



Specialization of Skills and Traditional Treatment Methods by *Namalo* in Batak Toba Community, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT Traditional medicine in the North Sumatera province of Indonesia is found in many rural areas. Traditional treatment by *Namalo* is known for using herbal medicines to treat internal diseases, as well as treating broken bones and conjured diseases. This paper will discuss the specialization of skills and traditional methods of treatment conducted by 12 *Namalo* practitioners in Toba Samosir and Humbang Hasundutan regency. The qualitative approach of in-depth interviews and participant observation of the *Namalo* was used to obtain the data. *Namalo* specialize in different treatment applications, depending on the illness or trauma suffered by the patient. In the process of treating patients, *Namalo* perform massage techniques on patients and then give a medicinal herb. There are 2 types of drug administration: either *Namalo* gathers medicinal plants and processes the plants, or secondly, the patient gathers the medicinal plants and processes them according to the instructions given by *Namalo*.

INTRODUCTION

Namalo is the term for traditional healers in Batak Toba community in North Sumatera Province, Indonesia. This traditional form of treatment has undergone several changes, especially the treatment techniques performed to cure the patient. These modifications occurred with the entry of Christianity into the Land of Batak (North Sumatera) and changed the mindset of people to trust God. Traditional treatments that had long relied on supernatural powers through a worship ceremony and ritual offerings were subsequently replaced with medicinal treatment using herbs and massage (Manurung et al. 2017; Ismail et al. 2019). Today traditional medicine competes with modern medicine. Although modern medicine has increased significantly in recent years, traditional medicine has not disappeared and has been united and in line with the development of people's lifestyles. Traditional medicine is still an alternative treatment for community (Sermisri 2018; Merriam and Muhamad 2013).

Currently, traditional medicine is starting to increase, especially in some countries. In 2005, the Department of Traditional Medicine Development and Alternative Medicine in Thailand

conducted a survey in 39 provinces in Thailand and found 3,075 traditional healers still performing traditional medicine. In 2006 the survey was conducted in 75 provinces and found 27,670 traditional healers (Suwankhong et al. 2011). South Africa has around 200,000 traditional healers and nearly 60 percent of the population has traditional medical consultations (Nene 2014). In Indonesia, since 2004 that number has been increasing drastically. According to records, about 72 percent of the population self-medicated, and 33 percent chose traditional medicine. Traditional medicine in Indonesia reached 280,000 people. In addition, the development of traditional medicine in Indonesia is supported by the discovery of 950 plants species which can cure diseases, from over 30,000 species of plants in Indonesia (Kamal 2017).

The results from the surveys above show that people still need the existence of traditional healers to get healthy. Traditional medicine and modern medicine have different concepts on the causes of "sickness" or "disease" and have different approaches in the methods of treatment performed. Traditional healers also link pain with cultural beliefs of religion, health and personal conflict (Gessler et al. 1995). In Tehuledere communities, North East Ethiopia the "causes" of ill-health were constructed and negotiated within the socio-cultural context of the study communities. Tehuledere communities explained that

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causes of ill health in three major themes: (i) supernatural (almighty God/Allah, nature spirits, and human agents of the supernatural) (ii) natural elements or physical causes: (iii) social elements such as mistrust, social support/ family dynamics as well as violation of taboos and moral injunctions (Kahissay et al. 2017). This was also mentioned by Gruca who conducted research in Sahara Africa. She further mentioned that traditional healers often apply divination and various rituals in order to understand the overall significance of a healing process and counteract its cause. As a consequence, traditional remedies are not merely used for curing a disease, but are also used to obtain protection or to overcome curses (Gruca et al. 2014).

Namalo play a role that is very important in the world of health, especially for people who are in rural areas. *Namalo* still have patients who always consult them about diseases. The exist-

ence of *Namalo* is not fully accepted by the community since supernatural powers are included by some *Namalo* in the process, but their treatment is an option for the community. The existing traditional medicine in the Batak Toba community conducted by a *Namalo* is discussed, including the division of *Namalo* according to ability and the treatment techniques performed by *Namalo* to help patients recover from illness. The extent to which *Namalo* uses rituals to cure illnesses of his patients will also be described so that *Namalo* maybe repositioned as traditional healers accepted by the general public.

METHODOLOGY

Research Locale

This research was conducted in two regencies located in North Sumatera Province (Fig. 1).

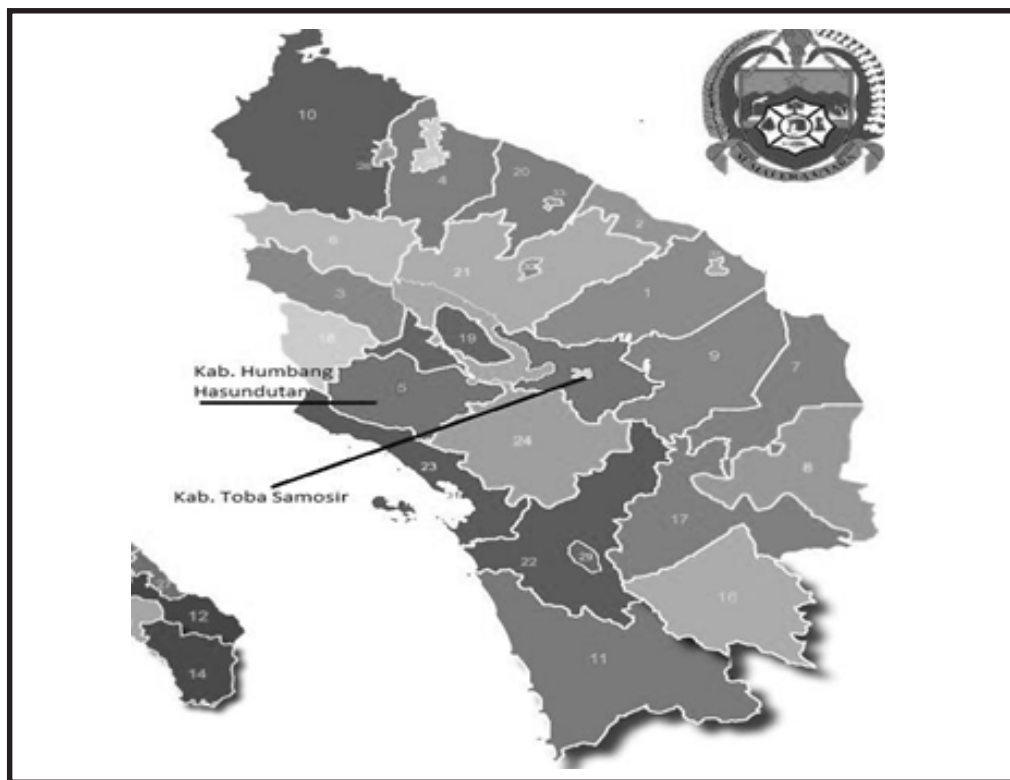


Fig. 1. Map of North Sumatera Province

Toba Samosir Regency and Humbang Hasundutan Regency became the selected locations for this study. These regencies were chosen because many traditional healers are still found whose knowledge and ability are renowned by the community. Both regencies are famous for their traditional healers; the majority of them are Protestant Christians and ethnic Batak Toba. According to people from this region, traditional healers are those who are able to cure diseases either with herbs, through certain ceremonies or rituals, and through other things that cannot be scientifically studied. In this study the traditional healers who became informants are those who perform treatment processes using medicinal herbs as the main medium of healing. More specifically, the location of this research was divided into several areas, namely: in three subdistrict locations, Uluan District, Laguboti District and Siantar Narumonda District in Toba Samosir Regency. Plus, one other location in District Lintong Nihuta, Humbang Hasundutan Regency consisting of two villages namely: Sigumpar Village and Sitolu Bahal Village.

Method

This research used a qualitative ethnographic approach which is description of society and natural phenomenon as it happens. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) stated that ethnography is an exploration of a phenomenon that naturally occurs and works with unstructured data, analyzing data through interpretation of the meanings addressed by respondents in the study (Rice and Douglas 2005). Ethnography also allows researchers to use a mix of methods, theories, data sources, and even data analysis through data triangulation.

Data collection was done by conducting in-depth interviews with *Namalo*. A draft interview was prepared by researchers to delve into the treatment methods used by *Namalo* to cure diseases; types of diseases that can be cured and herbs given to patients were inquired about in the interview. The findings in the field provided answers about the potential of “*Namalo*” in the Batak Toba community to continue their existence and the knowledge that they have. Data collection methods in the form of interviews were

carried out at the homes of *Namalo* which is where *Namalo* apply treatments. Interviews ranged from 1-2 hours because the interviews were done while the *Namalo* is doing the curing practice. During the interviews the researchers also observed the *Namalo* treatment room, the medicinal plants used by *Namalo*, the process of mixing medicinal plants, and the treatment process. By these activities researchers also experienced the process of treatment conducted by *Namalo*.

The major informants were those who consult *Namalo* and are being treated by using herbs. In addition to using purposive samples, snow-ball techniques were also used to find key informants in accordance with predefined criteria. This sampling method is a chain of sharing information so that someone who is likely to have characteristics appropriate to the research can be found (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). From the research location using purposive and snow-ball samples, 12 *Namalo* were found who had traditional herbal medicine ability.

RESULTS

Each traditional healer has different treatment modalities to cure his patients according to his or her knowledge. Some of the traditional healers in the Toba Batak community known as *Namalo* can be grouped into 3 areas according to their knowledge and treatment capabilities:

1. *Namalo* with the ability to cure internal diseases
2. *Namalo* with the ability to heal broken bones
3. *Namalo* with the ability to cure conjured disease (witchery)

The *Namalo* grouping above demonstrates the capabilities possessed by *Namalo* although in reality, these groupings do not limit *Namalo*'s ability to cure other types of diseases. Primary results show that *Namalo* who has the ability to cure internal diseases in general also has the ability to cure conjured diseases. These inflicted-by-others diseases (conjured) can also be cured by using herbal ingredients and have a treatment process that is not much different from the treatment for internal disease. *Namalo* who has the ability to treat broken bones only masters this treatment and usually does not have

the ability to cure internal diseases or conjured diseases.

Curing the patient's disease with their specialized ability provides its own satisfaction for *Namalo*. *Namalo* have no desire to learn other skills; *Namalo* wants only to develop his or her ability to cure various types of diseases experienced by patients. This is also related to early knowledge that the earliest treatment aptitudes held by *Namalo* were passed down through dreams of ancestors. *Namalo* only serve as traditional healers in accordance with the aptitude

given as a legacy. Patients who have recovered from the disease are the measure of treatment technique efficacy possessed by *Namalo*. *Namalo* has its own rules, one rule is, if *Namalo* does not have the ability to cure a patient's illness, then *Namalo* will retreat and declare his incompetence to the patient's family. From 12 *Namalo* involved in this research, their modalities can be described as given in Table 1.

Some internal diseases that can be cured by *Namalo* are cancer, ulcers, rheumatism, cholesterol, heart disease, fever, menstrual pain, myo-

Table 1: Specialization of diseases treatments by *Namalo*

Name of <i>Namalo</i>	Treatment capabilities			Prescription system
	Broken bones	Internal diseases	Conjured diseases	
<i>Namalo</i> 1		✓		Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .The patients are not charged at all, but the patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 2	✓			Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .The patients are not charged at all and pay voluntarily.
<i>Namalo</i> 3		✓	✓	Patients look for medicinal plants.Patients process the medicinal plants by themselves according to <i>Namalo</i> procedures.No charged fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 4	✓	✓		Patients receive medicinal plants herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .Patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 5		✓	✓	Patients provide some medicinal plants needed during treatment by themselves. Some materials such as patchouli oil is provided by <i>Namalo</i> .Patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 6		✓		Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .Patients are charged according to the type of disease.
<i>Namalo</i> 7		✓	✓	Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .Patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 8		✓	✓	Patients provide medicinal plants by themselves.The patients are not charged at all, and the patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 9	✓	✓		Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .The patients are not charged at all, and the patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 10		✓	✓	Patients look for medicinal plants needed by themselves.The patients are not charged at all, and the patients provide a voluntary treatment fee.
<i>Namalo</i> 11		✓		Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .Patients are charged with small fee for medicinal herbs.
<i>Namalo</i> 12		✓		Patients receive herbs from <i>Namalo</i> .Patients are charged for medicinal herbs according to fee specified beforehand.

Source: Depth Interview, 2017

pic eyes, kidney stones, coughs, paralysis, early childhood autism, epilepsy, and so on. *Namalo* with broken or fractured bones specialization can heal fractured or shifting bones and treat injuries resulting from accidents. *Namalo* with a specialization of conjured diseases is able to cure the illness of patients where the state of the patient's soul is disturbed by others through supernatural powers, and to cure existing diseases in the patient's body that cannot be categorized as an internal disease or bone-related disease.

Namalo's Method in Determining Disease

The initial stage in the treatment process is discerning the disease of the patient. When *Namalo* discovers the patient's disease, then *Namalo* can determine the next step that must be taken. Each *Namalo* has his own way of diagnosing the patient's illness. *Namalo's* way of determining the illness of his patients will be discussed below based on data obtained from patients and data from *Namalo* itself. The data show some ways that *Namalo* cure the patient: check on the facial features of the patient, use other media such as kaffir lime (*citrus hystrix*), betel leaf (*piper betle*) and eggs, observe the patient's physical condition, ask the patient's complaint, analyze the reaction of the potion, and ask how long the pain has been persisted. The method to determine the patient's illness conducted by *Namalo* is not much different from modern medical practice. Asking for patient complaints and the duration of the illness is commonly done by traditional healers and modern medical practitioners to know specifically the illness suffered by the patient. However, they use the aforementioned media like betel leaf in diagnosis process. As soon as *Namalo* hold the kaffir lime and betel leaf in their hands, they are able to figure out the illness. They can also give correct diagnosis by rubbing the eggs over the skin area of the patient.

Namalo who specialize in curing illnesses determine the patient's illness by the patient's facial features. In medical treatment this technique is also used sometimes but only at a preliminary stage to make a temporary diagnosis which will then be reinforced with the results of examination through other medical devices, so that the diagnosis can be accurate. Features such

as see face color, tongue color, lip conditions, pupil of the eye and so on are included. In traditional medicine facial reading is often used by *Namalo* to diagnose the patient's illness. Through facial features *Namalo* know complaints that are usually indicated by pain and the specific body parts of patients who experience pain. This technique helps *Namalo* to provide a treatment process in accordance with the illness suffered by the patient. The ability to determine the patient's illness through facial features is done by *Namalo* by first asking for help from God Almighty. *Namalo* pray to God in a special room wearing a white robe and eating betel leaves. After performing the prayer ritual, *Namalo* will see his patient and observe the patient's face to determine the illness that the patient suffers. Determining a patient's pain from facial features is also done throughout the world of medical health. This diagnosis is done by looking at the face line, lip color, cheek shape, and the area around the face that undergoes changes. When the body is unhealthy it will affect other body parts. The mouth, for example, can show the condition of the stomach. The lips show the condition of intestinal health and the stomach. Through this knowledge, a healer can determine the patient's illness easily. However, some not only diagnose a patient's illness from facial expression, but also take other actions to support the temporary diagnosis obtained so it can be trusted. Other actions can include examining the body parts of sick patients and asking the patients' complaints. Education on the technique of reading the disease by facial expression was originally known in traditional Chinese medicine. Treatment techniques with acupuncture make a healer able to read important points that exist throughout the human body.

In addition to the methods mentioned above, other methods used by *Namalo* are through the medium of kaffir lime. Patients are asked to bring a kaffir give it to the *Namalo*. Through this kaffir *Namalo* can know the type of disease suffered by the patient. Kaffir lime has a certain meaning for each tribe. For Batak Toba community, kaffir lime or the so-called *Utte Pangir* in the community is known as a symbol of cleanliness. Kaffir lime is usually used by the Batak Toba people to clean themselves by mixing the bath water with lime juice. Kaffir lime is also often used in wor-

ship ceremonies as offerings. In the traditional medicine kaffir lime is used to begin the treatment. *Namalo* also believe that this one fruit has the efficacy of healing the patient from the inside by drinking the juice of this fruit. The ability to determine the illness of patients by using these media is usually performed by *Namalo* with the specialization of internal disease and illness due to mystical things or conjured. In addition to using kaffir lime, other media commonly used by *Namalo* are chicken eggs and betel leaves. Through this medium *Namalo* can determine the patient's illness whether it is a natural disease that arises from organ damage or it is due to the actions of others who rely on mystical power to make others suffer. The technique of determining the disease by using this medium is usually used by *Namalo* with the ability to cure internal diseases and conjured illness.

Namalo's Method in Treating Disease

The way treatment is conducted depends on the type of illness suffered by the patient. Each traditional healer has a different way of doing the treatment process. In general, *Namalo* begins treatment by using massage techniques called *dappol* in Batak Toba. Massage technique or *dappol* has long been known in the life of the Batak Toba community. In daily life massage techniques are often used by common people themselves when they feel their bodies are unhealthy. However, not everyone can perform proper and efficacious massage. According to the Batak Toba community, not all hands own good *mandappol* skill, only the hands of certain people can heal the pain. *Namalo* have the ability to heal through massage techniques. *Namalo* have the ability and knowledge about the core points of the body which can reactivate body functions. Massage techniques are commonly used to help patients with internal diseases and broken bones. However, *Namalo* with this specialization have differences in their massage techniques. What distinguishes the massage technique lies in the medium that *Namalo* used in massaging the patient. *Namalo* specialized in internal disease use simpler herbs and only uses oil (patchouli oil, cooking oil, etc.) mixed with a few spices. *Namalo* specialized in broken bones

use a lot of spices and other herbs to restore a patient's broken or shifted bone.

In addition to method of treating the patient there are also several stages in the patient's treatment process. The stage of the treatment process is intended to analyze the treatment process undertaken by *Namalo*. The stage of treatment performed by *Namalo* for some healing process is done through the stage of praying to God. This stage is an early one conducted by *Namalo* before starting the treatment process. Through this stage *Namalo* asks God to help him or her in healing the patients. According to *Namalo* praying to God is a must do activity because without the help of God *Namalo* will not be able to heal the patient. But not all *Namalo* performs prayer or other rituals before curing the patient, because some of them consider the healing process itself as the ritual activity.

Namalo's Method in Processing and Using Medicine

Traditional medicine is known for its traditional and simple treatment methods. Traditional medicine can also be referred to as a treatment that uses potions from herbs or medicinal plants. In addition to having knowledge in determining the type of disease and how to treat the patient, other knowledge owned by traditional healers is medicinal plants. It is not an easy thing for someone to learn to mix drugs; in order to concoct drugs one must first know the anatomy of plants and the properties possessed by chosen plants. Besides having knowledge about medicinal plants, healers should also be able to provide the appropriate dose so that the drug can cure the disease.

Medicinal plants usually have a certain part that can be used as a medicine, for example only leaves, fruit, roots, seeds, or other parts. In general, medicinal plants are very easy to find and are located around the home environment. However, there are also some plants that are not easily obtained and usually grow in the forest. These plants are ultimately formulated in several ways to become a medicine. So, the medicine is a processed mixture of several medicinal plants that has the efficacy to cure a disease.

Not all plants can be used as medicinal herbs, some of which can even be toxic when there is a

mistake in processing. Therefore, it is necessary to know plants that are around us. There are also medicinal plants that can only be used as medicines when the plants are at a specific maturation, if it exceeds that point in time then plant has no efficacy. The ingredients used in a medicine are not only in the form of herbs from several types of plants, but also a mixture of some spices such as pepper, ginger, galangal, temulawak and so forth. The spice are usually mixed with medicinal plants; this mixture is then given to the patient.

There are several methods of processing or mixing the drugs performed by *Namalo* namely:

- a. Drying is done to reduce the water content in the plant so it can be nutritious. One plant usually dried is God's Crown (*phaleriamacrocarpa*). Dried plants are usually finely ground and mixed with other plants or herbs
- b. Grinding is another process. Usually, ground medicinal plants are dried in the sun first. This method is done to facilitate absorption of the ingredients to be digested by the body or to get liquid from the plant. Crushed or ground plants can be powder or liquid, plants in the form of powder will be consumed by brewing while the plants milled until the liquid or oil is released are used for rubbing or massaging the body. For example, for the treatment of diabetes, cempedak skin (*artocarpus integer*) is left in the sun, dried, and then pulverized into powder, taken by brewing, twice a day but must be adjusted to the patient's blood pressure.
- c. Shredding is performed to make spices easier to be cooked and to release the medicinal ingredients contained in them. There are some spices that are usually processed using this method such as turmeric, temulawak (*curcumazanthorrhiza*), ginger and so forth.
- d. Boiling is the most commonly used method of mixing plants or spices. This step is usually done to extract the substances contained in the plant by steaming it to the boiling point. The water extract is as medicine; however boiling is sometime used to soften the plant and then the plant is consumed. For example, *aloe vera* is cooked

until the texture is chewy then the *aloe vera* is consumed to help remove the gas that is located in patient's stomach. In contrary, the kecibling plants (*strobilanthes-rispa*) are boiled but the part being used afterwards is the water itself, which is useful for cleaning the kidneys.

In order to mix medicinal plants and spices into an efficacious medicinal that can heal other things to take notice on is the dose of the concoction. In the medical world, the dose in mixing the medicinal powder is measured in mg units, whereas consuming it is measured with a dose of one tablet or capsule usually taken after meals or before meals. Not only that rule, there are also rules of consumption 3 times a day or 2 times a day and so on. The same thing applies in traditional medicine in terms of dosage or consumption rules. The difference is, in concocting the drug there are several types of dosage known by *Namalo* such as *sajoppit* (one pinch hand), a handful, one space of phalanx and so on. The medicinal consisting of several plants are dispensed in an accurate ratio. In addition, the dose to concoct the drug has to be precise, and in taking the ingredients of the drug the rules of consumption are also given. Consuming herbs in the liquid form is usually subject to the rule of 2 cups a day or 1 cup a day. As for the medicinal plants that are consumed, the herbs are usually eaten according to the dosage given by *Namalo*. Herbs in the form of oil are usually rubbed on the patient's body at the time(s) instructed by *Namalo*, for example before sleeping.

The process of mixing drugs can be performed by *Namalo* or by the patient. Patients will receive directions or guidance from *Namalo* on how to mix drugs and the doses that have to be followed by the patient. However, there are also drugs that are mixed directly by *Namalo* so *Namalo* only need to provide rules about how to take the herbs that have been made. The use of medicines from traditional medicine is very different from modern medicines; medicinal herbs from these traditional healers do not cause side effects and do not inflict addiction to the patient.

Based on the type of diseases, the use of drugs given by *Namalo* can be classified as given in Table 2.

Table 2: The usage of medicine based on types of diseases

<i>Types of diseases</i>	<i>How to use</i>
Internal diseases	Drinking the medicinal herb extract
Fractured or broken bones	Massaging with medicinal herbs
Skin diseases	Rubbing with medicinal herbs

Source: Primary Data, 2017

Primary data found in the locale show that internal disease *Namalo* also perform massage techniques on the patient's body as a reflexology for the patient's body. However, the use of drugs through consumption is the main treatment conducted by *Namalo*. Consuming potions by drinking or eating is one way to help the healing process to be more effective for patients with internal disease. But, on fractured or broken bones, *Namalo* only gives herbs to massage the patients. Patients with fractured bones do not consume or eat herbs. To help the healing process for fractured bones, *Namalo* only lists food which cannot be eaten to help the healing process from inside. As for patients with skin diseases, herbs given to the patient to rub over the skin surface of the patient's body.

Prescription System

The process of giving medicine to patients is divided into 2 systems. First, *Namalo* gives medicinal plants that have been mixed to the patient. In this case *Namalo* himself will get the medicinal plants to be used, some ingredients are bought in the market and some are found in the forest. This system is chosen by *Namalo* because there are some plants that are unknown by the people and *Namalo* does not want to make it hard for patients to seek drugs. *Namalo* does not only get medicinal plants, but also processes the medicinal plants himself. Provision of drugs made by *Namalo* will usually be charged for, or in other words, *Namalo* sells medicinal to patients. Second, *Namalo* asks the patients to seek their own medicine. Doing this does not mean that *Namalo* wants a hands-off approach with the healing process of the patient. According to *Namalo* this method is done so that patients and especially families of patients can be

independent and have knowledge about medicinal plants. *Namalo* usually writes the names of medicinal plants that the patient should look for and how to blend them. If the medicinal plant needed by the patient is a rare plant and cannot be found in the area, *Namalo* will help the patient to look for it and even order it from out of town or outside the province. *Namalo* not only helps the patient get the medicinal plant but for some specific drugs *Namalo* himself will process it himself. In this kind of system, *Namalo* will not charge for anything because the medicinal plants are sought by the patient himself.

Pantangan or taboo is a prohibition given by *Namalo* to the patient about what are allowed and what are not allowed to be consumed by the patient, or what should and should not be done during treatment. In addition to taking medicinal ingredients, obeying the taboos given by *Namalo* is one way to improve treatment. However, not all traditional treatments performed by *Namalo* provide prohibitions to patients. Prohibitions given by *Namalo* depend on the type of illness suffered by the patient. From the three specializations, each *Namalo* provides some restrictions for patients with certain diseases, whether it is *Namalo* specializing in internal diseases, broken bones or conjured diseases. Some of the restrictions imposed by *Namalo* for his patients include: Prohibition of eating certain foods such as durian, saying certain words, going outside the house, and meeting other people. For patients with internal diseases they are generally asked not to consume some foods mentioned by *Namalo* to prevent the disease getting worse. Many patients with internal diseases have no dietary restrictions.

Namalo with broken bone specialization also impose prohibitions for some patients usually a ban of consuming some foods. Foods that should not be consumed by patients with bone disease may make the wound on the patient's body more difficult to heal. Prohibitions also apply to patients with illnesses inflicted by others or conjured disease. The abstinence for this is more diverse such as prohibition of saying certain words, prohibition of going outside the house and meeting someone. This prohibition is given by *Namalo* to prevent the illness getting worse.

Based on data found in the locale through interviews it is known that the treatment duration with *Namalo* is shorter than modern medical treatment. When *Namalo* knows the type of illness suffered by the patient then a further treatment visit will be determined by *Namalo*. Patients with mild disease conditions only require 1-2 meetings, whereas patients with severe disease will do more than 2 visits in accordance with the invitation from *Namalo*. Checking the condition of the patient after regularly taking the ingredients of the drug affects the period of treatment that must be undertaken by the patient. If the ingredients of the drug give a good reaction to the patient's body then the patient no longer needs a treatment visit and *Namalo* only recommend consuming and using the medicinal herbs given regularly.

DISCUSSION

Traditional healers *Namalo* can be divided into three specializations, which are *Namalo* of internal diseases, *Namalo* of broken bones and *Namalo* of conjured diseases. In general, some of the traditional healers in some other countries are also divided into several categories, for example Tanzanian traditional healers are grouped into four classifications based on their masteries, such as herbs, herbalists-rituals, ritual-herbalists and spiritual (Gessler et al. 1995). Thailand divides traditional healers known as *morbaan* into several types based on the knowledge of traditional healers such as *tom yasa moon prai* (herbal medicine), *morsa moon prai* (herbalist), *mor du* (forecaster), *mornuat* (massage treatment) and *morwaiphom* (treatment through ceremony or soul healing) (Suwankhong et al. 2011). Traditional Korean medicine categorizes traditional medicine into 4 based on the methods of treatment being used, which are *ch'im* (acupuncture), *hanyak* (traditional herbal medicine), *d'um* (moxibustion) and *buhwang* (cupping) (Kim et al. 2002).

The classification results from the differences in some of the capabilities and methods of treatment performed by traditional healers. The data found indicate that *Namalo* always want to improve their ability and knowledge in curing the illness of patients, ranging from mild illness to severe disease. Therefore, *Namalo* found at

the locale show that they do possess capabilities to cure both of them. This research shows that *Namalo* of internal diseases also has the ability to cure conjured diseases. However, for *Namalo* with fractured bones specialization, these traditional healers are only able to master the ability to heal broken bones and they have no ability related to internal diseases and conjured diseases. The results of this study indicate that *Namalo* has different specialization skills and *Namalo* will only carry out the treatment if they believe can do it. *Namalo* will just do "their part" according to their ability.

Having knowledge about medicinal plants and how to blend them is a major requirement to become a *Namalo*. *Namalo* determines the patient's disease through the reading of the facial features of the patient. *Namalo* can know the illness suffered by patient with only a glance at the facial look of the patient. Unlike patients with diseases caused by supernatural forces, traditional healers have different strategies. Traditional healers will use the betel leaf medium to determine the disease with this supernatural power as well as *Namalo* who also uses betel leaves and kaffir lime.

This is slightly different with Thai medicine, traditional healers whom do some checks to obtain the diagnosis of the disease. Before starting treatment, Thai's traditional healer will ask the patient about the illness, examine the record of patient's disease, listen to the patient's complaint, share information with the patient, and observe the pathology of the patient's body (Maneenoon et al. 2015). The system of administering herbs made by *Namalo* to his patients varies. There are some *Namalo* traditional treatments that provide the medicinal herbs that the patient needs. There is also *Namalo* who asks his patients to find the medicinal plants *Namalo* requested and then the patient will concoct by himself according to the instructions given by *Namalo*. It aims to share information about medicinal plants to patients so that patients can recognize and preserve plants that can be used as medicine.

CONCLUSION

The treatment process undertaken by *Namalo* can be said to be very simple. Treatment

performed by *Namalo* consist of determining the patient's disease, how or techniques to treat the patient, how to make potions, length of treatment and prohibitions given to patients. In general, the way *Namalo* determines disease is very diverse depending on the treatment capabilities possessed by *Namalo*. In general, the traditional treatment techniques performed *Namalo* are the same, they use massage and herbs as a treatment to cure the patient.

Traditional medicine contributes so much to the medical world especially to the community. The patient should understand what kind of diseases that one endured and wisely choose the treatment. The notion of "traditional" does not mean this treatment is outdated and unfit for use, but it is a treatment method that must be preserved and protected because it is a cultural heritage that still survives to this day.

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