

## THE VISUAL ANALYSIS OF MUSLIMAH CLOTHING STYLE IN JAVA (15-20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY)

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### **Abstract**

*Islam entered Indonesia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and began to spread out in the 13<sup>th</sup> century with the establishment of Demak Sultanate. After the expansion of Islamic kingdoms or Sultanates, the spread of Islam in Java and Sumatra had strengthened the application of Islamic law (Sharia). It was slowly replacing customary law yet still maintaining and even acculturating the local culture, with nohout exception concerning Muslimah clothing style (hijab or jilbab). This non-interactive qualitative research analyzed the factual data related to the transformation of Muslimah clothing from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century focusing on Java island. The data were analyzed using the fashion design components theory to get detailed visualization of Muslimah clothing style in those eras. The results showed that the Islamic values influenced the fashion clothing style of Javanese Muslim women in terms of silhouettes, colors, details, and materials (textures) without neglecting the local culture.*

*Islam masuk ke Indonesia pada abad ke-7 dan mulai menyebar pada abad ke-13 Masehi dengan berdirinya Kerajaan Islam Demak. Penerapan hukum Syariah Islam secara perlahan menggantikan hukum Adat namun demikian tetap mengakomodasi bahkan berkakulturasi dengan budaya setempat, termasuk*

dalam hal penerapan busana Muslimah (jilbab). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis visualisasi busana Muslimah di Indonesia khususnya di Jawa pada abad 15-20 Masehi. Penelitian kualitatif non-interaktif ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif yang menekankan pada data-data faktual terkait perkembangan busana wanita Muslim. Data dianalisis menggunakan teori elemen desain mode yang terdiri dari siluet, warna, detail, dan tekstur untuk mengetahui gambaran bentuk busana Muslimah pada masa tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan ajaran Islam mempengaruhi gaya berpakaian wanita Muslim Jawa, baik dari segi elemen visual bentuk (siluet), warna, detail, dan material (tekstur), namun demikian tetap mempertahankan budaya lokal yang berlaku.

**Keywords:** jilbab; hijab; muslimah clothing; Indonesian muslim fashion; Islamic fashion history.

## Introduction

Islam entered Indonesia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century by the mutual relation between local citizens and foreign traders (Arabians, Indians, and Persians). It began to spread peacefully in several ways in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. After the decline of the political and economic power of the Srivijaya kingdom, the first Islamic kingdom, Samudera Pasai, appeared in 1285. Meanwhile, Demak stood as the first Islamic kingdom in Java by the collapse of Majapahit Hinduism Kingdom in the 14-15<sup>th</sup> century. During the penetration of Islam among Indonesian people, syncretism influenced the application of Islamic law (Sharia) in many areas, including economics, marriage, criminal, art, music, architecture, et cetera. It indicates that Islamic practice in Java has been mixed by local pre-Islam religious elements (Salim, 2013). The presence of Islam does not erode the cultural values and traditions but creates dialectics between these two elements, which results in inculturation (Marhamah, 2020).

Inculturation also appeared in traditional costumes, especially for Muslimah (Muslim women) clothing. The term *aurat* mentioned in the Qur'an was interpreted differently and moderately by society, especially the rule of wearing headcover. The transformation of clothing style began after Islam entered Java when the Muslimah added one type of clothing called *kemben* to cover the bosom (*aurat*). Islam had influenced the change (Lombard, 1996). Previously, during the Hinduism era, Javanese women showed the upper part of the body as much as possible (Reid, 1988).

The transformation of Muslimah clothing continued to change along with the acculturation of other cultures, for example, *kebaya* from China and modern dress from Europe along the 15-19<sup>th</sup> century. During these eras, few women wore specific Muslim clothes, like such as headscarves, for daily activities. In the past, they wore headscarves only for praying or attending ceremonies until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when more Islamic organizations introduced headscarves or headcovers to wear daily. Today, Muslimah clothing, especially headscarves, started to be accepted by most communities in Indonesia and even became the world fashion trend (modest fashion).

The transformation of Muslimah clothing from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century until today is very moderate and dynamic. Syncretism and inculturation influence the changes. This research aims to reveal the transformation of visual elements (the form of Muslimah clothing), specifically focusing on the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the first Islamic Kingdom arose in Java until significant changes appeared along the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It captures and analyzes the developments and changes of visual elements of Muslimah clothing style from the 15-20<sup>th</sup> century focusing on the model of Muslimah clothing in Java (including the way they wear the headcover) from the transformation of Hinduism to the Islamic culture. The elements of fashion design are fashion silhouettes (the shape or form), fashion details, textures or materials, and colors.

## Method

This research is a non-interactive qualitative study. Non-interactive qualitative studies mainly concern with historical analysis or content analysis. It establishes descriptions and comes up with explanations of what has occurred (Khaldi, 2017). Non-interactive qualitative research is also called document analysis research, a study based on data analysis. The researchers collect, evaluate, analyze, and organize the synthesis of data. Then, they interpret the concept and the policy through the facts directly related (Sukmadinata, 2012).

The primary data employed in the current research are literature studies from scientific journals and books on Islamic dress, Islamic lifestyle, traditional Javanese clothing, history of Javanese culture, and history of Islam in Indonesia. This research emphasizes gathering factual data related to the transformation of Muslimah clothing from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The theory used for data analysis is 'The Fashion Design Components' from Stone (2006) and Seivewright (2012). The components include silhouette (shape), detail, texture or material, and color.

## Theory of Muslimah Clothing

### The Term *Aurat* and Sharia

The Qur'an (Surah An-Nur:31, Al-Ahzab:32-33, 55, 59, and Al-A'raf:26) mention the term *aurat* of Muslim women (Muslimah) and the clothing. The phrase *bikhumurihinna* (Surah An-Nur: 31) from the word *al-khumr* (plural forms of *al-khimar*) means something (cloth) used by Muslim women to cover head, bosom, and hips (Asyraf in Suhendra, 2013). The phrase *al-libas* (Surah Al-A'raf: 26) also defines the term of clothing. Arabic-Indonesian dictionary, Al-Munawwir, defines the word *libas* (plural forms of *lubs*) as clothing with the word derived from *fi'il madhi: labisa-yalbasu*, which means to wear. Besides, the term *tsiyabun* (plural forms of *tsaub*) and *saraabiil* (plural forms of *sirbalun*) in the Qur'an mean clothes.

The term hijab and jilbab has a different meaning in The Qur'an and Hadith. The etymology of headscarves comes from Arabic *jalaba* (جلب) or the plural form *jalabib* (Surah Al-Ahzab: 59), which means to cover the *aurat*, all parts of Muslim women body including the head, except the face and palms (Suhendra, 2008). In the context of Muslimah clothing, there are different views among scholars to describe the visualization of jilbab. One says jilbab is like *rida'* (turban), while another describes jilbab as the veil bigger than *khimr* or scarves (Suhendra, *ibid*). However, most scholars and interpreters describe jilbab as Muslimah clothing with a loose-fitting silhouette to cover the *aurat* (Marhumah, 2014; Surtiretna, 1995). The Arabic-Indonesian dictionary, Al-Munawwir, defines the jilbab as Muslimah clothing to cover the entire body from head to toe.

Hijab (حجاب) comes from the word *hajaba*; it means a sheath, curtain, veil, or separator (El-Guindi, 2001). Qur'an mentioned the word hijab as something to block or divide between two people, so both could not see each other. The hijab is a social separator between men and women (Suhendra, 2008). Regarding this definition, the term hijab is not proper to define Muslimah clothing because even though Muslimah had covered the entire body with the cloth, they can still see someone around them (Syuqqah, 1998). These words imply that the hijab is not similar to clothing; the hijab is a curtain or barrier to block the sight of a man to a woman and vice versa.

However, nowadays, it is familiar for Indonesian to define jilbab and hijab as a headscarf or cloth to cover the head and the body, especially for Muslim women (Marhumah, 2014; Nurhayat, 2018; Suhendra, 2013). The

Indonesian Language Dictionary (KBBI online version) defines the word hijab as a wide cloth worn by Muslim women to cover the face and the body. Jilbab has a similar meaning to hijab, but it does not cover the face, palm, and feet. Both the words hijab and jilbab have identical meanings as informal (slang) words in KBBI online: A wide cloth or veil worn by Muslim women to cover the head including hair, ears, neck, and chest.

Therefore, in this research, the author uses the term Muslimah clothing as garments to cover all the *aurat*, while jilbab or hijab as the headscarf or veil to fully covered the head, including hair, ears, neck, and chest. *Kerudung* mentioned in this research refers to a loosely-fitted headscarf that half covered the head and still exposed the hair and neck.

### The Fashion Design Components

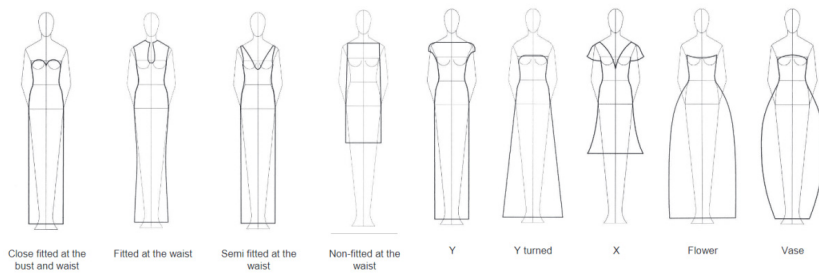
People are supposed to understand that the terms fashion and clothing are not identical in meaning. In general, “fashion” is much more than what is called the fashion industry, which deals with apparel, although that is a substantial part of the global economy (Pan et al., 2015). Fashion includes some categories of products, such as luxury items, cosmetics, bottled water, and other aspects such as furniture, housing, and automobiles. Fashion can also be interpreted as a popular trend in the community in a certain period and always change along with various events, lifestyles, and interests of the textile industry. Fashion has four principal design elements or ‘the components of fashion’ consisting of silhouette or shape, texture (fabrics and textile techniques), detail, and color (Seivewright, 2012; Stone, 2006).

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the term clothing has a more specific meaning; clothes of a particular type, especially of an item made to protect the body against cold, heat, water, or machinery. Kodzoman (2019) describes that clothing can suitably cover the body, provide a barrier between skin and the environment, show a social norm or values, and help people to express their taste or style.

Silhouette, refers to the area, contour, or shape with a definite outline or a visible structure. The general types of silhouette (Stone, *ibid*) are Bell-shaped (fit and flare), back fullness, straight or tubular, slim, tent, rectangular, wedge, A-line, I-line, O-line, and H-line. While Dineva and Ilieva (2016) determine the term silhouette as ‘non-volumetric’ and ‘volumetric’ ones. Non-volumetric silhouettes are defined by the fitting at the waist; they include ‘close fitted at the bust and waist’, ‘fitted at the waist’, ‘semi-fitted at the waist’, and ‘non-

fitted at the waist' silhouette. The volumetric silhouettes have a bigger size than the relevant form of the human body. Volumetric silhouettes are usually determined by geometrical shapes, letters, and objects for example Y-line, Y turned-line, X-line, flower (similar to bell-shaped or fit and flare), and vase (balloon).

Based on the description above, the term 'close fitted at the bust-waist' silhouette and the 'fitted at the waist' silhouette are more popular with the term 'Sheath' silhouette in the community. On the other hand, the 'non-fitted at the waist' silhouette could be defined as 'Shift' silhouette (resembling the letters H and I).



**Figure 1. Volumetric dan Non-Volumetric Silhouette**  
(Source: Dineva & Illieva, 2016)

Detail is the individual element of clothing to attract attention to clothing. The examples of detail are the shape of the collar, the shape of the cuff, the shape of the arms and shoulders, trimming (buttons, zippers), ruffle (wrinkled fabric), pleats (folds), pockets, and so forth.

Color is the first element noticed by most people. Colors can affect one's psychology and feelings. The fundamental theoretical of colors consists of primary, secondary, and tertiary colors with their combinations (chromatic, analogous, split complementary, etc.). Color also refers to the dark or light intensity of color.

Texture refers to a fabric or material. Frings (2010) defines the term texture as the surface interest in the fabric of a garment. The texture includes ornaments, printing, surface embellishment, or other textile techniques: embroidery, applique, batik, laser cutting, beads, and smocking.

### Muslimah Clothing during the 15-20<sup>th</sup> Century

In the reign of the Hindu and Buddhist kingdom, women in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Java and Bali), wore a piece of cotton cloth with batik motifs (called *jarit*) which were not sewn then wrapped once around the

body paired with *udat* or a cloth tied at the waist (Raffles, 1817). This clothing lets as much as possible the upper part of the body (the shoulder and bosom) open, especially on formal occasions (Reid, 1988). According to Crawford and Verhael in Reid (*ibid*), after Islam entered Java and began to spread in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Javanese women added one type of clothing called '*kemben*', a piece of cloth wrapped tightly around the chest to cover the bosom (*aurat*).

Stockdale (2020) mentioned that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Javanese women (in which Islam has dominated religion in Java) wore a piece of cotton cloth or *sarong* wrapped around the body and tied at the chest to cover the bosom meanwhile, the traditional clothes also affected by European styles at that time. Hendriatmo (2006) explained that the government of Amangkurat II, including the officials and nobles, wore the European clothing style of Dutch officials, e.g. black velvet coats, furry hats, and stockings. European style was also adopted in a loose blue dress with knee-length worn by Javanese women (Raffles, 1817).



Figure 2. *Kemben* and *jarit* for Javanese women including Muslimah in 19<sup>th</sup> century (Source: Steel engraving art by Domeny de Rienzi, 1836 (left); Book of History of Java by Raffles, 1817 (right))

Even though European-styles clothing has been adopted, most Javanese women, including Muslim women, wore a cloth more often, for example, *kemben*, *jarit*, and a *sarong* or plaid-woven fabrics which wrapped up from the ankles and tied at the waist using *udat* (Raffles 1817). There were also accessories worn at the head and arms. This picture showed that Javanese Muslim women, during the period, did not recognize *jilbab* or headscarf.

There was also Chinese influence on Javanese clothing, for example, the *kebaya* inspired by the Chinese clothing or *beizi* from the Ming Dynasty in the

15<sup>th</sup> century (Pambudy & Khoiri, “Aku dan Anugerah Kebaya,” KOMPAS, 22 April 2007). The kebaya was originally shaped like a tunic or *baju kurung* with long sleeves, covering the body from neck to knees. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the first Chinese *kebaya* developed into *kebaya kutubaru* which using ‘*bef*’ or a piece of cloth on the chest that connects a collar from left to the right. Most Indonesian Muslim women in Java until the early twentieth century did not cover their heads except when they prayed or attended religious gatherings (Tantowi, 2010). This condition was probably influenced by Sufism in the early days of Islam in Indonesia because Sufism is generally seen as accommodative to local beliefs and practices.

Towards the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of “Modern Islam” or “Reformist Islam” in Egypt grew up rapidly in Southeast Asia (Tantowi, 2010). The thought of “Modern Islami” was first introduced through the *Al-Manar* Journal by Egyptian reformers, Muhammad Abduh and his student Rashid Rida in 1865. The messages contained in this journal were to invite Muslims to return to the *Qur’an*, *Sunnah*, *Hadith*, and the *Salaf al-Salalih* tradition. This movement was responded positively by the Indonesian clerics in Mecca, then finally spread to Indonesia and accepted by many intellectuals, including KH. Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah organization), Ahmad Hasan (founder of Islamic Unity organization or PERSIS), and Ahmad Surkatti (al-Ishlah wa al-Irsyad organization). Besides, Reformist Islam also spread in Minangkabau, West Sumatera, through the Paderi movement founded by Tuanku Nan Tua, son of Sheikh Burhanuddin (a great scholar from West Sumatra who spreaded Islam in Pagaruyung in the 18-19<sup>th</sup> century).

One of the Reformist Islam ideas adopted by the Indonesian Muslims is the use of headcover. In Java, headcover or headscarf was first introduced by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, founder of Muhammadiyah organization in Kauman, Yogyakarta, Central Java. Together with his wife, Siti Walidah (Nyai Ahmad Dahlan) through the organization of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah (firstly named *Sopo Tresno*), he proposed the use of headcover while supported the formal and Islamic education among Muslim women in Kauman (Mu’arif & Setyowati, 2018). Before the movement of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, most Muslim women wore headscarves only if they came back from pilgrimage in Mecca. But since then, many Muslim women started to wear them especially the members of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah (Seniwati & Lestari, 2019).

The headcover was named *kerudung* Aisyiyah or *Songket Kauman* (Mu’arif and Setyowati, 2018:47) shaped like a scarf with colorful floral embroidery



at the edges, made with *Paris* cotton textile and ABC yarn to create high-quality handmade embroidery (<https://ibtimes.id/songket-kauman-budaya-muhammadiyah-yang-hilang-ditelan-zaman/>). This type of headcover then became a fashion trend among Muslim women in Kauman and was still preserved until 1956. Today, this kind of clothes has become increasingly rare. Besides *kerudung* Asiyiah, Muslim women in Kauman used *kain sarong* from Bombay, India, with the style of a female turban wrap (*sorban puteran*). Outside Jogjakarta, Muslim women of Aisyiah Muhammadiyah also wore headscarves, some of which were in Banyumas, Purwokerto, East Java, despite facing public humiliation (Suwarno & Kosasih, 2014).

Even though Muslim women of Aisyiah wore headscarves, many Javanese women still used short *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth without the headcover (Lombard, 1996). This evidence strengthened by the event when Abdul Karim Amrullah (one of Islam reformist activists from West Sumatera) issued a *fatwa haram* (Muslim ulema rules of any act that is forbidden) of short *kebaya* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Tantowi, 2010). The *fatwa*, then debated by Nur Sutan Iskandar, proposed that it could not be applied because most Muslim women in Java still wear short *kebaya*. According to Prasetya (2010), until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the strong influence of Javanese tradition had encouraged many Javanese Muslim women to wear clothing appropriate to the tradition and culture (*kebaya*) in which headcover was not part of it.

Islamic Unity organization or *Persatuan Islam* (PERSIS) in Bandung, West Java, also actively propagated Indonesian Muslim women's rights and convinced them to wear headcover or headscarf as women's daily wear. According to Natsir in Tantowi (2010), the Muslim women in PERSIS wore a different style of headcover. The headcover completely covered the head (show only face), neck, ears, and bosom. Muslim women in PERSIS wore it for performing religious rituals or activities and for daily wear as well. Based on the aforementioned former explanation, the author assumes that the PERSIS headcover is similar to *Jilbab* (the style of Muslim headcover, popular in Indonesia after the late 1980s). Amrullah (2008) describes *jilbab* as a long cloth covering Muslim woman's *aurat* includes hair, neck, and bosom, except the face and palms.

The Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran brought seismic changes to many Muslim countries globally, including Indonesia. One of the changes was the use of a headcover, which became widely worn by many Indonesian Muslim women. However, the headcover was still considered unusual, suspicious,

and radical. The Indonesian New Order government in the 1980s banned the veil in several formal educational institutions and offices (Prasetya, 2010). The scarves were allowed to use only at certain times, such as Eid ul-Fitr, *Maulid Nabi*, *Isra Mi'raj*, *Qur'an* recitation, and by women who performed hajj (pilgrimage) (Tantowi, 2010; Yulikhah, 2016). This situation led to a mass demonstration in some regions by senior high school students known as "The Revolution of *Jilbab* (headcovers)."

However, the demonstration intensified communication between Indonesia Ulema Council (MUI) with the Indonesian Ministry of Education and various parties, such as the Attorney General of Indonesia, MENPAN, Chairperson of Commission XI DPR RI, including BAKIN. Finally, on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1991, the government edstated officially a decree Number 100/C/Kep/D/1991 of school uniforms that allowed Muslim students to wear the headcover.

*Jilbab* revolution in the 1980s, along with the new political direction, had changed people and the government's perception of Muslim headcover. In the 1990s, Muslims were finally allowed to show their Islamic affiliation. Religious symbols began to appear in the community, including headcover. Siti Hardijanti Rukmana or known Mbak Tutut ( Former Indonesian President Soeharto's daughter) appeared to wear headscarves in front of the public. Her style was then popular as "*Kerudung Mbak Tutut*" or Mbak Tutut's Scarf (Kompas, 23 April 1990), made from thin fabric with colorful and gold embroidery on the edges. In the 1980s, even some designers had started to popularize headscarves, Ida Royani, Anne Rufaidah, and Ida Leman (Wardiani, 2019:88), headscarves just sprang up in the 1990s. Many Indonesian designers and public figures wore headscarves. It began more popular than ever. Designer Ranti (Ranti Muslim fashion), Fenny Mustafa (Shafira House), Jenny Tjahyawaty, Iva Latifah, actress Astri Ivo, and Neno Warisman were some of them. In 1996, the Indonesian Fashion Designers and Entrepreneurs Association (APPMI) opened a special department for Muslim labels and designers, Muslim fashion had a place on the fashion week runaway (Amrullah, 2008).

Nasida Ria, a group of women performing Islamic music band (*kasidah*) from Semarang, Central Java, which was popular around the 1980s and early 1990s, had a unique style of hijab of their personnel. They wore loosely fitted headscarves with an inner cap (*ciput*) that half covered the head and still exposed the neck. This kind of headscarf was popular among Muslim women at the time. However, the *jilbab* completely covered the head, neck, and body, also

worn by some Muslims, even less popular than the other. Neno Warisman is one of the public figures who wears this kind of headscarves.

In the late 1990s, some Indonesian women graduated from the Middle East, for example, Al-Azhar, Egypt, had a significant role in bringing a 'new style' of Muslim fashion to Indonesia. They introduced a new type of material of the veil, which was colorful and more transparent and stylish (Amrullah, 2008). Eventually, headscarves or *jilbab* became widely worn by many Muslim women in Indonesia. It was no longer identical to worn by the lower economic class, but it was worn also socialites or the upper-class women.

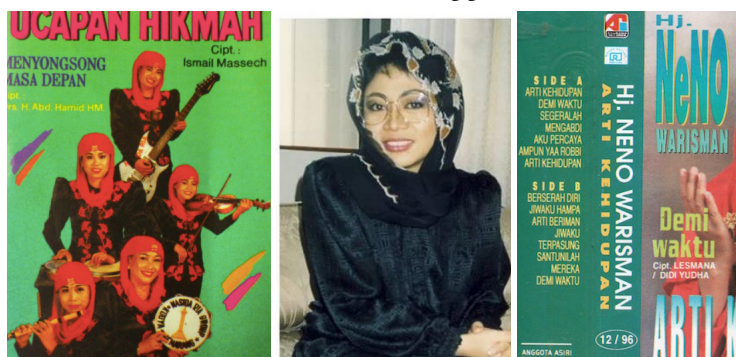


Figure 3. Inner cap worn by personnel of Nasida Ria in Album 1993 (left), Siti Hardiyati Rukmana or 'Mbak Tutut Soeharto' (center), Neno Warisman in Album 1995 (right). (Source: Qasidah Lagu Negeriku (2012); Instagram of Tutut Soeharto July 2018; Kaset Lalu (n.d.))

## Results and Discussion

### Fashion Silhouette

After the fall of Majapahit Kingdom and the rise of the Demak Islamic Kingdom in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Javanese women wore *jarit* or *sarung* cloth and wrapped the upper body with *kemben*. This clothing created a close-fitted silhouette at the bust and waist. Along with the transformation, the Muslim women also wore long *kebaya*, inspired by Chinese clothing, shaped like a tunic or *baju kurung* with long sleeves, covering the body from neck to knees. The long *kebaya* then continued transformed into *kebaya kutubaru* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, with shorter size and using 'bef' (a piece of cloth on the chest that connects the left to the right side of the collar). The long *kebaya* and *jarit* created an I-Line silhouette or non-fitted at the bust and waist, the short *kebaya* with the semi-fitted at the bust and waist. Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most Javanese Muslim women still wore *kemben* or *kebaya* with *jarit*

or sarung cloth and without the headcover. They only wore the headcover during performing prayer or attending religious occasions.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the use of *kebaya* and headcover as daily wear became more common, especially in the West and Central Java initiated by women of Aisyiyah (Muhammadiyah Yogya) and PERISTRI (PERSIS Bandung). The women of Aisyiyah wore loosely fitted headscarves (half cover the head and still exposed the hair and neck) called *songket kauman*, paired with *kebaya* and *jarit*. The women of PERISTRI preferred to wear the more covered headscarves or *jilbab*.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some Muslims still wore *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth but only for formal occasions. In a picture of a book of Bintang Muhammadiyah by Djarnawi Hadikusuma, Muslim women wore *kebaya* and *jarit* with loosely fitted headscarves at a coronation day of President Soekarno as Bintang Muhammadiyah in 1965. The silhouette was semi-fitted at the bust and waist. Similar types of clothing, found in a picture of Nyai Ahmad Dahlah around the 1940s.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, modern western clothing replaced *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth. Based on the interview with a Muslim woman from PERISTRI Bandung, a few Muslim women in the 1980s wore headcover or *jilbab* paired with a loosely-fitted garment in western style. For example, long sleeves blouse, shirt, belt, trousers, and a long skirt. They wore *jilbab* with a square cloth folded into a triangle to cover the head. Both sides of the *jilbab* cloth, pinned on the neck and left the two ends hanging over to cover the chest. The style created I-line or H-line and bulky silhouettes (non-fitted silhouette).

Until the 1990s, many Javanese Muslims wore headcovers with a modern style of clothing. Some were a mixture of western and local styles. Besides, around the 1980s and 1990s, some Muslims wore *Gamis*, *Tunic*, and *Abaya* with non-fitted silhouettes (A-Line, H-Line, and I-Line) (Rusmana, 2015). Even today, these types of clothing are common for Muslims in Indonesia, including the Javanese.

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim fashion designers sprang out with new fashion styles and types, including the headcover or *jilbab*. In the late 1990s, many designers mixed the western and traditional styles, which created more variant silhouettes such as X-line, Y-line, Y-turned, and bell-shaped (fit-flare) silhouettes.



Figure 4. The silhouette of kemben with jarit cloth for Javanese women (left). GKR.

Hemas wife of Pakubuwono X in short and long kebaya (center, right)

(Source: Book of History of Java by Raffles, 1817; <http://infobimo.blogspot.com>)

### Fashion Detail

There were only a few details in Muslim women's clothing of the 15-19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, *wiron* (multiple folds in front of *jarit*), drapery effect made from shawl (*selendang*) or *jarit* tied around the waist, v-neck collar (*kerah kebaya*), and *kutubaru*. Started in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, fashion detail became more varied as the influence of modern western and oriental style in Muslimah clothing, for example: more collars (turtle neck, ruffle neck, mandarin, wing, sailor collar, cape collar, bib, etc.). Other details were padding on shoulder suite, frill, ruffle, pleats, variants of sleeves (raglan, batwing, kimono, cape sleeve, bell sleeve, bishop, etc.).



Figure 6. Examples of fashion detail on Muslimah clothing in early 20<sup>th</sup> century (left to right) wiron, v-neck kebaya (kerah kebaya), drapery from selendang and jarit, kebaya kutu baru.

(Source: [www.aisyiyah.or.id](http://www.aisyiyah.or.id); [digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl](http://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl); <https://twitter.com/BBCIndonesia/status/525096882050461696>)

### **Fashion Color**

The color used in Javanese clothing (including Muslims) in the 15-19<sup>th</sup> century was the natural dye, brown, black, yellow, blue, and red. Some of these colors were also used in *Batik* and *Lurik* cloth. Brown and black were obtained from the *tingi* plant (*Ceriops tagal*). Yellow from *soga* (*Peltophorum pterocarpum*) and jackfruit rind. Reddish-brown from the outer bark of the roots of *mengkudu* called Noni (*Morinda citrifolia*). Blue from eggplant (*Solanum melongena*) or *nila* plant (*indigofera tinctoria*). Stockdale (2020) mentioned that *nila* plant (*indigofera tinctoria*) was cultivated in Jaccatra (now Jakarta) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and exported to Europe.

The traditional inland *Batik* clothes of Keraton Surakarta and Jogjakarta in East Java still used natural or earthy colors, for example, black, white, brown, brown-yellow (*sogan*), blue or *indigo* (Wardani and Sitindjak, 2014). While the coastal *Batik* (*pesisir*) used the combination of bright and more variant colors.

Synthetic textile dyes began to enter Indonesia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Jasper & Pringadi, in Subagiyo, 2008). The *Indigo* and *Alizarin* dye were used in 1900, while the *Griesheim* synthetic dye from Germany and *Benzidine* from Switzerland used in 1920 for coloring *Batik* cloth (Rouffaer, 1914 & Steinman, 1947 in Subagiyo, 2008). *Benzidine* or known *Soga-soga* has a similar quality of color of natural *sogan* brown color in *Batik* cloth. The synthetic dyes then influenced the mass use of variant and bright colors on Javanese clothing, including the Muslims.

In the 1880s and 1990s, after Muslim fashion designers sprang up, the styles of Muslimah clothing were a combination of local and western culture. It created more variant and attractive colors. In the late 1990s, some Indonesian women who graduated from the Middle East also introduced a new type of veil material, which was more colorful and transparent (Amrullah, 2008).

### **Texture (Fabrics and Ornaments)**

From the 15-19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the Javanese people (including Muslims) used cotton cloth. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cotton yarn was a vital trading commodity from Java (Stockdale, 2020). Indonesia became one of the cotton-producing countries in Southeast Asia around the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Reid, 1988).


Besides cotton, the Javanese wore silk fabric or *chintz* imported from India. Before the mass wore of *Batik* cloth in Java, Indonesia imported *patola* cloth (a cotton cloth with specific motifs) from India before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After entering the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Indonesia-Indian textile trade decreased (Ngatinah, 2008) so that the *patola* was not used anymore. When the king of Amangkurat II (*Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta*) began to be influenced by the European clothing style in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some Javanese people wore velvet silk fabric and linen, especially the king, nobles, and royal officials. In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the development of regenerated and synthetic fiber technology (rayon, polyester, polyamide, nylon, acrylic, etc.) created new variants of synthetic fabric, for example, tetoron cotton (polyester-cotton blended), synthetic chiffon, polyester sateen, etc.

*Batik* was known as a decorating textile for Javanese people in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Reid, 1988). *Batik* was widely worn for *jarit* cloth paired with *kemben* or *kebaya*. The motifs used on *batik* cloth were *Parang Rusak*, *Larung Ireng*, *Sawat*, *Garudaan*, etc. Raffless (1817) mentioned, there were around 100 types of motifs used on Javanese *batik* cloth in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. People from Panarukan and Pasuruan, East Java, also wore *lurik* cloth from cotton.




In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, women of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah wore *songket kauman* with colorful flower embroidery decoration. Mu'arif explained that the *songket* first made by Haji Mochtar's wife (one of the board directors of Muhammadiyah organization in 1918-1921) with material Paris cotton fabric and 'ABC' yarn (cotton yarn) (Mu'arif, 2020). Around the 1990s, Mbak Tutut (Former Indonesia Ex-President Soeharto's daughter) popularized *Kerudung Mbak Tutut* made from thin fabric with colorful and gold flower embroidery on the edges.



Until today *batik* motifs and embroidery were still used for textile decoration in women's Muslim fashion. The table below resumes the style of Javanese Muslimah clothing during the period of the 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 1 Visual Analysis of Javanese Muslimah Clothing in the 15-20<sup>th</sup> Century

Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	Detail	Color	Texture
15 <sup>th</sup> to mid 19 <sup>th</sup> century	 <p>Source: Raffles, 1817:217</p> <p>Source: Situs web kepustakaan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sheath silhouette (fitted and semi-fitted at the bust and waist) from <i>kemben</i>, short <i>kebaya</i>, and <i>jarit</i></li> <li>• Shift silhouette (non-fitted at the waist) from long <i>kebaya</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Drapery</i> from <i>selendang</i> and <i>jarit</i></li> <li>• <i>kutubaru</i></li> <li>• <i>Wiron</i></li> <li>• <i>V-neck</i> collar (<i>kerah kebaya</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use natural dyes (<i>tingi</i>, <i>soga</i>, <i>mengkudu</i>, <i>indigofera</i>, etc.)</li> <li>• Natural dyes usually produce pale colors (colors that have been heavily tinted with white)</li> <li>• <i>Batik keraton</i> use natural (earthy) color palette</li> <li>• <i>Batik pesisir</i> use more bright colors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cotton fabric (<i>Batik</i> cloth, <i>patola</i>)</li> <li>• <i>Lurik</i> cloth used in East Java</li> <li>• <i>Chintz</i> silk fabric</li> <li>• Velvet silk and Linen fabric for royals (exported from Europe)</li> </ul>



Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	Detail	Color	Texture
End of 19 <sup>th</sup> to early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	  <p>Women of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah Source: aisyiyah.or.id</p>  <p>Women of Aisyiyah Source: Seniwati, 2019:224</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sheath silhouette (semi-fitted at the waist) created from short <i>kebaya</i>, and <i>jarit</i>.</li> <li>• Shift silhouette (non-fitted at the waist) created from long <i>kebaya</i> with <i>jarit</i> and <i>baju kurung</i></li> <li>• Some Muslim wore fully covered headscarves, others wore half covered headscarves (exposed the hair and neck)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drapery from <i>selendang</i> and <i>jarit</i></li> <li>• <i>kutu baru</i></li> <li>• <i>Wiron</i></li> <li>• V-neck collar (<i>kerah kebaya</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use natural dyes</li> <li>• Some began to use synthetic dyes</li> <li>• Synthetic dyes produce a more durable, variant, and bright colors</li> <li>• The embroidery motifs of <i>Songket kauman</i> use colorful palette</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cotton fabric (<i>Batik</i> cloth)</li> <li>• <i>Lurik</i> cloth used in East Java</li> <li>• <i>Chintz</i> silk fabric</li> <li>• <i>Paris</i> cotton fabric and ABC yarn for <i>songket kauman</i> with flower embroidery decoration</li> </ul>

Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	Detail	Color	Texture
Middle to End of 20 <sup>th</sup> century	<p>Nyai Ahmad Dahlan (center) Source: Mu'arif, 2020.</p>  <p>Muslim fashion in the late of 20<sup>th</sup> Source: Rusmana, 2015</p>  <p>Siti Hardijanti Rukmana in 1996 Source: DEWI Magazine, No.8 August 1996</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mid. 20<sup>th</sup> century, <i>Sheath</i> and <i>shift</i> silhouette created from short and long <i>kebaya</i></li> <li>• End of 20<sup>th</sup> century, variant type of cloths created variant silhouettes: <i>Shift</i>, <i>sheath</i>, <i>A-line</i>, <i>X</i>, <i>Y</i>, <i>fit-flare</i> (bell-shaped), <i>clock</i>, etc.</li> <li>• Some Muslims wore loosely-fitted (half covered) headscarves, while others wore headcover (<i>jilbab</i>) completely covered the body from head to toe, leaving the face and palm exposed. The style created shift silhouette and volumetric silhouette or bulky.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Wiron</i></li> <li>• Pleats</li> <li>• Drapery</li> <li>• Frill</li> <li>• Variant collars, sleeves, and pocket</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many use synthetic dyes</li> <li>• More combination of attractive and bright colors especially in the 1980s and 1990s</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cotton fabric (<i>Batik</i> and <i>Lurik</i> cloth)</li> <li>• Silk fabric</li> <li>• <i>Rayon</i>/<i>Viscose fabric</i></li> <li>• Synthetic fabrics e.g. mixed tetoron-cotton, polyester-sateen, nylon-chiffon, etc. Embroidery decoration with variant motifs on scarf, tunic or blouse.</li> </ul>

Source: Courtesy of author

## Conclusion

The application of Islamic law (Sharia) in the past among Javanese went through the acculturation of local culture, including Muslimah clothing. Acculturation between Islamic values and local culture affected the transformation of the clothing style of Javanese Muslim women. It occurred from the use of *kemben* to others, adopted to better cover up the *aurat*, for example, *kebaya* from China, European clothing, and *baju kurung* from Malay. This research showed that the visual elements of Muslimah clothing of the 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century in Java were influenced by local culture, specifically the silhouettes, details, and textures (materials). The change of all elements from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> was not significant until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The silhouette of 'semi-fitted' and 'non-fitted' at the waist always dominated the style of Muslimah clothing from the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Based on Sharia rules of Muslimah clothing, women should cover the *aurat*, including the curves. Fashion details of Muslimah clothing were simple until the middle of the 1900s. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, people began to combine local and western inspiration to get more variant and unique clothing yet modest for complying with the Sharia. The color of clothes was made from natural dyes that produced pale colors, used until the early of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The inland *batik* of Keraton Surakarta and Jogjakarta used natural (earthy) colors, and the coastal or *batik pesisir* used more bright colors. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, synthetic color dyes influenced the mass use of variant and bright colors on Javanese clothing, including that of Muslims, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, with more attractive colors. Javanese people wore natural cotton fibers and silk for clothing. Regenerated fiber (rayon) and synthetic (polyester) were more popular in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and widely worn in the late 1990s.

Even though Muslimah clothing goes through some polemics in the application of Sharia, it continues adapting the community dressed from time to time. Indonesia is currently known as one of the world's centers of Muslim fashion trends (Islamic-Fashion). It eventually becomes a part of the culture and the lifestyle of Javanese and Indonesian. This research was conducted in 2018 to 2020, and all sources were taken during this period. Further research requires specifically visual data or picture documentation. It is expected to help the Muslim fashion industry and designers in product research and design development.

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