

The Challenge of Gender Segregation in Islamic Javanese Wedding and the Emergence of Male Wedding Makeup Artists

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In Java, a wedding makeup artist or paes is both as a beautician and a ritual specialist. As regulated by the Kraton of Yogyakarta, weddings are gender segregated: brides are taken care by female paes and bridegrooms are by male paes. However, the Javanese segregation intertwines with Islamic tradition of gender segregation. Gender segregation in Islam may refer to the notion of muhrim (close relatives of opposite sex) and non-muhrim, lawful for marriage but forbidden for opposite sexual mixture in gathering before marriage. The current practices of Islamic Javanese wedding have, however, challenged the Javanese and Islamic traditions. The emergence of male paes, who, with their own ways, observe Javanese and Islamic symbolism, has transformed Javanese and Islamic tradition of gender segregation. The tradition of gender segregation is challenged, but other elements of both sources such as the wearing of jilbab and Javanese ritual of paes remain intact. To elaborate such Islamic Javanese practices, this chapter works on Reinhold Loeffler's observation that religions must be understood as modes of praxis through which individuals and communities interact with their social and natural environments as much as they are sets of doctrines, norms and precepts.

The emergence of male paes has, therefore, challenged both Islamic principle and adat in regard to men and women relation through the actual engagement of direct contacts particularly between the bride and the male paes. Several weddings I observed employed male paes. This chapter analyzes the findings of the emergence of male paes: how Islam is understood and practiced at the stage of men-women relationship, and how direct contacts effect the wedding

practitioners's mind and action. Some findings for example show that in weddings male paes make up and dress up brides with particular techniques such as standing behind brides as ways of avoiding face-to-face interaction. On occasions, nevertheless, face-toface interaction is inevitable. This open-direct contact between male and female in public space is one of the examples showing that gender segregation set by Islam and Javanese adat (custom/tradition) is challenged. This chapter also presents annual festival of Muslim make-up artist whose some contestants have been males. Weddings in Yogyakarta are formed and observed through the use of elements drawn upon Islam and Javanese adat. Their exposures signify the wedding as Islamic as well as Javanese. In a special context in which beliefs are situated and the special way in which beliefs are held; various strategies have symbols being used to mediate the particular circumstances of a person's existence; preserving the wide range of religious knowledge, religious system, and forms of religiosity in a single community. Analyzing so, I argue that the emergence of male paes in Islamic Javanese weddings is another contemporary form of Islamic Javanese practice. The Muslims in Arabic Middle East lands are different from those residing in Indonesia, particularly in the context of Java. Of course, the Arabic texts and narratives are inherited from Arab, but the process at work in respect of local culture has developed into varied expressions and practices. The originality of Islam, portraying of Arabic Islam, moves to a dynamic characteristic that shapes Muslims in

Java. There were and are variant forms of belief that may be seen as a reinterpretation of Islam in local cultural forms.¹ Up to this, the understanding of Islam is not only made based on theological sense, but also how this Muslim society works on their actual practices. It is, therefore, contemporary ethnographic evidence¹⁷⁶ gained from Islamic Javanese wedding

¹ Ibid., pg 11. I have conducted field research on contemporary Islamic Javanese wedding since 2010 – 2012 in Yogyakarta and a minor observation in Surakarta. 177 Reinhold Loeffler, *Islam in Practice: Religious Beliefs in a Persian Village*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1988, pg 3

demonstrates that there is no absolute explanation of what constitutes acceptable Islamic practices. Reinhold Loeffler wrote on his book, saying,

I am concerned with the ways in which, under the constraints of social, cultural, existential, and psychological forces, individuals make sense of, come to terms with, and create religious concepts, thereby shaping their world views and concomitantly – because this world views in any of their expressive and thereby objectivated forms constitute part of culture – their culture. As well, I am concerned with the ways individuals use their world views to conceive, make sense of, and justify self and others, good and evil, fortune and misfortune, life and afterlife, status and power, interest and actions, and create a feeling of prevailing order and justice as well as a sense of personal authenticity, identity, and worth (Loeffler, 1988:3).

Wedding practices in Java sphere I raised in here, relate to men and women relationship. Such relation may be private or open. This stems from the core of family connections which are relatives and non-relatives by blood. The idea of privacy in sense of men-women relationship is reflected from the structure of family. A family may consist of husband, wife and children, and those who are not bounded in a marriage. For men, the later category includes mothers and sisters, and for women, fathers and brothers. Julaihi Wahid and Fatemeh Khozaei, at the 2nd International Conference on Built Environment in Developing Countries (2008) wrote about family privacy in Iranian traditional house with regards to the so-called mahram (muhrim):

Generally, Islamic law categorizes gender relationship within the two categories of lawful and unlawfull “mahram”. The word ”mahram” defines the legal relationship between the male and the female either by marriage or close blood ties. Any person outside this lawful area of “mahram” is stranger. Sex separation is part of the Islamic system and Islam disapproves of free

mixing between unrelated members of opposite sexes. By this categorization also, Islam confines the privacy boundaries of individuals.

With respect to the concept of privacy in Islamic perspective it seems that individual freedom is circumscribed so as nobody is permitted to harm other members of the community, it means that community do protect and empowers the individual. As in Arabic Middle East, the separation springs very obvious while in Islamic Javanese weddings, such principle may be broken by the presence of male artists, purposely taking actions towards the opposite sex. Although in this manner, other Muslims either males or females involved at the celebrations have also been aware of the discourse. Wedding itself plays a role in determining and beginning a new chain of mahram between the couple. Thus, the mahram discourse is re-articulated by the actors adjusted to an existing direction. The principle of privacy is contextualized within a new framework of how the agents involved (paes and clients) perceive the idea and how they reconcile with it. A mixed gender gathering gives no prohibition at larger extent. I allow the single individuals speak for themselves. This is because we could better understand their distinctiveness and self-sufficiency, and also it persists in maintaining their perceptions more efficiently clear of the unintended meanings, suggestions, implications, and cultural nuances of the ethnographic participation. Islam cannot be understood only in theological sense. The vitality of Islam – or religion in general – may be seen in the way in which it brings forward the past and reforms it – re-reads it – in ways appropriate to its contemporary situation.

The factor displayed in the sources which I have examined relates to social issues and the emergence of structures of authority in the community. Islam has been developing and shaping later configurations as an identity of an integrated culture. It is a mark of a mature religion, perhaps, that it becomes the motivator, supporter and basis for many aspects of the social-

structure beyond those obviously involved in the religio-legal perspectives.¹⁸⁰ One may indicate the development of artistic materials and arts sciences. In addition, such maturity becomes able to endure challenges to it and to find ways of integrating those challenges which it deems to be a product of its own culture.

A. The Emergence of Non Female Wedding Make Up Artists

In accord with Javanese tradition, *paes* is perceived to be female or feminine. *Paes* as a make-up artist, has, however, become a profession that attracts different sexes, women, men, *waria* (transgender), and *ahay* (effeminate men). It becomes a promising business. In Yogyakarta, a bridal make-up competition is annually held, and its participants include *ahay* and *waria* individuals. Several competitions ever held included Muslim makeup modification. Many of the participants who did the Muslim makeup for their models with *jilbab* (headscarf) were *ahay*. Those gender kinds have become *paes* in the sense of wedding make-up artist. Five of male *paes* have varied in explaining their roles in weddings. These five are KRT Hartoyo Tandhabudaya (an official *paes* of Surakarta Palace), Robi Aji Santosa, Ibu Maryani (a *waria/transgender*), Mamuk Rahmadona, and KHP.

Puroyokoro (a Yogyakarta Sultanate official. Except Ibu Maryani, in general, these men are considered as *ahay* through their body gestures, and the way they speak. Each individual may have his/her own term to define this profession. When I interviewed Pak Hartoyo, Robi and Ibu Maryani, they singled out different term. Robi and Ibu Maryani choose *perias* (Ind/make up artist) instead of *paes*. Not performing as ritual specialist at wedding is Robi's reason not being called as *paes*. Whereas to Ibu Maryani, *perias* is a more universal term than *paes*. *Paes* only refers to wedding, but *perias* includes any kinds of makeups, such as graduation makeup, birthday party makeup, and other occasions that require makeups. Pak Hartoyo leaves this term

to people. He is not bothered of what people call him, either paes, perias or dukun manten. What he cares the most is the works he must do and be responsible of. The emergence of male paes occurs due to several reasons, (1) formal education, (2) informal training, (3) performers, (4) hobby, and (5) bridal festivals. The school of arts such as the Arts Institute of Indonesia both in Yogyakarta and Surakarta contribute more in producing male paes.

Students learn a variety of makeup techniques and application not only for dance performances, but also for wedding. Pak Hartoyo and Mamuk Rahmadona were products of such school. In line with formal education, the informal trainings may be of another choice to obtain knowledge and practices. It is possible to take the trainings from outstanding paes like a private course within a certain period of time to do one style. Besides formal teaching, Pak Hartoyo also gave informal trainings to apprentices. Performers (dancers) either from school of arts or not may have interests in becoming paes. At this point, they have the makeup and costuming skills, like Robby. Furthermore, this basic ability can be advanced to a different job once they decide notto perform anymore, or these two activities can go side by side. A hobby plays an important foundation to perform bridal makeup. One may not be able to make up if s/he does not even like this activity as articulated by Ibu Maryani. Pak Hartoyo was an official male paes from the Kraton of Mangkunegaran, Surakarta in 1985. Four years later, in 1989, the Kasunanan Surakarta appointed him to be positioned as paes, the very first male paes since long ago. The Kraton provided him caos dhahar (offerings of fruits, food and blue sticky rice) to obtain lilah or permits from the ancestors. This caos dhahar marked his new status as a palace official. Hartoyo has the ultimate responsibility over costumes and makeups of the king, princes and princesses, at all occasions including when they perform sacred dances. Pak Hartoyo started his career of wedding beautification when he was studying in a vocational school in Purworejo. He then

married with a daughter of Surakarta classical dance maestro of Kasunanan Surakarta, the late Pak Maridi. This marital bond brought him to a higher degree of artistic make-up. During his stay in Mangkunegaran, he assisted his father in law making up the princes of Kasunanan Surakarta for dance performances. His satisfactory jobs led him to more events inside the Kasunanan. Pak Hartoyo's works took the attention of his majesty the late Sunan Paku Buwono XII. His majesty then ordered him to become makeup artist in Kasunanan. This means Pak Hartoyo no longer worked for Mangkunegaran Palace. Politically, Kasunanan has larger authority which whatever it takes from Mangkunegaran, the Mangkunegaran could never use any more. Although such rule is not written, but orally traditioned, it is fully obeyed by the Mangkunegaran. Robi, a student of Faculty of Agriculture at Universitas Gadjah Mada, joins the dance and gamelan group within the campus. He dances. This extracurricular dance activity requires him to be able to make up his own face. Then he starts making up his girl friends for dance shows.

In 2010, his interest went farther when he acknowledged his boy friends under a community of male dancers, do wedding makeup. He decided not to take a private course of wedding makeup due to economic reason, but did independent learning by looking at others making up and costuming brides and grooms, reading books, searching the internet and practicing a lot by asking for his girl friends as models. To develop his skills, he ever goes to wedding competitions. Ibu Maryani became a wedding makeup artist since 1990s. She claims that the works of waria are actually better compared to women's works. She had a darkside of her experiences of being a waria and decided to take the path as a makeup artist by following one artist to other artist. She established her own salon and accepted orders to do wedding as well as the rituals. When she made up, she turned herself into a Javanese look with the chignon and

complete traditional dress, but from the past of ten years, she decided to change her look by putting on jilbab. Leslie Dwyer (2001), an anthropologist, as mentioned by Sonja van Wichelen, in her research on modern Muslim women in Yogyakarta, argues that for women, the desire to become modern and urban is now very much linked to the idea of Islam as a universal and forward-looking religion.² The appearance of veiled women refers more to ideas of modern asceticism attached to an alternative modernity of Islam. The example of Ibu Maryani, illustrates the phenomena. Rather than keeping on track of the so-called tradition, she dons herself into a state of jilbab and wearing Islamic dress. For practical reason, she found it troublesome after doing the bridal makeup and costuming, she had to prepare herself by putting on a chignon. As a wedding ritual specialist, she had to be in traditional outfits. Now, she just puts on the ready-veil and goes to the rites. By donning the veil, she feels her more respectable, more urban and more modern in sense of social mobility. Moreover, her establishment upon pondok pesantren (Islamic boarding school) waria has encouraged her to particular Muslim behaviour in the society. Although the common sense of waria varies in people's perspectives, Ibu Maryani's decision to wear the veil signifies an urban modernity that enforces respect, even more.

1. A Variant Motifs

To these paes, economic reason is among the top reasons of becoming paes. At this stage, paes is a profession which one can earn much money from. Such a promising job demonstrates not only facial makeup but also the ceremony service. To Pak Hartoyo, in sense of his involvement as abdi dalem, being in such position of paes Kraton gives his ultimate expectations for blessings or ngalap berkah. Not only he serves the princes and princesses, but also divine blessing he hopes for. Such hopes may result to a prosperity in life or even a surprising fortune

² Bryan S Turner and Zheng Yangwen (eds), *The Body in Asia*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009, pg 83.

he never expected before. The key is that he must be sincere when serving the Kraton and put away unnecessary thoughts like negative ideas concerning attitude and behaviour. Inside the Kraton, there are several other female paes, but they do not carry out the official assignments like Pak Hartoyo does. Outside the Kraton of Surakarta walls, financial aspect comes second. Pak Hartoyo is aware that the profession has pulled in a lot of money even from one wedding. When serving the clients, he brings along his male assistants, at least three, the number depending on how many people from the host that have to be beautified. He says that in general, families in Surakarta now are more convenient with male paes than female. This becomes a good signal that the presence of male paes is no longer a minor job, not exclusively women's job. He admits that the public convenience towards male paes, which means, public has accepted the inference of unknown men over women, develops a growing number of male paes. This is then called a never ending business, creating a job portion for men in women field. Earning money from such profession has also been the utmost goal of Robi's as he has to make his own living and to finance his study. He takes with him a big amount of money from the client and he still can save some for his own living. He benefits the money for wedding necessities like outfits and accesories and cosmetics. As a newcomer, he charges the Muslim modification style up to 2500000 rupiahs and nearly 5000000 rupiahs for the paes ageng. In principle, adat costumes pulls in a more expensive cost as these outfits contain more elaborated attributes and a paes has to generate more efforts to decorate the couple. Ibu Maryani's admission into this profession started from her awareness of waria's basic interest in make up. She does not elude that most waria open a salon for their living. But the public acceptance seemed not to have them around due to their being waria, neither man nor woman. Ibu Maryani has a salon too at her house, but she put down the board when she finally set up a pondok pesantren for waria. Hence, she still

carries out her hobby of making up brides. The increasing fact of waria being wedding paes, not a mere salon hairdresser, is caused by the financial interest over the business. Ibu Maryani notes that she rarely does the hairdressing which only rewards her 5000 rupiahs for a head. She prefers doing wedding for million rupiahs. Last May 2012, she earned 8 million rupiahs total from a client. For this one, she extended her ability to provide sound system, entertainment/solo organ, wedding decor, bridal couple and both parents, and a number of relatives. Some other waria came to assist Ibu Maryani. She did not have the items, but she was able to find channels outside her exact job as paes, to accomodate her as provider. She appoints herself as a dalang, puppeteer. She does things based on the lakon/story as requested by the host.

Ibu Maryani feels secure economically and socially. She earns money from the beauty profession, not from a permanent job she does not have. And she has to run her pondok pesantren and raise her only foster daughter. Thus, a higher voice of hers demonstrated her protest concerning waria prohibition in the community, when saying, "I do the job for living. I wonder why all jobs are haram; people going out at night are haram, thieves are haram. So what if makeup job is then haram? In Kediri, a waria's salon was banned (labelled as haram) for the prohibition of touching women. Waria does not want to be waria. I believe God is fair. So what can waria do for living? In public office, they are not accepted though they have good education. Jogja is special, also the people. No such prohibition to establish a salon."³

In regard to her social engagement, she remarks,

"I veil myself and continue doing the profession. And I gain more respects from people living around me as well as the clients"

³ Maryani, interview, 13 May 2012.

At this religious point, veil as a marker enforces Ibu Maryani's self-esteem.

Psychologically, it also makes her more convenient as a Muslim. Furthermore, the respect she gains from the communities enables her to freely present her personal identity as a waria. She intrigues that Yogyakarta and its people can value her 'otherness' at her social job. However, she plans to move her wedding salon to another place she has to rent, making it more open to public, in the side of the street. The urgency to split the salon and the pondok pesantren seems to get stronger as she is personally aware that these two maintain distinctions over Islamic and cultural feelings.

2. Discourse and Practice

As with the common practice of male paes, it is significantly necessary to understand why these non females exist in traditionally women domain. It had been unwritten social order that a male paes was not common or prohibited to take care of women in wedding context. The unrelated ties between men and women under the idea of same-sex gathering constructs the people's mind to separate rooms. Women's room is much more private, moreover bride's quarter. The wedding rituals as explained in the previous sections have given sufficient notes of such separation. However, at the contemporary development of wedding, Javanese Muslims move the different direction from the discursively men-women relation. "I'm happy that a man can contribute in a domain which is predominantly women" is among the remarks spoken by male paes when asked about such an achievement. They break the conventional construct of woman domain. Hence, it sounds usual to view women are oppressed when they are limited to participate in public works. Oppression made upon women concerns the idea of an ideal woman. A woman needs to stay at home, takes care of the housing necessities and nurtures the children. She lacks of time to actualize her potency though. Thus, some female paes, mainly in urban area,

rejects such idea that they revive to improve herself at economic gain and social participation. They take trainings, and learn by doing when following other female paes. As a result, they make money to support the household. It takes years to be good at such paes skill, more importantly, it definitely needs practices. To those women who work at public facilities regard this job as an extra job for the weekends. They work at office hours from monday to friday, and are off on saturday and sunday. In general, people celebrate weddings on saturday and sunday that enable these career women to get another side job. At this stage, a man is trying to enter a woman's area; getting the equality of beauty skills. In fact, the growing numbers of male paes may cause a competitiveness upon female paes. They would say, 'when I want to do the make up, I know I can do it, it's not only for women any more'.

The emergence of male wedding practitioner indicates a revival. In both Kratons of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, as mentioned earlier, only male abdi dalem takes care of the groom and other princes. Their presence remains stagnant, but not fully exposed. With the appearance of Pak Hartoyo as an official paes of the Kraton of Surakarta, outside the palace walls, there has been a breakthrough by the more male paes arisen. In contrast to that, the Kraton of Yogyakarta still maintains the idea of female paes under the canopy of historical aspect. As said by Condronogoro, this Kraton only recognizes men and women; there is no 'the other'. Hence, outside, a similar development of men doing bridal makeup has increased although the revival is merely due to the business mindset. Learning the word haram aforementioned as articulated by Ibu Maryani may implicitly concern that waria, upon some people, is haram according to Islam. She understands that categories recognized by human beings are only men and women.

For Muslim men and women – for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and

women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in Allah's praise – for them has Allah prepared forgiveness and great reward.

Those two verses contend only women and women, no transgender mentioned. However, it does say God makes no distinction between man and woman; they are to equally rewarded or punished for their deeds.¹⁸³ Maulana Mohammad Ali contends that the later verse repeats ten times that women can attain every good quality to which men can have access and settles it conclusively that according to the Qur'an women stand on the same spiritual level as men.⁴

However, transgender does exist and needs to survive. This is what Ibu Maryani has been trying to strive for a public recognition. By doing makeup works, she demands of equality among men, women and waria. Her motif in taking her waria fellows to assist her at weddings also becomes an alternate way to approach the society to acknowledge waria. The economic linkages built by these non female paes are not limited to the makeup and costume provisions. They may charge more fees if the host family agrees to perform ceremonial adat. It is not inexpensive to launch wedding adat ceremonials as these require particular articles and more time. As Robi and Ibu Maryani say in similar articulation, "I do the paes profession for financial issue. This is a promising business. People always need paes for weddings".⁵

3. Male Paes and Ahay Category

Male paes is identical with effeminate behaviour or ahay. As mentioned before, profession as paes is mostly the domain of women as it concern with field of beauty and

⁴KS Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali (eds), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, pg Nathan, *ibid.*, pg 195.

⁵Interview with Robi on 14 March 2012 and Ibu Maryani on 13 May 2012.

aestheticism. Thus, feminine aspect is strongly impressed from the presence of paes and the focus on brides. However, the domain widens to males and even waria. A category for men who wish to perform in a particular state of beauty directs to the so-called metrosexual men or even gay. Robi often receives questions or comments from his clients of why most male paes are effeminate. He does not encounter as he understands that such idea is already planted in their minds. Robi himself, is a young man who has soft voice, fair skin and handsome, rather beautiful in women's perspective, making him look even more feminine. He argues that he does the best for the job, his job, why would people bother with such effeminacy issue, in fact he does not mean to harm others with his femininity. He still keeps his emotions. Effeminate male paes gets the blame and censured. Most of his male paes fellows possess similar feminine behaviour; known from how they talk, voice, gestures and their clothing models. Not to generalize the entire male makeup artists, such effeminate behavior, as the matter of fact, secures the psychological aspect of women. Women are not in hesitation as this man will not be sexually harmful. In fact, to (future) husbands, this man is neither a threat nor a foe. Conversely, they feel rather comfortable that they believe this man has different orientation towards men and women. This is why waria can be easily accepted by clients when wearing make up though in trousers, as shared by Ibu Maryani.

B. Islam and Adat: A Gender Segregation

The touch of men's hands while making up brides and other women are inevitable at the contemporary Islamic Javanese weddings as observed. Such touch challenges the regulations of either Islam or tradition/adat. Women, not yet attached in a marriage are segregated by the socio-cultural constructs. The terms muhrim and nonmuhrim set the rules under Islamic teachings. However, these two jargons of institutions are interpreted differently by male paes in particular,

and public clients in general. The acceptance of male paes within the society means the taking of the consequences, touched by men, break the rules and bring in contemporary ideas of men and women relationship. Through the articulated subjects (practitioners) and articulated practices, the wedding discourses are dynamically 'played' not in negative sense, but positively interpreted by the subjects.

1. Men's Challenge over Women: A Pak Hartoyo's Story

The experiences of three paes share different settlements with the clients when they deal with the host family's conviction over cross-gender relations. Pak Hartoyo must uphold his credibility as a palace paes. He truly understands his work will relate him to the most private area of women. Being a normal man granted with a sexual desire becomes a challenge when facing women's physic. Ideally, a paes is responsible for both facial makeup and body costumes. In here, Pak Hartoyo dedicates himself to the whole works of paes. The appointment of Pak Hartoyo as a royal paes has shifted the perception of the Kraton of Surakarta in view of gender, the division of men and women. The existence of kesatrian and keputren is a portrait of gender segregation learned from adat perspective. Culturally, the segregation remains preserved and fundamental. However, Pak Hartoyo, with the permits of the Sunan (the King) and the ancestors, appeared to be the first commonary having rights and obligations to serve the princes and princesses, including entering the keputren, the most private area in the Kraton. The self-control being a man, not easily get stimulated, mainly goes prominently to Pak Hartoyo's mindset. Princesses inside the keputren act freely when dressing up. To stay controlled, he prayed as much as he could and he did laku, a spiritual meditation to achieve a certain degree of spirituality and control, including not to eat rice. It can also be said Pak Hartoyo was doing puasa or fasting. He has to eliminate the feeling as a man in order not to be aroused, a challenge upon male paes.

2. The Practice of Making Up and Costuming

Pak Hartoyo is known to have specific ways of how to costume a bride as he respects the lines between men and women as observed in a wedding in Surakarta on 6 and 9 June 2012. Pak Hartoyo used bare hands to touch women's faces to apply cosmetics products and to draw patterns and lines. Done with face, he went to the head decorations. Last, he dressed up the women. For this, he employed specific techniques. He stood behind the women while the women faces front. He held the kain extensively and began to cover the below part of body appropriately. He must be careful because he had to make sure that the fabric was enlaced orderly seen from frontside, backside and other sides. For the upper part of body, the breast area, the bride had to wear a long gird enlaced from the most upper part of the area, below the shoulder area, down to stomach. Pak Hartoyo, from behind, enlaced the gird, and with the help of the bride, covered breast area. After putting on the gird, women's particular body parts were tightly covered. He may then move facing the women to dress her with another long wide fabric known as dhodhot or kebaya, a traditional blouse. The bride, Ayu, articulates her thought of having Pak Hartoyo as her bridal paes eventhough she understands that she is veiled herself. She posit, "I keep the veil as I represent my being Muslim that a woman has to veil. And I do the wedding ceremonies for cultural preservation. Though I'm veiled myself, I want to do my tradition. It's secular, religion and culture. Pak Hartoyo can rationalize all wedding elements without harming my conviction. He does a very quick job, faster than a woman that we can save more time"⁶

On the other hand, she followed the traditions to do wedding rites starting from siraman to panggih. At this point, she understood by doing the adat, that did not change her identity as a

⁶ KRT Hartoyo Tandhabudaya, interview, 6 June 2012 in Surakarta.

Muslim. Specific linkages over political and cultural issues blend into a certain secularism upon religion and adat. Moreover, consciously, having such a man did all things, enabled her to understand that meanings and aims of adat rites were not against religion; elements are merely symbols to describe life cycles, like an egg to symbolize fertility. Her choice to invite Pak Hartoyo was because of economic reason which is not time-consuming to exercise all rites under his responsibility.

Robi has more or less different techniques as Pak Hartoyo does. In costuming, Robi stands in front of the woman to enhance the fabric and put the gird. He requests the woman to put on legging or tight shorts before dressing up. For upper part, he moves back and helps her putting on bustier/camisol, then he sets the zip. From the beginning, Robi already gives a careful notice to the client that he as a man will do the work. Right before costuming, he delivers a question of whom the woman requests to dress her up, he himself or have another female. Most clients requested Robi to costume. As a male paes, Mamuk is not always allowed to costume by the bride herself. She needed another female to do it. A bride named, Nurul Dwi Utami, refused Mamuk to costume her for ijab and reception, although she let him make her up. She said,

I like Mamuk's works, very incisive I think. I was aware of the possibility of direct contacts. He only did my face area. And for adat costuming, I had a woman do it. So it was not a problem at all. I also invited Robi a week after for a pengajian at my husband's home. He made me up and put the jilbab on me. I wore kebaya, so it was simple that I could wear it myself.⁷

As a waria, precisely dressing as a woman with jilbab, Ibu Maryani has no difficulties in dealing with clients. The hosts are in fact aware of whom they invite as their wedding make up artist. Challenges come from the presence of other waria who assist Bu Maryani. The female

⁷ Nurul Dwi Utami, interview, 6 August 2012.

clients would refuse if the other waria appear without makeup, looking like men than waria. So, Bu Maryani always asks her fellows to at least put makeup when working with her, letting aside their trousers look. In this case, make up of waria has been a significant indicator of waria to be accepted by the community, a characteristic. Cosmetic becomes a media to reach the agency. However, Ibu Maryani has a principle regarding uniformity of costumes. She prefers to have all females in jilbab modification or in traditional chignons. She would not regard a combination, several in jilbab and several other in chignon, as a good picture of costuming. Uniformity means unity. If seen all in same style, she would more appreciate it as she claims herself as a good paes.

3. A Discursive Piety

Piety is central to the family's religious life (style), but so is the so-called 'moral economy' of the home. As Ibu Maryani said earlier, that she was dissapointed to see a combination of both chignon and veils in a wedding that abandons the uniformity, they perhaps perceive that the superficial symbols of Muslimness, like veil, communicate a desire of Muslim families to differentiate themselves from secular families.⁸ In state of muhrim and non-muhrim, the three paes move to different perspective. They return it back to themselves and the clients, how they perceive it and how they use or not use it as the most basic understanding before attaching to other sex. They acknowledge the essence of the what it means to be muhrim and non-muhrim. Robi is a Muslim, he admits of doing five day-prayers and Ramadan fasting. When working, he spends a little time to pray when he is still in time praying. Ibu Maryani, with her symbolic jilbab and her pesantren, gives herself another point of being a Muslim-waria. In Islam, there are only man and woman recognized, but not waria. Pak Hartoyo is a Christian-observant, but he married a Muslim woman. His only child becomes Muslim. Pak Hartoyo does not go to

⁸ Turner (2009), op.cit., pg 92.

the church, and as the matter of fact, he provides a small room in his house for doing sholat. He is much influenced by the adat, which in larger extent also segregates gender, like Islam. Their knowledge of men-women principle develops to a wider understanding. They are still Muslims. They have Islamic values in them through the symbols and the practices. Moreover, they devote their skills and ability to Muslim families where these families also acknowledge basic information about men-women relation. Ultimately, they keep being Muslims. Nevertheless, two male paes have dealt with clients on gender issues under various circumstances. Pak Hartoyo ever had clients with jilbab. Deciding paes, who will transform the bridal couple and makeup the parents and the relatives, is one of big issues towards the host family especially the parents and the couple. Not only due to the skills, but also the background of paes which determines the option. When meeting with the jilbab clients, before wedding, Pak Hartoyo proposes questions about touching females. He proposes to wear gloves if this alternate way could satisfy the host, fulfilling the family to have him as a paes, and at the same time, fulfilling the Islamic regulation no to touch women. He also asks the woman to request a permit from her parents and her future husband, to have male paes. The roles of a father and a (future) husband are strong in deciding a woman's will, moreover, if concerning other man's participation over their sphere, this shows a portrait of patriarchy system. In addition, Pak Hartoyo believes that when the clients come to invite him, they already know that it is a man who will take care of them. Upcoming situation is that how they compromise the situations. Using gloves is uneasy for general paes to practice as they covered fingers and palms to apply the cosmetics. In here, gloves are used to bridge the gap between traditions and the ideas of Islam. It also attempts to bargain the position of elements (male paes) considered inappropriate to the Islamic framework, and to support this bridal popular practice that has been imbedded in society. Before sitting in front of Pak Hartoyo for the

makeup, the bride already put a black cloth on covering her hair with ciput (a piece of cloth usually worn before the jilbab). In this sense, Pak Hartoyo as a man, neither touch her nor see her hair. Elaborating this, I should share of Sonja van Wichelen's argument that women chose to veil themselves against local traditions and the wishes of their family. The choice to veil oneself was an act of courage and often accompanied by processes of exclusion by others.⁹ Robi does not go with the gloves if asked. However, there is a dilemma over Robi dealing with the bride. He ever shares his feeling, "There exists a dilemma about muhrim. I am confused, I am not her muhrim, but I touch her. But I believe this depends on both side's intentions, I intend to help her, not to act in bad manners"¹⁹⁰ Such dilemma was also intrigued when he met a client from Jakarta: "In 2011, there was a client from Jakarta who liked my works but then she said, 'unfortunately you're a man'. She is a veiling woman, but wanted me to make her up. She insisted on this but without touching her. I said, 'applying foundation still required me to touch you'. Then, she cancelled it".

Pak Hartoyo and Robi are in same conviction that their activity is based on their true intention of giving the best for the clients, not having any unwanted ideas in sense of touching women. Trust from the clients is very meaningful that they have to keep in their mind as they say, "I'm confident when I gain trust from clients". And more importantly, the clients are satisfied with their works.

He was making up the bride and costuming her. The direct contacts between man and woman inevitably happened. The dressing room was not only concentrated for the bridal couple and their parents, but also other people wishing for facial transformations. The bride put off her jilbab for the adat style, so did the mothers of the couple, replacing it with loose veil or

⁹ Turner (2009), *ibid.*, pg 77. Robi Aji Santosa, interview, 14 March 2012. ¹⁹¹ Robi Aji Santosa, interview, 14 March 2012.

kerudung. However, there were women who remained veiled as seen in figure 45 below. The above discourses on the state of muhrim as well as non-muhrim suggest that the making of the new idea of men-women relations correspond to the idea of defining men and women at the same domain. Gender segregation seemingly goes back to the conventional Javanese adat and Islamic principles that are no longer followed by outside-of-walls people, no in the sense of reducing the level of religiousity, but to make actual the human to human relationship as God's will. As long as both sides are away from the idea of sexual harassment and having the permits from the couple and the entire host families, then trust is gained easily for the paes to genuinely work. The main self-principle not to harm others also becomes compatible with their practical Islamic teachings.

The direct contact between men and women constitutes a new reality in which both are subjected to compromise with their own convictions to have controls. Through male and waria paes, a different mode of bridal make-up in public discourse, new relational habits are created through how these paes define and situate themselves in the society. Eventually male and waria practices are consistent to the ways of consumerism upon people in a social environment filled with new options and models of aestheticism. The Kraton of Yogyakarta itself still preserves the seclusion of men and women. It does not have paes the Kraton. It invites female paes from outside the Kraton to take care of royal wedding. The last royal wedding I have recorded was last October 2011. It was an Islamic Javanese wedding for the youngest daughter, GKR

Bendara, and a non-Javanese, KPH Yudhonegoro. The celebration was lively aired by a local TV station and estimated a large number of viewers watching it. As mentioned before that inside the Kraton, quarters of keputren and kesatrian are strongly separated. The adat gender seclusion was challenged after the bathing ceremony. A male hairstylist in a casual clothing not

in traditional one, was inside the princess's quarter in keputren, doing her hair. The female paes assigned by the Kraton was also there sitting and observing them. Two guests of wedding experts invited by the TV for the discussion, agreed that the incident was out of manners, unethical, something that was not supposed to happen. The Kraton as the main reference of wedding, has broken the rule it made before. Although outside the Kraton, men-women relations develop into inclusive relation, more open and leave the seclusive part.

4. Non Females as Ritual Specialists

The Kraton's appointment towards Pak Hartoyo allows him to lead the wedding ceremonies. In Surakarta, he is the only man who carries out the wedding ritual duty. He articulates that based on Javanese belief, one can be a ritual specialist is someone who is already married. A paes is a symbol of fertility. This married woman is expected to give a good example of being a mother and a wife. The presence of Pak Hartoyo, being a palace paes has shifted the idea of the symbol of fertility. It is no longer a woman which was traditionally perceived and embodied. A man cannot get pregnant and give a birth. However, his presence identifies the segregation of man and woman not based on the natural characteristics of what women do, cannot be done by men, but genuinely work divisions. Traditional views of female paes have gradually faded away as he appears to be the main actor of wedding rituals, and has his wife as his co-partner assisting him.

Pak Hartoyo, admitting as a Christian-observant, he recognizes himself as a Javanese person who has to preserve the Javanese culture. He brings higher Javanese adat principles to understand life. In terms of wedding ritual, he interprets the ritual with the contemporary delivery to the clients either Muslims or non-Muslims. There were numbers of Muslim families who invited him, directed their thoughts over rituals to the state of syirik due to the presentation

of sajen or offerings. An egg used for panggih ceremony, the meeting of bride and groom, is a symbol of fertility. During the ceremony, when the bride washing groom's feet, groom stepped on the egg. This means that in the future, the couple will be annointed with love and blessed with children. A kyai from a pondok pesantren in East Java, after Panggih led by Pak Hartoyo is Surakarta ritual whose egg is stepped on by the groom. The compositions of wedding rites of Surakarta and Yogyakarta almost similar, only how to exercise the rites are different. listening to Pak Hartoyo, then asked for the egg and took it to a wiridan¹⁰ and prayed the egg. Usually, Pak Hartoyo already says a prayer to the egg before putting it into a transparent plastic. Pak Hartoyo always requests his clients to do fasting for three days, a week before the wedding. This request goes not only to the bridal couple, but also to both parents. Sahur¹¹ is not necessary and the fast is broken at maghrib time. For a woman who is menstruating, she fulfills the conditions not to eat meals made from rice and salty meals, instead, she may have fruits, cassava, pohung and potatoes. I observed a wedding on 10 April 2011 in Cabean Bantul, south of Yogyakarta. The host invited a male paes named KHP Puroyokoro (title of abdi dalem named Agus Mudjimanto, conferred by Yogyakarta Sultanate). He led the rituals starting from panggih¹² until sungkeman. In Yogyakarta, it is not common to have a man leading wedding rituals. The ways Pak Agus presented the bridal couple and the rituals were mixed up between Surakarta and Yogyakarta styles especially during dhahar klimah rite when the couple fed one another. Surakarta and Yogyakarta are, to an outside observer, similar, however, to Central

¹⁰ Endraswara, op.cit., pg 124-7. Wiridan, from the word wirid, is to recite Qur'anic verses and mention prophets in the recitation. To Javanese Muslim, wiridan also consists of advices, messages and prohibitions for harmonious life. Sacred wirid may become mantra in which the mantra recitation, one may insert Qur'anic verses.

¹¹ Sahur is meals time before dawn to start the fast during Ramadan, Islamic fasting month.

¹² Panggih of Yogyakarta styled ritual, the egg is touched by the paes to groom's and bride's forehead, then paes smashes it down to the floor.

Javanese people, they can mention significant differences between these two, including the details of court rituals Woodward (1989: 15).

In practice, Pak Agus creates his own patterns either the bridal makeup or the ceremonial exercises. He drew the black paes on bride's forehead, but he did not attach the golden powder manually. Instead, he used a ready stock of golden sticker that already has the patterns. This similar instant paes is also performed by Ibu Maryani which according to her, it is more practical. Pak Agus also modifies the head and body articles. The wedding I observed, the feet cleaning was also missing. Learning his works, he performs an idea that becoming a paes is also a way for actualizing self, ignoring a sense of what is right and what is wrong. How he values the wedding and its elements based on his own interpretations. I ever had an argument with him about the seat arrangements for both parents. The groom requested me to move his parents to seats next to his wife. However, Pak Agus encountered this idea with such a strong articulation, "Placing parents in laws (groom's parents) on bride's left dishonors them that it may cause an embarrassment towards the host (bride's family). For your information, this is Yogyakarta adat." So, in this case, he firmly claims that his patterns refer to the so-called Yogyakarta adat which is the Kraton. This could be understood as when the Kraton hosts royal weddings, the Sultan and his wife and the bride are in right side due to their higher status. Whereas groom and parents stand on left side. However, outside, such a seat arrangement could be problematic because it is the bride's parents who reserve the right positions as the hosts. If the groom's family celebrates another festivity (ngundhuh mantu), it is his parents who sit on the right side. This is part of status display of Javanese wedding. After leading panggih, he led several others ceremony while he spoke using the microphone to give narrations about the ongoing rites.

Pak Agus is assigned in the kitchen area entitled bangsal Patehan to serve tea. He comes to the Kraton every Monday and Thursday. It is not a high level of abdi dalem status. Outside, he has a higher status in the society as a paes because the profession is a respectable one. In this case, Pak Agus mobilizes to a higher class based on work category. Inside the Kraton, paes also positions in a certain higher level, a position that is yet reachable by Pak Agus. It is therefore, Pak Agus develops his skill with all modifications created outside the walls making him possible to become a paes. Ibu Maryani leads the rituals without any reservations. She departed from a simple wedding makeup then moved to learn more about the rituals. She realizes her being waria but has womanship inside her. She performed pre-requisite personal rites such as fasting and prayers, but for the last ten years, she began to leave the habits except the mantra to protect her and the couple. Before making up, she performs her personal rituals. She posit,

“Before working, I recite bismillah and Al Fatihah, no more long mantra like I did, too long. Take the practical one. Get the jilbab so I can easily run and save my time” She does not recommend her clients to fast before wedding, like she did before, but she allows them to fast if they wish. The personal ritual she articulated indicates that she is now a changed person, in correlation to her veiling as a notable female Muslim. Unlike the others, Robi asks his female fellow to lead the rituals as he does the bridal makeup and costume. He admits that he has no capability of the rites. He is concerned of making mistakes as he believes that a wedding ritual requires good knowledge of the rites as well as mature spirituality of a paes. Robi does not advice the clients to do any pre-requisitions, but like Ibu Maryani, he welcomes the clients for doing it.

C. Muslim Bridal Festivals: The Socialisation of Gender Mixture and Veiling Bride

Gender segregation in adat and Islam has been challenged deliberately into public space. Both adat and Islam have own foundation of setting up gender. However, in practice, gender interpretations are understood and done by outside-of-walls people encourage a bafflement towards the gender division itself. Bridal festivals are of places to staging the challenges in public domain as well as marketing bridal styles with head covers. In November 2011, there was a Wedding Make-up Festival for Paes Ageng Style and Muslim-Modification Style in Jogja Expo Center. Robi participated at the section of Muslim-modification. For this section, there were only four participants; three females and Robi. Robi got number three, presenting modern Muslim bride, within a more contemporary jilbab style including the accessories. The rest of participants did the established Muslim style as released by a local wedding styles organization. At this competition, within the framework of Muslims, a man could be participating, regardless the principle of Islamic gender division, being inclusive. But, the other competition which was paes ageng, an adat style, the segregation went in an open discourse between male and female paes. A competition of traditional paes ageng never had male paes. It was the very first time to let men participate. There were more than twenty participants, of which five of them were men. It was a decision of the judges to accept male participants. During the make-up process, female paes were placed on a stage that the audience could see them work, whereas the men were working at the backstage, so that the audience would not see. The judges went around not only at female area but went behind the stage for male area. After time was over, the models and the paes had to do a stage parade. Unfortunately, male paes were not able to present themselves, only the models. The result came out as two male paes won fourth and fifth ranks, acknowledging public on male participants. Concerning the event of having male paes for adat

style, Ibu Lies Adang Pratiknyo, a female senior paes, under the canopy of Harpi Melati, a wedding paes association, sent a protest to the organizer, questioning men's participation.

With respect to Java, the most densely populated island with the biggest Muslim community, traditional dress did not require a covering up of the body or the had. On the contrary, the traditional female outfit (kebaya and kain) is worn tightly around the body, showing the female's body contours. The Islamic outfits would regard bigger size outfits that will not show body contour and wear headcovering. In Figure 49 and 50, at two different festivals, a combination of traditional attire and Islamic symbolic attire happen to be more popular for weddings. Beside that, figure 49 illustrates a female and a male participant with their models for Islamic Javanese wedding attire. The festival, as it was for public consumption, becomes a strategic tool to market the ideas of contemporary Islamic clothing as well as the involvement of men doing bridal necessity.

I attempted to show a paradoxical illustration through the two figures supporting Wichelen's argument Islamic movement concerns the representation of both tradition and modernity. Tradition in terms of an 'invented tradition' of piety, morality, and communal responsibility embodied through Islamic attire, and modernity in terms of scientific progress, education, and individuality (Turner 2009:84). Young women with veils are more fashionable with their outfits, not only wearing conventional loose outfits, which is mostly combined with plain colors. Today, veils and Islamic attire have developed more with various designs and colors. This include their presentetation of wedding as these veiled women also the clients who wish for astonishing wedding attire, but Islamic. Nevertheless, Javanese tradition still has significant contribution of the attire though the body contours remain there. As far as it goes, veiled women do net feel awkward of this body contours matter, they are still able to maintain

their jilbab state as a form of individual religiosity. Another illustration I would assess is that for Muslim bridal contest, men were allowed to participate, which means, there was a public permit that Muslims in general may 'use' men's hands to decorate Muslim females. It is a public acceptance. Whereas, it is debatable upon men's participation over adat bridal contest, meaning, somehow men are still rejected at women domain. Eventhough, practically, the informants I researched have received invitations of decorating bridal couples with either adat style or Islamic style. Further speaking, the involvement of men has abandoned the social construct upon privacy in Islam and yet, maintained gender segregation upon adat framework at some extent.

It is apparent from the perspective of later history that all of these elements of change are significant within the development of Islamic wedding and its impact upon Muslim society in general. In moving to male paes, it has been suggested that a large number of common people are attracted to wedding performances, making the message of muhrim and non-muhrim notion blurry. This festival regards its role of being politics of presence that the participants and the Muslim-veil modification for wedding attire occupy public spaces and communicate with their marked bodies to the outside world their Islamic message as also articulated by Wichelen. The images show how Indonesian Muslims are adhering to such a consumerist discourse of veil prevailing and male paes, committing oneself to an Islamic way of life, but abandoning the gender segregation. This new way of life can be combined between adat performance and modern lifestyle, a form of living a contemporary life of Javanese Muslims.