



The Role of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in Curing Diseases in Kediri Community

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Abstract

Finding a cure when people get sick is an important thing. One of the efforts done by Kediri people in finding for a cure is to come to a dukun suwuk (shaman/traditional healer) and dukun prewangan. The purpose of this research is to know the profiles and the healing methods of dukun suwuk and dukun prewangan, and their role in curing diseases. This research used descriptive qualitative method. The results of this research show that (1) the process of healing and problem solution performed by dukun suwuk uses prayer as a key source of power. And dukun prewangan uses the help of supernatural beings who become their working partners to cure or resolve the problem, (2) Dukun suwuk and dukun prewangan has an important role in society because of their presence is needed and respected. In addition, dukun suwuk and dukun prewangan who have been offering the services had experienced a lot of things as a living experience, (3) healing process performed by dukun suwuk and dukun prewangan is one solution for patients to be free from the ambiguous conditions of liminal stage. Choosing to go to a traditional healer healing is a rational choice for each patient.

Keywords: *cure; dukun prewangan; dukun suwuk; role*

INTRODUCTION

There are many cultural phenomena in the society in finding a cure for diseases. The existence of modern medical treatment and health insurance in remote areas cannot just eliminate the existence of non-modern medicine. Non-modern medical treatment is still practiced in the community. In fact, such option is the main choice because it is cheaper and easier. One of the efforts is by asking for help from *Dukun* (Shaman/traditional healer). *Dukun* are people who heal sick people using witchcraft and so forth (Poerwadarminta, 1878). *Dukun* in this study refers to *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* who are kind of traditional healers for people in Kediri Regency.

The existence of a *Dukun* in Javanese community has a sacred value and position within society. *Dukun* are considered as

gifted people who have special abilities and magic which are not shared by other ordinary people. Being a *Dukun* is not obtained through college like being a doctor, midwife or nurse. "In the connection with the belief system of healing disease, the role of *Dukun* becomes important. Being a *Dukun* can be acquired through learning process and passing down based on the descent" (Kasniyah, 2002).

The study which has been conducted by Geertz (in Saputra, 2007) in Modjokuto (Pare) divides *Dukun* into 13 types. The types include: (1) *Dukun* for Baby, (2) *Dukun* for Massage, (3) *Dukun Prewangan*: acting as a medium, (4) *Dukun Calak*: excisors, (5) *Dukun Wiwit*: expert in harvest ceremony, (6) *Dukun* for Wedding: in expert marriage ceremony, (7) *Dukun Petungan*: expert in predicting the numbers, (8) *Magic Dukun*:

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expert in magic, (9) *Dukun Susuk*: physiotherapist who put a needle of gold under the skin, (10) *Dukun Japa*: physicians relying on spell (11) *Dukun Jampi*: a physician using herbs and a variety of original drugs, (12) *Dukun Siwer*: specialist in preventing natural misfortune, such as refusing the rain, (13) *Dukun Tiban*: physician whose strength is temporary and is the result of the possessed.

People in Kediri know *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* as healers. *Dukun Prewangan* is mentioned as part of 13 types of *Dukun* by Geertz, while *Dukun Suwuk* is not included on the list. This is because *Dukun Suwuk* has the ability to collaborate various types of the existing *Dukun's* skills.

People in Kediri recognize *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* as healers. Some villagers handed over the business of curing diseases to *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*. The diseases managed by *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* also vary, starting from the diseases related to the physical, mental, spiritual as well as social aspects. Although the healing done by *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* is located in Java, namely Kediri, but the patients who come are not limited from Kediri Regency only. They also come from outside of the city, province and even outside the island of Java.

Dukun Suwuk and *Dukun Prewangan* are indeed trusted by the people as someone who can cure diseases, but they have different methods. Healing methods used by *Dukun Suwuk* is by addressing the prayer to God and have faith that the Lord is the one who heals patients. *Dukun Suwuk* consider themselves just as an intermediary of God. They can only heal patients who utter prayers of healing during the procession. Due to the special prayers, God will send His grace. Not anyone can have that special ability, just people who want to do 'what should be' as implemented by *Dukun Suwuk* who can possess it.

Different from *Dukun Suwuk*, *Dukun Prewangan* use *rewang* (the supernatural beings or partners). *Rewang* who become the partners for *Dukun Prewangan* in healing patients are genies who agree to cooperate

with certain requirements that must be met by *Dukun Prewangan*. In the healing process done by *Dukun Prewangan*, they firmly believe that it is because of the help of supernatural beings so the patients can be cured.

The existence of two types of *Dukun* with different healing methods in Kediri makes a difference for patient selection. Each patient must have his/her own taste in choosing healing with the help of a *Dukun*. In addition, there are also several reasons for certain patients.

This study employed a descriptive-qualitative method. The approach used was narrative research. According to Creswell (2015), a study of narrative can be defined as the study of the narrative, a story, or a description of a series of events associated with human experience. The object locations of this research were in three villages from two different Districts. All villages were still included in Kediri Regency, East Java Province and located not too far apart. Two of the villages were Pesing and Dayu villages in Purwoasri District with *Dukun Suwuk* and Sukomoro village in Papar District with *Dukun Prewangan*. Data collection was done by direct observation, interview, and documentation.

DUKUN SUWUK AND DUKUN PREWANGAN

The existence of traditional healers in this research is divided into two, namely *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*. The naming of both *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* is based on methods used in healing diseases. *Dukun Suwuk* use the power of prayer and in Javanese, it is called "*disuwuk*" or by being prayed. *Dukun Prewangan* use the help of "*Rewang*" or supernatural partner in the healing process and sometimes use certain rituals.

It should be reiterated that *Dukun Suwuk* is a kind of *dukun* who is in the treatment process using the prayer as a mantra and then do the treatment-*nyuwuk* to the patient. In a variety of literacy, it is also found that the media used within the process is not just a plain water but also some-

times by using saliva from the *penyuwuk* (*dukun*) (Laros, 2012). Meanwhile, *Dukun Prewangan*, based on Rina Anggorodi (2009: 10), is *Dukun* who is considered to have magical power so as to provide treatment or advice by contacting the spirit world (supernatural beings), or those who do white magic or black magic for goodwill and malicious intents.

There are three informants of *Dukun* in this study. Two of them are *Dukun Suwuk* namely Gus Busro (47) and Bu Misriyati (62). One other person is *Dukun Prewangan* namely Mbah Misri (80). Gus Busro and Bu Misriyati are gifted with the ability by learning from the experts. While Mbah Misri gains the ability of the legacy of his father.

The Healing Method of *Dukun Suwuk*

Although *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* have different methods of healing, they possess the same confidence that the disease in the human body can be a form of physical disease and also spiritual disease. Physical disease is related to the human body physically. Human physical body feels pain both for internal and external organs of the body. Whereas, spiritual disease is often also referred to as mental illness or mental, is a disease associated with a state of mind, heart and spirit. *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* indirectly agree that the cause of the pain is not only seen from the medical side such as because of viruses, bacteria, germs and so forth, but there are also other factors beyond the power of man, for example the “things” from sorcery, witchcraft and others. They can be also due to factors in retaliation for an action, for example when someone is terminally sick because he/she likes doing bad things.

The healing process done by *Dukun Suwuk* using prayers is the key of the power of *Dukun Suwuk*. The reason of the use of prayer in healing by *Dukun Suwuk* is because they believe that everything under God’s will. The prayer is a means to ask God to help them. By addressing appropriate prayer, everything can be resolved correctly.

Prayer as the core of healing abilities does not always have to be used as the only

medium to cure sick people. Other media from natural surroundings can also be utilized. For Gus Busro and Bu Misriyati, the use of other ingredients such as herbs and plants also play important roles.

Gus Busro is also able to conduct the healing and resolution problems from remote place. This is done through telephone lines. His prayers are transferred from Gus Busro to the targeted person. As Gus Busro statement,

“for someone far away, I can transfer the prayer. just be patient, because I need to listen to their heart. Some patients like that, over the phone. The important thing is I must know his/her name. “

Bu Misriyati usually uses herbs and spices as a means of support healing. For example, when there is a sick child from a fever, then his some part of the body (usually the forehead, chest, stomach and back) is rubbed with “*bobok*.” *Bobok* is made from the soaked *dadap* leaves. The soaked water from the herb is also drunk. Once there was a man from Ngronggot-Nganjuk who came to her home with family who drove him. His arm was injured and couldn’t be moved. He had visited everywhere (doctors and hospitals) to cure the arm, but it still could not be recovered. Then, Bu Misriyati treated him by rubbing the arm with *bobok* from raped tamarind mixed with eucalyptus oil and given a prayer. After the curing process was complete, the person was immediately healed. The arm could function normally as before.



Figure 1. The Healing Procession of Toddler with Fever by *Suwuk* Method by Bu Misriyati. Source: Ratih Tyas Arini 2016

Nevertheless, Bu Misriyati is more likely using prayer and transfers it to the patients just like what she did to toddlers with fever. Bu Misriyati just stroked the toddler accompanied by prayers that made her mouth mumbling. The sweep was evenly addressed throughout the toddler's body, from head to feet. The sweep was then repeated mainly in his chest and back.

The prayer as the key is the best means to achieve something and as a way to stay close to God. That is what makes both Gus Busro and Bu Misriyati are willing to help others who need their help. Because of that reasons, Gus Busro and Bu Misriyati always refuse to give assistance to those who intend to do bad things and abuse their powers to actions which cause sin.

The Healing Method of *Dukun Prewangan*

The healing method of *Dukun Prewangan* cannot be separated from supernatural beings. *Dukun Prewangan* have specific ritual to retain their abilities. For example, the ritual every *Pahing* Friday night as performed by Mbah Misri. He makes offerings in the form of *Kenanga* flower and black coffee put behind the house near the well for his *Prewangan* (spiritual partners). Mbah Misri also uses Javanese calculation in determining days whether the actions will be appropriate or not. For example, in *Nyiwer Udan* (Refusing the Rain), the service is at once by specifying a date for the wedding, usually, there are certain requirements that must be followed by those who request the help, such as the requirement for brides to not shower for two days. If the terms are violated, then the expected request will fail.

The main power source of *Dukun Prewangan* is the *prewangan* itself which become their working partners. *Prewangan* comes from Javanese language "Rewang" or help. This is understood as the helper owned by a *Dukun* who comes from the forces of supernatural beings such as genie.

The existence of *Prewangan* cannot be seen and felt by ordinary people. *Prewangan* only manifests themselves at certain people including to the *Dukun Prewangan* them-

selves. The presence if *Prewangan* comes through a variety of ways. They can come through dreams, show themselves directly or through whisper. However, Mbah Misri told the writer if she wanted to see the supernatural beings, she could ask him first.

Mbah Misri as one of *Dukun Prewangan* in Kediri has some supernatural working partners. According to Mbah Misri, her supernatural beings (*prewangan*) were three. The first is Adi Mulyo, it looks like a male teenager. The second is called Mbok Dewi who is like a middle age female figure. And the last one is Simo which resembles a lion. All three beings alternately or simultaneously can help *Dukun Prewangan* from other locations to realize what is desired by the clients.

In addition to curing, Mbah Misri can also do other things. If *Dukun Suwuk* refuse to help people with the intention of deviating from the teachings of God, Mbah Misri actually wishes to help all kinds of things desired by his clients. Sometimes, in order to reach the goal, there are things that must be done by the client for example by making offerings or completing certain terms used for the ritual procession.

The Role of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in Healing the Disease for Community

Dukun Suwuk and *Dukun Prewangan* possess special abilities. This ability makes them more honored, respected and considered different from other community members. They have a higher position and power in the community, especially to the client or patient.

One of the things that make people's lives to be lively and meaningful is because each individual as social being runs their respective roles. This section explains the experiences of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* as well as their patients. As told through the experience, it can be seen on how they take on the role in public life. The experience in performing roles starts from a perceived individually, with other people and community groups.

The Experience of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in Social Relationships

Dukun Suwuk and *Dukun Prewangan* have many clients and patients. In fact, even now, they never promote their services through any media. People who come to them mostly have been familiar with them and know if they have the special ability to help their problems. There are also people who know about *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* by words from other people. Many clients and patients come from out of town. When *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* ask the patients from where they know about the service, they always answer that they know from people who have been helped by *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*. They never publish their services through a media campaign. As explained by a *Dukun Suwuk* named Bu Misriyati.

“If I advertise the service, Gosh, people will never stop coming. Just by closing my service sometime has already made me feel sorry because there are people who come from far away. Like some days ago, I closed the service for nine days, I could not heal people due to sickness so I had less energy.” (Misriyati, *Dukun Suwuk* of the Pesing Village, interview on 06.02.2016)

The existence of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in today’s society is confronted by a lot of things, especially because of dynamic communities and groups emerging from religious sects. The role of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in the community does not always get a warm response. There are pros and cons with what they do. However, the fact shows that the clients keep coming in and their whereabouts are still needed by the community. This is because not all things can be solved by the institutions that have been provided by the government.

The Relationship between *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* with Community

As part of the community, *Dukun Suwuk*

and *Dukun Prewangan* cannot be separated from the other members of surrounding community. The communities around *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* include their neighbors, village officials, religious leaders and others. As Gus Busro explained, the relationship with the surrounding community is fine, although there is no doubt there are one or two people who do not like it. They feel unrivaled by the way Gus Busro helps patients without having to pay. Gus Busro states:

“All neighbors here welcome me well, there is no hate. Even if there is, in village, there are just one or two. However, they would not dare to directly express it. There are also some *Dukun*. When they meet my clients at the intersection, they asked, ‘where are you going?’, ‘to Gus Busro’. ‘alright, just go, with him you don’t have to pay. With me, you must pay’. But if they meet me, they don’t show any bad attitude. Only if we meet face to face, they don’t dare to stare. When we are confronted, their ability can be lost.

Bu Misriyati also admits that her relationship with the neighbors is fine too. Although some people may dislike and envy with what she does as *Dukun Suwuk*, it is not necessarily a problem because she will explain if there is any misunderstanding. Bu Misriyati also has good relationship with village officials and religious leaders as well. Mbah Misri as *Dukun Prewangan* says that there are people who do not like her such as LDII people. Their leaders do not allow them to ask for help from *Dukun* because they believe that we are misguided. Mbah Misri also states:

“...Kyai Mboro iku yo ora seneng karo aku jare wong-wong gak ngolehi neng Mbah Misri, gak bener, iku sesat. Saiki kene kan yo agamane okehe LDII. Nek aku kan pancen ora ngurusi. Sing rene yo panggah rene.”

“Kyai Mboro also does not like me. He says to people not to go to me. He thinks I am not right and misguided. Now, people are mostly LDII (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute). I do not really care.

If people want to come, they will come. (Misri / Mbah Misri, *Dukun Prewangan* of Sokomoro village, interview on 02.09.2016)

However, his relationship with the other communities in her surrounding is not bad. This is because her role in the community is still needed.

The Role of Healing and Non-healing

The existence of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* has its own role to society, especially for people who feel their presence. Every *Dukun* has a stake in the community because of their abilities.

One of the important roles that made Gus Busro as *Dukun Suwuk* is that he never discriminates someone if they need help, for example the case of patient who was rejected by hospitals in Jombang. Doctors claimed that medically, the patient did not have any problem, even they asked to take him to the mental hospital. The patient claimed that he could not move his body according to his will. His family finally brought him to Gus Busro. Gus Busro was assisted by his brother to carry out the healing process to the patient. Gus Busro explained that his body's stability was disturbed by something invincible. That is because he overthought his own problems. Moreover, his child always disobeyed rules and instruction and it made his heart and mind heated. Gus Busro also counseled his son who also accompanied him to obey his father. Even if what he said was not according to the wishes of his father, better still stayed quiet and did not fight.

Gus Busro also does not hesitate to disseminate his knowledge to others. It has been passed down from his teachers. His knowledge can be transmitted to others by *Bai'at* (inducted) in advance. *Bai'at* means that there is an agreement to be bound to each other as teacher and students as well as the intention to help each other in need. There are many people who are already inducted and become the disciples of Gus Busro. The writer had the chance to meet with a village chief in the Sumberejo Purwoasri District named Kasman. He was helped

by being cured from the disease and now becomes Gus Busro's student. He states:

"Now, I can heal myself and others, for example sore eyes must be treated by prayers and *suruh* leaves. The leaves must be boiled, until the water turns green and flush it to the eyes. Under God's blessing, they will be healed.

Although I am sitting here, my spirit could float everywhere. For instance, when you meet a person like me, do not be surprised, perhaps my blessing is with you. (Kasman, Gus Burso's student, interview on 02.04.2016)

Gus Busro has already played an important role for a lot people. To him, it is his obligation to help others.



Figure 2. The healing process performed by Gus Busro by praying and using mediator. Source: Ratih T. A. 2016

Bu Misriyati also has a big role for people who ask for help. Two of those people are Bu Binti and Bu Yaumi. Bu Binti is one pregnant patient from Mranggen-Purwoasri village. When the study was conducted in mid-March, her pregnancy had been more than eight months. Bu Binti's arrival to Bu Misriyati was to fix the position of baby by giving a massage on the stomach. Therefore, by the time she delivers the baby, it will be easier and smoother.

According to Bu Misriyati, when Bu Binti came about two weeks before, the baby was lying in a wrong position. However, the

fixing massage can only be performed when the pregnancy reaches eight months. After the massage, Bu Misriyati said that now the baby's position is right. Bu Binti said that she always comes to Bu Misriyati if there are health problems, both for her and her family. The treatments for her first until her second children are all handled by Bu Misriyati. Bu Binti relies on Bu Misriyati because she is trusted and proven effective. "kulo geh mpun percados ten meriki mbak kawit riyen. Nek kaleh obat-obat dokter niku malah mboten purun kulo. I have put my trust to her since long time ago. I don't even want to get the medicine from doctors."



Figure 3. Bu Binti, one of pregnant patients who comes to Bu Misriyati to fix wrong position of the baby inside the womb. Source: Ratih Tyas Arini 2016

Bu Misriyati has been trusted by a lot of people to do health care. There are already many people who ask for help and come to her house. The same case also happens to another *Dukun Prewangan* named Mbah Misri in her younger age. Mbah Misri often recalls her former glory as a *Dukun Prewangan*. Although now people who come to her are not as many as her young age, the memories of people who receive her help still remains, such as the story about her son-in-law named Pak Sumani.

The writer had an opportunity to interview Pak Sumani when he was at her house in Watugilik village, Plemahan District when he was about to hold a circumcision

ceremony for his son. Initially, Pak Sumani recalled that Bu Suminah, his wife, was inherited a protective talisman by Mbah Misri. Then the story was spread on his experience about being helped by his mother-in-law. When Pak Sumani was young, he had sickness. The sickness was indicated to be the influence of witchcraft from his rival. He tells:

"Jamanku enom mbiyen, nduk, loro-loro nen. Pas mbarepku jek cilik. Kerjo maleh angel, aku kan blantik. Pas arepe moro sesek, gagal, arep ono kerjaan meneh, loro. Sesek terus rasane dodoku. Terus karo mbok diobati. Mbiyen aku dikon adus kembang ngono tok iso waras wes ra tau sesek-sesek meneh. Jare pancen ono sing nggawe, nduk. Yo podo blantik'e mbiyen kan ngono kui saingan.

"when I was younger, I was always sick. When my first child was a boy, the work was so hard, I'm a broker (selling cows). When I wanted to go to work and got clients, I always felt sick and pain on my chest. So, I couldn't go. It kept happening. And, Mbah Misri treated my sickness. She asked me to simply shower using flowers and it was cured and never came back again. She said that the sickness was due to my rival witchcraft. Well, for people working in the same profession like a broker, we are rivals "(Sumani, the client of Mbah Misri, Watugilik, interview on 09.02.2016)

This phenomenon can be analyzed especially using the theory of liminality initiated by Victor Turner. The preliminary idea of Victor Turner is liminality on the social level of this stems from the theory of The Rites of Passage by Arnold Van Gennep. Gennep in his book, The Rites of Passage, discusses the initiation ceremony conducted by various people in welcoming the change cycle of the person (Sairin, 2002: 167). Liminality's Turner splits into three stages; pre-liminal phase, liminal stage and post liminal stage.

One thing that can happen in human life is being sick. When sick, someone is out from their role in society and normal view. That is how community's treatment toward

someone who is considered ill. When people are in their normal condition before the illness, they are in pre-liminal phase, in which they are within the community structure, role and according to the norms prevailing in society and treated as usual. The transition of phase from pre liminal stage to the liminal stage is known from certain symptoms indicating that “there is something wrong” in such individuals. For instance, when there is a feeling of discomfort and complaints as an early sign of disease emergence.

And someone is said to enter the liminal stage when they are sick. This liminal stage is the stage in which the sick person experiences an ambiguous situation. Victor Turner depicts the state as a “room”. Two spaces are limited by the closed door. Liminal is the doorstep, meaning that it is not here nor there. Not in a single room nor in the other room, not inside nor outside. People who are sick no longer hold and follow both the structure and norms as before. Such condition at this point can be defined as a condition of “ambiguous”, where the physical state of the body intact and show any traits in plain view which is similar to normal people in general. However, on the other hand, a sick person cannot perform activities such as healthy people in general. There is a perceived disruption in the body forcing them stuck in the ambiguous conditions.

This ambiguous condition is certainly not a nice thing and disruptive to the continuity of community life. Because when sick, people are not only disrupted their body physically or spiritually but also socially. This is important because physical and spiritual conditions are necessary for running someone’s role in society. Therefore, people are trying to find a solution to be healed by asking for helps from others that can be counted to do the healing. The search for a cure for AIDS is a form of ritual in the community. One of them is by approaching *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* in Kediri Regency. This is why the role of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* is very essential for society. They help the community as a means of solution and free them from li-

mental condition.

The last stage is post liminal, which means reunification. For people who are sick, post liminal can lead to all sorts of things. People who are sick can be cured from their illness and return to the people interaction and play their role like in the past. There will be more attention from people, not like when they start moving to the pre-liminal stage.

Patient selection toward *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*

Dukun Suwuk and *Dukun Prewangan* are selected by patients based on several considerations, mostly based on trust or confidence. Some others make the selection based on desperation and wanting to make a shortcut. There are also people who make the choice because it has been a habit. Those are the reasons why people choose *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*.

The methods of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* are clearly different and the public also knows it. Communities have criteria in choosing their *Dukun*. They will not choose *Dukun* without knowing how significant their methods can work.

Choosing *Dukun Suwuk*

Dukun Suwuk is known for their power in addressing the prayers for streamlining the affairs of human beings with their goals. *Dukun Suwuk* believe that anything could happen based on the will of Allah Ta’ala.

As one of the servants who are close to God and have the key prayers, it is their obligation and responsibility to help others in need. This is what makes many patients choose *Dukun Suwuk*. Many patients with Islamic religious background and good education background come to *Dukun Suwuk* because it is still religiously and generally acceptable. For them, nothing is wrong with coming to *Dukun Suwuk* to ask for help because they use prayers and believe that God’s power will help their goals smoother. People who come to *Dukun Suwuk*, let alone that already a customer, would not want to come to another *Dukun* with different methods. It is caused by differences in confidence in the

source of the strength of *Dukun*. This is told by one of the patients Gus Busro named Pak Ahmad Toha.

“When I get sick, I always come to him. For casual medical checkup, it can be performed by a doctor. However, for curing process, it must be with Gus. My son’s fever also lasts in days, three days. So I ask him to come with me.

With Gus Busro, the healing uses prayers, not *Prewangan* (supernatural beings). With *Prewangan*, I always refuse. Although my religious level is mediocre, but I know that. Gus Busro only tells us to do fasting and a lot of charity.” (Ahmad Toha, patient, interview on 09.02.2016)

Bu Yaumi as one loyal customer of Bu Misriyati says that she and Bu Misriyati already have found a connection within the treatment. Such compatibility is irreplaceable. Bu Yaumi has already become a loyal customer to the service Bu Misriyati since 2003’s. She tells:

“I choose to go to *mak’e* (Bu Misriyati) because there is a match. Bu Misri’s got a gift. Ever since my father went here to be cured, I was also young, in 2003’s. We’re also connected especially because my father was from Pesing.

I am a regular patient for massage. It also has been our second meeting for us since we met in Bu Misri’s house last time, right? I think I feel that I am pregnant again. Bu Misri predicts that I even could still have three other children, you know.”



Figure 4. Bu Yaumi (middle) with her daughter meet Bu Misriyati to be cured. Source: Ratih Tyas Arini 2016

Thank God that if something goes wrong, I can always recover. Yes, indeed, we ask all the grace to God, but it can be through Bu Misri as mediator ...she has a special gift...” (Yaumi, a client of Bu Misriyati, a resident of Sono-Papar village, interview on February 20, 2016)

Choosing *Dukun Prewangan*

Meeting *Dukun Prewangan* to ask for help is an option. Mbah Misri as *Dukun Prewangan* is very open to the presence of anyone at her house, for any purpose. One client named Bu Sopiya came to her house when the writer was there too. Bu Sopiya did not have any objection to be interviewed and she provided an explanation why she came to Mbah Misri. Bu Sopiya assumed that Mbah Misri could solve the problem being faced by her son children who were working in Bogor. Her son complained that his money’s boss was often lost with him although he never took the money.



Figure 5. Mbah Misri with Bu Sopiya. Source: Ratih Tyas Arini 2016

Bu Sopiya’s reason to believe that Mbah Misri can solve these problems is because she simply considers Mbah Misri is able to. “Mbah Misri is well-known to help solving such problems.” Bu Sopiya is one of the loyal customers who still uses the services of Mbah Misri. Over time, the quantity of customers who come to Mbah Misri decreased. In addition to the impact

of modernization, the influence of religious purification movement around the residence of Mbah Misri also contributes to make that change.

Currently, in the village where Mbah Misri is settled, the spread of LDII Moslems is intensively increasing. As a result, many residents join the group. LDII carries out this kind of religious purification movement by inviting people into the group and instill their existing beliefs. The purification of religion itself is a purification of religious teachings that according to the believers, religion should be returned to its nature. Life must be based on values that are considered true to religious orders and realign things that are considered to deviate from religion. One deviation of religion according LDII is to ask for help from *Dukun*, as stated by LDII leaders in the region. As delivered by Mbah Misri in an interview, she said that the leaders of LDII prohibits people from visiting *Dukun* because they are not appropriate and according to the religious teachings.

The selection of patients to the practice of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* can be examined more deeply by using rational choice theory which was initiated by James S. Coleman. The focus of rational choice theory is on the actors.

An actor is seen to have a choice or value and has a purpose to choose. That means, the actor who has a purpose will focus on the efforts to achieve such purposes. The theory of rational choice ignores the choice or the source selection actor, what is important is the fact that the actions are taken to achieve the objectives corresponding to the level of the actor's choice. (Upe, 2010: 193).

Rational choice theory leads to two things, namely actors and resources. Resources are things that can be controlled by the actor. Patients who choose to do the healing on *Dukun Suwuk* are positioned as an actor, while the treatment of *Dukun* is one of many existing resources. Patients can freely choose the treatment from *Dukun* to achieve their desired goal. The goal, of course, refers to the completion of the problems that is owned by the patient.

For people who choose healing treatment from *Dukun*, the methods of working and all the elements dealing with *Dukun* is considered rational and can be trusted completely. Rationality and the confidence come from significant result that has been done by those *Dukun*. The proofs can be a result of the treatment process, the benefits derived by the patient and conformity between expectation and reality felt by patients. For example, Bu Yaumi always comes to Bu Misriyati when seeking treatment. The reasons for Bu Yaumi to come to Bu Misriyati is because she believes that both of them has the connection.

In Javanese language, the term is *cog-cogogan* "being fit to each other" because compatibility is very influential in healing with the help of a *Dukun*. As said by Geetz in Atik Triratwati (2014), "Among all factors of the patient's recovery, the factor of compatibility (*cog-cogogan*) becomes the most determining factor in traditional treatment". Triratwati Atik et al (2014) states "There was a couple who where both suffering severe illness and the came to have his treathment. The wife recovered but her husband did not. This case means that healing deals with compatibility which means it can be suitable for someone but not for others.

CONCLUSION

Healing abilities possessed by a *Dukun Suwuk* is an ability that is learned and obtained through learning from the experts. While the ability possessed by a *Dukun Prewangan* is obtained from the descendants. *Prewangan* beings can be passed from generation to generation. This *Prewangan* is what becomes the source of ability for a *Dukun Prewangan*.

The healing process and solving problems performed by *Dukun Suwuk* uses prayers as a key source of power. In addition, it can also be assisted by various means of media including a variety of plants, spices, salt, sugar and others. And the *Dukun Prewangan* uses the help of supernatural beings or *Prewangan* who become their partners to cure or resolve the problem.

Dukun Suwuk and *Dukun Prewangan*

have the role in society which is still ongoing today, despite having to deal with modernization and the movement of religious purification. Modernization does not eliminate the important role of *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*. This is because there are a lot of things that cannot be addressed and resolved by a doctor or institution but they can be overcome by a *Dukun*. In addition, the movement of purification of religion by certain religious sects has different impacts to *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan*. For *Dukun Suwuk*, religious purification movement has a little impact on its presence in the community because they are using the core method of prayer and sources of power that are believed to be originated from God. For *Dukun Prewangan*, its existence has declined due to the influence of religious purification movement that occurs in areas, where what they do is considered as a deviation from the teachings of religion.

The selection of patients who come to *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* is not based on random consideration. They have strong reasons and criteria to determine which *Dukun* that would help them. The healing treatment performed by *Dukun Suwuk* and *Dukun Prewangan* is one soluti-

on to be free from the ambiguous conditions of liminal stage. Therefore, choosing to go to a *Dukun* is a rational choice for each patient.

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