

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the writer discusses the meanings of *Paes Ageng* adornments performed by make up artists in Semarang. This discussion is divided into two parts. The first part is the adornments of *Paes Ageng* and the second part is the meanings of *Paes Ageng* adornments. The writer analyzed the data based on related theories, the informants' answers in the interviews, and the result of observations. All data from these three sources are used to answer the questions on body adornments in Java especially *Paes Ageng* and their symbolic meanings. Out of three sources, the main data for this research is gained from the writer's three informants (two Javanese make up artists and one Javanese artist). The questions for the interviewees were in Indonesian language since the informants are non-English speakers.

4.1 Body Adornments in Java

The mostly used body adornment in Java especially in the event of marriage is make up. Compared to the groom, it is the bride who is more adorned. Javanese make up has several types, and it depends on the preference of the bridegroom and their families. For Javanese people, there are two kinds of make up look used as the standard of Javanese wedding make up, namely, *Solo Putri* and *Paes Ageng*. Both of them are from *keraton* (palace) tradition. *Solo Putri* is from Solo *keraton* while *Paes Ageng* is from Jogja *keraton*. This study is concerned more with *Paes Ageng*.

In modern era, *Paes Ageng* has experienced modifications in that there are some changes in the original shape of adornments and their symbolic meanings. *Paes Ageng* make up is more than just shapes or patterns. The meanings that the make up represents also matter. The writer discovers supporting ideas on the make up meanings from the informants' responses in the

interviews. The first informant of this study (Informant 1) is a Javanese female. She is a Javanese traditional make up artist. The second informant (Informant 2) is also a Javanese female make up artist. These informants provide the writer much information about the kind of adornments of *Paes Ageng*. The third informant (called Informant 3) is a Javanese male artist who has a better understanding of symbolic meanings of *Paes Ageng* adornments. Informant 3 is knowledgeable of Javanese tradition, especially the one dealing with marriage rituals.



Picture 1

Picture 1 shows the make up look of the face area. The person in the picture is a model of informant 1's student. In the following presentation, the writer divides the adornments into two areas. The first area is the face and the second one is the hair.

4.1.1 The Face Area

Face is such an important part of a human being's body. People identify a person by seeing their face. People's face can determine someone's characteristic. Face is someone's image so that people can recognize a person's characteristic by seeing their face. DeMello (2007) states

that “according to evolutionary psychologists, there are a number of physical features that both men and women are programmed to find beautiful, including smooth skin, thick skinny hair, and symmetrical faces and bodies.” People want to be known as beautiful or handsome as possible by others. Javanese people have their own standard of beauty, and adorning the body is the way of beautifying someone’s physical appearance. Body modifications that people in the world find beautiful is culturally constructed (DeMello, 2007, p. 28). Since it is culturally constructed, body adornment is never static. This artistic works continually evolve.

Javanese cultural adornments which also undergo the same evolution is *Paes Ageng*. *Paes Ageng* still maintains the old tradition (*pakem*). However, it has also experienced some modifications in terms of shape, colors used, and adornment ornaments. Javanese culture is certainly influenced by changes in the modern era.

Informant 2 stated “ *modifikasi itu anu ya sekarang di anu sendiri kok dikreasi sendiri, terus tergantung periasnya terus request pengantinnya. Sekarang kan nek pakeme jane tetep pakem, cuma kan ditambahi dikurangi aja*” [now, the modification is created based on the make up artist’s creativity and the request of the bride. Now the old ways (*pakem*) are still being used with some additions or omissions].

The following pictures help readers to understand the kinds of adornment in *Paes Ageng*. Picture 2 shows the front view of the adornments, while picture 3 shows the adornment from the side perspective.



Picture 2. The front view of the Adornments Picture 3. The side view of the Adornments

The kinds of adornment are discussed below:

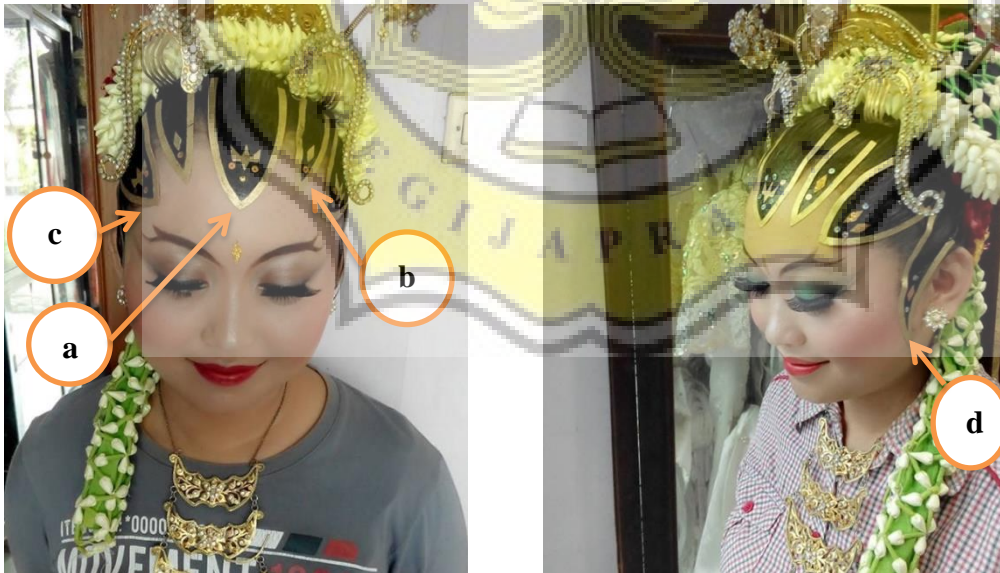
1. *Alis Menjangan Ranggah*. This adornment is drawn on the eyebrow. Its shape is like a couple of antlers as its name “*menjangan ranggah*” suggests. This Javanese term refers to deer’s antlers. The color of *alis menjangan ranggah* is usually either brown or black. To draw it, the make up artists use an eyebrow pencil.
2. *Cengkorongan*. *Cengkorongan* has 4 shapes. These leaf-like shaped drawings are not made directly by the make up artist anymore like the practice of the past because ready-to-use imitations of *cengkorongan* are available now. Informant 2 informs that:

“...kalau yang sekarang yang di desa desa itu kan kebanyakan seperti ini ([informant menunjukkan gambar cengkorongan dari buku) cuma belinya kan yang tempel yang cepat itu jadi nggak ribet, padahal sebenarnya pakemnya harusnya yang itu prada (bubuk emas untuk garis cengkorongan) asli itu. Lebih mahal yang asli terus kelihatan anggun gadis gitu kalau asli, kelihatan kaku kalau yang tempelan itu, kurang njawani kurang mantep lah”

[those living in the villages use this kind (of adornment), most make up artists only buy imitation (of *cengkorongan* because) it is simpler and faster to use (the informant shows the interviewer a picture of *cengkorongan* from a book). Whereas, the real one is the *prada* (golden glitters for outer line of the *cengkorongan*), the original one which is more expensive. It makes the bride look more feminine, like an innocent girl. The imitation does not look elegant and less expressive].

In Sanskrit language, *cengkorongan* means “sketching.” A Javanese make up artist always draws the *cengkorongan* (sketch) first before filling it with *pidih* [the black filling in *cengkorongan*] and *prada* [the golden outer line of *cengkorongan*]. The shape of this adornment looks like a crown which has its four parts with different shapes and sizes.

The following pictures (picture 4 and 5) give more detailed information on forms of *cengkorongan*.



Picture 4. Shows the 4 parts of *cengkorongan* Picture 5. Shows the last part of *cengkorongan*
Parts of *cengkorongan* are explained below.

- a. *Penunggul*. This adornment is located at the center of forehead and it is the biggest *cengkorongan* shapes. It is supposed to resemble half of an egg (chicken egg).
- b. *Pengapit*. This adornment is the smallest one compared with the others. Two *pengapit* are at the left and right of the *penunggul*.
- c. *Penitis*. This adornment shape is smaller than *penunggul*, and its length is also a bit shorter. There should be two *penitis* beside the *pengapit*, at the left and the right of *pengapit*.
- d. *Godheg*. This adornment is drawn near the ears. There should be two *godheg* beside the *penitis*, at the left and the right. *Godheg* should be parallel to earlobe.
4. *Prada*. *Prada* is the line circling the *cengkorongan*. The color is gold. In the past, *prada* was made from golden glitters. The make up artist should be careful when applying it around the *pidih*. If not, the golden glitters would ruin the make up. Now, make up artists may use the imitation of *prada*. The imitation is like sticker which is easily stuck onto the outer line of the *cengkorongan* already filled with *pidih*.
5. *Pidih*. *Pidih* is the filling of the *cengkorongan*. The color is black. It is made of something like either eyeliner gel, or body painting gel. The make up artist should be really careful when applying this *pidih* because the black color of *pidih* will ruin the bride make up if the make up artist makes mistakes of drawing it.
6. *Cithak*. This adornment is at the center of the forehead. It is put between the eyebrow. Its shape is rhombus and looks like a diamond. The color of *cithak* is usually based on the request of the bride, and the most favorite colors are gold, green, and black. When explaining *cithak*, informant 1 showed the writer a picture, saying, “*ini cithaknya.., dia dibuat dari daun pandan*” [this is *cithak*; it is extracted from *pandan* leaves].

7. Lipstick. The color of cosmetic used for the lip is usually red. However, the bride at the present time can request the color they want. When informant 2 was being asked whether or not the lipstick color red, she points out that “ ... *Tapi kalau sekarang ya tergantung bajunya, tapi nek pengen kelihatan anu ya harus merah cerah biar nggak sama kaya tamunya tapi kadang ada yang request lipsticknya jangan yang menyala*” [but now the color of the lipstick depends on the bride outfit. If the bride wants to look more outstanding compared to the guests, she needs to use the bright red color; but sometimes some clients prefer not to use striking lipstick color].
8. *Jahitan mata*. *Jahitan mata* (*lit. eye sewing*) is made of eyeshadow which is drawn like two lines. It is drawn from the outer of the eyes directed to the *cengkorongan* or hair.

4.1.2 The Hair Area

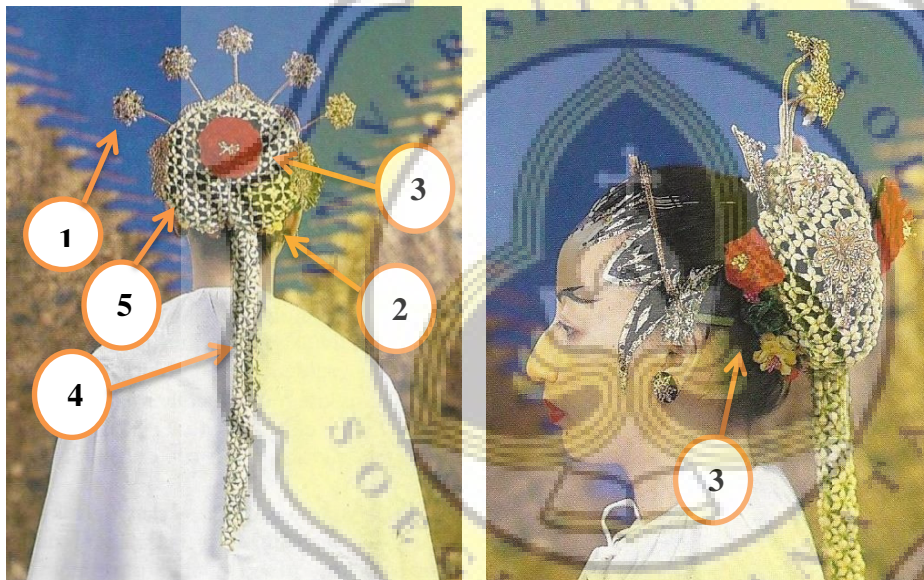
In addition to the face, hair is also an important part to signify beauty and social status. For DeMello (2007, p. 69), body adornments and modifications have always signified class position in societies. Hairstyles are literal marks of social position. The different hairstyle shows the different social status might be. Besides being easily identified due to its position on the head, hair is also considered as human beings' crown. DeMello (2007) states that,

Hair and make up products can be seen as a way in which elite men and women differentiate themselves by highlighting features considered beautiful, in general making themselves desirable and attractive to those at the top of the social life.

In spite of make up, hairstyles also have undergone modifications and innovations following modern trend. Informant 1 mentioned that there are some adornments for the hair area which may be changed or modified, but the rest should comply with tradition (in Javanese, *pakem*).

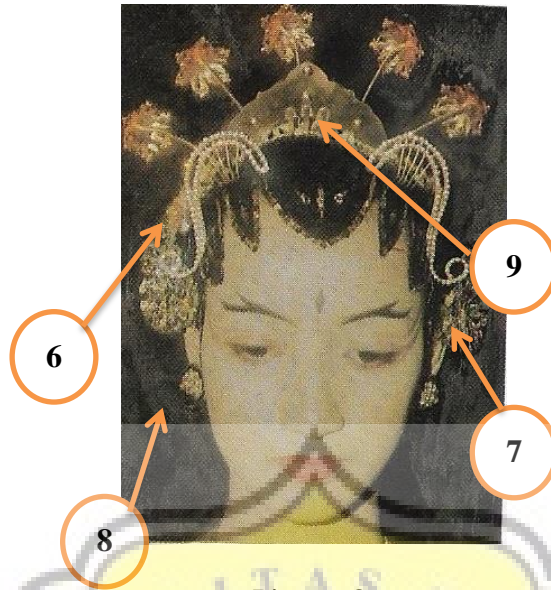
When being asked about the common modification in Semarang, she explains the changes in hairstyle. In the past, the bride wore hair bun covered with knitted jasmine flowers. Now, some brides still wear hair bun although they are using hijab. She explained that “*ada yang hijab tapi juga masih pake itu, sunduk menthul sama cengkorongan masih pake. Cuma kan dia sanggulnya berhijab pakenya hijab, dikasih melati*” [there are brides who use hijab for their hair, but they can still use *sunduk menthul* (see picture 6 number 1 below) and *cengkorongan*. For the brides wearing hijab, the hijab itself functions as a bun covered and decorated with knitted jasmines].

Pictures no 6, 7, and 8 below show the kinds of hair adornments in Paes Ageng.



Picture 6. Shows the back side view Picture 7. Shows the side view

Source : *Tata Rias Pengantin Gaya Jogjakarta* (Murtiadji & Suwardanidjaja, 1993)



Picture 8.

Source : *Tata Rias Pengantin Gaya Jogjakarta* (Murtiadji & Suwardanidjaja, 1993)

The detail on hair adornments is discussed below:

1. *Sunduk Menthul*. This adornment should be five pieces. Informant 3 explained that “*sundhuk menthul lima biji, harus ganjil ini itungannya harus ganjil biasanya lima*” [*sundhuk menthul* consists of five pieces; odd in numbers, and commonly five pieces]. It is put behind *sisir gunung*. There are various forms of *sundhuk menthul* as seen in the pictures below.

Picture 9 and 10 are the examples of two different kinds of *sundhuk menthul*.

Picture 9 ornaments are like tulip flowers and the picture 10 ornaments look like roses.



Picture 9.



Picture 10.

Informant 2 suggests that “....*menthul itu kan ada dua toh. Sing satu depane tok ada sing belakang depan ada jadi dari sana keliatan dari sini keliatan....itu kan anu kalau pakemnya ituya kebelakang sakjane cuma kadang menthul itu biar keliatan depan bagus kebelakang bagus*” [*menthul* (the swinging hair ornament) may move to two directions. The first direction is where all *menthul* face forward; the second is that some *menthul* face backward and forward to make *menthul* easy to be seen at both sides. According to the old tradition, *menthul* should face backward, yet sometimes the modification (*menthul* facing forward and backward) is for the purpose of visibility from both sides].

2. *Sanggul bokor mengkurep*. This adornment is made of *subal* (a fake hair bun). It is then covered with knitted jasmines. *Bokor* (lit. wash bowl in Javanese) is used to wash the bride-groom’s feet in one of Javanese marriage ritual sessions. Besides, *mengkurep* in Javanese language means lying face down. Therefore, this *sanggul* (bun) is called *bokor mengkurep* because it represents the wash bowl. Picture 11 shows the fake bun usually used to make *sanggul bokor mengkurep*.



Picture 11.

3. *Jebahan*. *Jebahan* (flower-like ornaments) is applied in two areas. According to picture 6 and 7, the first one is in the center of *sanggul bokor mengkurep*, and the other ones are at the left and the right sides of *sanggul bokor mengkurep*. The first one is a red rose; it is a bit bigger than the second *jebahan*. The second *jebahan* is made from six roses: three for the left one and the others for the right. Their colors are red, green, and yellow; three different colors for both sides (right and left). In addition, the colors of *jebahan* roses sometimes depend on the make up artist's request to the flower sellers or accessory sellers. A make up artist may use both the fake *jebahan* (flower-like ornament) and the real one (real rose). Answering the writer's question on the flower ornament, informant 1 explained that "*diakan namanya jebahan, itu dari mawar kan kalo mawar asli warnanya putih sama merah*" [It is called *jebahan*. It is from the real roses; their colors are red and white].
4. *Gajah Ngoling/uling* (see picture 12 below). This adornment is created from knitted jasmines. It is made like a tail, and it can be added with one or two red roses on it. The length of this adornment is around 30 cm. Picture 12 below is *gajah ngoling*, this ready-to-use knitted jasmine is usually applied under *sanggul bokor mengkurep*.



Picture 12.

5. *Knitted Jasmine*. In the past, the make up artist was required to knit the jasmine flowers by herself. Nowadays, make up artists prefer to buy by ordering the knitted jasmines from the flower sellers.
6. *Centhung*. There must be two *centhung* in front of *sisir gunung*. The adornment is like a small crown with a comb to make it easy to be worn in the hair. Picture 13 below is *centhung* which is usually worn in front of *sisir gunung*.



Picture 13.

7. *Sumping*. Like *centhung*, there must be two *sumping* above the ears. One is at the left and the other one is at the right. It is called *sumping* because the shape is like a *sumping* leaf.
8. *Anting-anting* (earring). This adornment is for the ears. One will be on the right and another one is on the left. The earring shape is round.

9. *Sisir gunungan*. This adornment looks like a mountain as the term itself suggests. In Javanese language, “*gunungan*” means mountain. Under *sisir gunungan*, there is a comb to make *sisir gunungan* easy to be put into a bun (*sanggul bokor mengkurep*). In modern era, *sisir gunungan* can face forward although the *pakem* of *sisir gunungan* is facing backward. Informant 1 explained that “*kalo orang Semarang modern dia ga dibalik itune (menunjukkan gambar sisir gunungan dari buku) tok perhiasannya ga dibalik kesana, sunduk menthul sama gunungannya itu toh menghadap kedepan kalau modern. Kalau modifikasi itu sunduk menthul sama gunungannya madepe depan, kalau pakeme kan madep belakang*” [Semarang modern people’s adornments face backward. Following modern trend, *sunduk menthul* and *gunungan* face forward. The modifications of *sunduk menthul* and *gunungan* take forms in face-forward direction of the ornaments. According to the *pakem*, they should face backward].

4.2 Symbolic Meanings

Awit (1963) states that “signs and signals function as indicators of something that they are not themselves, and act like stimulators of behavior related to what they signify.” Bodies display in their shape and on their skin the social level to which they belong, and the way they are used as an indicator of class and status (DeMello, 2007, p. 69). Symbols can be the product of identity, belief, and beauty. Symbol cannot only be drawn on a paper, but it can also be drawn on humans’ body like the body adornments.

There are so many body adornments that people can wear, one of them is make up. Make up is used differently in different cultures, depending on the society’s standards of beauty (DeMello, 2007, p. 82). Appearance is the primary focus to see and to recognize. Many cultures

use body paint to make people become more beautiful and powerful, or to convey important social identity of a person (DeMello, 2007, p. 82). *Paes Ageng* also has beauty purpose, its adornments are worn by the bride to show the status of the bride as the one and only in that wedding ceremony. It is also used to beautify the bride like ‘the queen of the day’. Additionally, *Paes Ageng* is the highest level of make up in *keraton* Yogyakarta which was worn only by the princesses of *keraton* (Rahayu & Pamungkas, 2014, p.15). *Paes Ageng* adornments are not only about their unique shapes, but each shape also has symbolic meanings. The explanation of the **symbolic meanings of *Paes Ageng* adornments** is distinguished into two parts, the face part and the hair part.

4.2.1 The Face Part

DeMello (2007) suggests that face painting is typically used during the performance of certain rituals or ceremonies in traditional societies. Face painting which is to beautify the wearer is not separated from the cosmetics used. Form of face paints for every occasion evolves into the cosmetics people know today (DeMello, 2007, p. 40). Cultures have been following the modern trend even though not all aspects of that culture are changed particularly. Informant 3 is a Javanese artist since the year of 1980’s. He provides the writer information on the symbolic meaning of *Paes Ageng* adornments in a long interview.

1. *Alis menjangan ranggah*



Picture 14. antler-shaped eyebrows

When the writer asked him about the adornments of the bride's eyebrows which look like antlers, he said that "*Lhaya ini kenapa kalo kaya gini anu seperti tanduk menjangan, ini memang alisnya seperti ini ya itu dibikin seperti tanduk menjangan karena keberanian wanita*" [the reason this adornment is created like antlers, and the eyebrows are drawn to be like *tanduk menjangan* (deer's antlers) because they signify the bravery of women]. *Alis menjangan ranggah* is believed to bring the courage to be fearless for the bride after officially being made as a wife.

The saying "*wani in tata*" represents women as the brave ones (Sapitri, 2017). Fearlessness is not valid for men only, but also for women. "Woman" in Indonesian language is *wanita*, Pramudita (2016) suggested "*kata wanita berasal dari kata wani (berani) dan ditata (diatur). Artinya seorang wanita adalah sosok yang berani ditata dan diatur*" [the word of *wanita* (woman) is from *wani* (brave) and *ditata* (be regulated). It means that a woman is someone who is brave to be styled and regulated]. Besides, *alis menjangan ranggah* doesn't represent fearlessness only, when the writer asked more about the symbolic meaning of *alis menjangan ranggah* to the informant 3. He then explained the other symbolic meaning of this adornment "*ini memang simbolnya simbol tanduk, lha tanduk untuk mencari kemenangan sih. Lha sing jenenge wedus barang kan sapikan pasti ada tanduknya, semua untuk mencari kemenangan*" [this is symbolised as horns because horns are for victory. Like goats and cows, they have horns to reach a victory].

2. Cengkorongan



Picture 15. The leaf-shaped ornaments on the forehead and temple areas.

Two make up artists (informant 1 and 2) call *cengkorongan* as *paes* (*Paes Ageng* make up), for *cengkorongan* is considered the characteristic of *Paes Ageng* make up. Informant 3 informed said that “*cengkorongan, lha itu berartikan terjemahannya jane itu variasi. Namane ya boleh dikata ya seperti cara anune ya mahkota, mahkota wanita. Bentuknya runcing-runcing, mahkota*” [*cengkorongan*, the meaning (the shape) is based on the variation. It may be called as a crown, based on the ways of creating that adornment, like a crown for women. The adornment has a half-lens-shaped which makes it like a crown] (informant 3 interviewed on 28/08/2018). Make up which is often put on the face has been used to distinguish the wearers’ classes in stratified societies (DeMello, 2007, p. 84). As a crown, this *cengkorongan* has a purpose to differentiate or to make the bride look special like the queen of the day, in the wedding ceremony.

Face has become the focused area of people to identify someone. *Cengkorongan* is considered as a bride’s crown because *paes* is to beautify a bride and give the bride the identity as the queen of the day (in wedding day). As the queen of the day, women are expected to be more feminine. Women wear make up to differentiate themselves from men by making their appearance more feminine (DeMello, 2007, p.82). Beside that, for African Americans, wearing gold crowns is also

a sign of someone's social status. In spite of make up, putting on *cengkorongan* on the face will be the mark of the wearer's social status.

3. *Cithak*



Picture 16. Its shape is rhombus and filled with gold/green/black color.

Cithak is at the center on the bride's forehead. It is between the eyebrows (*alis menjangan ranggah*). Informant 3 stated :

“ini sebetulnya untuk dengan adanya yang seperti ini itu supaya diantara kita sudah berdiri di tengah-tengah tangga rumah tangga....iya sudah punya patokan istilahnya kudu wes ora kena goyah, tergabur kesana kesini harus ditengah-tengah. Kan sukanya terpengaruh wong rumah tangga terpengaruh teman dan lain sebagainya nggak boleh itu makanya harus ditengah-tengah kaya gini”

[actually, this shape is centered to make the bridegroom stand in the center of household matters ... they have already had criterion which means that we should not be shaky, not carried around but stay at the center. Sometimes a husband and a wife tend to be affected by friends and others. Therefore, this adornment is centered for that reason] (informant 3 interviewed on 28/08/2018).

When people get married, their status will be changed. As a husband and a wife, they have to make a good living together. Their life will neither be only about “me” or “you”, but it will be

about “us”. Javanese women have the ability to control their emotional attitude (Pramudita, 2016, p. 14). After marriage, a wife belongs to both her biological family members and her husband’s family members. It means that she should be in the middle when dealing with family affairs. She takes the role as the one who unites the family. Someone is able to unite families if she/he takes the middle position (in the center).

4. *Jahitan mata*



Picture 17. Lit. Eye sewing.

Informant 3 said “*dua garis, kita rumah tangga kan sudah berdua sejajar seiring sejalan*” [two lines mean that in the household, we (husband and wife) are equal, two people who are walking on the same path] (informant 3 interviewed on 28/08/2018). Marriage is a process of loving between a couple which is bonded to one another (Putri & Ajisuksmo, 2017). Marriage is when two people decide to unite their own lives to be one in a family life. Husband and a wife have been one flesh when they are officially married (Lovse, 2009, p. 114). A husband and a wife shall make things together, especially making decisions for their household. When a male and a female are together, they could reach the destiny they create (Lovse, 2009, p. 117).

5. Lipstick



Picture 18. Lip cosmetics.

As a general symbol, red symbolizes more than just strength. It also stands for fire or blood which is associated with energy, power, determination as well as passion, desire, and love (Cerrato, 2012). The energy of red colour makes women look more attractive, for it is so bright even the maroon (dark red) one still draws attention. Red is a positive colour which draws attention and calls for action to be taken (Cerrato, 2012). In spite of pink colour, red is also used to express love as we can see in so many pictures or symbols of heart which are in red colour.

In an interview, informant 3 pointed out that red colour is supposed to be the common colour for lips. However, he also recognizes that the bride at the present time sometimes prefers different colours. Informant 3 stated that :

“itu kalo memang merah itu wanita itu memang suka memberanikan diri, tapi memberanikan diri karena yang benar karena yang betul. Berani karena benar . . . ,memang wong lanang memang menang tapi angger wong lanang ora bener apa salahe wong wadon ngelingaken”

[that is coloured red because women like to be brave, being fearless to do the right things. Being fearless because they are right....,although men will win

(as a leader), women will still remind their men when their men are wrong] (informant 3 interviewed on 28/08/2018).

Beside reminding her man, woman also has the right to give directions to her man when her man takes the wrong way. What informant 3 pointed out about women's role to remind their men when the men make mistake seems to work against the traditional perception of Javanese women. In traditional perspective, a wife is expected to be obedient, and submissive. The saying "suwarga nunut neraka katut" [to heaven I go with you, to hell I will accompany you too] implies that the passivity of Javanese women (Putri & Lestari, 2015, p.74). By saying that, a wife has the opportunity to criticize her husband, the informant emphasizes the active role of women in the family. At the present time, Javanese wife has played active role in the household affairs. In fact, Javanese women also have the right to make any decision for her household. Whether the decision is about the household needs, any payment, or teaching children, women have the right to be brave or to have the power to manage their own activities.

6. Prada emas



Picture 19. The golden outer line.

Gold produces the feeling of prestige, for the meaning of gold colour is wisdom, wealth, and high quality (Cerrato, 2012, p. 7). Informant 3 stated :

“mas kan itu kalo mas yang murni itu yang tidak berkarat, jadi maksude ojo terus berubah seperti emas tur mas juga regane larang.... berumah tangga harusnya semakin tua harusnya semakin sayang...., menungsa ki kudu seperti emas ora gampang luntur, lha menowo mulane cincin ki emas menandakan ikatan seperti emas yang murni, ora gampang luntur lan berubah, lambang mas itu harus murni nek wes milih siji ya ora entuk ganti”

[Pure gold doesn't rust; it means that gold bears stability and its price is also expensive. When a husband and a wife build a household, the longer their marriage is, the stronger their love should be. Human beings should be like gold, which is not easy to fade or changeable. That's why rings are made of gold which indicates purity. It is not easy to be worn off and not easy to change. The purity symbolizes the unchangeable choice].

Made from gold, *prada* makes the bride look glamorous. In addition, to make the bride physically beautiful, these adornments imply the expectation of the bride and groom that their life will be as long as possible, and that their love will go stronger as time goes by. As stated by informant 3, a husband and a wife should make their love stronger in every single situation they experience. They will face many obstacles, but all obstacles must make the husband and wife more intimate. A marriage is sacred, for it unites two persons which will change the social status of those persons.

4.2.2 The Hair Part

Pergament (1999) says that “hairstyles and rituals surrounding hair care and adornment convey powerful messages about a person’s beliefs, lifestyles, and commitment.” Hair can be a self-expression or a way of communication. Hair is a means to deliver messages about sexual or gender-based preferences (Pergament, 1999, p. 44). Beside that, hair is not only about a biological phenomenon, but it has social meanings too.

DeMello (2007) states:

“in modern society, we see that the desire to mold the body as a sign of social status is unchanged, with men and women using make up, jewelry, hairstyles, cosmetic surgery, dieting, and fashion to transform their bodies in accordance with the current dictates of style”.

Hair has an important influence for someone’s appearance, the different hair cut the different appearance will be. In Javanese culture, hair becomes one of the main important body parts for adornments.

1. *Sisir gunungan*



Picture 20. A mountain-shaped comb.

The shape of this adornment is like a mountain and it has comb to tie the hair. Informant 3 explained “*untuk mengencangkan kekuatan dalam bidang rumah tangga. Lah mbok dipake dirambut supaya kenceng sanggulnya, tandanya mengikat*” [to tighten a household; it is worn on the hair to tie it and so the bun will be bounded well; this adornment means tying]. As husband and the wife, they are mutually dependent. Their love binds them together like the mountain-shaped comb which ties the fake hair bun (*sanggul*) and the hair. Love is the main thing that makes two persons become one. By love, people can be connected to one another. Lovse (200) suggests that “however, wives are further and specifically instructed to submit to their husbands and husbands are called to lead and love their wives as themselves”. Husbands and wives shall play their roles with love of each other.

2. *Sundhuk menthul*



Picture 21. Flower-like ornaments.

Solo putri make up also has *sundhuk menthul* for the hair, but the number of those adornments is 7 or 9. Different from *Paes Ageng*, the total number of *sundhuk menthul* is odd usually 5. Informant 3 stated “*sundhuk menthul ada maknanya sendiri. Jadi manusia itu kalau sudah berumah tangga harus punya hati yang istilahnya ngeper, jadi jangan terlalu kaku, kalau yang satunya suaminya sedang marah kita ya harus bagaimana ya istilahnya fleksibel gitulah*” [*sundhuk menthul* has its own meaning. When a woman has already got married then she should

have a modest, flexible attitude. If her husband is angry then the wife must know what to do; it means that women should have the quality of being flexible]. Flexibility is a strategy to make adjustment in marriage life.

The odd number of *sundhuk menthul* also has its own meaning. When the writer asked about the odd number of these flower-like ornaments, informant 3 suggested that:

“kenapa kok jumlahnya seluruhnya lima, itu menandakan yang namanya kita manusia secara kejawen itu kan punya sedulur. Sedulure papat lima pancer, jadi sedulure papat kanan kiri lan ngarep mburine lha lima pancer awake dewe. Angger rukun ki bakal kepenak rumah tanggane ana sing ngerewangi, nek secara kejawene pakeme ya itu ganjil karna sedulure papat lima pancer awake dewe”

[the reason the total number should be five because, it signifies us as Javanese people that we actually have brothers or sisters. The brothers or sisters are four and the fifth one (at the middle) is *pancer* (the bride), so the brothers or sisters are four at front, behind, at the left and at the right of the bride as the fifth one. If they can get along well, the household that the bride want to build will run well as long as the bride’s brothers or sisters help her during the ceremony. In Javanese manner, the requisite of the tradition is five, the number of *sundhuk menthul* which stands for four brothers or sisters and the rest is ourselves].

Reading the statement from informant 3, we know that the bride will always be supported by her brothers or sisters especially during the wedding ceremony.

3. *Centhung, anting-anting, sumping*



Picture 22. The small crown-shaped with a comb under (*centhung*).



Picture 23. The earrings and the *sumping* leaf.

These 3 adornments have the same meaning. They are pairs, one at left and one at right which symbolize the bridegroom as a couple. Informant 3 explained “*jelas yang ini kita harus seiring sejalan*” [absolutely, this one signifies that we have to go hand in hand]. The couple needs to collaborate in fulfilling their roles. In other words, they complete each others. According to Putri & Lestari (2015) “*pembagian peran gender sangat dibutuhkan untuk menjaga keseimbangan keluarga dalam menjalankan fungsi keluarga menuju terwujudnya tujuan keluarga*” [gender role division is necessary to maintain a family balance for the purpose of attaining the goals of the family].

Marriage should place the couple in the same position as it allows the couple to deal with their family life as partners. A relationship is equal if each person has an equal status to take the same responsibility to establish a good economic condition and resolve domestic affairs (Putri & Lestari, 2015). Equality does matter to build a good relationship in marriage.

4. *Knitted jasmines*



Picture 24. The knitted jasmine flowers that are shaped for *sanggul bokor mengkurep* and *gajah ngoling*.

Flower is one of the most common of adornments in many cultures. It is used for many purposes, especially for beautification. It is one of the popular designs that most people like (DeMello, 2007, p. 61). Informant 3 pointed out “*kembang ki gandane harum, gambaraken menungso ngko bisa kaya kuwe jadi macan mati tinggal welulang gajah mati ninggal gading nanging menungsa ninggal riwayat. Seperti njenengan ngarumke asmane orang tua, migunane nusa lan bangsa*” [flowers are fragrant; it reflects that after death human beings should leave a legacy, like tiger leaving its bones or elephant leaving its ivory when they are dead. You (the interviewer), for example, have to make your parents and your country proud of you].

Hair has an important role to beautify people because it is on the head and is called as the crown. People will be much more beautiful if they use accessories for their hair. DeMello (2007) stated that women like to decorate their hair or even wear wigs with flowers or jewels on.

Flowers also are signified as symbols of femininity. The definite symbols of femininity are a rose, a flower, a bracelet, a dustpan, a butterfly, and a jewelcase (Wit, 1963).

5. *Sanggul bokor mengkurep*



Picture 25. A fake hair bun which represents a wash-bowl.

The reason why this bun (*sanggul*) is called *bokor mengkurep* because the shape is like a wash bowl which in Javanese language called *bokor*, an equipment that is used to keep water to wash the bridegroom's feet. Additionally, *mengkurep* means lying facedown. Informant 3 explained “*bokor kan itu untuk nyuci kakine pengantin, itukan jane buat buang sukertane penganten sawan. Membuang sukerta ya membuang sial, energi negatif*” [water in *bokor* is used to wash the bridegroom's feet; it is actually believed to throw away bad luck. Throwing away bad lucks means to get rid of missfortune, negative energy].

To wash the bridegroom's feet, people use water which is poured into the washbowl. The water inside also has its own meaning for the bridegroom. As stated by the informant 3 “*kenapakok nang kono pengantene di kei banyu, banyu kan tirta. Tirta ki artine murni, menungso nek iso njunjung asmane wong tuwo*” [why are the bridegroom's feet washed? It is because water means *tirta* (in Javanese language). *Tirta* means purifying; the bridegroom are supposed to be “clean” in their life, and by doing so they are able to keep the good name of the family].

6. *Gajah ngoling*



Picture 26. Knitted jasmines in tail shape.

The shape of this adornment looks like a tail. It means that the bride is expected to be like a tail which always follows the head. Bride in here is represented as the tail while the groom is represented by the head. In other words, it is the bride who is obliged to obey her husband. Informant 3 explained that “*ini (gajah ngoling) menandakan ekor, itu ada maknanya. Kenapa yang pake ekor kaya gitu cuma hanya mempelai wanitanya, wanita harus ngekor mengikuti jejak suami asal sing bener*” [it (knitted jasmines in tail shape) signifies tail; it has a meaning. Why are only women wearing this adornment? Because women should be obedient to their husband]. A wife is expected to always support her husband during her lifetime (Pramudita, 2016, p. 13).

Additionally, behind the symbolic meanings of *Paes Ageng* adornments discussed above, there is also a certain way to make the wedding ceremony more sacred. The make up artists may do fasting for at least 3 days or 5 days before the wedding day. Informant 2 points out that “*itu tergantung periasnya, kalau sekarang jarang ada yang puasa kalau saya masih terus, pengantinnya biasanya juga saya suruh puasa. Biasanya h-7 nanti h-2 nya nggak usah, jadi lima hari*” [it depends on the make up artist herself. Nowadays, it’s rare to find make up artists that want to do fasting, unlike me (informant 2). Usually we do fasting 7 days before the wedding day. When it is 2 days before the wedding day we stop; so it is five days]. The reason why

informant 2 still does fasting as a make up artist is because she believes that it is like a prayer action, wishing that the wedding day can run well as expected by the bridegroom. She also mentioned the benefits of doing fasting are “*Biar diberi keselamatan, kesehatan biar lancar semuanya*” [to give the bridegroom safety, health, and to make the wedding ceremony run well].

In the past, the ritual (fasting) that the traditional make up artist did was what made the traditional make up artist called as *dukun pengantin*. *Dukun pengantin* is a person who does some specific rituals before doing make up on a bride’s face. They don’t just do fasting, they also know they ways of how to pray to *dayang roh leluhur* (ancestors’ spirit). They believe that ancestors’ spirit can help them while doing make up and also help to make the marriage ceremony run well. However, now traditional make up artists decide to follow the modern trend. They prefer to upgrade their skills, the old rituals (asking for ancestors’ spirit help) is not really important like it was.

