

DIALECTICS OF ISLAM AND JAVANESE CULTURE IN THE CALCULATION OF SARESMI IN ISMU GAMA: A 19TH CENTURY PRIMBON TEXT

DIALEKTIKA ISLAM DAN KEBUDAYAAN JAWA DALAM PERHITUNGAN SARESMI DALAM ISMU GAMA: TEKS PRIMBON ABAD KE-19

Mohamad Wahyu Hidayat*¹
Ahmad Faidi²

¹Department of History of Islamic Civilisation, Faculty of Theology, Art and Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Salatiga, Central Java, Indonesia (Email: emha.wahyu.hidayat@uinsalatiga.ac.id)

²Department of History of Islamic Civilisation, Faculty of Theology, Art and Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Salatiga, Central Java, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: e-mail: emha.wahyu.hidayat@uinsalatiga.ac.id

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Abstract: *This research discusses the discourse of cultural ambiguity, especially in the construction of the calculation of saresmi or intimate relationships between husband and wife from the perspective of Islamic and Javanese culture in the Ismu Gama text. This primbon-type text briefly explains the count of days and dates for carrying out daily activities in the Javanese concept, but focuses more on saresmi activities. This research will focus on how the awareness in craving for a child who is passed down will be born both from the physical aspect and its fate. Secondly, how the dialectics of Islamic and Javanese normativity in determining the calculation of good and bad days in saresmi are suspected in the discourse of cultural ambiguity according to Thomas Bauer. This research uses the philological method to reveal the content of the text and the literature review approach to identify the cultural ambiguities that occur in the text. The results of this study generally show that Javanese people use the calculation of saresmi as a form of endeavor and caution in expecting offspring. From an Islamic perspective, this does not eliminate the virtue nor does it bring futility because it uses the principle of common good which is an element of legal theory.*

Keywords: *Philology, Cultural Ambiguity, Ismu Gama, Saresmi, Sexology, Primbon, Javanese Islam.*

Introduction

Ismu Gama is a fairly concise text, written in Javanese script and the new Javanese language, containing the rules of *saesmi*. *Saesmi* according to *Bausastra Jawa* or Javanese Dictionary (Poerwadarminta, 1939) means coitus, sex, copulation, or intimate relationship between a man and a woman. For the identity of the physical text that printed version, the *prawacana* has the year 1939, written by Raden Tannaya in Surakarta. However, the handwriting version or insight content is older than the printed version, though the handwriting manuscript version has not been found. So this text is speculated from the late 19th century as old as other primbon texts, because the printed manuscript did not suddenly emerge, surely there was a notion of handwriting manuscripts before as the background of printed manuscript creation.

The corpus used in this study is a private collection. The physical and digital files of Ismu Gama can also be found in the FIB UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada) library with codex number 899.222 and is included in the rare book collection. Furthermore, the discussion in this article will use the term *saesmi* rather than the word sex, *jima'* or *senggama*. This is quite reasonable because the word *saesmi* is the main object of discussion stated on the cover of the Ismu Gama manuscript, which reads "*Ismu Gama inggih musabingatul ngasar amratelakaken wawatoning saesmi*", if translated into "Ismu Gama is musabbiatul ngasar (seven-seven ten) which explains the rules of coitus". Then, the word *saesmi* is more reflective of the nobleness and richness of Javanese society in the linguistic dimension and for now in the midst of Javanese society itself it is quite rare to know the meaning of the word. So from this background, the researcher still maintains the use of the word *saesmi* than other words.

Saesmi can be said to be one of the most fundamental identities, capable of defining humans personally, socially and morally. *Saesmi* is a universal phenomenon that occupies a very fundamental position in human life. People often connect the vitality of life with sexual vitality (Suryakusuma in Marsono, 2018). Meanwhile, according to Suwantana (2011) the issue of *saesmi* has been an object of study since ancient times. The more humans know about *saesmi*, the closer they will be to the truth and reality. For men and women, knowledge of *saesmi* is a necessity, because men and women play a direct role in the process. What is interesting is that the Ismu Gama text is constructed based on Islamic and Javanese perspectives in dialectics the rules of *saesmi*.

In Islam itself, in order to maintain the value of humans as creatures with a very noble position, Islam provides norms about sexual life even though it is not as detailed as it is in the world of sexology today. Those guidelines are the material of sex education in Islam. However, sex education cannot stand alone but is closely related to other education, such as creed education, morals and worship education. (Basyir, 1987).

Ambiguity arises when an action can be interpreted in different ways, according to different cultural patterns or social norms. Therefore, Bauer (2021) then defines an action or situation as a phenomenon of cultural ambiguity if, (1) over a period of time, two opposite, or at least competing, distinctly different meanings are attributed to one and the same term, action, or object; (2) if a social group uses opposite or very different discourses to give meaning to different areas of human life; (3) if one group simultaneously accepts different interpretations of a phenomenon, all entitled to the same validity.

Previous research relevant to this study is "Indic-Islamic encounters in Javanese and Malay mystical literatures." Conducted by Andrea Acri and V. Meyer¹. This particular research explores the intersections between Indic and Islamic religious traditions in Javanese and Malay mystical literatures, aiming to overcome disciplinary compartmentalization and promote cross-cultural engagement. The second is "Javanese Primbon as a Tradition of Determining the Day of Marriage: An Examination of the Concept of Maqashid Al-Syariah."², This paper explores the tradition of using Javanese primbon to determine the auspicious day of marriage from the perspective of Maqashid al-Syariah. The research discusses how Javanese people calculate the auspicious day of marriage, emphasizing the importance of preserving religion, soul, and offspring. It explores the cultural and religious significance of wedding practices in Javanese society, highlighting the fusion of Islamic and Javanese traditions in wedding ceremonies and the role of primbon in choosing wedding dates.

Methodology Of Research

The corpus in this study uses a manuscript entitled Ismu Gama so that it is necessary to have a theory to analyze the contents of the text using a philological approach, especially in the realm of textology. Philology according to Baroroh-Baried et al., (1985) Philology is a discipline that is needed as a form of effort made towards past written relics with the aim of exploring various values in the past. The content contained in past writings is essentially a culture, a product of past human activities. Cultural products in this sense are the thoughts, beliefs, feelings, beliefs, and customs of a society. The study of philology is a knowledge of literature in a broad sense, including language, literature, and culture. Meanwhile, according to Robson (1994) There are two philological views in exploring texts, including (1) traditional philology which emphasizes research on different readings or variants and corrupt readings which are seen as errors; and (2) modern philology which considers different readings or variants as activities to understand texts, interpret them, correct them, and relate them to linguistics, literature, religious culture, and the political system of their time.

The Ismu Gama text is sufficiently qualified to be followed up using the Philological approach because of its important content regarding the Javanese Islamic view of *saresmi* rules. In addition, the Ismu Gama text itself is written using Javanese script, so it is necessary to take steps to change the script so that the wider community can understand the contents of one of the cultural patterns with Javanese Islamic nuances. After the researcher finishes with the transliteration stage, Adapaun in the research will focus on two discussion points as follows: (1) how the calculation or preparation of Javanese Muslims in wishing for a child to be born later will be born both from the physical aspect and its fate, (2) reveal how the dialectics of Islamic normativity between Javanese Islam and normative Islam in determining the calculation of good and bad days in *saresmi* which is suspended on the discourse of cultural ambiguity according to Thomas Bauer.

¹ Andrea Acri and V. Meyer. "Indic-Islamic encounters in Javanese and Malay mystical literatures." *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 47 (2019): 277-284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2019.1657723>.

² A. Yanti et al. "Javanese Primbon as a Tradition of Determining the Day of Marriage: An Examination of the Concept of Maqashid Al-Syariah." *ISLAMIKA* (2023). <https://doi.org/10.36088/islamika.v5i3.3556>.

Results And Findings

Husbands and wives who get pleasure from their *saesmi* life have a balance on the spiritual side, they will live happily with aligned minds. *Saesmi* is indeed a vital issue in Javanese culture because the result is a new life. Therefore, it is necessary to teach that before conducting a *saesmi* relationship, everything must be prepared so that the result is also perfect and understands where it will end. Like the rules that have been established both by religious teachings and the decrees of the ancestors, that people who can do *saesmi* are only married people, which means that a man can only *saesmi* with his own wife, not someone else. *Saesmi* must also be carried out correctly in order to receive blessings from God and be given good results as well.

From an Islamic point of view, as one of the purposes of marriage, *saesmi* is one of the worship activities that is highly recommended by religion and contains great reward value. So the intention in starting the *saesmi* activity must also be clear and accompanied by good expectations. In the Ismu Gama text itself, the intention becomes the first point explained. The excerpt of Ismu Gama's initial text about the beginning of *saesmi* activities reads as follows: *Bismillahirrohmanirrohim, punikå musabingatul ngasar, mongkå sayogyå ing sakéhé wong mukmin, saléh, iku pådhåhå mãcå musabingatul ngasar, punikå Ismu gãmå, winaca arêp wati kalawan rabiné, ikulah dongané: Bismillahirrohmanirrohim, Aljasaddibadana suci, waluya jati, lailaha illallah.* (Ismu Gama:4)

Translation:

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, this is the seventh of ten, so it is better for all believers, pious people to recite from the ninth of ten, namely Ismu Gama, recited when getting married to their (legal) spouse, here is the prayer: *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, Aljasaddibadana suci, waluya jati, lailaha illallah.* (Ismu Gama:4)

In the quotation above, it is clear that in the opening section of this text, it is hinted to believers and pious people to read and study Ismu Gama and must be read when going to do *saesmi* activities. If you look at the written prayer, the sentence is composed of Arabic and Javanese. In Muslims it is highly recommended to recite *basmalah* when starting any activity, as well as *saesmi*. In the word *aljasadibadana suci*, indicates that the physical or body of the couple who will *saesmi* must be in a state of purity first, meaning that it is pure from small and large hadas which are removed through wudlu or janabat bath³ for large hadas. Because as explained at the beginning that *saesmi* activities are a procession that will create a new life, so to start it needs to be in a state of pure self so that the results are also good.

The Javanese word *waluya jati* (meaning true salvation) and the Arabic word *lillahita'ala* (meaning because of Allah, the most sublime) in reading the intention, represent a hope for true salvation to God, that everything is based on sincere intentions in the name of God. So that all the results will indeed be by the grace of God. After discussing the reading of the *saesmi* intention, the Ismu Gama text also explains the post-*saesmi* recommendation, namely reading

³ Janabat is an obligatory bath that is performed to purify oneself from major impurities after *saesmi* activities. After the completion of *saesmi*, whether Inzal (emitting sperm) or not, reaching orgasm or not, the two partners continue to take a big bath, which is a full body bath from the tip of the feet to the tip of the head. Washing the whole body with holy water. Both skin and hair with the intention of bathing janabah. (Makmur & Aisyah, 2020).

Surah Al Qadr. The text only writes the words "inna anzalnahu"⁴ with the order to read ten repetitions after bathing janabat. In the Ismu Gama text itself it is said that "Lan tatkalâ was adus wong iku, mongkâ amâcâhâ inna anjalnahu malih ping sapuluh, inshallah tangala winêhan anak wong iku, anak lan kang sinêlir déning Allah tangala, lan Rasulullah.", which means that the couple who after bathing janabat read the prayer, their child will always be under the protection of God and His Messenger. Looking at the meaning of the words "inna anzalnahu", namely "verily We have revealed it (the Koran)", is a hope for couples who have carried out *saesmi* to be given noble offspring like the glory of the holy Koran.

The Ismu Gama text belongs to the type of primbon manuscripts. Primbon texts usually contain predictions (calculation of good and bad days), a collection of various Javanese knowledge, or a complex Javanese calculation system. (Compilation Team, 2002). In the context of determining the time of *saesmi* activities, Islam does regulate it and includes the manners performed before *saesmi*⁵. As for the second sequence in the Ismu Gama text, it is more about the recommendations and prohibitions in *saesmi* which according to the text are based on the words of the Prophet Muhammad. The variables of reference are the date, day and condition or situation of the *saesmi*. The calculation of the date and day described in the Ismu Gama text is written narratively, so researchers simplify it in the following table:

Table 1. Prohibited dates and days for *saesmi*

| Prohibited dates and days | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|---|
| No | Date | Day | Impact on the child born |
| 1 | 1 | - | go crazy |
| 2 | 15 (at full moon) | - | become <i>wurung</i> |
| 3 | 29 | - | become stupid |
| 4 | 30 | - | |
| 5 | 1 Shawwal | - | become wretched and perverted |
| 6 | 10th Dhul Hijja | - | bad character and lack of intelligence |
| 7 | - | Saturday night | forgetting his parents |
| 8 | - | Tuesday night | The behavior of their children is irreligious, they do many bad things and disobey their parents. |
| 9 | | Friday night | be wretched, die, be eaten by a crocodile, burn in a fire, or go mad. |

Table 2. Recommended dates and days for *saesmi*

| Recommended dates and days | | | |
|----------------------------|------|--------------|--|
| No | Date | Day | Impact on the child born |
| 1 | - | Sunday night | to be good, his child comes to God's attention, in the text it is likened to a lightning bolt that strikes |

⁴ The first sentence of the first verse of the Quran letter Al Qadr which was revealed in the city of Mecca totaling 5 verses. The name Al Qadr means glory and tells about the glory at the time of the revelation of the Quran which is likened to *lailatul qadr* or a night that is more glorious than a thousand months.

⁵ The basis in the Quran for choosing a wedding time is found in Surah An Nuur verse 58.

| Recommended dates and days | | | |
|----------------------------|------|-----------------|---|
| No | Date | Day | Impact on the child born |
| 2 | - | Monday night | be generous, and honor his parents. |
| 3 | - | Wednesday night | to be a child who is a believer or a believer, whose heart is sincere to God. |
| 4 | - | Thursday night | to be a child who is a believer, whose heart is sincere and pure. |

In the Ismu Gama text above, the determination of *saesmi* and its prohibition is only specific to the date variable or day only, so there is no count that uses the date and day variables at the same time in its determination. So that when determining the day of *saesmi* based on the count of good days above, one must anticipate the dates and days that are prohibited according to the Ismu Gama count. In addition, there are also situations or conditions that are prohibited in *saesmi*, as follows:

Table 3. Conditions that are prohibited during *saesmi*

| Prohibited conditions | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| No | Conditions | Impact on the child born |
| 1 | <i>Saesmi</i> with direct exposure to sunlight | the impact is not explained, it only says that <i>sarees</i> with direct exposure to sunlight are not allowed. |
| 2 | <i>Saesmi</i> in <i>Sambi Mungkur</i> position (looking back) | the child becomes dead, if traveling his partner is corrupted and his fate wretched. |
| 3 | <i>Saesmi</i> under the <i>kakayon</i> | his child becomes corrupt, and is harmed. |
| 4 | <i>Saesmi</i> by looking at the partner's farji | their children become wretched, spend their parents' wealth, and behave badly, and are wicked. |

The next section after the explanation of the recommendation and prohibition of *saesmi*, the Ismu Gama text provides a calculation of good and bad days in 30 days in one month, this explanation is not only about *saesmi* but for other activities such as marriage, building a house, planting, and traveling outside the home. The 30 days explained in the Ismu Gama text refers to the Javanese or Hijri calendar of 30 days, so it does not refer to the Gregorian calendar. To make it easier to understand the *saesmi* context, the researcher assigns status to the dates with the following codes: GD (Good Day), BD (Bad Day), S (Good for *saesmi*), and NS (Not Good for *saesmi*).

Table 4. List of good and bad days in 30 days

| Date | Naming | Recommended | Status | Reason |
|------|--------------------------|---|--------|--|
| 1 | <i>Buda day</i> | good for doing anything. on that day it is good to fight against evil, if you get news then get good news, if you hunt quickly get a catch. | GD/S | God created Prophet Adam, and Prophet Muhammad |
| 2 | <i>Kidang</i> (deer) day | good for doing anything. good for marriage, if for <i>saesmi</i> it is not good because the child will be sickly. | GD/S | God created Eve (Prophet Adam's spouse) |

| Date | Naming | Recommended | Status | Reason |
|------|---------------------------|---|--------|--|
| 3 | Tiger day | bad to do anything | BD | Allah sent down Prophet Adam and Eve from heaven to the world on that day. |
| 4 | Cat day | It is good to start something, such as building a house, planting a tree, and doing <i>saesmi</i> . | GD/S | Allah created Abel |
| 5 | Cow day | that day is bad for doing anything, not recommended <i>saesmi</i> , because the child will be disobedient | BD | Allah created Kabil |
| 6 | <i>Kebo</i> day (Buffalo) | It is good to start any work, such as planting crops, doing <i>saesmi</i> , because the child will have a good face, be devoted to Allah and his parents, have high knowledge, and if he is sick, he will recover quickly. | GD/S | - |
| 7 | Rat day | good on that day to start any work, <i>saesmi</i> with his partner is also good | GD/S | - |
| 8 | Ox day | It is good to start any work, except for traveling is not good, if fighting is not good, for <i>saesmi</i> is good, because the child will be good. | GD/S | God created Prophet Noah |
| 9 | Asu day (dog) | not good for starting any work | BD | - |
| 10 | Dragon day | good for starting any work, trading, planting, <i>saesmi</i> , salaki rabi or marriage. | GD/S | - |
| 11 | Flower day | good for anything, <i>saesmi</i> with her partner is good because her children will have abundant sustenance. | GD/S | - |
| 12 | <i>Mayang</i> day | both for buying and selling and <i>saesmi</i> . | GD/S | - |
| 13 | Elephant day | It's not a good day to start any work, it's not good for wars, <i>saesmi</i> and so on. | BD | - |
| 14 | Lion day | It is good to start any work on that day, because Allah made Paradise and the Throne of seats and the Qur'an on that day. | GD/S | - |
| 15 | <i>Iwak</i> day (Fish) | good for anything, planting and <i>saesmi</i> , because the child will be devoted to Allah and both parents, <i>*But if the saesmi is on the full moon (the 15th), based on "musabingatul ngasar: the child becomes wurung or fails"</i> | GD/S | God created the Prophet Joseph |

| Date | Naming | Recommended | Status | Reason |
|------|---|--|--------|---|
| 16 | <i>Malam</i> day (candles) | it is not good on that day to do any work. | BD | God wiped out the people of the Prophet Lot |
| 17 | <i>Wulung</i> day (fluff) | good for doing any work, hunting or <i>sareshmi</i> is also good | GD/S | God created Prophet Jacob, and Prophet Moses. |
| 18 | <i>Lepa</i> day (powder) | called lepa day, it is good on that day to do anything, doing <i>sareshmi</i> is also good, because the child will be good in appearance | GD/S | God created Prophet Isa, and the sun and the moon. God brought Prophet Jacob and Prophet Joseph together. |
| 19 | <i>Bandhang</i> day (seed basket) | good for anything, but for <i>sareshmi</i> is not good, if there is very bad news, if going to war against badness will be good | GD/N S | - |
| 20 | <i>Antu</i> day (ghost) | It is good for <i>sareshmi</i> because the child will be rich, and generous, and if he fights, he will not lose or win, | GD/S | - |
| 21 | <i>Areng</i> day (Charcoal) | bad for anything, bad for <i>sareshmi</i> , bad for children, bad for telling lies, and bad for others. | BD | - |
| 22 | <i>Urang</i> day (Shrimp) | It is good for anything, for <i>sareshmi</i> it is not good because the child cannot travel far and the intention is not fulfilled. | GD/N S | - |
| 23 | <i>Wulung</i> day and <i>Sagara</i> day | It is good for anything, but it is not good for <i>sareshmi</i> , because if she becomes a child it will be bad. | GD/N S | - |
| 24 | <i>Pari</i> day (Paddy) | That day is not good, for <i>sareshmi</i> is not good, if the child is born on that day it will be very disobedient to the parents. | BD | Allah Taala created King Namrud, and King Pharaoh |
| 25 | <i>Padhu</i> day | for anything is not good, because on that day the bad luck is great. | BD | - |
| 26 | <i>Kala</i> day (trap) | not good for anything | BD | on that day when his people the Prophet died in the river. |
| 27 | <i>Ula</i> day (Snake) | good for anything, if the child born on that day will be devoted to Allah. | GD/S | Allah Taala sends down mercy on his servants |

| Date | Naming | Recommended | Status | Reason |
|------|---|---|--------|--------|
| 28 | <i>Pari</i> day (Paddy) | for a good marriage, if so the child will be rich, can please both parents | GD/S | - |
| 29 | <i>Uler</i> day (Caterpillar) | That day is not good, if the child's <i>saesmi</i> becomes bad, if there is a lot of pain, if there is a lot of disobedience towards the parents. | BD | - |
| 30 | <i>Sadha</i> Day (12th season in Javanese counting) | not good for traveling, farming, but good for buying and selling, for <i>saesmi</i> not good because the child will be stupid. | BD | - |

Based on the table above, Ismu Gama presents 19 good dates, but only 14 good dates specifically for *saesmi*, namely on the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th*, 17th, 18th, 20th, 27th, and 28th. In the text of Ismu Gama, on page 11, there is a note for the 15th. The note reads "*nanging ing purnâmâ (bilih sarêsmi ing tanggal kaping 15 wau), saking ujaring Musabingatul Ngasar: anaké dadi wurung.*" (Ismu Gama:11). (Ismu Gama:11)" which means: "But if it is full moon (if *saesmi* on the 15th), based on "musabingatul ngasar: the child becomes *wurung*". If in the explanation at the beginning, indeed the 15th or when the full moon is not good for *saesmi* it is feared that the child will become *wurung* or fail. However, it is said to be good for *saesmi* in the thirtieth day explanation sequence, so there is an exception that if on the 15th there is a full moon or full moonlight, it is not good for *saesmi* and if there is no full moonlight, it is good for *saesmi*. Seeing this reason, the really good date in Ismu Gama to perform *saesmi* is only 13 days.

This is also in accordance with the hadith narrated by Ali, Mu'awiyah and Abu Hurairah which reads "*O Ali! Do not have intercourse at the beginning of the month and not when the night is brightly lit by moonlight*"⁶. So, the Prophet also disliked the full moon time for *intercourse* and there is no further information on what will happen if you continue to have *intercourse*. But in Islam, the prohibition is punished makruh not haram, so if you obey the rule will get a reward, if you still carry it out you will not get a sin. It is different from doing *saesmi* when the wife is menstruating, nifas or when the prayer time is narrow, so when doing *saesmi* in these conditions it is punished as haram. (Iskandar, 2009).

Regarding the naming of the dates from the first to the 30th, the Ismu Gama text does not explain why the dates are given special names. Researchers have also not found any philosophical meaning behind the naming of each date. If examined further, the naming of dates uses animal names and some use nouns. The use of animal names for dates totals 15, including: deer, tiger, cat, cow, buffalo, rat, ox, dog, dragon, elephant, lion, fish, shrimp, snake, and caterpillar. While the use of nouns and term words amounted to 14 due to the name of the rice day used twice, namely on the 24th and 28th, including: buda, flower, mayang, candle, *wulung*, powder, seed basket, ghost, charcoal, sea, rice, *padhu*, trap, and *sadha*.

⁶ This information can be found in al-Mathalib al-Aliyyah, Op. Cit., Juz V, page 132, Hadith number 1666.

Discussion

The Ismu Gama text was written on the basis of Javanese Islamic beliefs. The term Javanese Islam in this research dimension is understood as a system of belief and worship that is different from the normative Islamic tradition in general and tends to be influenced by Javanese elements, such as language and calculations on certain phenomena or commonly referred to as *ngelmu petung* or *ngelmu titen*. In relation to this Ismu Gama text research, it can be digested that Javanese Islam provides its own style in the local culture, but it gives rise to diverse or ambiguous interpretations of meaning depending on who interprets it.

Ismu Gama is a *primbon*-type text. The majority of *Primbon*-type texts are based on Islamic beliefs but also do not abandon the collective beliefs of Javanese society. This is what triggers the emergence of cultural ambiguity, because the results of cultural hybridity that are born not everyone can simply accept them, except for those who have been raised since childhood in the midst of the culture developing and manifesting itself. Bauer's opinion is quite fundamental and is the basic point of the concept of cultural ambiguity, namely that cultural ambiguity occurs when different discourses coexist in social groups, and when these discourses simultaneously exert the power to regulate norms that are often incompatible with each other and may even collide directly (Bauer, 2021). What is most important, however, is that the alignment of views is accepted by many members of the social group, although there may be some who reject the alignment and prefer the exclusive dominance of one of the discourses.

Based on Bauer's concept, Ismu Gama's position as one of the *primbon*-type texts that regulate *saesmi* from the perspective of Javanese Islam certainly has a great opportunity for various responses in society in general. This can be predicted from several reasons. First, the number of actors or people involved in practicing the concept of *saesmi* rules and norms based on Ismu Gama will experience scarcity in line with the adherents of Javanese Islamic beliefs, so that the majority social group will dominate exclusively the cultural understanding adopted at that time to regulate societal norms. In line with the opinion of Woodward (1989) Javanese Islam is often characterized by tensions between legal interpretations and mystical interpretations, but both have the same source, Islam. Therefore, he then introduced variants of Islam in the form of "normative Islam or normative piety" and "Javanese Islam". It is this normative Islam that will become a larger part of society than Javanese Islam.

Secondly, there are some findings in the Ismu Gama text whose teaching points are not in line with normative Islamic beliefs and make their groups have the opportunity to disagree with some points in Ismu Gama about *saesmi*. The first point is about the reading of the intention or *saesmi* prayer which mixes Arabic and Javanese. The prayer reads "*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, Aljasaddibadana suci, waluya jati, lailaha illallah*". For normative Islam, this prayer is not commonplace, but for Javanese Muslim groups, it is not a serious problem because they both hope for goodness by mixing local languages that are easy to understand. It is worth recalling the conclusion of Woodward's research on Javanese Islamic studies, that the norms of piety adopted by Javanese Islam are not deviations from Islam, but variants of Islam, just as we also find Indian Islam, Syrian Islam and Moroccan Islam. (Woodward, 1999).

As a reference in Islam, researchers compared Ismu Gama with the Book of Qurotul Uyun⁷ which is well known among normative Islam as a book that regulates intimate relationships. If we look back at table 1 and table 3 regarding the days, dates and conditions that are prohibited for *saesmi*, there will be a slight difference.

Table 5. Comparison of the prohibition of *saesmi* time with sahih hadith and Ismu Gama

| Prohibited times | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|
| | Qurrotul Uyun | Reason | Ismu Gama | Reason |
| 1 | Qurban Night (Eid al-Adha) | His child will enjoy flowing blood (killing or injuring people) | 10th Dhul Hijja | The child will have a bad character and lack of intelligence. |
| 2 | The 1st day of each month | - | Date 1 | His child will go crazy |
| 3 | Mid-month date (15th) | - | The 15th at full moon | The child will become a <i>wurung</i> (failure) |
| 4 | Last date (30th) of each month | - | 30th | His child will become stupid |
| 5 | | | 29th | |
| 6 | | | 1st of Shawwal | His child will be wretched and perverted |
| 7 | | | Saturday night | Children will forget their parents |
| 8 | | | Tuesday night | The behavior of their children is irreligious, they do many bad things and disobey their parents. |
| 9 | | | Friday night | be wretched, die, be eaten by a crocodile, burn in a fire, or go mad. |

In Ismu Gama there are additions for the 1st of Shawwal and the three nights of Tuesday, Friday and Saturday. For Qurotul Uyun, it is supported by the words of Imam Ghazali which reads as follows, "Having intercourse between husband and wife is disliked on three days in every month, namely the beginning, end and middle". There is even an opinion that the devil has intercourse on these three nights. And there is another opinion that the devils participate in intercourse on these three nights (Iskandar, 2009). So, it can be speculated that Ismu Gama also refers to the same Islamic teaching principles as in Qurotul Uyun, the difference is that Ismu Gama provides additional times that are not allowed for *saesmi*.

The phrase Musabbiatul 'asyar in the text Ismu Gama

In the initial cover of the Ismu Gama text it is written Musabbiatul 'asyar or if examined further this refers to Dzikir Musabba'at al-'Asyr "Seven-seven ten" or Ten (10) prayers which are a

⁷ The Qurotul Uyun reference used in this paper uses the Qurotul Uyun book which has been translated by M. Ali Maghfur Syadzili Iskandar and then written into a book entitled "Keluarga Sakinah" by Shaykh Abi Muhammad Al Tihamy and Kanun Al Idris Al Chasany, published by AL-MIFTAH Publisher Surabaya in 2009.

series of readings, short letters (al-Fatihah, al-Naas, al-Falaq, al-Ikhlās, al-Kafirun, and the Kursyi verse), recitation of tasbeih, tahlil, tahmid and tamjid, salawat for the Prophet, istighfar for oneself, parents, Muslims and prayers to seek perfection in worshipping Allah SWT, each of which is read seven times.



Picture 2. Musabbiatul 'Asyar with Wirid Musabbiat text

This Wirid is routinely practiced by students of the Cipasung Islamic Boarding School, Singaparna, Tasikmalaya, West Java, as part of the discipline of studying and teaching students. Wirid Musabbiat is considered important to achieve prosperity, safety, success and inner and outer happiness in this world and the hereafter. This dhikr is also used as a routine reading at Majlis Dzikir al-Khidiriyyah in Mekarjati village, Haurgeulis sub-district, Indramayu. This Majlis tries to offer a method or formula of dhikr, namely dhikr musabba'at al-'asyr, which originally this dhikr according to experts was a dhikr that was practiced privately by mutashawwifin and habaib. As for the research conducted by Fatkhurrohman⁸ in 2008 concluded that the impact of practicing Dzikir Musabba'at al-'Asyr on the creation of peace of mind (mental health) is very significant, meaning that pilgrims who are istiqomah practicing the dhikr of musabba'ah experience various health improvements both in terms of physical (the growth of immunity, so that a person is not easily sick because the mood is always peaceful and happy) and spiritual (an increase in faith and piety).

The concept of musabba'ah dhikr used by Majlis Dzikir al-Khidriyyah in the context of Tazkiyat al-Nafs (purification of the soul) is by practicing the dhikr in the morning and evening. The dhikr that is practiced in the morning is intended to fortify a person from sins and sins and despicable traits arising from interacting with their environment, which causes humans to neglect remembering their Rabb. So referring to some of the Musabbiat dzikir that are carried out in various regions in West Java, indicates that in order to endeavor to ask for good offspring

⁸ Fatkhurrohman, Imam (2008) *Dzikir musabba'at al-'asyr and mental health: an analytical study at Majlis Dzikir Al-Khidiriyyah in Mekarjati-Haurgeulis Village*. Undergraduate (S1) thesis, IAIN Walisongo.

through good times in having good sex (*saresmi*), in the Ismu Gama Text it is also recommended to do dhikr regularly in order to cleanse the mind and also physically.

Date Toponymy in Ismu Gama

Another point of ambiguity captured in the Ismu Gama text is the toponymy of the dates of the month using animal names. This concept seems to be a less common thing in Javanese culture, because Javanese society since ancient times has had a calculation of *wuku* or *pawukon* for determining good days and bad days. Meanwhile, the use of animal names is better known and used in Chinese cultural calculations, namely in the Shio system. Shio that we know is 12 and all of them use animal names, if matched with the date toponymy in Ismu Gama as follows:

Table 6: Animal names in the Shio and Ismu Gama system

| | Shio | Ismu Gama | | | Shio | Ismu Gama |
|---|---------|-----------|--|----|---------|-----------|
| 1 | Rats | √ | | 7 | Horses | - |
| 2 | Buffalo | √ | | 8 | Goats | - |
| 3 | Tiger | √ | | 9 | Monkey | - |
| 4 | Rabbit | - | | 10 | Chicken | - |
| 5 | Dragon | √ | | 11 | Dog | √ |
| 6 | Snake | √ | | 12 | Pigs | - |

In Ismu Gama there are 14 animal names, when compared to the animal names in the Shio concept there are only 6 slices, namely rat, buffalo, dragon, dog, tiger and snake. This kind of toponymy does not exist in normative Islamic teachings. But in Ismu Gama the names of dates are associated with important events in Islamic history. For example, the 2nd is called the kidang or kijang day, on that day it is good to do any activity other than *saresmi*, because the child will be sickly. It is written that the reason behind it is that on that date Allah created Eve, the spouse of Prophet Adam. Until now there has not been found a saheeh history that states Eve was created on the 2nd, even if there is then the history is dhaif or weak. In Ismu Gama, there are 15 Islamic historical events that are behind the calculation of good and bad days and all of them are specific to certain dates (can be seen in table 4 on the previous page).

According to Bauer, (2021) Islamic norms, rules or laws present the complexity of cultural ambiguity. Normative Islamic law stands between transtemporal norms and the incalculable diversity of everyday life, about the relationship between customary law and Islamic law, or the question of Islamic law, or the question of what role Islamic normativity plays in legal opinion. So, the cultural ambiguity that occurs in Ismu Gama, especially in the toponymic correlation of Islamic dates and historical events, is something natural, because at first Islam came to Javanese people who were still unfamiliar with the new understanding. Then, they slowly took the teachings and became a collective memory that was able to motivate themselves in every daily activity. In this case, the reason for the creation of Muslim belief figures such as the creation of Prophet Muhammad, Prophet Adam, Habil, Qabil, Eve, etc., is to expect good offspring after *saresmi*. Although the validity of the proposed dates has not been clearly validated, but with the principle of common good it can be something that can be compromised.

Conclusion

The presence of the Ismu Gama text is a separate phenomenon in regulating *saresmi* activities in Javanese society. The product of the hybridity of Islamic normativity and Javanese traditional beliefs becomes another alternative in order to prepare good offspring. In Ismu Gama, there are

13 days that are said to be good for carrying out *sareshmi*, namely the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 27th, and 28th. Of the 13 days, it needs to be confirmed again with days that are not recommended for *sareshmi* such as Tuesday night, Friday night and Saturday night. The cultural ambiguity that arises in Ismu Gama occurs because the discourse of norms for determining good and bad days for *sareshmi* is different and coexists in social groups, and when this discourse simultaneously uses power to regulate existing norms, they are often incompatible with each other. However, the Ismu Gama text also contains the phrase Musabbiatul 'Asyar which correlates with the Musabbiat dhikr practiced in various regions of Nusantara. This dhikr is believed by its practitioners to be an important dhikr to achieve prosperity, safety, success and happiness in this world and the hereafter as well as to achieve peace of mind or mental health.

Although dialectical ambiguity appears in the Ismu Gama text, it is still within the realm of reason because in Islamic belief for the context of determining the prohibition of *sareshmi* time is only punished makruh. This means that if implemented, there is no sin and if abandoned, there will be a reward. Furthermore, the articulation of differences in the normativity of *sareshmi* calculations between Javanese Islam and normative Islam when viewed from the concept of endeavor and prudence in order to expect good offspring physically and their fate line, then there is no futility in the issue. It goes back to the concept of cultural ambiguity that if one group simultaneously accepts different interpretations of a phenomenon, all of them are entitled to the same validity.

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