

Semiotic analysis in Islamic-Javanese healing texts

Sri Harti Widyastuti

Javanese Language Department, Faculty of Language and Arts, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

The Javanese healing texts are mostly found in Ancient Javanese and New Javanese. The texts depict the social-cultural backgrounds of the society producing the texts. Healing texts are written in particular patterns, completed with spell prayers which form the compound between the signifier and the signified. Hence, the present study is aimed at analyzing healing texts using Pierce theory and the semiotic method to find icons, indexes, and symbols. The study used the descriptive qualitative method of the Pierce approach. The data sources were texts as the transliteration result of the manuscripts *Serat Primbon Djawi* (Dossier of Javanese Almanac), *Boekoe Primbon Djampi Jawi* (Book of Javanese Medicine Almanac), *Serat Primbon Jawi* (Dossier of Javanese Almanac), *Serat Primbon Wirid* (Dossier of Spell Almanac), *Serat Primbon* (Dossier of Almanac) and *Serat Primbon Jampi* (Dossier of Almanac of Javanese Medicine) transliteration by Bratakesawa. The data were analyzed using the descriptive technique in which the data worthiness was appraised by semantic validity and intra-rater validity. Findings show that all texts are constructed of semiotic structures of icons, indexes, and symbols. In the icons, there are similar relations with verses of the Holy Quran and the nine holy clerics, spreaders of the Moslem religion. The indexes show causal relationships between the cause of the ailments and the therapies in the form of medicinal mixtures. The symbols function to show resentment of cultures that brace them and relate between icons and indexes for the unified healing formulations that are integrated and have suggestive powers.

Keywords: Healing literature; icon; index, Islamic Javanese: symbol

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INTRODUCTION

The invaluable wealth of literature and culture is contained in handwritten manuscripts in a language used when the manuscripts were written. As a record for the language and culture of the nation, manuscripts save information that is able to deliver various aspects of language and life. It can even be said that all aspects of life both in language and local wisdom are covered in the manuscripts. In this view, Javanese manuscripts harbour various matters which, among others, are related to Javanese traditional healing.

The present study discusses the language of the literary work found in texts of Javanese-Islamic healing. In the wealth of Javanese literature, literary work concerning traditional healing is called healing literature. In Javanese healing literature, a large variety of healing methods and traditional medicine

can be found that is referred to as *jamu*. This drug and traditional method of healing are frequently accompanied by prayers or magic spells. The language used in delivering the prayers reflects faiths in God and views towards the universe and Islamic-Javanese religious acculturation. These literary pieces were produced during the New Javanese era or at the time when Islam starts to be disseminated by the Moslem clerics. The language used in the healing literature is mostly New Javanese, which is the Javanese language used prior to the modern era that has grammatical structures different from those of Modern Javanese and has words and terms related to the classical Javanese cultures and often contains Javanese mythology. Javanese mythology is Javanese culture that is a fusion of Hindu, Buddhist, and various folk beliefs. It is Javanese culture that has mixed with religious

magics, myths, sciences, and communal lifestyles. These elements interact with each other and for the specific Javanese civilization. This phenomenon of the cultural mixture has lasted for a long time been acculturated to become Javanese community dialectics with various influences from the Islam religion (Muslich, 2006).

The Islamic influence and the Hindu-Buddhist cultures occurred initially within the nobility, but eventually, they spread to the common people widely and continuously in centuries. At the time when the Hindu-Buddhist influence decreases, the Islam religion was present bringing along cultural influences (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). During this time, Javanese religiosity was a syncretism of various religious teachings occurring spontaneously or due to government power influences. It was a mosaic in which the pieces have a strong link with each other. The phenomenon of syncretic cultures and beliefs can also be seen in healing literary works. Prayer spells accompanying healing and healing practices illustrate these cultural syncretism and beliefs.

Among manuscripts of healing literary works are found healing manuscripts titled *Serat Primbon Djawi* (Dossier of Javanese Almanac) coded PBC 141, *Boekoe Primbon Djampi Jawi* (Book of Javanese Medicine Almanac) coded SK 143, *Serat Primbon Jawi* (Dossier of Javanese Almanac) coded SK 118, *Serat Primbon Wirid* (Dossier of Spell Almanac) coded PBA 53, *Serat Primbon* (Dossier of Almanac) coded PBE 35, *Serat Primbon Jampi Jawi* (Dossier of Almanac of Javanese Medicine) transliteration by Bratakesawa all kept in the manuscript section of the Museum of Sanabudaya of Yogyakarta. These works have been transliterated in a research program on phytotherapy healing (Widyastuti, 2018). However, no research has been done on the semiotic analysis on the language used in prescription and prayer spells used to accompany traditional healing. The fusion of Islam and Javanese cultures can be seen in the language of prayers used in healing. This shows the strong link between the Islamic religion and Javanese cultures such that there is no cultural gap between the two and that Islam has become a basis for the formulation of the linguistic marks of the prayers found in traditional healing.

The present study uses the semiotic theory following the view of the fact that the subject and object of the study are language and literature, so that the semiotic approach becomes a sign analysis that can be read in literary works. Structurally, the approach to state that language or the devise to analyze language and connotation is a result of the development in giving meanings to signs. All the linguistic forms that are used in developing a literary work with all its meaning contents will become signs. A sign is a meaning representation that occurs implicitly and representatively. Meaning

is understanding that can be comprehended and found through signs (Barthes, 1957 in Ambarini & Umaya, 2010). The act of semiotically giving meaning to signs in texts is done intrinsically and extrinsically by combining aspects such as given by Abrams (Ratna, 2004); namely the author system or expressive, universality or mimetic, the reader or pragmatic, and the literary work or objective.

The study uses the semiotic theory and approach as proposed by Pierce (1839-1914) who states that signs are categorized into three types: indexes, icons, and symbols. Saussure (in Wollen, 1998) states that a sign is arbitrarily linked to an object being signed to mean that the relation between the sign and the object is based on convention. For Saussure, language is a semiotic paradigmatic case and becomes the basis for the use of all the other signs. Barthes states that semiotics is actually a branch of linguistics (Thornbury, 2011). For Pierce, the conventional signs are based on arbitrary association with the objects regulated by the rules of use, i.e. the existence of indexes, icons, and symbols. The icon is the one most basic among the three types of signs. An icon is a sign in which the character that is suitable to become a sign is attached. An icon functions as a simple sign by showing its qualities to function as a sign so that it offers interpretations to the character it signs (Pierce, 1998). An icon is related to the object it refers to through similarity and it is a dyadic relation (Thornbury, 2011). An index, on the other hand, is centered on the object which places an interpreter to approach the object (Pierce 1998). Meanwhile, a symbol refers to an object epitomized by way of rules; usually, general ideas that form a symbol will be interpreted as referring to the object (Pierce, 1998). Furthermore, an icon is a relation sign between the signified and the signifier natural form similarities. An index is a sign that shows natural relation between the signified and the signifier which is causal indicating a cause-effect relation. A symbol is a sign that does not show natural relation between the signified and the signifier (Pradopo, 1999). It is, therefore, true that language in traditional healing prayers can be called an icon, an index, or a symbol. The sign that is formulated in the prayers shows the characteristics of these three entities. Subsequently, Pierce categorizes signs into resentment, object, and interpretation; thus classifying the vehicles of signs into qualisign, sinsign, or legisign depending on their specific formal characteristics (Ding, 2016).

Based on the foregoing discussion, semiotic text analysis is needed in order to trace the pattern or formula of the prayer spells in Javanese traditional healing. The objective of the present study is, eventually, to find and describe the icons, indexes, and symbols in the proceeding of Javanese traditional healing.

METHOD

Procedure

The study used the modern philology research method combine with descriptive qualitative method of the semiotic approach which derived from the semiotic theory of Pierce. The modern philology research method decided to use since five of the data sources were manuscript written in Javanese character, while one of the data source was the transliteration text of the manuscript. The data sources were texts from the manuscripts *Serat Primbon Djawi*, PBC 141, *Boekoe Primbon Djampi Jawi*, SK 143, *Serat Primbon Jawi SK 118*, *Serat Primbon Wirid PBA 53 Serat Primbon PBE 35*, *Serat Primbon Jampi*, transliteration by Bratakesawa.

The objects of the study were prescriptions for traditional healing found in the manuscripts. Modern philology research method was used to collect the data. Data collection was conducted using modern philology research method by inventorying Javanese manuscript about traditional healing. Fifty Javanese manuscript related to traditional healing were found from the inventorying. The manuscripts found were re-selected to manuscripts containing Javanese traditional healing that acculturated with Islam. Islamic-Javanese traditional healing accompanied by Islamic prayer for the healing method were then found in 6 data sources used. Standard transliteration was done by adjusting to applicable modern Javanese language spelling. The text reading was carried out quickly to obtain healing texts with complete structures and prayers. Referring to the research objective, the text translation was done by way of ethnographic translation, translating texts by focusing on the presentation of the cultural contexts of the source

language to the cultural contexts of the target language (Larson, 1988). The translation was done by way of content translation. In the next step, the taking of the data was done by the reading and note-taking technique. The reading of the texts was carried out by deciphering the use of the language expressions in the source texts (Mahsun, 2005) which, then, was followed by note-taking. Data collection was done by using human instruments and data cards to be subjected to descriptive data analysis. The validity of the data was appraised by semantic validation by measuring the level of sensitivity of the technique in determining the symbolic meanings to be relevant with the specific contexts. Data validity was also obtained by intrater validation to produce constant data.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted inappropriate fit with the source text manuscripts *Serat Primbon Djawi*, PBC 141, *Boekoe Primbon Djampi Jawi SK 143*, *Serat Primbon Jawi SK 118*, *Serat Primbon Wirid PBA 53 Serat Primbon PBE 35*, *Serat Primbon Jampi*, transliteration by Bratakesawa. In the data analysis, each of the icons, indexes, and symbols to see how far the three were correlated with each other.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Results of the analysis on the healing texts under study show that texts of traditional healing have triadic formulae that consistently construct signs in the texts. This completes and describes to the reader what is meant by the text. The formula is presented in Table 1 and the example of the application is shown in Table 2.

Table 1

Triadic Formula Chart of Islamic-Javanese Healing Text

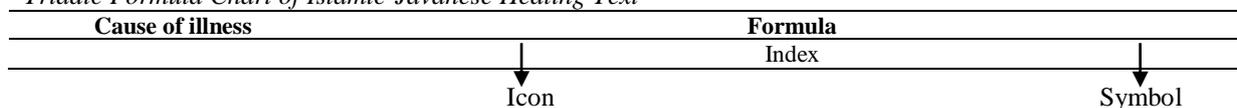


Table 2

Application of triadic formula of Islamic-Javanese healing text

Cause of illness	Formula
Attacked by sea demon	<i>bênglè sakpunggêl winacakakè surat Anngam, kapiis, uyupnâ, iki surat Anngam Wacanè surat Anngam Latukdriku mul absaru, wahuwa yut drikul absaru, wahuwa laiful khabir (bênglè one piece recited with verse Anngam, ground, let drink, here is verse Anngam</i>
	Reading of verse Anngam: <i>Latukdriku mul absaru, wahuwa yut drikul absaru, wahuwa laiful khabir).</i>
	Index
	Icon: <i>Anngam</i> verse
	Symbol: <i>bênglè</i>

The icon, index, and symbol in the text show the relation among each sign based on qualitative relationship (Yelle, 2016) in which the iconic relation shows similarities that are derived from the

wealth of the Islamic religion. These iconic signs are related to each other as mentioned by Frazer who states that such iconic signs are also found in witchcraft, homeopathy, or imitative. The ritual

object that looks like another object is believed to be able to pass the connection marked by the similarity to influence the other object (Yelle, 2016).

Based on the analysis, it can be stated that icons, indexes, and symbols are of communication between author and reader as it is stated by Mingers and Willcocks (2014) that signs and symbols are cores of the transformation of information and meaning and, thus, are centers of communication and information system in their contemporary forms which are more virtual. Icon, index, and symbol or Pierce's tripartition are sign systems that goes beyond language. When communication takes place, semiotic could be used as meta-language to describe human intention (van Niekerk, 2018). In a text, there occurs an interaction between the private world and the interpretants of signs and messages. This happens in such a case as the attachment of indexes that form private relations between causes and effects leading to the emergence of similarities between signs and their interpretants. In order to complete communication, signs then emerge which become icons that can be transmitted in a physical form. Subsequently, a sign system is also produced that is more social in nature since it is related to the society's understanding concerning something that is commonly agreed by the society in the form of a symbol. The relation among icons, indexes, and symbols is one that functions to explain a piece of information. In other words, as mentioned by Mingers dan Willcocks (2014), semiotics is related to the social world inasmuch as connotative aspects and the sign system are more social than the individual. The worlds of the private, social, and material produce among them the relation of social, socio-material, and formal features. Formulation of the symbols that are found in the text represents the socio-material and forms of specific icons and symbols. In these Islam-Javanese texts, it can be seen clearly the facts that the cultures that show the signifier adaptation on the semiotics area are highly adaptive so that they make the appearance of

Islamic culture acculturation in the Javanese cultures in these Javanese traditional healing texts.

Forms of Icons, Indexes, and Symbols in *Serat Primbon Djawi*, PBC 141

Icon, Index, and Symbol for the Healing of a Person who Is Attacked by a Sea Demon

It is written in the text that, to heal a person who is attacked by a sea demon, the medication consists of 3 pieces of *legundi* leaves, a nutmeg, *bengle*, *inggu*, and lemon-lime and then the recital of the *Anngam* verse: *latukdriku mul absaru, wahuwa yut drikul absaru, wahuwa laiful khabir*. In the text, this prayer is an icon from the Quran, Al-An'am verse that is written as لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الْأَبْصَارُ وَهُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْأَبْصَارَ وَهُوَ اللَّطِيفُ الْخَبِيرُ (Lā tudrikuhul-absāru wa huwa yudrikul-absār, wa huwal-laṭīful-khabīr) whose translation is 'He who doth not reached by the sight of the eye while He can see anything that can be seen and He is the Most Refined and the Most Knoweth'. There is pronunciation in the recital that is matched with the Javanese tongue to name the Al-An'am verse to become *Anngam*. The use of the Quran icon recited with the Javanese pronunciation shows a similarity or analogy with the discourse subject. The icon becomes an object of representation that the background of the Javanese society at the time is the Islamic religion. The prayer is meant to ask for protection from God by keeping in faith that God is the All-seeing whilst He cannot be seen. The protection is needed from the Almighty and the All-seeing from the annoyance of the sea demon that cannot be seen. The verse contains two *dlamir* pronouns, *dlamir* هو two times and *dlamir* • one time, all referring to God. Islam becomes the source of all prayers to be recited, but, with acculturation, they are pronounced according to the understanding and pronunciation of the Javanese language. The index in the healing consists of 3 pieces of *legundi* leaves, a nutmeg, *bengle*, *inggu*, and lemon-lime.

Table 3

Data of Cause of Illness and Formula of Healing Text for Person Attacked by Sea Demon

Cause of illness	Formula	Manuscript	Code of manuscript	Page and lines
Attacked by sea demon	<i>bēnglè sakpunggêl winacakakè surat Anngam, kapipis, uyupnâ, iki surat Anngam</i> <i>Wacanè surat Anngam Latukdriku mul absaru, wahuwa yut drikul absaru, wahuwa laiful khabir.</i>	<i>Serat Primbon Djawi</i>	PBC 141	P. 52, lines 7 - 18 P. 53, lines 1 - 3
	Translation: <i>bēnglè</i> one piece recited with surat Anngam, groundlet drink Reading of verse Anngam Latukdriku mul absaru, wahuwa yut drikul absaru, wahuwa laiful khabir.			

The cause-effect relation is shown by the cause of the ailment, being attacked by a sea demon, while the mixture is the consequence of the cause. In this case, the malady caused by the sea demon is called a sea seizure. The symbol that is found in the text is the *bengle*. The *bengle* is a root plant, among other root plants, that is highly well-known in the Javanese society as an ingredient for problems of seizures. The *bengle* is a root plant that symbolizes the power of the repellent of negative energies, the sea demon is one. In addition, the *bengle* is the root plant for the healing of high fever, headache, cough, stomach ache, cold. (Arisandi & Andriani, 2011). This formulation is based on Hoopes (1991, p. 181) who states the existence of a name or general description which sign an object through the association of ideas or relation of habits between the name and characters being signed. In this case, the

composite that has the ingredient of *bengle* can be used to repel negative spirits. The *bengle* symbol became a sign which then preserved in community, became a myth, which sign is an ideology used to conserve value in community (Dobson & Dobson, 2016).

Forms of Icons, Indexes, and Symbols in Serat Primbon Djawi, SK- 118
Icon, Index, and Symbol for the Healing Text of a Person who Suffers from Insanity

The icon in the text above is found in the Na'am verse which shows the relation between the signifier and the signified as a similarity. In this case, the signifier in the relation is the surah Al-An'am of the Quran consisting of 165 verses and meaning "cattle".

Table 4

Data of Cause of Illness and Formula of Healing Text for Person Suffering from Insanity

Cause of illness	Formula	Manuscript	Code of manuscript	Page and lines
Insanity	kembang nâgâsâri, kembang pâlà, winacakakên Surat Na'am ping rong puluh, kang nambani âjâ turu sêwêngi, wêdhaknâ ing gigir lan dhâdhâ yèn wis kapipis. Translation: nâgâsâri flower, nutmeg flower, recited with Na'am verse twenty times, healer not to sleep the night, rub over back and chest after being ground.	Serat Primbon Djawi	SK-118	P. 43/ Line 12 up to line 14

The index in the text is shown in Table 4 in the sentences containing the drug ingredients, recital of the Na'am verse twenty times, grinding of the ingredients, and rubbing the mixture on the back and chest. This index indicates the relation between the sign for the insanity disease and the prayer recital of the Na'am verse twenty times.

The symbol in the healing text is found in the phrase "not to sleep the night", the healer is not to sleep during the night of the healing. In the Javanese language, this is known as *wungon*, keeping awake at night. This symbol means that one is not to sleep during the night, asking for God's will so that the prayers are answered. In this relation, Simuh (1988) states that keeping awake at night is part of fasting, meditating so that life is good. This symbol can also mean that the background of the text is Javanese culture which receives Islam elements so that acculturation occurs.

Forms of Icons, Indexes, and Symbols in Serat Primbon Wirid PBA 53
Icon, Index, and Symbol for Healing Text of Patients who Begin the Ailment on Friday

The icon for the healing text of patients who begin suffering on Friday is the ritual involving rice balls

of seven pieces. A rice ball is cooked rice pressed and shaped by the hand palm to form a ball. The form similarity is shown by the shape of the rice ball and the strong wish to get healed. This is also shown by the use of the safety prayers.

The disease is acquired in the rice field, the cause-effect relation shown by the index, can be found in the prescription. It consists of *kemangi* leaves, clove, and *adas pulasari*, to be ground and then given to the patient.

The symbol is found in the ritual sentence of the seven pairs of rice balls. A rice ball is cooked rice that is pressed and made round of the size of a tennis ball. The round shape, called *golong* in the Javanese language, symbolizes a solid intent, a united wish. In this case, there are seven pairs of rice balls.

Seven, in Javanese culture, means help. Therefore, the ritual means using a strong united wish to get help in the form of healing. In the Javanese society, figures for healing and other life needs are calculated deeply and selected accurately; this is referred as Javanese calculation or *petungan Jawa* (Endraswara, 2012).

Icon, Index, and Symbol for Healing Text of Patients who Begin the Ailment on Saturday

The text icon for healing patients who catches the ailment on the street or on the ground is the ritual of boiled rice (see Table 5). It is carried out on the

basis of the calculation of the patient's date of birth. The prayer is the safety prayer. The boiled rice ritual and the safety prayer form the similarity which functions as willpower to be healed.

Table 5

Data of Cause of Illness and Formula of Healing Text for Person Attacked by Spirits

Cause of illness	Formula	Manuscript	Code of manuscript	Page and lines
Medication for the person being attacked by spirits	1. <i>Jumuwah lârâ sangking gâgâ sawah, saking pangéran tambané, godhong kê mangi, cêngkèh, adas pulâsari, kapipis kaombèkaké, slamétané galong 7 iji, dongané slamêt.</i>	<i>Serat Primbon Wirid</i>	PBA. 53	P. 63/ Lines 1 up to 27
	2. <i>Sétu, lârâ sangking dalam sartâ sangking lêmah, tambané godhong salam, lêmah adas pulâsari, kapipis, kaborèhaké, slamétané sêgâ liwêt, têpaké jumuk sâkâ wêtoné, dongané slamêt.</i>			
	3. <i>Ahat, lârâ sangking pangéran utâwâ sâkâ awaké dhéwé, tambané godhong kimpul kapipis kaborèhaké, pujiné pangéran, slamétané jajan pasar.</i>			
	4. <i>Sênèn, lârâ sangking rêwangé dhéwé utâwâ kêmandèn, tambané godhong mênur sari, godhong polé, adas pulâsari, bawang, têmu, kapipis kaborèhaké, slamétané tumpêng mêngânâ dongané kabul.</i>			
	5. <i>Slâsâ, lârâ sangking éblis, tambané godhong ilêr, kèlor, brambang, adas pulâsari, kapipis kaborèhaké, slamétané, tumpêng punar, dongané slamêt.</i>			
	6. <i>Rêbo lârâ sangking banyu, utâwâ di pênggawé, tambané godhong simbukan, kèlor, adas pulâsari, kapipis kaborèhaké, slamétané, mêngânâ, sartâ galong 7 jodho, dongané slamêt.</i>			
	7. <i>Kémis lârâ sangking paturon tambané, godhong wêrsah, lan godhong simbukan, adas pulâsari, kapipis, kaborèhaké, slamétané, sêgâ punar, dongané Kunutnyâ.</i>			
Translation:				
	1. Friday infected after working in the field, Healing is from God, <i>kê mangi</i> leaves, clove, <i>adas pulâsari</i> , ground, let drink, ritual rice balls 7 pieces, prayer safety.			
	2. Saturday, infected in the street or on ground, medication <i>salam</i> leaves, <i>adas pulâsari</i> , ground, rub on the body, ritual boiled rice, set on date of birth, prayer safety.			
	3. Sunday, ailment from God or from self, medication <i>kimpul</i> leaves, ground, rub on the body, prayer God, ritual market snacks.			
	4. Monday, infected by friends or relatives, medication <i>mênur-sari</i> leaves, <i>pole</i> leaves, <i>adas pulâsari</i> , onion, <i>têmu</i> , ground, rub on body, ritual <i>mêngânâ</i> rice cone (<i>tumpeng</i>), prayer grace.			
	5. Tuesday, infected by evil spirits, medication <i>ilêr</i> leaves, <i>kèlor</i> , shallot, <i>adas pulâsari</i> , ground, rub on body, ritual <i>punar</i> rice cone (<i>tumpeng</i>), prayer safety.			
	6. Wednesday infected by water or black magic, medication <i>simbukan</i> leaves, <i>kèlor</i> , <i>adas pulâsari</i> , ground, rub on body, ritual <i>mêngânâ</i> rice cone (<i>tumpeng</i>) and rice balls 7 pairs, prayer safety.			
	7. Thursday infected by sleeping place, medication <i>wêrsah</i> leaves and <i>simbukan</i> leaves, <i>adas pulâsari</i> , ground, rub on body, ritual <i>punar</i> rice, prayer <i>qunut</i> .			

The index in the healing text for patients who begin the ailment on Saturday and acquire the disease on the street or ground consists of *salam* leaves, mud, and *adas pulasari*. These become an index in the text since there is a causal relation of the disease, i.e. the ailment is generated from the ground and, as a consequence, an amount of mud is included in the medication.

The symbol in the healing text is the ritual using boiled rice, and the ritual is carried out on a calculated day. The boiled-rice ritual, in the Javanese cultures, symbolizes evil repellent; while the day calculation is done by using the combination of the national day and Javanese day of a person's birthday. In the Javanese culture, day calculation is used by a person when he is going to carry out good deeds.

Icon, Index, and Symbol for healing text of patients who begin the ailment on Sunday

In the healing text, the medication is the mixture that is rubbed on the body of the patient, and then it is followed by praying to God. The ritual then follows in the form of market snacks, traditional Javanese foods that can be bought only in the traditional market. The text icon is, therefore, the ritual which is taken a form similar to prayers to God the Almighty.

The index in the healing text is a solution of ground tales leaves. This solution of tales leaves becomes an index in the text since it carries a cause-effect relation concerning the ailment and the medication.

The symbol in the healing text is shown by the use of market snacks. These are a set of traditional Javanese foods that are sold and can be bought only in traditional markets. These snacks become symbols for the Javanese society since they are used in the ritual offerings for the various needs and accessories in traditional ceremonies of the life cycle of man. The essence of the symbol is for man, with humble postures, to ask for endorsement from nature so that equilibrium occurs and so then disturbance disappears.

Icon, Index, and Symbol for healing text of patients who begin the ailment on Monday

The icon for the healing of this ailment is the ritual in the form of *megana* rice cone (tumpeng). This rice cone icon is a miniature of the prayers which are intended to the strong wish to unite the auras of the human body parts which are not compact.

The index in the text consists of *menur* leaves, pole leaves, *adas pulasari*, onion, and *temu*. The index shows the relation of the emergence of the ailment as caused by the inadequate compactness of the element structures of the auras of the body which are called *rewang* in the Javanese culture.

The symbol in the healing text is the *megana* cone. It is cooked rice that is pressed and cone-

shaped with a pointed tip like a volcano. It is covered with a salad of vegetables that symbolize meanings such as string beans symbolizing long life, bean leaves symbolizing fertility, and bean sprouts symbolizing growth. The *megana* cone is usually used to celebrate birthdays and other life-cycle ceremonies. In healing, symbolization by the *megana* cone consists in the unifying of all parts of man's body to be one complete whole as it is at birth, whole and unified.

Icon, Index, and Symbol for healing text of patients who begin the ailment on Tuesday

The icon for this text is the ritual using the punar rice cone (tumpeng). This punar cone is used as the icon since, in the process of making the punar, the activities represent the meaning of the ritual as a wish to acquire safety. In this matter, the reference between sign and object tend to be iconic, where icon has the representative feelings, sign, and similarity (van Niekerk, 2018). For patients who begin the ailment on Tuesday and it is caused by the intrusion of evil spirits, the healing text that shows the relation to the cause-effect index includes *iler leaves*, *kelor*, *shallot*, and *adas pulasari*.

The symbol in the healing text consists of *kelor* and *punar* cone. The *kelor* is a plant that is used by the Javanese society to heal ailments caused by the attack of spirits. For the Javanese people, this *kelor* plant is able to drive away evil spirits from the body of patients. The *punar* cone, meanwhile, cooked yellow rice completed with seven meal dishes symbolizing harmony in life. The *punar* cone is used to wish for life harmony after the patient is healed from the malady. In this symbol, it didn't have any similarity between the sign and the signified, the relationship was studied culturally (Sabri, 2019).

Icon, Index, and Symbol healing text of patients who begin the ailment on Wednesday

The icon of the healing text for this ailment is the ritual. This consists of *megana* rice and seven rice balls and the safety prayers. All these three things carry the same meaning which is offering prayers for safety.

The index for the text is the mixture of *simbukan* leaves, *kelor*, and *adas pulasari*. This is accompanied by the ritual of *megana* rice and seven pairs of rice balls. These show the relationship between the cause and consequence of producing the disease.

The symbol in the healing text consists of *punar* rice and seven pairs of rice cones. In the Javanese society, the *megana* rice is also identical with the offering in the doll-slaughter ceremony in Gamping village, Yogyakarta City. This offering ceremony is carried out to expel the troublesome evil spirits that occupy Gamping Mount. In analogue with this, the use of the *megana* rice in the

healing rite is to drive away evil spirits. The essence of figure seven in the seven pairs of rice cones is determined wish. Figure seven carries the meaning of help. This means that the people ask for help to God the Almighty to remove the evil spirits from the patients' bodies

Icon, Index and Symbol for healing text of patients who begin the ailment on Thursday

The icon for the text is found in the *qunut* prayers, which is a prayer in the Islamic religion recited by certain believers during the second standing posture of the *shubuh* morning prayers. In the translation of Abu Jafar At-Taban, the *qunut* prayer carries three meanings piety, standing, and sitting still without saying anything (Aini, 2016). In this case, the *qunut* prayer has the meaning of asking for guidance, protection, and grace, for being prevented from evil deeds, for being loved by God.

The text that contains the index shows the use of the ingredients *wersah* leaves, *simbukan* leaves, and *adas pulasari*. This is to show that there is the relation between the cause and effect of the malady.

The symbol in the healing text consists of *kelor* and *punar* cone. The *kelor* is a plant that is used by the Javanese society to heal ailments caused by the

attack of spirits. For the Javanese people, this *kelor* plant is able to drive away evil spirits from the body of patients. The *punar* cone, meanwhile, cooked yellow rice completed with seven meal dishes symbolizing harmony in life. The *punar* cone is used to wish for life harmony after the patient is healed from the malady.

Forms of Icons, Indexes, and Symbols in Serat Primbon PBE 35

Icon, Index, and Symbol for Healing Text for All Ailments

In the text, as shown in Table 6, the relation between the signifier and the signified in the form of an icon can be found in the sentence: This is medication brought along by the Angel Jibreel to be given to the Prophet. The phrase Angel Jibreel is the signifier of the signified the Angel Jibreel while the phrase the word the Prophet is the signifier of the signified Prophet Muhammad. The construction medication brought along by the Angel Jibreel to be given to the Prophet is the icon carrying the meaning that the Angel Jibreel brings down a revelation for Prophet Muhammad, which is written in Surah Al Baqarah verses 97-98.

Table 6

Data of Cause of Illness and Formula of Healing of All Ailments and Baby Delivery

Cause of illness	Formula	Manuscript	Code of manuscript	Page and lines
All ailments	<i>Punikā tām̄bā kang gināwā malaékat Jabarail, ingkang pinaringakèn Gusti nabi Panutan, lahos kunci wrat kawan sâgâ, sunti kawan sâgâ, kayu manis kawan, mênyan madu kalih sâgâ, pinipis kang lêm̄but, kinaryâ jamu, insaallâh sawabé luwih kuwat marang wong wadon, tur sarupaning lèlârâ sirnâ.</i> Translation This is the medication brought along by the Angel Jibreel to be given to the Prophet, <i>lahos kunci</i> four pieces, <i>sunti</i> four pieces, <i>kayu manis</i> four pieces, <i>mênyan madu</i> two pieces, ground thoroughly, to be drunk, God willing stronger effect for women, and all kinds of malady go away.	<i>Serat Primbon</i>	PBE 35	77, 20
Slow delivery (baby is not quickly delivered)	<i>Bab kasiyat walang kapâ, nunggil sangking Kanjeng Nabi Suléman.</i> <i>Yèn sirahé kinaryâ jimat, lan suwihiné iyâ ugâ kinaryâ jimat, iku sakaroné sawabé kuwat tur waras, utâwâ linulutan ing batur, lan maningé yèn ânâ wong manak suwéné, sakaroné mau dikluku rikat lahir.</i> Translation About the usefulness of big grasshopper, the same as that of King Solomon. If the head is kept as amulet, and the wings also kept as amulet, the two will give strong effects and health, make the subordinates obedient, and when one is difficult to deliver, the two can be soaked in water and delivery will be fast.	<i>Serat Primbon.</i>	PBE 35	9-10,72

The index in the text is shown by *laos, kunci* with the weight of four sagas (scales for gold), four pieces of cinnamon, *menyan madu* two sagas, ground thoroughly, for a drink. These are related to the causes of the ailments and can be said to be indexed.

The symbol in the text consists of the Angel Jibreel and the Prophet indicating that parts of the text for healing for all ailments are Islam texts that have undergone acculturation with the Javanese cultures. The text saying that the medication is brought in by the Angel Jibreel to be given to the Prophet Muhammad means that it is not a common medication, but it is an effective medication since it is brought by the Angel Jibreel to be given to the Prophet Muhammad which become the icons for the angel and prophet. This is related to the connotation of the Angel Jibreel being the carrier of God's revelation to be delivered to the Prophet Muhammad in the Moslem religion

Icon, Index, and Symbol for therapy text to help with difficult baby delivery

The icon in the text is the grasshopper to help so that baby delivery is quick. The head and wings of the grasshopper are kept as amulets, the two are then soaked in water, and the delivering mother drinks the water. In this case, the head of the grasshopper becomes the signifier of the signified baby's head; in a normal baby delivery, it is the head of the baby that is to come out first. Meanwhile, the grasshopper wings become an icon for the baby's strength; with strong wings, a flying animal will be able to fly well; the grasshopper wings become the signifier of the signed baby's strength; with a strong head and wings, the baby will be born fast.

The index in the text is shown in the causal relationship of the difficulty of the baby delivery; it can be found in the sentence "The head and wings of the grasshopper are kept as amulets". The therapy is for cases where the babies take a long time to come out or are entangled by intestines.

In the text, the symbol is His Highness, Prophet Solomon. The Prophet Solomon was a prophet who rules a big kingdom with armies not only of human beings but also of supernatural beings such as the jennies and demons. The story of the Hud-Hud birds becomes an indication that the Prophet Solomon also rules the world of animals leading to the appearance of the kapa grasshopper. The symbol Prophet Solomon carries the meaning that the text has the backgrounds of Islamic and Javanese cultures. Meanwhile, the mention of King Solomon symbolizes the strong tie between the Javanese and Moslem beliefs which have acculturated. The Javanese also believe that King Solomon is God's prophet who has army troops of humans, *jinns*, and animals. It is said in the holy script: "And before Solomon were marshaled His armies of *jinns* and men and birds and they were

kept in order and ranks" (Q.S.An-Naml: 17). The mention of King Solomon in the prayer is meant to request healing from God by virtue of King Solomon.

Forms of Icons, Indexes, and Symbols in *Serat Primbon Jampi Jawi*, Transliteration by Bratakesawa

Icon, Index, and Symbol for healing text of eye disease in which the eye pupils seem to fall out

Relation of similarity between the signifier and the signified in the text is found in the text reading the *Kulhu* seven times which is Surah Al- Ikhlas, the 112nd surah of the Quran, which is frequently simply called *Kulhu* because the first sentence of the surah is recited *Qul huwallaahu ahad*. From the text, it can be seen that, between the signifier and the signified, there is the acculturation of the Islamic cultures into the Javanese cultures shown by the reciting of the surah *Kulhu* seven times. In the Javanese culture, the surah *Kulhu* is also often used to formulate spell prayers to drive away evils, which is called Reverse *Kulhu* showing adaptation to the Javanese cultures.

In the text, the signifier and signified relation that has a cause-effect characteristic, or an index, is shown in the medication mixture text, namely the white part of a newly-laid egg, *adas pulasari*, ground thoroughly and then wrapped in a white cloth, to be dropped into the eyes. The signifier of the text, which is the medication mixture, is the consequence of the eye disease in which the eye pupils seem to fall out.

The symbol in the text is seen in the word *kulhu*. The *Kulhu* or surah Ikhlas of the Quran is the big door to a solution to a vast variety of problems. Therefore, the signifier *Kulhu* can be seen as a prayer that is recited to reinforce the function of the medication so that the disease is healed and the person becomes healthy. Meanwhile, 'seven times' in the Javanese language can be described as *pitulungan* or help as in the word seven.

Icon, Index, and Symbol for Healing Text of Eyes to be Able to See Clearly

The icon in the text can be seen in the words *Alif, Ba, Ta* which are the first three letters of the Arabic or *Hijaiyah* alphabet. The cause-effect relation in the text, which is an index in the text, is found in the mixture text, namely seven young *nyamplung* leaves, sliced and then put in a white bowl, mixed with water that has been kept for one night, crushed and sipped thoroughly, to wet the eye in the morning, while citing: *Alif, Ba, Ta* three times, and holding breath. In the text, a relation is found between the signed, which is the problem in the eye so that sight is blurred or disturbed, and the signifier, which is the medication mixture text. The index relation can also be seen in the text saying that

the mixture will heal the ailment in the eye (Dirt will come out, eyes feel cool and bright clear).

The symbol in the text can be found in the letters *Alif, Ba, Ta* of the Arabic or Hijaiyah alphabet used in Quran that carries a meanings. *Alif* means that that there is no God but He who is the

Alliving and the Almighty. *Ba*, means that He is still there after all His creations are gone. Meanwhile, *ta* means that God is always giving pardons to all his creatures. The symbol can be interpreted as by the help of the power of God, the therapist will be able to heal.

Table 7

Data of cause of illness and formula of healing text for healing of eye disease in which the eye pupils seem to fall out

Cause of illness	Formula	Manuscript	Code of manuscript	Page and lines
Swollen eyes (pupils seem to fall out) Eyes with pupils like falling out	<i>tigan ayam tēmbeyan kapēndhēt pēthakipun, 2 adas, 3 pulasari, kapipis lēmbat lajēng kabuntēl ing mori pēthak, katetesakēn ing mripat, mipisipun mawi maos kulhu kaping pitu.</i> Translation: 1.newly-laid chicken eggwhite, 2 <i>adas</i> , 3 <i>pulasari</i> , ground thoroughly and then wrapped in white cloth, dropped into the eyes, while grinding recite the <i>kulhu</i> verse seven times.	Serat Primbon Jampi Jawi		9-12/11
Healthy eyes to be able to see clearly	<i>ron nyamplung ingkang taksih ēnem pitung lēmbat, karajang kawadhahan pinggan pēthak mawi kaēmoran toya tawa ingkangsampun nyipēng sadalu, kawēnyēt sarta kapērēs ingkang apuh, lajēng kasaringa ingkang rēsik kaangge nglimbang mripat ing wanci enjing, mawi maos: Alif, Ba, Ta kaping tiga, sarta ngampēt ambēkan. Rērēgēdipum mēdal, mripatipun asrēp sarta padhang</i> Translation: young <i>nyamplung</i> leaves seven sheets, sliced and placed in white pan, added with water that has been kept for one night, crushed thoroughly, seeped clean and used to wash eyes in the morning, reading: Alif, ba, ta three times, hold breath. Dirt will come out, eyes feel cool and bright clear	Serat Primbon Jampi Jawi		14-20/16
Children attacked by seizures	<i>1 kērikan kajēng cēndhana, 2 mēsoyi, 3 tēgari, 4 mēnyan mabēn, 5 jintēn pēthak, 6 lisah wangi ingkang wontēn dhedhesipun kapipis lēmbat kaborehakēn sanggingiling pusēr. Inggang mipis kēdah sēsuci (adus kramas) rumiyin, sarta anggenipun amborehi nyēbut nyuwun barkahipun tabe-tabe Kangjēng Sunan Kalijaga.</i> Translation: 1 scrapes of <i>cēndhana</i> wood, 2 <i>mēsoyi</i> , 3 <i>tēgari</i> , 4 <i>mēnyan mabēn</i> , 5 white <i>jintēn</i> , 6 mongoose fragrant oil ground thoroughly, rubbed above the navel. The person who grinds must take a thorough bath (wetting the hair) first, and the rubbing while asking for the grace from His Highness Sunan Kalijaga.	Serat Primbon Jampi Jawi		16-20/21

Icon, Index, and Symbol for healing text of seizures

Relation of similarity between the signifier and the signified in the healing text for seizures can be seen in the signifier for seizures shown by the obligation for the person who mixes the medication to take a thorough bath (completely showering the body from top to down). This shows similarity with Sunan Kalijaga as a holy cleric.

The causal relationship between the signifier and the signified in the text can be seen in the relation between the cause of the ailment of seizure and its therapy in the form of 1 scrape of *cěndhana* wood, 2 *měsoyi*, 3 *těgari*, 4 *měnyan maběn*, 5 *jintěn pěthak*, 6 and mongoose fragrant oil; ground thoroughly and rubbed above the navel. The person who grinds must first take the holy bath (completely wetting the body from top to bottom).

The symbol in the text related to the healing of persons attacked by seizures is the mention of the words Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga is one of the nine holy clerics of Java Island who bring Islamic influences to the Javanese cultures. This one holy cleric is famous for his creation of spell prayers to expel evils. He is the holy teacher for the Javanese people (Khaelany, 2018). In the Javanese society, Sunan Kalijaga is always linked to spiritual aspects or things that are related to spiritual aspects as well as supernatural natures (Anwar, 2018). It can therefore be understood that the mentioning of Sunan Kalijaga in the text is to mean that, with the power of Sunan Kalijaga, the healing will be endorsed and that the patient will be healed.

CONCLUSION

Results of the study show that all the texts are constructed of a semiotic structure consisting of an icon, an index, and a symbol. In the icons, similarity relations are found with verses of the Quran, namely surah *Anngam* with surah *Al-An'am*, ritual ceremonies with the safety prayers, the *megana* cone ritual with prayers, and the *megana* rice and seven pairs of rice balls with the safety and *qunut* prayers. And then, there also exist the relations between Malaekat Jabarail and the Angel Jibreel, *Gusti Nabi Panutan* and the Prophet Muhammad SAW, head and wings of the kappa grasshopper and baby head, and the *kulhu* of the Quran surah *Al-Ikhlās* and the holy bath. The index in the text shows the relation between the cause of the ailment and the medication mixture therapy. Meanwhile, symbols are found in the words *bengle*, *wungon*, rice balls and the word 'seven', boiled rice, market snacks, *megana* cone, *kelor*, *punar* rice, Prophet Solomon, Angel Jibreel, His Highness Prophet Muhammad, and *kulhu*. The symbols become signers of the Javanese cultures and Islamic cultures that brace them. They relate to the icons and indexes such that unified formulations of medication are formed that

are integrated and have suggestive functions for the Javanese society, the owner of this local wisdom.

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