

NEWSLETTER

The Silent Majority: Dukun Role in the Nineteenth Century Netherlands Indie

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Throughout the history of Indonesia medicine history, the role of traditional health service played an important role in helping society when handling disease. Although modern health technology has developed to the considerable level, some people still believe cultural treatment when come up with symptoms. These treatments, somehow, involve the role of dukun as a cultural doctor who can cure many diseases.

In the nineteenth century Nusantara, there is still existing belief system of dukun knowledge when treating symptoms as a

cultural doctor, although Western health knowledge had developed to some degree. This belief is strongly related with the religion and world views from the local society of Nusantara. The belief system determine how disease should be dealt. In the other words, although patient showing symptoms, if society did not believe the symptoms as a disease, there will be no action taken, vice versa. Therefore, health system in this period will be determined by faith. (Hesselink: 2011)

Although health is developed, to some extent, the modern period witnessed dukun role and mythical health treatment. Some of the modern group people still believe that certain symptoms cannot be cured by only sensible medical knowledge. Faith in dukun somehow still become a common sense in the twentieth century. In some areas, dukun play an important role to help the childbirth and cultural curing. For example, in North Maluku, 56.7% childbirth in these areas was handled by dukun in 2007. The rate showing

high level of faith to the dukun. In 2009, an emerge of Ponari to cure every disease from East Java became a strong implication of the way people believe mystical medication, although there was no scientific proof on how Ponari's treatment can help to give medication. (Irfan: 2013)

These facts can be traced back to the nineteenth century Nusantara, while the Nederland Colonies still governed the land. Some sources explained that dukun play important role before the modern medical system took place. Having some discussions of dukun, here we will try to explain the role of dukun in the flow of history of Nederland Indies in early twentieth century.

What is Dukun?

Currently, the terminology of dukun is related to health and magic. Retrieved from National Dictionary of Indonesian Language, dukun is the person who cure, and chant spells. (KBBI: 2022) Different with current definition, in twentieth century, dukun is

well known for their role to help childbirth process (English-Malay Dictionary: 1921). From these two sources, comparing two results, dukun description in both era have different term, although the definition still not clear with relying only with these sources.

To explain dukun clearly, Clifford Geertz work should be relevant to describe their definition in cultural and historical perspective. Based on Geertz explanation on his *Religion of Java*, dukun, in some way, have their own expertise. Geertz introduced dukun from the medical one to magical one, although, in some extent, he mentioned that dukun is strongly related with social faith with magic. Chanting and contemplating are becoming common for dukun when handle their consumers.

Their knowledge is also interesting to be discussed. Geertz mentioned that many dukun inherit their knowledge and skill to their descendants. Other source supports this statement, for example, J. Kreemer

mentioned that dukun bayi in the end of nineteenth century passed her knowledge to their children or grandchildren when she passed away. Afterwards, they develop their expertise by personal experience from time to time. (J. Kreemer: 1927)

By this way, from one dukun to another might have each development differently based on their background. One dukun with strong animism background tend to enhance their expertise by contemplating, meditating or fasting in specific time based on their faith. Meanwhile, dukun

with strong syncretistic Islam background used Qur'anic verses to cure patient and improve their knowledge by consuming certain verses that believed can improve certain skill. Both of these dukun group similarly believe by wide range of society to cure the diseases or deal with other requests.

Dukun Role in early twentieth century

Looking at the role of dukun in twentieth century, it will be strongly relied on the facts that the lack of health knowledge in the time. Therefore, referring the theory of

Lisbeth Hesselink, health market concept will be relevant to talk about the history of dukun discourse. While many diseases were still unclear in the time context, there is no doctor and patient but rather customer and supplier of health. We can consider dukun as the supplier of health market and the customer was all inhabitants of archipelago. Therefore, this relied with supply and demand, where there was a necessities of health service, dukun took place as the supplying party.

With this situation, dukun played an important role in health instead of other area, although they also exist in other aspects. By these facts, it is relevant to say that dukun in twentieth century is an important health figure that configured health system in Nederlandsch Indie before scientific knowledge was becoming popular, although there was no definite number of dukun in this period.

Dukun, along the history of Indonesia, is not an official profession. It means, no matter how many dukun exists, until



Pictures 1. A Dukun was preparing a drink in Java (Collectie Museum Tropen).

now, the number cannot be traced. But even without real calculation numbers of dukun, many sources mentioned their role in twentieth century, referring to what so called silent majority because most people believe in them, but their existence tend realize in faith instead of official documents. Hesselink quoted Colonial Report that in 1884 there are 11.000 workforce in Java, although we cannot determine how many dukun were existed in the mentioned period. She also mentioned that this profession had many roles in society, especially relating to health.

Based on Hesselink explanation, dukun in the end of nineteenth century supply health service by providing body message to their customer, applying circumcision for boy and girl and cure bone fracture traditionally and also help childbirth process, not to mention that they can also decide good days to conduct wedding or ceremony, finding missing items and even conducting magical spells. Having these roles, dukun sometimes paid by money,

goods or exchange with other services. It was mentioned that some group can make a living by playing a role as a dukun, while some other group of dukun need to support their financial condition by farming. (Hesselink: 2011)

Outside their financial, lied as well their reputation. From this perspective, dukun in nineteenth century cannot be separated from their reputation over inhabitants and European. While for the first group, inhabitants concept of health dealt strongly with their faith either from animism or religion. Therefore, most of inhabitants, can consider one condition as diseases or not based on their faith. Therefore, in nineteenth century, dukun reputation over the inhabitants cannot be traced. However, referring to the mid twentieth century, we can traced some of the reputable statement from Geertz work. From his work, he stated that many dukun patient in East Java was from far area instead of their neighbourhood. (Geertz: 1976) Meanwhile, we found another opinion

regarding dukun from European in nineteenth century.

From European perspective, there were positive and negative opinion about dukun, although the last was more dominant. Pyhsician Waitz witness how dukun diagnose their patient by his own eyes and saw how dukun can give the remedies from their collection. Hesselink mentioned Greiner who claimed that Javanese dukun had really high expertise when treating patient with tendons, vessels and nerves. Greiner argue that there were hardly dukun that could treat eye diseases. While some European admitted the dukun expertise in messaging and concocting herbal medicine, most of them also argued that dukun knowledge about anatomy and human body functions were improper. (Hesselink: 2011) The other negative opinion emphasize the involvement of magic which believed to be nonsense by European. For example, Kreemer disbelief by dukun claim that they can predict the pregnancy



Pictures 2. A dukun was massaging a patient (Collectie Museumtropen)

after 8 to 14 days after fertilization with exact belief by looking at sign of blue around one's eyes and hips widening. European did believe this as nonlogical because in their knowledge, pregnancy cannot be determined in such an early stage. With all these controversies, dukun was indeed existed and played an important role to provide health service even until now in some part of the area.

Conclusion

The role of dukun in Nederlandsch Indie can be traced by looking at the

the history of health. Although both definition and their number in nineteenth century cannot be traced clearly, by applying supply and demand perspective dukun played their role as supplier of health service, while inhabitants as their customers. How health being defined triggered dukun popularity among the society. In most places of Nederlandsch Indie, the inhabitants determine the health by religious and supranatural view. While some symptoms occurred but without concession of

society whether it is a diseases, they did not consider it as an illness. Supported by this condition dukun had the role to help society cure their illness or even did something more than just to treat diseases. By having this role, their reputation was well known both by indigenous people of Nederlandsch Indie as well as the European. Both party had positive and sceptical argument about dukun in Nineteenth century.

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Natural Tourism in Bandung 1925 - 1942

Danil Kasputra



Pictures 3. A Crater of Tangkuban Perahu Mount in Bandung

The emerging of Bandoeng Vooruit in 1925 marked a turning point in the development of natural tourism in Bandung, for it provided a modern tourism management by building of road, hotel, promotion, etc. As result, it was during the period from 1925 to 1942 Bandung enjoyed prestige as one of most important destination in the colonial Netherlands Indies Empire, when thousands of Europeans Japanese and Australians tourists flown heavily to spend them days in the foggy and green mountains.

This article examines the development of natural

Tourism in Bandung from 1925 until 1942 following the collapse of the colonial Netherland Indies Empire in 1942. When Dai Nippon troops marched into Bandung, the center of empire, it was ending three hundreds and fifth years the horrible Dutch occupation. To understand how the natural tourism in Bandung rose and developed. We will explore these questions: (1) What Visiting Before Tourism gave a root on tourism, and what consequence came of its for the advance of Bandung natural tourism in tomorrow

(2) How did the development of natural tourism in Bandung as long as seventeen years from 1925 - 1942?

Visiting Before Tourism

West Java, before twentieth century, was unimaginable area due to its unaccessible. It was occurred because of its own mountains and hills mounted between limpid rivers as well as black swamps to separate the region from outside world. No wonder, the name Priangan

was attributed which refers to remote and mountainous lands. Besides, the southern lands of Priangan almost uninhabited. According to one interpretation, the lands in the region had become wild and uninhabited. This recalled the social disruption following the fall and eventual destruction of the pre-colonial Hindu state of Pajajaran.[1]

But in the end of sixteenth centuries, the world of West Java gradually changed in consequence of foreigner expeditions. It was a starting point in the natural tourism. And The Portuguese was pioneer. Although for next centuries, Dutch take control them role and it played important role in performance. The first adventurer of Portuguese visiting West Java was Joao de Barros In 1522. When he took part in a Portuguese Expedition under Henrique Leme sent by Jorge de Albuquerque, "Kapitan Malaca" for commercial. Expedition had succeeded to reach Sunda which was welcomed by Samiam, the King of Sunda.[2] When the fleet was at anchor in the port of Sunda. Barros immediately adventured to explor the part of North Coast of West Java. In adventure, Barros zealously made the narration of West Java condition including custom, geographies, society, etc,

Yet, Barros explored the part of North Coast of West Java and he hardly ever visited the interior of hilliness and mountainous West Java. After the advent of Barros, there were many Portuguese landed in West Java. But same as Barros, they

preferred to explore the Northern Coast of West Java. However, for centuries the Southern part of West Java was still an unimaginable and forgotten area.

In 1677 when Mataram as the ruler of West Java was more and more weak, the region was transferred to VOC. But this did not changed condition. West Java only that the Northern Coast of West Java was still considered to be unavailable. Apparently, Dutch designedly forgot the region. For the lack of initiative knew to be further. Dutch only made the region as buffer state between two great power, the Sultanate of Banten which was still courageous on Western and on Eastern, the Sultanate of Mataram was more and more become old. But when Batavia was more and more stuffy, VOC began looking the interior of West Java as a solution. Some of Expeditions was sent. The first expedition was begun when Francois Valentijn, a VOC priest visited the interior of West Java. That was the early visit of Europeans to the interior of West Java. For years later, Valentijn narrated him experience by a book, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* in 1724.[4] Stories of Valentijn many described the statistic populations and geographical condition of West Java Interior. In narration, Valentijn phrased *desa desa*

laid on Krawang river.

One hundred years after the adventure of Valentijn, the other illustrations of West Java interior, we found from the story of Charles Walter Kinloch or Bengal Civilian, a British visiting interior of West Java in 1852.[5] Kinloch narrated playfully him experience day in day out for ten days which made him narration to be more attractive than the predecessor, Valentijn who rigid. Kinloch described that Bandung was a beautiful place although it was not as wide as Cianjur. Its cold air and climate remembered him on the city of Montpellier in France. Kinloch enjoyed him travel. In visited places, he made lithographies which was one of Masjid Agung Bandung lithography. Kinloch wrote all of it with so delighting. Yet sometimes he was forget to call visited place names so that reader was ever so often made to be confused. Though him description was so detail. As example, the description about waterfall in Bandung,

The Birth of Bandoeng Vooruit

The adventurism narrations of Barros, Valentijn, and Kinloch had changed wild and frighten shadow of West Java interior replaced by a wonderful imagination of exotic West Java interior. Its beautiful lakes, green and foggy mountains and hills, and limpid rivers were

completely mentioned the trade commodities including spices in the archipelago, although the description is not the whole picture.

Other cartography works were also found. This work was created in the same year by a Portuguese captain named Franceco Rodrigues. He described the map and condition of the archipelago in a letter he sent to Afonso de Albuquerque, a Portuguese shipping leader who later succeeded in establishing his first hegemony in Asia. Thus, these two works are believed to be the initial supporting sources that will change and shape the world, especially to the archipelago, in the next century.

The Age of Exploration and Exploitation

With the discovery of two works that inform the eastern world, the road to the land of spices was widely opened. As we know, the Portuguese, at the beginning of the 16th century were the first powers that managed to reach Asia, especially India, they actually intended to control the trade and monopolize the spices there. The reason was that the commodities they had clearly could not compete with others. So they decided had a warfare and present themselves as the most powerful force. This event has been described by Ricklefs through his work, that:

“...In 1497, Vasco da Gama arrived in India. But the Portuguese soon learned that the merchandise they wanted to sell could not compete on the

presented in their narration. Interested by those exotic narration, since the late nineteenth centuries thousands of Europeans flooded the West Java interior. They tried to prove the truth of Barros, Valentijn, Kinloch, by created myths. For the region, those floods of Europeans was extremely beneficial. And as if those benefits was more and more beneficial, when the railway, the Groote Post Weg, and telegraph network was built in the end of nineteenth centuries. As time passes, those floods of Europeans was more and more uncontrollable. This brought upon a problem. In 1925, a group of Dutch took an initiative by the building of tourism managing organization, Bandoeng Vooruit.

Started with this birth of Bandoeng Vooruit, West Java interior in particular Bandoeng changed from the remote and wild area towards the most

modern tourism area of Netherlands Indies. His birth became a limit line between visiting before tourism and the activity of modern tourism. Made no to magnify the role of Bandoeng Vooruit, other organizations also played role in tourism activities although them activities was not as large as Bandoeng Vooruit.

To manage tourism activities, tens of tourism packets to West Java interior was presented by Bandoeng Vooruit. And the tourism packet of Gunung Tangkuban Perahu dan Gunung Papadayan was favorite. Coincide with the offers of tourism packets, the picture of limpid Patenggang lakes, cool Citarum rivers, Burangrang green mountains, the sound of Dago waterfalls as well as Manglayang foggy hills was published in the tourism guide and tourism magazine. To give a comfort for tourist, all of those tourism spot was

equipped with ways of being covered with asphalt, and comfortable hotels. As the consequence of it, the story of West Java wild and frightening interior was barely heard. On the contrary in that time, its natural beautifulness and coolness was many mentioned.

The activities of modern tourism 1925 – 1942

Promotions

To be so lucky for West Java, Bandung Vooruit was exactly established when West Java in particular Bandung was bed of down for Europeans. Its pleasantness was not only as a settlement but also as a promising tourism destination. For some of people, this was absolutely a beneficial business. Pioneered with the tourism guide book, *Ons Java* published by Nederland en Rotterdamsche Llyod in 1920s, tens of tourism guide book were on the scene. Bandoeng The Mountain City of Netherlands Indies (1925), *Gids van Bandoeng en Midden Priangan*, *Gids van Bandoeng en Midden Priangan* (1925), *Tourist Notes* (1934).

From week to week until year to year, West Java with its foggy and green mountains reaching into sky as well as the sound of waterfall cleaving the solitude and limpid lakes embellished with water lilies colored page by page those tourism guide books. No different with performed pictures, created narrations was written to be truly wonderful. When reader had dissolved in those hammock of narrations, narration will bring

readers on a curious feeling. As a proof from Bandoeng The Mountain City of Netherlands Indies we take example about a description of Citarik Waterfall,

A very beautiful waterfall which can be reached entirely by motor car is that of the Tjitarik. This is reached by driving to Tjilengka for which one hour is necessary. On arriving at the aloon aloon one turns left after which the road climbs steadily until the tea estate “Sindangswangi” is reached. After having driven for half an hour an before reaches this estate, a shelter is to be seen from where a beautiful view of the waterfall can be obtained. It is here also possible to descend to the foot of the fal[7]

When tourism guide books offered a promising business, on the contrary, the government looked on the other opportunity. Pulled by the increasing demand of post card, it stimulated the government on a creative promotion. That creative promotion tried to perform the nature of fascinating West Java as the background of post card, where dense mountains and beautiful lakes still become the primadona. No wonder, at short notice, the thousands of post cards had published in 1930.[8]

Accomodations

Stimulated by promotions succeesly to interest the visit of tourist to

to West Java. Hundreds of accomodation spots immediately was built scattering around tourism natural spots in the green and foggy Priangan Plateau. Those accomodations included extravagant, comfortable, and fascinating hotels and Pesanggrahans that laid on the limpid watering lakes. At end of nineteenth centuries until the early of twentieth centuries, when a smell of intoxicating sulphur on the side of legendary Kawah Putih and a bulk of up-side down boat resembling high and fertile soil which was named Gunung Tangkuban Parahu by Sundanese, was so interesting for Europeans, the number of hotels quickly increased as fast as the advance of this plateau.

At heart of Daendels dreamed city and exactly on side of muddy river of Citarum as well as stood before legendary way of Groote Post-Weg, Savoy Homan and Preanger was existed. Until mid-twentieth centuries, both hotels take possession of first rank hotels in colonial Netherlands-Indies Empire. It provided modern, extraordinary and luxurious service. When Europeans flooded the plateau of cold Bandung, both hotels was wrested by them.[9] Not far from classic Savoy Homanan and Preangers hotel laid on around the heart of Bandung, there were Wihelmina, Societiet Concordia, and Du Pavillon. They were middles-



Pictures 4. A crater in Papandayan Mount (KITLV)

lass hotels pale beside
with Homann and Preanger.[10]

No different with Savoy
Homann and Preanger in luxury
and comfort, Villa Isola
performed itself as most
luxurious and modern hotel in
this area. When whole side of
Bandung were still as dark as the
other interior, the light of blazing
lamps of musical performance as
well as ball room dance and the
musical performance able to
bright those darkness.
Unsuspected by those light of
lamps, a hundred of American
tourist visited it.[11] Meanwhile
laid on the plateau of cold and
white foggy Lembang, outspread
along the road toward the
harmoniously Tangkuban
Perahu, Hotels, Bungalows, and
Passangrahan that providing a
sight of beautiful and green
mountain was fragmented
there.[12]

Not left behind Dutch
comfortable and luxurious
Hotels, Chinese communities
built a dozen of hotels scattered
across the hot and musty Pasar

Baru, dusty Kebon
Jati until the curve rising road
of Gardu Jati. At least there
are 22 chinese hotels. It was
not as luxurious as and as
comfortable as than
Europeans hotel. But can be
proud that their hotels able to
compete with luxurious
Europeans hotel.

The Place of Tourism

The century since
Kinloch had made his notes,
the natural tourism of
Bandung had interested the
attention of heterogeneous
European. The unique and
exotic form of green
Tangkuban Perahu and the
side of engagingly and limpid
Patennggang Talaga had been
legendary in the European
eye. Yet those attention was
immediately disappeared
when the steep and rock
slopes of hills and mountain,
black swamps, and horrible
dense forest scattered along
the Priangan plateau.

Unimaginable
previously in the future this
horrible area would be fated
to be one of foremost natural
tourism destination in the
colonial Netherlands Indies
Empire. In the mid-second
decade of twentieth centuries,
the story changed as dramatic
as a telenovela cinema.
Preceded by the build of
Bandoeng Vooruit by
beautiful Tangkuban Perahu
toward road means, Natural
Tourism objects experienced
a golden age where era will
never come back in tomorrow
days.

With a horde of
limpid and quiet lakes, as well
as a range of green and white
foggy hills and mountains
together with the hot and
steaming craters, the South
Bandung provided an eye
cooling sight. There were
kawah putih with a smell of
intoxicating sulphur which
was residing a white ghost of
tiger in native legends. As
beautiful as Kawah Putih
more or less 50 km from the
heart of mountainous city,
Bandung, slipped between
the green carpet of tea
plantation, Talaga Pategang
performed shown face before
the Ciwidey muddy road. Not
far away from it, a bulk of old
mount Patuha, stand on the
height of less 1500 meter
above the sea level.

Not different with
the Southern Bandung area, a
range of unique and fabulous
mountain interacted each
other. Lead by the mysterious
mount of Tangkuban Perahu,

Burangrang mount, Dago hill followed behind. Inadequate with those mysterious mounts, the sound Curug Layung of water flew in a small stream to be very interesting for tourist or adventurer. Additionally exact below it, warming up and cooling down, the bathing place of Tjipanas provided a warming place in the cold mountainous air.

In the end of Eastern Bandung not as interesting as Southern Bandung and Northern Bandung, stretching along the legendary "Groote Post Weg" and standing before the old Sumedang and exotic Garut, the old and short hill of Manglayang was a pleasing place for ascent. Even as long as 1936, its peak was ascended by tourist hundreds.[13]

Close resemblance as exotic as natural tourism spots of Southern and Northern Bandung, scattered along the dusty limestone and laid before the Daendels dreamed road, Groote-Postweg, the Western Bandung was still as beautiful as when Kinloch had been visited 75 years ago. There are the landscape of remote and hilly Curug Malela in the wild Gunung Halu interior. It was rounded by the green and fragrant tea plantation. In same area as far west as from Curug Malela, less than 1 km from De Groote Postweg, hidden between mysterious caves, here Sanghyang Tikoro slipped. Legends mentioned that this was point where the old Bandung lakes broken down since less than thousands years ago.

Tourists

They had sighted the city when they were still far out at road. A green stain stretching out across the horizon of the Priangan Plateau. Over the course of the morning, a range of mountains rearing inland under banks of creamy cloud, and a strip of slope under an infinite rank of larch. Eventually, the train entered into railway station. As the tourists reached down from wagon and embarked on the first travel after a day at train. One of tourists looked out on the scene, noting its detail in his formidable memory. He was M Mcmilan, a Britania Tourist. [1 4]

By the time before the M Mcmilan arrival the Bandung had interested attention since the early nineteenth century. Forged of a strip of European done visits and adventures, it had swiftly been known by strange tourists. Year by year, they spilled out from its Australian, European, and Japanese wellspring, flooding the Tangkuban Perahu mount and the Talaga Patengan, seeping up into the Curug Malela, leaching across Papandayan Mount.

Its peak in the period of 1925 until 1942, when thousands men had come lumbering the hilly and mountainous Bandung from the multi-ethnic backgrounds included the Japanese who slant eyed, blue eyed and high

postured Europeans, the mixed race Indo-Europeans until a number of native aristocrats.

Conclusion

Started by the curiosity about a mysterious land stretching from west to east, laid behind the old and tropical Batavia, and well walled firmly by a range of foggy and creamy clouding mountain and hills, and its below flowing swiftly as swiftly as cobble stone following it, tens adventurer bravely penetrated into the land. They did not realized that their adventure would bring on a great consequence in tomorrow. When legendary stories able to change that mysterious land into one of foremost natural tourism destination in the colonial Netherlands Indies empire. Undoubtedly even more important was the stories of natural tourism spot up as a .

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that wild, uninhabited, and horrific Bandung immediately was replaced by its limpid rivers and lakes as well as exotic craters. Soon after those legendary stories swiftly spilled out from its Bandung wellspring, filling the Dutch and other Europeans mind, seeping up into Japanese ears, leaching across into American, finally, Bandung was flooded by foreign tourist coming as fast as those legendary stories into their ears.

By the dawn of the early twentieth Bandung was undergoing a formidable change in complexion, when a group Dutch created one of the most influential organization in the History of Netherlands Indies, Bandoeng Vooruit. Natural tourism spot from Bandung had been finding their way into one of main tourism destination in colony or the world. Pulled by extended promotions as well as hotels, and passanggrahan that scattered between beautiful tourism spots along with the flooding visits, within a decade since Bandoeng Vooruit establishment in 1925, Bandung had been set up as a modest destination of tourism.

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