

Keywords: Disease, Javanese traditional medicine, anthropological linguistics, *jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’, *tamba* ‘medication’, *ritual* ‘ritual’.

INTRODUCTION

Bannerman, *et al.* [1] states that the traditional system of medical and local medicine has been going on for centuries. In the beginning traditional medicinal life thrives in fairy tales. Then, in accordance with the development of human knowledge, these tales are tested in scientific ways by partial pass results and some fail to maintain their name as a healer of a disease or various. Those who passed the examinations were included in the traditional medicine class [2].

Bannerman, *et al.* [1] and Djoyosugito [2] opinions are in line with the World Health Organization (WHO) at www.who.int [3]. which states that the notion of traditional medicine is the total amount of knowledge, skills and practices based on theories, beliefs and experiences of people of different cultural customs, described or not, used in health care and in the prevention, diagnosis, or treatment of physical and mental diseases.

Referring to Bannerman’s, *et al.* [1], Djoyosugito [2], and the World Health Organization (WHO)[3] opinions, then traditional Javanese medicine is a centuries-old traditional and medical treatment used in health care and in the prevention, examination for the

determination of disease (diagnosis), repair or treatment of physical and mental disease by the Javanese.

The Javanese are very familiar with the terms *jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’, *tamba* ‘medication’, and *ritual* ‘ritual’. *Jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’ are medicines whose use is by eating or drinking [4], the *tamba* ‘medication’ made to cure the disease [4], and *ritual* is associated by the rites ceremonies of costum/religious [5]. The understanding and use of the three terms are often simultaneously in treating a disease, depending on the illness. This is what the authors describe to know exactly the meaning and use of the *jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’, *tamba* ‘medication’, and *ritual* ‘ritual’ according to the Javanese.

Furthermore, the results of this study are expected to complement the documentation of disease treatment according to the Javanese and can be useful in the preparation of traditional Javanese traditional medicine theories are more comprehensive. In addition, it can also give an overview to a broader audience to better recognize the Javanese culture seen in *jamu* ‘herbal medicinal’, *tamba* ‘medication’, and *ritual* ‘ritual’ primarily related to traditional remedies for disease.

Previous studies on traditional Javanese medicine have been considerable, but none have specifically addressed the terms *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual'. These include research on traditional Javanese medicine. Yitno[6] through the writings of "Kosmologi dan Dasar Konsep Kesehatan pada Orang Jawa" 'Cosmology and Basic Concepts of Health in the Javanese' reviews the Javanese health base, including various illnesses and treatments. Kasniyah [7] through "Etiologi Penyakit Secara Tradisional dalam Alam Pikiran Orang Jawa" 'The Etiology of Traditional Diseases in the Realm of the Javanese Mind' discusses the way the Javanese classify the causes of illness according to the nature of the mind. Sudardi[8] in "Konsep Pengobatan Tradisional Menurut Primbon Jawa" 'The Traditional Treatment Concept According to Javanese Primbon' discusses traditional medicine using guidelines from Javanese almanac.

Marsono's writing[9] in "Naskah Klasik Obat Tradisional" 'Classical Manuscripts of Traditional Medicine' detail the contents of the classical manuscripts of the archipelago, especially the classical Javanese texts containing traditional medicines/herbs in the libraries of Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Jakarta; such as *Serat Primbon*, *Serat Primbon Sarat Warna-warni*, *Buku Primbon Jampi Jawi*, *Punika Kagungan Dalem Jampi*, *Serat Primbon Jampi-jampi*, *Catatan Jamu Tradisional I*, *Kitab Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna*, *Serat Primbon Ratjikan Djampi Djawi Djilid 1-4*, and *Kawruh Bab Jampi-jampi Jawi*. The manuscripts discuss the types of diseases and the way they are treated.

Triratnawati [10] in "Masuk Angin dalam Budaya Jawa" 'Catch a Cold in Javanese Culture' specifically discusses the 'catch a cold' with prevention and treatment. Furthermore, Torri [11] through "The Jamu System in Indonesia: Linking Small-Scale Enterprises of Traditional Knowledge and Social Empowerment among Women in Indonesia" presents the phenomenon of herbal medicine in Indonesia as a small-scale business and a form of traditional knowledge to overcome diseases that can strengthen the role of women.

From these studies it appears that no one has specifically discussed the terms *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' in traditional Javanese medicine. This is what makes this study interesting and provides a true understanding of the three terms that always used in traditional Javanese medicine.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method is using qualitative research design. Bogdan and Biklen [12] state that qualitative methodology is a research procedure that produces descriptive research reports in the form of

written or oral words of people and behavior that can be observed. This research is also called contextual research [13] because the term *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' are highly dependent on the context of Javanese traditional medicine and Javanese language as the main standard of activity.

The selection of research sites in Tulungagung is known as one of the warehouses of "traditional medicine" in Java, making it easier to seek understanding and understanding of *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' for dealing with illness.

In addition, the majority people in Tulungagung are still living in traditional Javanese ways. The selection of informants based on the criteria, among others, is quite normal among the people, adults, men or women, healthy, have clear language habits [14] Informants in this study are *dukun* 'traditional healers or shaman' who understand the terms *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication' and *ritual* 'ritual' to overcome diseases.

The data collection of this research uses two ways, namely the participation of observation and interview. Participation of observation is an observation that involves the researcher in field observation and the researcher acts as an observer or part of the studied. The interview is a meeting of two or more persons to exchange information through question and answer so as to know the meaning of *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' or other related topics. Interview means proof of information from the informants, so that obtained reliable data [13].

Furthermore, the authors will conduct data analysis following Ahearn [15], "Once anthropologist linguistics has all the data they need, the interpretation becomes a pattern-finding process to find answers to research questions on which to base research or to answer questions that arise during data analysis. For most anthropologist linguistics, this involves reading and re-reading all field notes and other documents, copying interviews and natural conversations, and analyzing the responses of the survey. Some experts then conduct an in-depth analysis of the conversation data, while others focus on data on language policy or ideology on a wider scale."

Data analysis through testing using questions in Javanese language. How to test what is meant by *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' to overcome the disease and how Javanese responses to the three terms. Furthermore the authors will explain the *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' according to anthropological linguistic view. This research is included in ethnolinguistic or anthropological linguistic

studies [16] because it departs from linguistic facts. According to Foley [17], anthropological linguistics is a study done by looking at linguistic facts in a wider social and cultural context. Anthropological linguistics views and examines the language from an anthropological, cultural, and linguistic perspective to discover the meaning behind its use. Anthropological linguistics is an interpretive discipline that explores language to find cultural understanding.

In anthropological perspective, language is part of culture [18]. In contrast, culture is generally inherited more thoroughly through language. So language is the main vehicle for inheritance and cultural development. This is in line with the opinion of Duranti [16] which states that describing a culture as well as describing the language.

Traditional Javanese medicine contains many important things related. Javanese medicine not only deals with the problem of disease handling, but also involves other aspects, especially the term traditional Javanese remedies that still survive until now and still widely used by the Javanese. Traditional Javanese medicine is not something that emerged recently, but it has been a long journey. The attitude of the Javanese is adaptive and open to change, making traditional Javanese medicine also always keep up with the times.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Jamu 'Herbal Medicinal'

In traditional Javanese medicine, *jamu* 'herbal medicinal' are medicines whose use either eaten or drunk [4]. *Jamu* 'herbal medicinal' is used to cure diseases as well as to maintain health, for example by drinking *jamu bêras kêncur* 'from *Kaempferia galanga* plant', *kunir asêm* 'from *Curcuma longa* plant', and *paitan* 'from *Zingiber montanum* plant' people will be healthier. People who are used to working hard, are advised to drink *jamu bêras kêncur* 'from *Kaempferia galanga* plant' to keep the condition of the body remains prime and prevent from *pêgêl linu* 'sore' disease¹.

Jamu in the Javanese's life is also used to overcome the problems of illness, which not a disease, for example women who are sick after giving birth given a certain herbal medicine for recovered her body quickly. Another example is a girl whose face was pale given a certain herbal medicinal to look beautiful and more smooth skin. The use of the term *jamu* 'herbal medicinal' tends to be used for natural diseases. Herbal medicinal in traditional Javanese medicine can be distinguished based on three things, namely (1) materials, (2) tastes, and (3) types.

First, based on the material, herbal medicinal consists of three kinds, (1) herbal medicinal made from plants, (2) herbal medicinal made from animals, and (3) herbal medicinal made from natural material, non plants and non animals²

Herbal medicinal made from plants

Javanese take advantage of almost all parts of medicinal plants for treatment, ranging from roots, stems, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Each section has different functions. According to traditional healers, at least more than a thousand of medicinal plants exist in Java. Some are familiar to the Javanese, such as *ginger*, *kaempferia*, *turmeric*, *galangal*, *iodine*, *betel*, *lime*, *zingiber*, *cardamom*, etc.³ The ingredients of the medicinal plants can be obtained easily in supermarkets or traditional markets. If in Tulungagung, people who plant medicinal plants in their yard either planted directly on the ground or in pots.

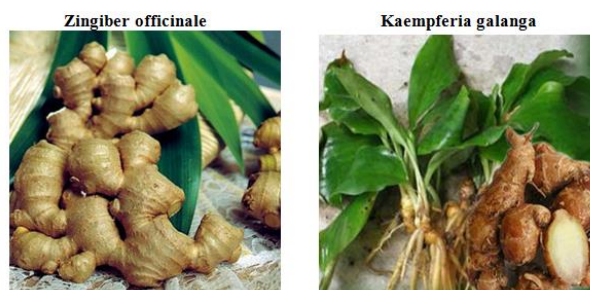


Fig-1: Example of Medicinal Plants
Source: Personal Document, October, 2015

Examples of medicinal herbal made from plants for children bloated, the young leaves of *Ricinus communis* are 7 sheets, smeared cooking oil and attached to the child's stomach by a cloth or belt tied. Not long the child will be able to defecate and recover [19].

Herbal medicinal made from animals

Herbal medicinal made from animals are medicines from animals, such as lizards, earthworms, leeches, geckos, etc. Example of herbal medicinal made from animals are lizards for the treatment of asthma: lizards dissected, dumped intestine, and swallowed every day one tail until healed. If the patient is easily disgusted, the lizard should be fried and eaten twice a day until healed.⁴

¹ Interview with Mbok Surati, a traditional herbalist trader, on Friday, January 23, 2015, in Tulungagung.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Interview with Mbah Suroso, herbalist, on Sunday, January 11, 2015 in Tulungagung.

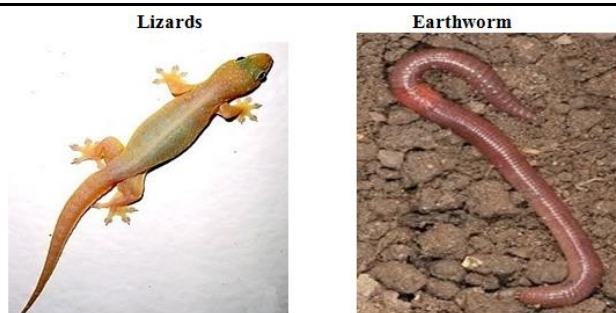


Fig-2: Example of Animal Medicine

Source: Personal document, picture taken by Airlangga, April 2015

Herbal medicinal made from natural material, non plants and non animals

These materials outside plants and animals, such as salt, sulfur, whiting, etc. to complement the treatment's need. For example, the salt to heal the *rangên* 'exposed to water fleas': cook 1 liter of water to boiling, add 2 tablespoons of salt, add cold water to warm. Soak feet for 10 - 15 minutes every morning and afternoon for a week. The water fleas will die and recover. Sometimes someone adds grated ginger.⁵



Fig-3: Example of Natural Medicinal Material

Source: Personal document, picture taken by Airlangga, April 2015

Second, herbal medicinal based on taste. Traditional Javanese medicine recognizes herbal medicinal based on taste, consisting of five, namely (1) sour taste, (2) sweet taste, (3) bitter taste, (4) spicy taste, and (5) salty taste.⁶ Each flavor of herbal medicinal has a different function. Rarely Javanese herbal medicinal have one flavor. Usually one herbal medicinal has several flavors because of some ingredients in the manufacture of herbal medicine. Therefore, many herbal medicinal have more than one healing properties.

⁵ Interview with Mbok Yani, herbalist, on Saturday, February 17, 2015, in Tulungagung. Grated ginger serves to eliminate sore or achy in the legs.

⁶ Interview with Mbok Surati, a traditional herbalist trader, on Friday, January 23, 2015, in Tulungagung.

- Sour taste serves to keep the discharge of fluids from the body.
- Sweet taste serves to strengthen the body, balancing hot and cold conditions, and relieve pain.
- The bitterness is usually to dissipate heat, reduce moisture, strengthen coldness, and suppress heat in the blood.
- Spicy flavor is usually to remove deep heat, improve blood circulation, and remove heat in the blood.
- Salty serves to moisturize and to overcome various digestive problems.

For example herbal medicinal from *Zingiber montanum* plant which tastes *nano-nano* 'multifarious taste' because its function is diverse, that is to increase energy and stamina, warm the body, and eliminate aches.

Materials to makes herbal medicinal from *Zingiber montanum* plant:

- 3 ounces *Curcuma zanthorrhiza*
- 3 ounces *Zingiber zerumbet*
- 15 seeds of dried red chili
- 4 lime juice
- 1 ounce cinnamon
- 1 *Citrus hystrix*
- ½ pax of complete herbal medicine concoction
- 1 teaspoon of salt
- 3 stalks of lemongrass
- 4 liters water

How to process

- Complete herbal medicinal material roastes then puree.
- Red dried chili is also roaste, set aside.
- Combine *Curcuma zanthorrhiza*, *Zingiber zerumbet*, and *Citrus hystrix* with chili that has been roasted. Then mash by a complete herbal concoction.
- Add the mixture with water and strain. Boil while in stir and then enter the cinnamon and lemongrass.
- When it is boiling, add salt and lemon juice.
- Lift then let until half cold (warm) just put in bottle herbal medicinal [⁷].

The third, herbal medicinal based on the type of treatment, namely (1) *jalu usada* 'men medication', (2) *wanita usada* 'women medication', (3) *triguna usada* 'men, women, children medication', and (4) *rarya usada* 'children medication' [19]. Based on this types, whenever the herbalist receives the patient for

⁷ The ingredients and recipes of *Zingiber montanum* plant are results of an interview with Mbok Surati, a traditional herbalist trader, on Friday, January 23, 2015, in Tulungagung.

treatment, he/she has started thinking about the disease and his treatment.

In medicine, traditional healers often give more than one herbal medicinal. For example with a potion to be drunk and there is also to be smeared. All that depends on the condition and illness of the patient as it aims to restore his health.

Tamba 'Medication'

Tamba 'medication' means made to cure diseases [4]. *Tamba* 'medication' is commonly used for *lêlara lumrah* 'natural disease'. Sometimes, the treatment of natural disease is using *tamba* 'medication' and *jamu* 'herbal medicinal'.

The use of *tamba* 'medication' includes (1) *tamba njaba* 'external medication', (2) *tamba njêro* 'internal medication', and (3) *tamba njaba njêro* 'external and internal medication'. First, *tamba njaba* 'external medication' means medication and treatment of disease is done on the outside of the patient's body. Here is the description.

- *Blonyoh* 'smearing' [4] is type of traditional medicine by smearing the material on the sick's body. Materials are vary, for example eucalyptus oil, baby oil, balm, olive oil, ginseng oil, etc^[8]. The diseases such as (1) *dêmam* 'body shiver and cold sweat', (2) *linu* 'bone pain', and (3) *lungkrah* 'very tired and weak body' can be cured by *blonyoh* 'smearing'.
- *Bobok* 'gluing' leaves, tubers, etc. which is crushed by a grinding stone and used as an external medicine by attaching to the affected part^[5]. *Bobok* 'gluing' is also heal the flu in infants, reduce heat and overcome the cold heat in children^[9]. The diseases such as (4) *slêngêt/sumlêngêt* 'feel slightly hot body', (5) *sumêng* 'warm body, not feeling well', and (6) *sumpyuh* 'limp body, exhausted' can be cured by *bobok* 'gluing'.
- *Borèh* 'giving wet powder'. Wet powder means wet powder that yellow coloured and nice smell [5]. *Memborèh* means giving wet powder. How to use the *borèh* is by giving the medicine to part of sick's body [19]. The diseases such as (7) *kukul/dhéyot* 'acne', (8) *kutil* 'small and hard acne', and (9) *wêtêng adhêm panas* 'hot and cold stomach' can cured by *borèh* 'giving wet powder'.
- *Gosok* 'rubbing' is smoothing something by hand (KBBI, 2007:370). *Gosok* in traditional medicine is curing by rubbing medicine to the part of sick's body [19]. The diseases such as (10) *dhêngèn balung* 'bone pain', (11) *sêmaput* 'fainted', and

(12) *roga* 'whole body pain' can cured by *gosok* 'rubbing'.

- *Kêrokan* 'currying' is an act to curry (scratching body parts, back, neck) the person who get *masuk angin* 'catch a cold' by coins etc to recover quickly [5]. Materials for currying is eucalytus oil, balm, olive oil, etc¹⁰. The diseases such as (13) *masuk angin* 'catch a cold', (14) *mungkug-mungkug* 'stomach is not as good as vomiting', and (15) *ngêlu ngalor ngidul* 'dizzy' can cured by *kêrokan* 'currying'.
- *Parêm* 'giving medicinal pills' is give medicinal pills such as wet powder to which smeared on the body to relieve soreness (KBBI, 2007:829). *Parêm* also can cure *pêgêl linu* 'bone pain', *éncok* 'bone pain', *awak nggrêgêsi* 'whole body aches' [19]. The diseases such as (16) *pêgêl linu* 'bone pain', (17) *ngêrês éncok* 'whole body aches', and (18) *srênut-srênut* 'sick's body' can cured by *parêm* 'giving medicinal pills'.
- *Pijêt* 'massaging' is pressing with the fingers of the body to relax the muscles so that blood circulation smoothly [5]. Massage generally consists of various hand activities such as pushing, grasping, pressing, knocking, twisting, patting parts of the body to deal by various diseases in various systems, such as the nervous system, muscular system, respiratory system, digestive system, and others¹¹. The diseases such as (19) *bêngkèk* 'back pain', (20) *bêngkong* 'the back is not straight which causes the body pain', and (21) *jimpé* 'limbs cannot be moved' can cured by *pijêt* 'massaging'.
- *Pilis* 'attaching medicine to the forehead' is traditional black-colored medications attached to the forehead to overcome and sometimes cross-published on the forehead to ward off diseases based on trust [5]. The diseases such as (22) *mumêt* 'head pain', (23) *panas dêmam* 'hot and cold', and (24) *ngêlu* 'dizzy' can cured by *pilis* 'attaching medicine to the forehead'.
- *Pipis* 'smoothing'. This is smoothing herbal medicinal concoction by smoothing stone and *pipisan* (tool for smooth) [5]. Traditional medicine in solid or paste's form is used by attaching to the affected part. The diseases such as (25) *jëndhol* 'swelling (stung by bees)', (26) *kêmbung* 'bloated', and (27) *tatu* 'wounds' can be cure by *pipis* 'smoothing'.
- *Pupuk* 'grinding to crushed' is traditional medicine from plants (leaves, flowers, etc) that crushed, gluing in the forehead [5]. *Pupuk* is the pills or paste's form and used by gluing in the forehead¹².

⁸ Interview with Mbah Sumiati, massage therapist, on Tuesday, January 27, 2015, in Tulungagung.

⁹ Interview with Mbah Wiji, midwife, Tuesday, January 20, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹⁰ Interview with Mbah Sumiati, massage therapist, Tuesday, January 27, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Interview with Mbok Surati, a traditional herbalist trader, on Friday, January 23, 2015, in Tulungagung.

The diseases such as (28) *kéyongên* ‘a type of boil in the child head’, (29) *lara sirah* ‘headache’, and (30) *uci-ucinên* ‘lump white and maybe enlarged like a tumor’ can cured by *pupuk* ‘grinding to crushed’.

- *Tampêl* ‘smearing on the stomach’ is traditional medicine in solid, paste, or pulp’s form is used by smearing on the entire abdominal surface by help on bandages in order to survive as needed to treatment¹³. The diseases such us (31) *lêngèdan* ‘stomach disease in children’, (32) *wêtêng abuh* ‘stomach and swollen’, and (33) *wêtêng adhêm panas* ‘hot and cold stomach’ can cured by *tampêl* ‘smearing on the stomach’.
- *Urut* ‘massaging’ is traditional medicine by massaging, rubbing, rubbing the affected part by certain sequence oil [5]. Massaging like tracing a sick body part to relax it, so the muscles are not stiff and the body becomes good¹⁴. The diseases such as (34) *lêmês lungkrah* ‘body without energy’, (35) *kêsléo* ‘one of the tendons of falling or sprins’, and (36) *ngêdhopyok* ‘unwell body’ can cured by *urut* ‘massaging’.

So, the natural diseases can cured by *tamba njaba* ‘external medication’. This external medication can do by twelve ways, namely (1) *blonyoh* ‘smearing’, (2) *bobok* ‘gluing’, (3) *borêh* ‘giving wet powder’, (4) *gosok* ‘rubbing’, (5) *kêrokan* ‘currying’, (6) *parêm* ‘giving medicinal pills’, (7) *pijêt* ‘massaging’, (8) *pilis* ‘attaching medicine to the forehead’, (9) *pipis* ‘smoothing’, (10) *pupuk* ‘grinding to crushed’, (11) *tampêl* ‘smearing on the stomach’, and (12) *urut* ‘massaging’.

Secondly, treatment to the diseases by *tamba njêro* ‘internal medication’. Internal medication is treatment that its use is in the patient’s body. The use of internal medication can be detailed as follows.

- *Cêkok* ‘force-feeding’ is traditional medicines made from herbs that are milled and wrapped in cloth to be forcibly by pouring them into the mouth, usually to the children [5]. Herbal medicinal which famous is *cêkok* to increase the appetite of children¹⁵. The diseases such as (37) *nglêntrih* ‘have no energy because of illness’, (39) *sêmaput* ‘fainted’, (40) *lêlar-lêlur* ‘have no energy, sick’ can cured by *cêkok* ‘force-feeding’.

- *Kêmu* ‘gargling’ is the use of traditional medicine from a liquid ingredient that uses it by gargling¹⁶. The diseases such as (41) *lara untu* ‘toothache’, (42) *ilat pêcah-pêcah* ‘tongue is cracked because of injury’, and (43) *untu ngilu* ‘dental pain’ can cured by *kêmu* ‘gargling’.
- *Ombe* ‘taking medicine’ is the traditional medicine of drinking fluid, just like when we drink water, such as herbal medicinal *bêras kêncur* ‘from *Kaempfera galanga* plant’, *kunir asêm* ‘from *Curcuma longa* plant’, and *paitan* ‘from *Zingiber montanum* plant’¹⁷. The diseases such us (44) *wêtêng nginthir-inthir* ‘gastric pains’, (45) *usus panas* ‘intestinal heat due to eating, germs’, and (46) *sêmêngkrang-sêmêngkring* ‘heart disease’ can cured by *ombe* ‘taking medicine’.
- *Pangan* ‘taking drugs’ is traditional medicine in the form of food or solid by eaten, just like when we eat. Eating this type of drug has certain rules, for example every morning before eating¹⁸. The diseases such as (47) *sêngik-sêngik* ‘out of breath’, (48) *krêminên* ‘stomach cause of pinworms’, and (49) *cêkot-cêkot* ‘very dizzy’ can cured by *pangan* ‘taking drugs’.
- *Tètès* ‘dripping’ is traditional medicine dropped on the affected part of the body, on eyes, nose, ears, teeth, etc. Drops of liquid from processed plant material, such as boiled, squeezed, etc. taken fluid and dripped on the sore¹⁹. The diseases such as (50) *untu krowok* ‘cavity’, (51) *mata gatêl* ‘itchy eyes’, and (52) *lumpangên* ‘sprue’ can cured by *tètès* ‘dripping’.

So, to cure the natural diseases by *tamba njêro* ‘internal medication’ could do by five ways, namely (1) *cêkok* ‘force-feeding’, (2) *kêmu* ‘gargling’, (3) *ombé* ‘taking medicine’, (4) *pangan* ‘taking drug’, and (5) *tètès* ‘dripping’.

Furthermore, the third use of *tamba njaba njêro* ‘internal and external medication’. Internal and external medication is the use of drugs that are outside and inside the body’s patient, such as *sangkal putung* ‘to deny a broken bone correction’. Usually that cure by *sangkal putung* ‘to deny a broken bone correction’ are (53) *patah tulang* ‘fracture’, (54) *kêsêr* ‘bone changed position or location due to accident’, and (55) *kêsléo* ‘one of the tendons of falling or sprains’. In addition to correcting abnormal bone, shaman also provide herbs/ drugs outside the body part of the problem is not

¹³ Interview with Mbah Gimán, herbalist, on Monday, January 26, 2015, in Tulungagung. *Tampêl* is term that used in Tulungagung, others city in Java using *tapêl*, include in Yogyakarta.

¹⁴ Interview with Mbah Sumiati, massage therapist, on Tuesday, January 27, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹⁵ Interview with Mbah Wiji, midwife, on Tuesday, January 20, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹⁶ Interview with Mbok Surati, a traditional herbalist trader, on Friday, January 23, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Interview with Mbah Sugeng, herbalist, on Wednesday, January 28, 2015, in Tulungagung.

¹⁹ Interview with Mbah Joyo, herbalist, on Saturday, January 10, 2015, in Tulungagung.

bruised, sometimes accompanied by certain herbs in order to get the patient quickly recovered²⁰.

Ritual 'Ritual'

The *ritual* 'ritual' for dealing with unnatural diseases. Ritual is relating to rites (ordinances in traditional/religious ceremonies)[5]. Rituals are commonly used for the treatment to unnatural disease in traditional Javanese medicine. Treatment of unnatural diseases usually used rituals as they relate to the supernatural world. Sometimes in addition to using rituals, the handling of unnatural diseases also uses *tamba* 'medication' and *jamu* 'medicinal herbal'. Rituals for the handling of unnatural diseases adapted to the conditions and illness of patients²¹.

- *Syarat* 'the terms of condition' is healing therapies by certain qualifications, such as fasting, giving something as a ransom, cleansing the tomb, etc²². The diseases such as (56) *kêsiku* 'exposed to illness due to bad relationship with spirits', (57) *kêbêndhu* 'exposed to illness due to bad relationship with God', and (58) *kêwalat* 'exposed to the disease because hurts the parents or older's heart' can cured by *syarat* 'the terms of condition'.
- *Lêlaku* 'certain act' which is common for Javanese for a particular purpose, such as fasting, *ngrowot* 'eating rice from tubers in a certain time', *mutih* 'eating rice, salt, and drink water for a certain time', *nglowong* 'not eating, not drinking, but sleeping and traveling in some time', *ngêblêng* 'no food, no drinking, cannot get out of room except defecate and urinate, and sleep some time', *pati gêni* 'no food, no drinking, no sleep, no out of room and if the night should not use the lights', etc [19]. The diseases such as (59) *kênèng ènyèngèn* 'somewhat crazy because made people', (60) *diédanaké* 'made crazy', and (61) *digawé wong* 'made or sent disease by people' can cured by *lêlaku* 'certain act'. Patients who are exposed to the pain are usually in an unconscious condition, so the healing model of pain like this usually involves the nearest family. *Lêlaku* 'certain act' also done by the nearest person for the healing of the sufferer.
- *Mantra* 'spell' is prayer utterances have magical powers so that the mantra's readers get their desires. According to Tjakraningrat [19] there are various types of mantras for other purposes, such as mantra for have a child, mantra for love, etc. The

diseases such as (62) *diguna-guna* 'given a mantra', (63) *dijampi-jampi* 'spelled', and (64) *dipèlèt* 'given a mantra' can be cured by a certain mantra 'spell' to return the spell that has been sent to sufferers.

- *Ruwatan* 'cleaning the soul' is one of the traditional Javanese rituals for people to be free from all sorts of misfortune of life, including diseases that do not heal. *Ruwatan* that most popular is *ruwatan Murwakala* by *Murwakala*'s shadow puppet play performance and cleaning the soul of *sukêrta*'s people 'the one who will be the prey of Betara Kala, the great and frightening giant'²³. The diseases such as (65) *lara sangar* 'severe pain does not heal', (66) *salah urat* 'crazy because of wrong treatment or wrong parenting', and (67) *lara sukêr* 'sick of supernatural causes' or *sukêrta* 'person affected *sukêr*' can cured by *ruwatan* 'cleaning the soul'.
- *Suwuk/sêmbur* 'spell and action' is *japa mantra* 'healing spell' which is blown on the crown of the sufferer to remove the natural or unnatural disease. But most of the traditional Javanese healers consider that *suwuk/sêmbur* for unnatural diseases²⁴. The diseases such as (68) *kêsambêt* 'possessed spirits', (69) *kêsampirán* 'exposed to disturbance of spirits', (70) *kêsêtanan* 'exposed to devil's interference' can cured by *suwuk/sêmbur* 'spell and action'.
- *Têbusan* 'redeem' is giving something requested by the "supernatural world" in return for human harm²⁵. The diseases such as (71) *kêtèmplèkan* 'followed by spirits because certain deeds', (72) *kandhuwan wingit* 'ill because of wrongdoing in haunted place', and (73) *kêna sarap wêdhung* 'sick by the fault of using a butcher knife to kill a certain human or animal' can cured by *têbusan* 'redeem'.
- *Têtulak/Tolak bala* 'refuse reinforcements' literally can be interpreted as an antidote by spell, festivity, offerings, certain act, etc. which corresponds to the condition and state of the sufferer²⁶. The diseases such as (74) *kênèng ènyèngèn* 'somewhat crazy because made people', (75) *kêsurupan* 'trance', and (76) *kédanan* 'crazy about something' can cured by *têtulak/tolak bala* 'refuse reinforcements'.
- *Wêton* 'calculation of birth day' is Javanese almanac calculation that combine from seven days on a week (Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday) and five

²⁰ Interview with Mbah Jami, *sangkal putung*'s shaman, on Thursday, January 29, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²¹ Ritual for treatment to unnatural diseases summarized from interviews with informants (shamans, herbalists, massage therapist) in Tulungagung, period January – February 2015.

²² Interview with Mbah Jono, shaman, on Monday, January 12, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²³ Interview with Mbah Sunaryo, shaman, on Friday, January 30, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²⁴ Interview with Mbah Bisri, shaman, on Tuesday, January 13, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²⁵ Interview with Mbah Sunaryo, shaman, on Friday, January 30, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²⁶ Interview with Pak Susilo, shaman, on Wednesday, February 4, 2015, in Tulungagung.

days on Javanese calendar system (*Legi, Pahing, Pon, Wage, Kliwon*) that calculated base on certain rules to know the type of disease, cause, and treatment²⁷. The diseases such as (77) *disanthèt* 'enchanted', (78) *ditêluh* 'sent disease through supernatural powers', and (79) *dituju* 'sent black magic that causes people in pain' can cured by *wêton* 'calculation of birth day' to restore evil items from others.

- *Rajah* 'medication tattoo' is a collection of letters or sentences that make up the image and believed to have a function of medicine, healing, supernatural, salvation, or compassion. *Rajah* is also listed in the book of Javanese primbons [19]. The diseases such as (80) *diédanaké* 'made crazy', (81) *digawé wong* 'made or sent disease by people', and (82) *kênèng ènyèngèn* 'somewhat crazy because made people' can cured by *rajah* 'medication tattoo'.
- *Jimat* 'amulet' is certain objects used and previously have been filled with mantras according to their needs, for example for healing, supernatural, salvation, or merciful [19]. In the present when the cause of illness or disturbance in a person has been removed, for example the spirit has been expelled, usually do not need to use the talisman. The diseases such as (83) *kêsêtanan* 'exposed to devil's interference', (84) *kêsurupan* 'trance', and (85) *kêtèmplèkan* 'followed by spirits because certain deeds' can cured by *jimat* 'amulet'²⁸
- Removing disease in animals. This way need *syarat* 'the terms of condition' and *lêlaku* 'certain act' which must be met by the sufferer or his family²⁹ The diseases such as (86) *disanthèt* 'enchanted', (87) *ditêluh* 'sent disease through supernatural powers', and (88) *dituju* 'sent black magic that causes people in pain' can cured by removing disease in animals.

So, the handling of unnatural diseases according to the Javanese can be done by eleven ways,

that are (1) *syarat* 'the terms of condition', (2) *lêlaku* 'certain act', (3) *mantra* 'spell', (4) *ruwatan* 'cleaning the soul', (5) *suwuk/sêmbur* 'spell and action', (6) *têbusan* 'redeem', (7) *têtulak/tolak bala* 'refuse reinforcements', (8) *wêton* 'calculation of birth day', (9) *rajah* 'medication tattoo', (10) *jimat* 'amulet', and (11) removing disease in animals.

The way which traditional healers deal with unnatural diseases may differ from one another. It all depends on the illness of the sufferer and the expertise of each the traditional healers. Sometimes the handling of unnatural diseases requires not only one ritual, but several ways and rituals at once. For example, *kêsurupan* 'possessed', in addition to the ritual of giving a talisman that has been filled to cure the patient, can also be added the provision of herbal medicinal or certain medication for a stronger body and soul. Reinforcement of the soul will make it healthier and not "empty mind", so that not *kêsurupan* 'trance' anymore.

There was also the ritual that exist among the Javanese relating to cope with the disease, especially if the disease is comprehensive (*pagebluk* 'plague') in an environment. Here is the description.

- *Bêrsih dèsa* 'cleaning the village' is Javanese traditional ceremonies to provide offerings to the *dayang* 'lady-in-waiting' village, especially if there are villagers who violate the custom, such as violating the agreed provisions so that there is a disturbance of evil spirits or in the event of *pagebluk* 'plague'³⁰.
- *Kidung* 'prayers are in doubt' is *Macapat* songs to ward off all forms of occult disorder do not come and go from the sufferer. *Kidung* serves as a universal prayer form to evict the disease, especially when the disease in the environment is a strange disease in large quantities and tends to bring death in a short time³¹.
- *Pantangan* 'abstinence' is prohibition, not doing anything harmful to his health. For example, certain villagers have a strange disease that has not healed, so it is prohibited to travel on a certain day as understood by the therapist³².
- *Sêlamêtan* 'salvation' is a form of gratitude by including offerings for a particular according to his illness. The shaman will provide the rule of salvation according to the disease occurring in the village. Generally *sêlamêtan* consists of rice cone

²⁷ Interview with Mbah Mukijah, shaman, on Saturday, January 31, 2015, in Tulungagung.

²⁸ According to the expert informants interviewed separately in the period January - February 2015 in Tulungagung, unnatural diseases can be cured in different ways according to the condition of the patient and his or her medicine. One type of the same disease, for example *kêsurupan* 'possessed' can be cured in a different way when handled by different traditional healers. The *kêsurupan* 'possessed' person's faults with each other may be handled differently by the same therapist as the patient's condition and the background of the cause vary.

²⁹ Interview with Pak Susilo, shaman, on Wednesday, February 14, 2015, in Tulungagung.

³⁰ Interview with Mbah Bisri, shaman, on Tuesday, January 13, 2015, in Tulungagung.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Interview with Mbah Jono, shaman, on Monday, January 12, 2015, in Tulungagung.

and side dishes, recited prayers congratulations, then eaten with the villagers³³.

So, for the handling of *pagebluk* 'plague' must be done according to the cause of the disease. If *pagebluk* 'plague' is a natural disease, then the handling also uses the procedure of treatment to natural diseases. If *pagebluk* 'plague' is an unnatural diseases, then the handling will be involve the procedure of treatment to an unnatural diseases. *Pagebluk* 'plague' is a special disease for the Javanese because it can be caused by things that are natural and unnatural things. Foster[20] excludes the problem of causing this *pagebluk* 'plague' in the cause of disease for the modern non-medicalists.

The Javanese regard *pagebluk* 'plague' as an extraordinary event because of its considerable impact and influence. But for now, *pagebluk* 'plague' is rare among the Javanese. In addition to a better public awareness of health, there is also a government effort to isolate infectious diseases.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description in the previous section can be concluded four important things, the following. First, the Javanese community recognizes the three terms *jamu* 'herbal medicinal', *tamba* 'medication', and *ritual* 'ritual' associated by traditional Javanese medicine. The third type of treatments were still known and exist until now. Treatment of each type of disease varies.

Second, *jamu* 'herbal medicinal' in traditional Javanese medicine can be distinguished by (1) materials ---plants, animals, natural substances other than plants and animals, (2) tastes ---sweet, bitter, spicy, salty, and (3) types ---*jalu usada* 'men medication', *wanita usada* 'women medication', *triguna usada* 'men, women, children medication', *rarya usada* 'children medication'. *Jamu* 'herbal medicinal' besides used to cure diseases as well as to maintain health, for example by drinking *jamu bêras kêncur* 'from *Kaempfera galanga plant*' people will be healthier. Herbal medicinal is also used to overcome illness that is not a disease, for example sick women after birth giving certain herbs to recovered her body quickly.

Third, *tamba* 'medication' includes (1) *tamba njaba* 'external medication' ---*blonyoh* 'smearing', *bobok* 'gluing', *borèh* 'giving wet powder', *gosok* 'rubbing', *kêrokan* 'currying', *parêm* 'giving medicinal pills', *pijêt* 'massaging', *pilis* 'attaching medicine to the forehead', *pipis* 'smoothing', *pupuk* 'grinding to crushed', *tampêl* 'smearing on the stomach', *urut* 'massaging'; (2) *tamba njêro* 'internal medication' ---*cêkok* 'force-feeding', *kêmu* 'gargling', *ombé* 'taking medicine', *pangan* 'taking drug', *tètès* 'dripping'; (3) *tamba njaba njêro* 'external dan internal

medication' is *sangkal putung* 'to deny a broken bone correction'.

Fourth, the *ritual* 'ritual' for dealing with unnatural diseases include ---*syarat* 'the terms of condition', *lêlaku* 'certain act', *mantra* 'spell', *ruwatan* 'cleaning the soul', *suwuk/sêmbur* 'spell and action', *têbusan* 'redeem', *têtulak/tolak bala* 'refuse reinforcements', *wêton* 'calculation of birth day', *rajah* 'medication tattoo', *jimat* 'amulet', and removing disease in animals. In addition, there are also rituals to deal with the *pagebluk* 'plague', that is *bêrsih dêsa* 'cleaning the village', *kidung* 'prayers are in doubt', *pantangan* 'abstinence', *sêlamêtan* 'salvation'.

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