



# Traditional Bone-Setting Practices of Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage in Indonesian Culture

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## Abstract

Traditional bone-setting practices of Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage are imbued with substantial cultural and therapeutic significance within Indonesian society. This study endeavours to elucidate traditional healing methods, delineate the therapeutic techniques and processes entailed, and investigate the interplay between indigenous knowledge and digital integration in contemporary times. Employing a qualitative research methodology, specifically the "Anthropology of Experience", this anthropological approach seeks to comprehend experiences, realities, cultural expressions, and individual perspectives within distinct cultural milieus. This inquiry delves into the modalities through which individuals perceive, comprehend, and ascribe meaning to their life experiences. The findings of the research were subjected to holistic analysis, focusing on an in-depth understanding of individual experiences and their nexus with broader cultural dimensions. The investigation discerned essential similarities and disparities in the traditional medicinal practices of Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage, covering elements such as therapeutic arenas, treatment methodologies, ethno-medicine, and related promotional channels. Moreover, the swift progression of technology and information dissemination has been observed to exert a favourable influence on the conservation endeavours of traditional medicine. This research contributes to the cataloguing and safeguarding the traditional medicinal practices in Indonesian culture, accentuating the importance of natural resources and local wisdom in healthcare, providing comprehensive insights into Indonesian traditional medicine, and nurturing a continuum for future generations to connect with their ancestral heritage.

**Keywords:** Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak, Haji Naim Massage, traditional bone-setting, anthropology of experience, local wisdom

## Introduction

Traditional medicine practices, also known as alternative or spiritual medicine, have been integral to Indonesia's cultural heritage for centuries. These healing methods encompass a variety of techniques, including herbal medicine, traditional massage therapy, reflexology, and the services of spiritual or paranormal practitioners, often referred to as shamans. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), as cited by Nursilah (2016), traditional medicine comprises knowledge, skills, and practices based on the theories, beliefs, and experiences of different cultures. Yuliarti (2022) asserts that the World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes traditional medicine as crucial for health maintenance, prevention, diagnosis, improvement, and treatment of both physical and mental illnesses. This view aligns with WHO's perspective on the significance of traditional medicine, as highlighted by Yuliarti (2022), who notes that these methods are typically passed down through generations by Indonesian ancestors. Yuliarti (2022) further emphasizes the essential role of traditional medicine in fulfilling the healthcare needs of Indonesians, particularly in rural areas with limited access to modern medical facilities. Additionally, Yuliarti (2022) explains that the transmission of knowledge about traditional medicine occurs not only orally but also through writings on palm leaves. These leaves feature medicinal recipes and healing techniques for various ailments, as seen

in texts such as Lontar Taru Premana, Lontar Buddha Kecapi, Lontar Usada Netra, Lontar Usada Rare, and Lontar Kanda Pat.

From long ago until today, Indonesia's cultural heritage, epitomized by traditional medicine, endures and continues to receive preservation efforts. In the contemporary era, characterized by advanced technology and a wealth of information, traditional medicine practices experience both unique advantages and challenges. The pervasive influence of the internet touches nearly all facets of life, including the conservation of traditional medicinal practices. Technological advancements and internet proliferation have rapidly augmented the popularity of traditional medicine, expeditiously reintroducing it to a wide demographic. Multimedia representations of medical practices, often perceived as taboo in modern society, have catapulted traditional medicine into prominence, leading to widespread recognition in the digital realm (Prabayanti, Sari, & Emmanuel, 2020). An exemplary case is that of Ponari, a youth from Kedungsari Hamlet, Balongsari Village, Megaluh District, Jombang Regency, East Java. This nine-year-old purportedly obtained a "magic stone" subsequent to a lightning strike (Sasanti, 2013). He garnered attention for purportedly treating various ailments using ghoib stones immersed in drinking water presented by patients (Prabayanti, Sari, & Emmanuel, 2020). Additionally, this individual, colloquially known

as the “Little Shaman” instituted a fee of Rp5.000,00 per consultation. Sasanti (2013) also elucidates that Ponari’s recognition of the stone’s alleged healing properties transpired upon its application in treating his ill neighbour, who reportedly experienced immediate recovery. Consequently, Ponari has been labelled as “Dukun Cilik” (Little Shaman). However, scepticism surrounds the efficacy of this treatment, with a notable absence of empirical evidence to substantiate any causal link between the stones, the infused water, and the amelioration of patients’ conditions (Sasanti, 2013). Furthermore, Mbok Legi or Mukaromah, in a discourse with DetikNews (16/12/2015), observed a marked decline in Ponari’s clientele, indicating sporadic or virtually non-existent consultations.

Beyond the case of Ponari, the years 2019-2020 witnessed a viral phenomenon centering around Ningsih Tinampi from Pasuruan, East Java. She is renowned for her ability to treat various ailments. A critical distinction between Ponari and Ningsih Tinampi resides in their purported supernatural abilities, cultural backgrounds, and spiritual practices. Ponari is acclaimed for his skill in healing with stones, whereas Ningsih Tinampi is more deeply engaged in spiritual practices and communication with spirits. Ningsih Tinampi professes possession of the esoteric knowledge of Al Fatihah for treating diverse illnesses,

including those suspected to be related to witchcraft. Her prominence surged, particularly after she utilized technological advancements, exemplified by uploading videos of her patient treatments to her YouTube channel. This channel, under her name, amassed over 1.3 million followers in 2019, escalating to 3.54 million followers by 2024. Additionally, Ningsih Tinampi’s claim of being able to summon prophets, apostles, and angels has sparked considerable controversy. This assertion was captured in a video, subsequently disseminated and becoming viral on social media platforms. However, the viral attention surrounding Ponari and Ningsih Tinampi was ephemeral, attributed to shifts in public interest and priorities over time. Scepticism and controversies regarding individuals’ claims of supernatural healing abilities can significantly impact their popularity and public perception.

This viral trend underscores the heightened popularity and attention that the broader community bestows upon alternative medicine, particularly those modalities disseminated through digital platforms and social media. Nevertheless, such viral phenomena are transient and prone to being eclipsed by emerging news. The viral status of these treatments at a certain point did not cement their perpetual presence in Indonesian society. Viral hashtags associated with traditional medicine typically garner only ephemeral

attention and enthusiasm, diminishing as time progresses. In contrast, certain traditional medicine practitioners have sustained long-term community interest, such as Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak, active since 2021, and Haji Naim Massage operational since the 1960s. These practitioners revered for their bone-healing expertise have remained relevant, largely due to the perceived efficacy of their services by numerous individuals. Distinct from Ponari and Ningsih Tinampi, Haji Naim and Madame Ida Dayak employ massage techniques deemed more rational to the public. Their practice involves specialized manoeuvres targeted at the affected bone areas, intended to facilitate bone recovery.

Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak is renowned for her proficiency in treating a variety of bone ailments, ranging from sprains and realigning misaligned bones to alleviating nerve compression and stroke-related pain. During her healing sessions, Madame Ida Dayak typically dons traditional Dayak attire and incorporates music and dance. Her treatment involves the application of oil to affected areas of the patient's body, accompanied by massage and the recitation of Tawhid (monotheism) phrases. Ruslan (2023), in his research entitled *Analysis of Tafsīr Al-Ahkām of Community Assessment Controversy in Ida Dayak Traditional Medicine* explores the relationship between the interpretation of Al-Hakam and Madame Ida Dayak's treatments. This study, conducted

through a literature review, utilized books, articles, and online sources for data acquisition. The findings indicate that, from an Islamic perspective, Madame Ida Dayak's treatments do not involve shirk (idolatry) elements and are deemed religiously permissible. The healing outcomes are attributed to the efforts of Madame Ida Dayak and her patients. The uniqueness of Madame Ida Dayak's technique is evident in her dance movements, which not only serve a therapeutic purpose but also entertain the patients. Furthermore, Madame Ida Dayak incorporates the invocation of Allah's name, saying Bismillah in alignment with Islamic teachings, and acknowledges Allah as the supreme healer.

Haji Naim is a practitioner who has mastered the art of fracture massage, a discipline originating from Cimande in West Java, an area renowned for its martial arts and traditional fracture treatments. He is among the numerous experts in fracture massage found across various regions of Indonesia, possessing the inherited knowledge that has been passed down through generations, a testament to the rich cultural heritage of Cimande. Haji Naim's fracture healing process commences with reciting prayers, accompanied by the application of a special type of massage oil. This oil, a family recipe containing secret spices, is infused with verses from the Quran. The practice of these prayers is believed to expedite patient recovery. Following the prayers, this oil is applied to the

affected area. The masseur then proceeds to massage the impacted body part. Subsequently, the treatment involves strategically pressing oblique bones to facilitate the process of realignment. After this manipulation, the affected area is securely bandaged. Additionally, the masseur provides dietary recommendations, listing foods to be avoided and those beneficial for the healing process.

Zakaria, Mahzuni, and Septiani (2019) conducted an investigation into the factors contributing to the widespread popularity of traditional bone disease treatments in west Java. This research aimed to discern the reasons behind the public's inclination towards alternative treatments. The study also further explored the local wisdom employed by therapists specializing in bone diseases, examining the traditional knowledge and techniques utilized in their practice. The findings of this study indicated that alternative medicine for bone diseases enjoys considerable popularity, attributable to its demonstrated efficacy, practicality, economic benefits, and the integration of local wisdom in patient management. Notably, these treatments are often not merely alternatives but the primary choice for many individuals. The study underscores the imperative of preserving and methodologically systematizing local wisdom for the benefit of future generations. Additionally, it highlighted the significance of digitalization in the archival process and in promoting local

wisdom, ensuring that future generations remain connected with their cultural heritage.

Ethnic groups in Indonesia, including Sunda and Dayak, exhibit distinct traditional medicine practices, underscoring the necessity of tailoring healthcare strategies to accommodate cultural diversity. Abdullah et al.'s (2023) study, "Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Role of Traditional Medicine in Health Access in Indonesia," elucidates the continued prevalence of traditional medicine, particularly among specific ethnic communities. The study reveals that cultural beliefs significantly influence the decision-making process in seeking treatment, indicated by many Indonesians opting for traditional medicine due to factors such as affordability, cultural alignment, scepticism towards modern medicine, and geographical barriers to accessing modern medical facilities. Notably, populations with lower socioeconomic status are more inclined to utilize traditional medicine and concurrently encounter restricted access to contemporary health services. Moreover, the study explores prospective approaches to integrating traditional medicine within broader health systems, referencing successful models from nations like China and India. By acknowledging cultural nuances, health policies fostering a harmonious coexistence of traditional and modern medical practices could substantially enhance healthcare accessibility across Indonesia.

This research endeavours to delve into the realm of traditional medicine within Indonesian culture, specifically examining the bone medicine practices of Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage. Adopting an anthropological perspective, the research aims to dissect the origins, methodologies, and practitioner roles within these traditional practices. It further seeks to elucidate the challenges and opportunities these practices encounter in the context of contemporary Indonesian society, as well as their engagement with digitalization through platforms like social media and YouTube. The digitalization process emerges as a modern tactic potentially beneficial for both economic and cultural spheres. Digitalization serves as an innovative means of campaigning and preserving ancestral heritage for future generations. Thus, this study posits that cultural heritage can sustain its relevance and continuity amidst strong religious influences and the swift advancements in information technology and digitalization.

### Anthropology of Experience

Our experience constitutes the emergence of reality within our thoughts and feelings. The act of narrating a life story entails an attempt to articulate our experiences, though there are instances where language fails to adequately capture or represent the profundity of these experiences and their correspondence to the manifestation of reality in our consciousness as

illustrated in the elements below:

1. Life as an experience (Reality): Life encompasses entities existing in the world unmediated by our comprehension. As we evolve, we discern a distinction between our direct experiences and our interpretations of these experiences. This concept envelops all external realities, irrespective of their nature.

2. The story of life told (Experience): Our experience is how reality arises in our thoughts and feelings. Telling a life story involves trying to express what we are experiencing, although sometimes words cannot fully describe or words are unable to represent the depth of experience and relate to how reality presents itself in consciousness.

3. Expression, as a means of self-articulation, highlights the modalities through which we process and communicate our experiences to the wider world. This prompts inquiry into the mechanisms by which individual experiences are framed and articulated. Moreover, the manner in which experiences are expressed, vocalized, and manifested - through various avenues such as rituals, religious ceremonies, parades, murals, and traditional medicine - extends beyond individual articulation to encompass collective expressions of groups. These forms of expression represent a rich tapestry of both individual and communal experiences.

Cultural expression is inherently dynamic and intrinsically linked to social activities. It

emerges from social contexts, involving tangible interactions among people within specific cultural and historical settings. The interplay between reality, experience, and expression manifests as a nexus of hope and possibility. Reality grounds itself in objective facts, while experience entails periods of reflexivity, leading to the mind's self-awareness and subsequent expression through performance, objectification, or textual forms. Approaching cultural studies through the lens of expression is advantageous, as it anchors the analysis in the experiential realities established by individuals. Expression encompasses the articulation, formulation, and representation of personal experiences. Despite the existential complexity making expressions a challenging starting point, they are often accessible and distinct, marked by defined beginnings and endings. Expressions not only constitute units of meaning but also periods of heightened societal activity, during which prevailing assumptions and values are most susceptible to scrutiny and reassessment. It is through actualized experiences that expression is born, and through cultural expression that we, human both live and seek to understand the significance of our existence. The constructs of reality, experience, and expression contribute to the formation of the 'individual', encompassing the discernment and comprehension of worldly phenomena, the perception of reality in thoughts and feelings, and the methods by which individual's process and communicate their

experiences. This study will regard traditional medicine, particularly the practices of Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage, as a form of cultural expression.

### **Exploring Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak Journey of Treatment**

Ida Indriyani, known more prominently as Madame Ida Dayak, is a figure of some controversy in the realm of traditional Indonesian medicine. Originating from Pasir Belengkong, Paser Regency, East Kalimantan, and born on July 3, 1972, she is recognized for her unique approach to patient treatment. Her methodology, particularly in bone treatment, involves a distinctive combination of oil application, prayer, and accompanied by the Dayak tribal dance, as noted by Ruslan (2023). Prior to initiating treatment, Madame Ida Dayak performs a dance imbued with spiritual significance. Moreover, the incorporation of basmallah words is a critical element of her healing rituals, wherein these sacred utterances are believed to open channels of positive energy and infuse the medicinal process with blessings. Madame Ida Dayak's practices are underpinned by her belief in Allah as the divine healer. This synthesis of dance movements and basmallah recitations constitutes a therapeutic process that engages both physical and spiritual dimensions, mirroring the rich cultural heritage and traditional convictions of the Dayak community.

Madame Ida Dayak achieved significant media attention, notably for her treatment session at GOR Divif 1 Kostrad, Cilodong, Depok City, West Java, on April 3-4, 2023, which drew a considerable number of individuals seeking healing. Her treatment scope is quite varied, addressing ailments such as bone misalignments, pinched nerves, speech difficulties, etc., while utilizing solely her proprietary Bintang oil, priced at Rp. 50,000, and eschewing other equipment. Additionally, Madame Ida Dayak manages a YouTube channel, "Adventurer Ibu Dayak" (<https://www.youtube.com/@petualangibudayak/videos>), created on February 27, 2023. As at the date of this study, @petualangibudayak's channel

had accumulated 345 thousand subscribers, encompassing 234 videos with over 63,726,614 views. These videos showcase segments of Madame Ida Dayak's medical practices. Her engagement with YouTube demonstrates an effective use of technology in digitally archiving and promoting her treatments. This exemplifies the positive influence of technology, particularly digitalization, in preserving and advocating local wisdom as cultural heritage. Conversely, the presence of Madame Ida Dayak's YouTube channel may also be driven by economic incentives, potentially linked to revenue generation through the platform's affiliate program.

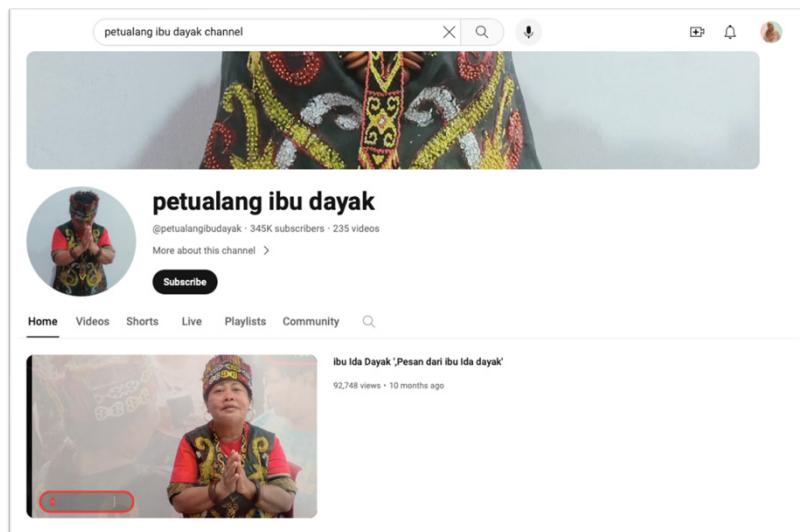


Figure 1 Madame Ida Dayak 's YouTube official account.



Figure 2 Traditional bone-setting practices from Madame Ida Dayak's YouTube official account.

Madame Ida Dayak's medical practice exhibits a distinctiveness that has garnered widespread attention in the mass media, not only within Indonesia but also across various Asian countries. A notable aspect of her practice is the incorporation of traditional Dayak attire. This choice transcends mere clothing; it represents a means of promoting and celebrating Dayak cultural heritage. Singarimbun (1991) elucidates that 'Dayak' serves as a collective term for numerous indigenous tribes in Kalimantan. Commonly, individuals identified with the Dayak ethnic group are residents of Kalimantan's hinterlands and adhere to Islam. The Dayak community is characterized by a rich diversity, encompassing varied tribal affiliations, cultural traditions, religious practices, and ethnic identities. The employment of traditional Dayak attire by Madame Ida Dayak has ignited a renewed interest among Indonesians, fostering

a deeper exploration and understanding of the Dayak tribe's cultural heritage.

#### **The Family-owned Fracture Health House of Haji Naim**

Haji Naim was a renowned expert in the field of traditional bone setting in Indonesia. He passed away in 1981. Currently, the family-owned Clinic of Haji Naim is managed by his descendants. They operate an official YouTube channel titled "Haji Naim Official." The channel's description elucidates its focus on the realm of traditional health, presenting professionally crafted content that provides insights into services and alternative healing solutions pertinent to the Indonesian community. This traditional medicine includes a variety of treatments for broken bones, dislocations, repositioning, sprains, stiff blood vessels/muscles/joints, and other types of fractures.

Additionally, the channel elucidates certain dietary restrictions during the treatment period, advising against the consumption of chicken, goat meat, cob fish, shrimp, milkfish, durian, bananas, pineapple, jackfruit, iced drinks, alcoholic beverages, salted eggs, instant noodles, and similar foods. Since its inception on August 25, 2021, "Haji Naim Official" has garnered 17.1 thousand subscribers and amassed over 1.3 million views through 226 uploaded videos.

Besides maintaining a YouTube channel for promotional purposes, Haji Naim also operates the "Haji Naim Fracture Health House/Haji Naim Center" This facility is located at Jl. M.P.R III Dalam No.2e, RT.05/RW.13, Cilandak Bar., Cilandak District, South Jakarta City, DKI

Jakarta 12430. A digital map reference for the location can be accessed at <https://maps.app.goo.gl/24pehuwQmdjAjPcV8>.

Haji Tamrin, SH. MH, a descendant of Haji Naim and a holder of a Master of Law degree, is committed to serving many patients every day. Beyond his expertise in massage therapy, Haji Tamrin is involved in various professional roles, including the practice of law and serving as a civil servant at the Ministry of Health. His portfolio includes serving as the Chairman of the Legal Committee at Fatmawati Hospital. However, his main dedication lies in honouring Haji Naim's legacy through the continued practice of massage. For Haji Tamrin, the drive behind his work is not only for personal gain, but also for the broader purpose of benefiting others.

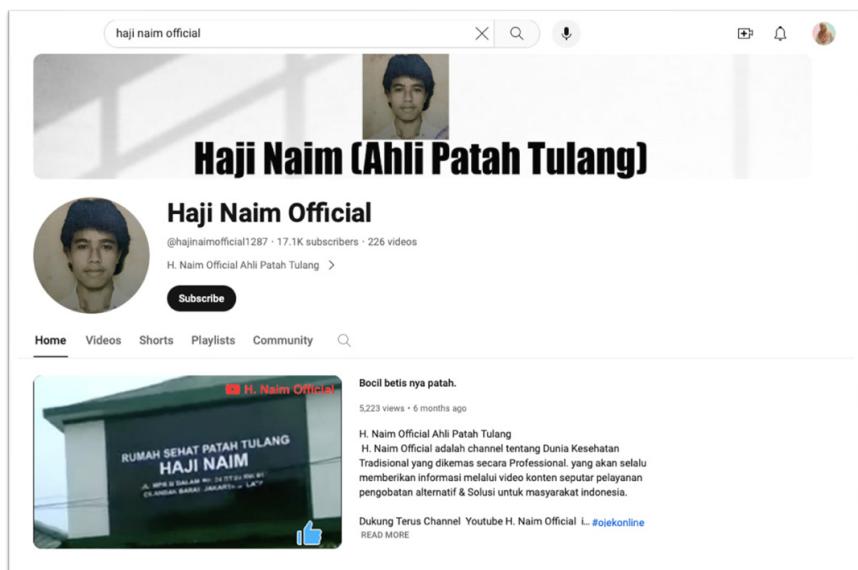


Figure 3 Haji Naim's YouTube official account.



**Figure 4** Facilities of Haji Naim Fracture Health House from Muhamad Jamil's YouTube official account.

During the treatment, a patient presenting with hand bone issues underwent a massage by a traditional practitioner. The technique employed is solely applying the Cimande massage oil to the affected area, while eschewing the use of any supplemental equipment. Notably, a significant transformation

was observed in the alignment of the hand bones, which were initially misaligned. The alignment procedure involved covering the area with multiple layers of tissue. Upon concluding the massage, the tissues were removed, and the hand was subsequently bandaged, supplemented by the application of a hand brace.



**Figure 5** Traditional bone-setting of Haji Tamrin, SH. MH. Excerpt from Haji Naim's YouTube official account.

### The Mystical Ethnomedicine

Ethnomedicine, particularly in the context of massage oil, involves the application of specialized oils or blends as therapeutic agents within traditional medical frameworks, predominantly employed by shamans or customary massage therapists. These massage oils are typically formulated with an array of natural components, reputed for their restorative or soothing properties in the context of massage therapy. Beyond the tangible physiological advantages, these oils often encompass spiritual or ritualistic dimensions within medical practices. Consequently, their utilization extends beyond mere physical remediation, intertwining with spiritual beliefs and practices.

#### 1. Bintang: The Mystical Oil of Dayak



Figure 6 Bintang Oil, from Tribun Timur's YouTube official account.

This oil is commonly referred to as “magic oil” or “rare oil” attributed to the challenges associated with locating the authentic producers of Bintang Oil. Such difficulties arise not only from the scarcity of complex ingredients but also

from the requisite lineage connection to the original creators of Bintang Oil. Moreover, the production process entails the blending of special potions, which are believed to be imbued with supernatural attributes. The designation Bintang Oil derives from its unique power-replenishing procedure, which, besides involving specific materials, also entails harnessing the energy of starlight. Typically, the prepared oil is exposed to star rays while special mantras or prayers are recited. Traditionally, as narrated by the elders, the creation of Bintang Oil is conducted on Friday nights, coinciding with the brightest appearance of the stars.

In 2015, Ghani conducted research on the use of Bintang Oil in treatments and its impacts toward patient confidence in traditional biomedical methods. Characterized as a treatment approach that challenges conventional understanding, Bintang Oil is claimed to offer rapid healing for conditions such as bone fractures. Predominant in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, this practice combines unique herbs with what are believed to be supernatural aspects. The crafting of Bintang Oil is unconventional, involving complex components and ritualistic practices. Known for its quick healing properties for fractures and major injuries, Bintang Oil remains a popular choice in the region. Its enduring appeal, despite the progress in biomedical technology, is linked to its cultural relevance and the

practitioners' unique way of communicating.

Ghani (2015) provides a scholarly analysis of 'Health Anthropology' by Foster and Anderson, highlighting that the Personalistic perspective in the text associates the onset of illness with the actions of an active agent. This entity can manifest in various forms, including the non-humanistic elements (such as ghosts, spirits, ancestors, or malevolent entities) or humanistic element (such as witches or sorcerers). However, this paradigm experiences a nuanced shift when examining patients who undergo Bintang Oil treatments. These individuals do not ascribe their illnesses to either microbial agents or supernatural beings. Nevertheless, they uphold a belief in an enigmatic force that, they perceive, augments their recovery process and transcending conventional scientific understanding.

#### 1. Cimande: The Mystical Oil of Sunda Ethnic



Figure 7 Cimande Oil, from tvOneNews YouTube official account.

Haji Naim, the father of thirteen, successfully passed his massage expertise to twelve of his children. This transmission of skills was a gradual process, given Haji Naim's retirement from active massaging. The exception was his eldest child, who chose not to pursue massage training. The massage techniques utilized by Haji Naim are notably distinct, going beyond mere pressing or squeezing of affected areas. Despite the uniqueness of these techniques, they can still result in discomfort. Originally, Naim's expertise was rooted in his training in Cimande martial arts, a discipline that extends beyond the realm of physical combat to encompass the science of massage. Naim's instruction in both martial arts and massage therapy was under the tutelage of Kyai Hasbullah, a respected elder of the Cimande.

The traditional medicine of Cimande incorporates two fundamental components: the Sharia element and the essence element. The Sharia component is integral to the medical practice, focusing on an in-depth understanding of human skeletal and nervous systems, crucial for addressing conditions such as fractures. In contrast, the essence aspect encompasses a spiritual dimension, involving ritualistic prayers conducted before, during, and after the therapeutic process. Patients are also encouraged to participate in these prayers. Cimande's therapeutic techniques comprise of sequencing methods and the massaging of specific nerve points. Notably, in fracture cases,

a rehabilitation phase is initiated after eight weeks to stabilize and rejuvenate non-functioning nerves during the initial treatment. The final stage involves therapy aimed at restoring normal bodily functions.

Bahri and Darmawan (2019) observe that traditional Cimande medicine attributes the healing of ailments such as sprains, tendons, fractures, gout, and minor strokes to divine intervention. A unique aspect of Cimande's alternative treatment is the use of Cimande Oil, produced exclusively by the Cimande community. This oil, characterized by its simple yet ritualistic production process, is crafted annually on the night of the 14th of Mawlid. The preparation during this ritual ensures a year's supply of the oil. The constituents of Cimande oil include sugarcane, green coconut, and sesame oil.

#### Challenges and Opportunities of Traditional Bone-Setting Practices in Indonesia

A primary obstacle confronting traditional medicine practitioners, often termed shamans, is the prevalent stigmatization within segments of the population favouring modern medical methodologies. This stigmatization stems from perceptions of traditional medicine as mystical or insufficiently scientific, which hampers its broader acceptance. Traditional medical practices frequently operate in environments with minimal regulation, exacerbating challenges in acquiring legal recognition and protection, thereby fostering

uncertainty among practitioners. Moreover, there exists a notable challenge in establishing an equilibrium position between traditional and contemporary medical practices. The integration of policy and government endorsement remains crucial yet challenging, often complicating collaborative efforts between traditional practitioners and medical professionals. A significant impediment is the need for robust scientific evidence in validating the efficacy of traditional medicine. The dearth of rigorous scientific research contributes to scepticism regarding the safety and effectiveness of these practices.

Additionally, the transmission of traditional medical knowledge and skills to younger generations poses a significant challenge. The diminishing interest among the youth, who are increasingly influenced by modern popular culture, complicates the preservation of these cultural practices, particularly against the backdrop of globalization and modernization. In the realm of shamanistic practices, challenges to the credibility and abilities of shamans extend beyond mere paradigmatic differences. There are instances where certain individuals actively undermine the legitimacy of shamans' expertise. A notable example is the figure known as the Pesulap Merah, whose actual name is Marcel Radhival. According to Fernando and Suzy (2023), Pesulap Merah has publicly denounced the efficacy of shamanistic practices, asserting that none of these practices have yielded

successful outcomes. Consequently, he argues, there is no rational basis for belief in entities like jenglot or the practice of shamanism itself. Moreover, Pesulap Merah advocates for a shift in belief systems, urging Indonesians to place their faith solely in God, thereby rejecting shamanistic practices as fraudulent. He has gained considerable attention, particularly through social media channels, for his endeavours to expose and dismantle what he perceives as the illusions and deceptions inherent in shamanic rituals and magic.

In addition to the critiques posed by Pesulap Merah, traditional healing practices in Indonesia, such as those of Madame Ida Dayak, face scepticism from the medical community, particularly orthopaedists. A report from various Indonesian media outlets cites Dr. Omar Luthfi, SpOT (K) Spine., an orthopaedic specialist, who expresses reservations about Madame Ida Dayak's treatment methods. Dr. Omar differentiates traditional healing from medical treatment, emphasizing that the latter is grounded in years of research and scientific validation. Dr. Omar acknowledges Madame Ida Dayak's reported ability to realign crooked bones and hands, a feat that, he notes, remains inexplicable within the confines of scientific medicine. He also expresses concern regarding the pain observed during Madame Ida Dayak's treatment process. Moreover, Dr. Omar underscores the importance of considering other bodily structures in such

treatments. He points out that when bones are misaligned, muscles and veins also adjust accordingly; hence, any bone realignment process should ensure that it does not inadvertently cause harm to these interconnected structures.

The widespread recognition of Madame Ida Dayak in Indonesian mass media has unfortunately led to a proliferation of fraudulent activities exploiting her name. These scams include: 1) Registration Fee Scams: Individuals falsely representing Madame Ida Dayak's practice have been soliciting registration fees for securing queue numbers. These fraudsters disseminate misinformation about fictitious practice locations across various Indonesian cities. Victims are coerced into paying amounts ranging from Rp250.000,00 to Rp500.000,00, only to find the provided contact numbers unreachable post-transaction. 2) Sale of Counterfeit Bintang Oil: Perpetrators have been marketing fake Bintang Oil, a known medium in Madame Ida Dayak's treatment, on various online platforms. These sellers falsely claim affiliation with Madame Ida Dayak's family. 3) Impersonation of Assistants: Some individuals have been fraudulently claiming to be the assistants in managing Madame Ida Dayak's treatment schedule. In response to these scams, Madame Ida Dayak has issued clarifications through her YouTube channel and social media platforms. She asserts that her treatments do not involve any administrative fees, emphasizing that her services are offered

free of charge. Furthermore, Madame Ida Dayak clarifies that her Bintang Oil is not sold online and is only available for purchase offline during her practice sessions. Additionally, she confirms

that her practice does not involve any assistants and is managed solely by her, her husband, and one companion.

**Table 1** The Comparative Challenges of Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim

No.	Madame Ida Dayak's Challenge	Haji Naim's Challenge
1.	The presence of Pesulap Merah, who reduces the truth about the skills of shamans, including the skills possessed by Madame Ida Dayak.	Collaboration with doctors and orthopaedic specialists is very important to ensure a comprehensive approach in treating fractures, thereby not posing additional risks to the patient.
2.	Although many people need treatment for free or at a voluntary cost, as Madame Ida Dayak does not set a tariff for her treatments, the lack of supporting facilities and an administrative system in her practice limits her ability to provide optimal service.	Maintaining the readiness of descendants to become therapists is a challenge in preserving the practice of Haji Naim's massage. Over time, this massage practice continues to adapt to changes in culture and the values of different generations.

One of the principal challenges confronting Haji Naim's Massage House is the engagement of younger generations, particularly in encouraging descendants to perpetuate the tradition as therapists within their massage enterprise. This practice is undergoing a gradual adaptation to align with the values and ethos of the contemporary generation, thereby fostering ongoing evolution. A robust partnership with medical practitioners and orthopaedic specialists constitutes a cornerstone for the prospective flourishing of Haji Naim's osteopathic therapy venture, guaranteeing that the treatments administered are both secure and comprehensive. The incorporation of digital

technology into their conventional methodologies represents a strategic manoeuvre, congruent with modern technological progressions. Through the application of digital tools, Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim have augmented the scope and impact of their practice, exposing broader demographics to traditional therapies and facilitating the widespread dissemination of their therapeutic expertise. The assimilation of digital technology does not only consolidates the relevance of traditional therapies in the contemporary context but also unveils novel economic prospects, including potential revenue streams from digital content on platforms such as YouTube and other social media channels.

Collectively, these strategies illustrate how the fusion of cultural legacy and technological innovation can culminate in a reciprocal and advantageous synergy.

#### Reality, Experience, and Cultural Expression in Traditional Bon-Setting Practices

The discourse on cultural expression is inherently linked with the constructs of reality and experience. In this context, traditional

medicine, exemplified by the practices of Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim's bone massage, epitomizes a profound form of cultural expression. These modalities extend beyond mere medical procedures; they are emblematic of ancestral heritage and embody local wisdom. The essence of this cultural expression is rooted in historical realities and experiences, which have shaped the evolution and presence of traditional medicine in society.

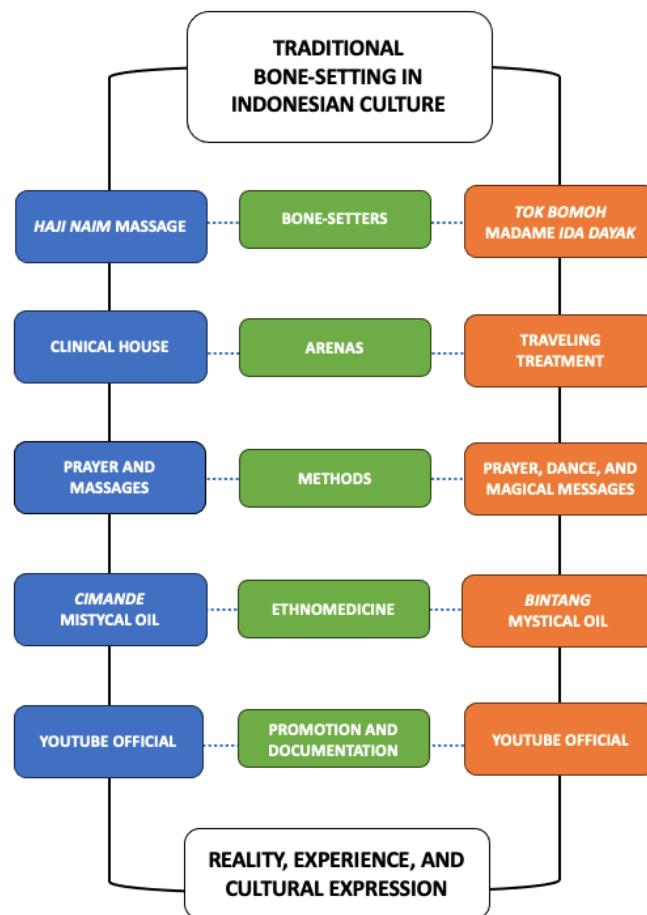


Figure 8 Reality, Experience, and culture expression Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage

Figure 8 explains the reality, experience and cultural expression in the case of Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage, described further as follows:

1. Reality of Traditional Bone-Setting Practices

a. Cultural Background: The practice of traditional medicine serves as a mirror to the inherent cultural fabric of a society. This fabric is woven from a variety of beliefs, principles, and customs that form the basis for indigenous healthcare approaches.

b. Heritage of Culture: Often, traditional medicine is an essential part of a community's ancestral heritage. The array of techniques, remedies, and ceremonies used reflect the historical journey and shared identity of the community.

2. Experience in Traditional Bone-Setting

a. Holistic Well-Being: The experiential aspect of traditional medicine frequently underscores a holistic approach to health. This extends beyond the mere treatment of physical ailments, encompassing mental, spiritual, and emotional wellness.

b. Community Involvement: Traditional medicine is characteristically a communal experience, transcending individual participation. These practices often foster community engagement, fortifying social bonds and communal solidarity.

3. Cultural Expression through Traditional Medicine

a. Language and Symbolism: The use of specific language and symbolism in traditional medicine is a pivotal form of cultural expression. Mantras, prayers, and unique symbols possess deep-rooted significance within the local cultural milieu.

b. Art and Intangible Heritage: Traditional medicine may incorporate unique arts and instruments, such as medicinal tools imbued with symbolic value or traditional arts that augment the therapeutic process.

c. Communal Acceptance and Belief: The widespread acceptance and adherence to traditional medicine within a community are often predicated on shared beliefs. This collective endorsement can influence the efficacy of treatments, potentially enhancing outcomes through psychological and spiritual impacts.

d. Spiritual Dimension in Traditional Medicine: Traditional medicine's practices and rituals frequently facilitate a connection between individuals and the spiritual or unseen realms, emphasizing the spiritual dimension's integral role in the healing experience.

### Conclusion

The research, Traditional Bone-Setting by Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak and Haji Naim Massage in Indonesian Culture offers a comprehensive examination of two indigenous Indonesian healing modalities. Employing an anthropological lens, the research delves into

how traditional medicine manifests as a cultural expression within the Indonesian context, drawing insights from the realities and experiences of the Indonesian populace. This inquiry underscores the methodologies, challenges, and potential prospects these practices encounter in a contemporary milieu. A notable challenge is the ongoing debate regarding the efficacy and safety of spiritual-based medicinal practices within the modern medical paradigm. Additionally, concerns about the preservation of these traditions in an increasingly globalized world are prevalent. The practice of Tok Bomoh Madame Ida Dayak is scrutinized, particularly in terms of treatment effectiveness, ranging from procedural aspects to the physical locales of practice. A significant hurdle for both these traditional medicinal forms is the waning interest among younger generations in learning and perpetuating these ancestral healing arts amidst

rapid modernization. Conversely, the study identifies emerging economic opportunities and avenues for digital cultural preservation. Both practices could harness technological innovation and adopt a more systematic promotional strategy to garner broader public interest. Furthermore, acknowledgment and support from governmental and health institutions are pivotal for the sustenance and evolution of these practices. The study emphasizes the criticality of safeguarding these traditional healing methods as integral components of Indonesia's cultural patrimony. It advocates for a harmonized integration of these practices into the broader healthcare framework. Additionally, the research explores the role of digitalization in both promoting and documenting these traditional techniques, ensuring their enduring relevance and transmission in the digital era. ●

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