



---

Lekesan: Interdisciplinary Journal of Asia Pacific Arts

Journal homepage <http://jurnal.isi-dps.ac.id/index.php/lekesan>

---

## Classic Jewelry Aesthetics on *Payas Agung Badung*

**A.A.Ngr. Anom Mayun Konta Tenaya**

Department of Fashion, Faculty of Art and Design  
Indonesian Institute of the Arts-Denpasar  
Nusa Indah Street, Sumerta, East Denpasar, Bali 80235, Indonesia

*anomayun3@gmail.com*

Jewelry is an important and inseparable part of *Payas Agung Badung*'s clothing. In the past, the nobles of the Badung kingdom had exclusive rights to *Payas Agung* (Balinese Traditional Uniform) which were used only at certain times, such as religious rituals and traditional events. *Payas Agung Badung* is still used today, specifically for weddings and tooth-filling in the Badung district and Denpasar city. The unique nature of this dress does not only come from the material and design aspects but also from the socio-cultural aspect, especially the artistic value of *Payas Agung Badung* clothing, which has a strong character. Traditional fabrics harmoniously blend with Balinese jewelry. The focus of this research is on jewelry which is the center of attention of the overall appearance of *Payas Agung Badung*. This research is a qualitative study using aesthetic theory. The primary data was obtained from the jewelry used at *Payas Agung Badung* in the period from 1930 to 1970. The secondary data were photographs belonging to the Puri Anom family in Denpasar. The results showed that the beauty of jewelry at *Payas Agung Badung* comes from intrinsic values, such as raw materials and motifs, as well as extrinsic values, such as the *pakem* (aesthetic principles) and deep meaning of the jewelry.

*Keywords: aesthetics, classics, jewellery, payas agung badung*

*Received March 19, 2022; Accepted March 25, 2022; Published February May 12, 2022*

<https://doi.org/10.31091/lekesan.v5i1.1600>

© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Pusat Penerbitan LP2MPP Institut Seni Indonesia Denpasar.

*This is an open-access article under the CC BY-NC-SA license*

## INTRODUCTION

In studying the composition of noble clothing, in this case, the couture of the Badung kingdom called *Payas great Badung*, jewelry is an inseparable component. Jewelry is an important component that composes *Payas Agung Badung*. In the past, jewelry was made only for noble families. Apart from being restricted, the jewels reveal a pinnacle of power. Apart from the good taste of the Badung nobles in choosing their dress, they also get support from the *pande* or royal goldsmiths who are able to create high-quality jewelry. Regarding the high quality of art in the palace, Jessup (1990), said that “the culture of the palace...in many cases is the pinnacle of creativity”.

There are many types of traditional Balinese clothing based on function and region. Each region or kingdom has its own style that represents its customs and artistic abilities. However, this study only focuses on clothing originating from the *Puri* (Castle) *Badung*, because the other castles have their own *Payas Agung*. *Payas Agung Badung* has a strong character to attract attention and is better known outside of Bali than clothing from other regions. With this popularity, *Payas Agung Badung* is recognized as one of the icons of Bali.

The Badung Kingdom is one of *Asta Negara*, the eight largest kingdoms in Bali. This kingdom is located in the southern region of Bali, facing the Indian Ocean. The Badung Kingdom was rich because it benefited from the Sanur jetty which was widely known by foreign traders since the 15th century. With this economic advantage, *Payas great Badung* was created with the aim of reflecting and portraying a rich kingdom and aristocratic social status.

In the past, Balinese aristocrats liked to dress up and were aware of appearances such as neatness (Mayun, 2021). For the Balinese, clothing contains semiotic signs which are symbols or manifestations of existence; both heredity and economic status (Hauser et al, 1997). There is a description of *Payas Agung* that was made by Covarrubias (1973) who lived in the vicinity of *Puri* Denpasar in the 1930s.

*“At temple ceremonies, weddings, and cremations, one still sees middle-aged men in the elaborate ceremonial attire of the past: a white kamben with the ends left behind, a piece of brocade (saput) tied around the chest with a silk scarf (umpal) in which ancestral keris (Balinese dagger), weapons and ornaments, sheaths of precious wood and ivory, chiseled gold hilts gleaming with rubies and diamonds, red hibiscus flowers above their ears. Few ceremonies in the world have the dignified elegance of the ceremonial costumes of noblewomen: the bottom skirt drags on the ground in silk and gold chariots; the body is bound from the hips to the armpits; one holds the headdress firmly, a strip of cloth fifteen feet long, covered by a belt, the other piece of silk is lined with gold leaf; with gold threads in her ears, her hair adorned with a large crown of real and gold flowers, with a forehead reshaped with paint and decorated with rows of flower petals, two small gold discs affixed to her temples; walking quietly in procession with the other girls dressed as herself, in displays of style, beauty, and dignity.”*

Covarrubias was amazed by the style of dress of Balinese royalty. So he made a sketch of the clothes. From a fashion point of view, *Payas Agung Badung* can be categorized as couture that emphasizes beauty through clothing and jewelry. In this case, the function of jewelry is important to create the image of Balinese royalty. In fact, sometimes jewelry attracts more attention than cloth because, during moments of being naked, Balinese noblewomen still show the sheen of jewelry that radiates from their bodies.

Jewelry at *Payas Agung Badung* not only beautifies the overall appearance of the clothes but also maintains the image of royalty (Mayun, 2006). According to Mayun, the era of the kingdom in Bali at the beginning of the 20th century was marked by the strengthening

of the aesthetic aspects of fashion, including awareness of dress. The clothes worn must be able to give the image of glamour, luxury, power, and beauty. Richter (2000), said "...the adornment mainly acts as a servant of human arrogance, such as political power and wealth, depictions of social status, gender, age, and living conditions." Individually, according to Aziz (2011), traditional jewelry is able to emphasize beauty, fashion appearance, and radiate beauty from within Indonesian women.

People after the royal period the Balinese are still culturally loyal and proud to wear traditional clothes. In particular, *Payas Agung* is a must-have dress for big events, such as weddings and tooth-filling. The jewelry is still intact and has not changed much from its original form. However, much of the jewelry used is imitation items. The era of democratization of the fashion world has led to exclusive clothing that can be worn by anyone. Genuine items are hard to find, so designers reproduce using cheaper materials to make jewelry affordable for everyone. This phenomenon has been a concern of many parties, especially the shallowing of *pakem* (aesthetic principles). From an aesthetic point of view, the imitation of classical works is a setback.

Aesthetic study of cultural products is an approach to preserve cultural heritage and pass it on so that it is connected to today's fast-paced society. The purpose of this study is to explore the aesthetic values of jewelry that are applied to Balinese royal clothing. The challenge during this research was the limitation of reference sources, especially research on Balinese jewelry. Globally, jewelry research is still less popular in fashion studies, which are mostly dominated by clothing or textiles. Unger (in Buzzard, 2020) said that fashion jewelry is a young field of study. Furthermore, the term imitation jewelry which was brought by Coco Chanel in the 1920s is more subordinate (Rezazadeh, 2002). The general view assumes that jewelry is just a complementary part of fashion. Likewise, in the study of traditional Balinese clothing, especially *Payas Agung*, jewelry is also a minor study.

## METHODS

This study examines the artistic aspects of traditional products which are part of the royal cloth in Bali. The object of the research material is *Payas Agung Badung* jewelry which belongs to a noble family who still lives in Denpasar. Therefore, the data for this study were collected retrospectively from the jewelry worn in *Payas Agung* with a time span between 1930 and 1970. Supporting data comes from the collection of photographs of *Payas Agung Badung* on various occasions between these years. This study uses a qualitative narrative method. Through an interpretive approach, objects are analyzed to reveal artistic forms and so on.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Jewelry is an integral part of the traditional dress style in most of the *puri* in Bali. Similarly, for the clothes worn by the nobles from the Badung kingdom in Denpasar, jewelry is a strong element to show the image of royalty. Starting from the materials, designs, and motifs, they are all communication tools that express high-class status. (Soedibyo, 2003). This was all well planned by the *puri* as Mayun (2009) said the idea of clothing or jewelry including materials and designs came from the king's decision which was then passed on to artists, craftsmen, goldsmiths, weavers, and also beauticians. Because of this exclusivity, the jewelry is only dedicated to certain occasions (Mayun, 2008).

Jewelry is part of craft art made of metal which is part of traditional Balinese art. There is a special clan called *pande* (gold/silversmiths) who make these items only for the request of the palace or castle. Therefore, the designs used in jewelry are distinctive motifs that are passed down from the past. In fashion theory, the selection of accessories such as jewelry must form a harmonious and beautiful unit with the clothes or make the jewelry match the dress (Rezazadeh, 1998). According to Bellini (in Rezazadeh, 1998), fashion jewelry is decorative

items that complement one's clothing. Fashion jewelry adds color, style, and class to clothes, and creates a certain look, but also has a practical function. Jewelry helps to highlight a dress or outfit. They can also help hide the flaws of a dress.

The beauty of a dress really depends on the composition of the clothes and jewelry. *Payas Agung Badung* consists of textiles wrapped around the body in a certain technique or style. In addition to textiles, *Payas Agung Badung* is decorated with jewelry from head to toe. The composition of this matching dress and jewelry is based on a standard of clothing called the *pakem* which is derived from the values of traditional Balinese life. One of the characteristics of Balinese art, including jewelry, always follows the guidelines passed down from generation to generation. This is the belief or wisdom of their parents. There is a primordial concept of human anatomy that is practiced to arrange jewelry and its placement on the body.

### **The Tri Angga**

At the beginning of the 8th century, Javanese and Balinese courts were Indianized and this influenced the entire life of the people. Art is also a medium for teaching Hinduism, it expresses their views on how to live and so on (Holt, 2000). The Balinese believe that the universe consists of three worlds; the upper world, the middle world, and the underworld (*Tri Bhwana*). The upper world is called the *Buana Agung*, the realm where the gods and goddesses reside. The middle world is the realm where humans live (*Buana Alit*). The underworld is a world where monsters live.

The structure of this universe influences many things in Balinese life. It influences Balinese architecture, how to dress and how to perform rituals (*upakara*) (Gelebet, 1978). There is the concept of *Tri Angga* (*tri* means three, *angga* means body) which guides Balinese to wear traditional clothes. *Tri angga* cosmology emphasizes the harmony of the upper world, the middle world, and the underworld. These worlds are also a hierarchy that places *Dewa Angga* as the first hierarchy, *Manusa Angga* as the second hierarchy, and *Bhuta Angga* as the third hierarchy. Referring to this hierarchy, the upper hierarchy will be decorated with the most valuable things compared to the middle and lower ones. This is also true between the middle and lower hierarchies.

Therefore, *tri angga* describes the anatomy of the body according to the differences in the human body. The head is rated as the most honorable, followed by the torso and hands. Less honorable are the feet. Jewelry will be applied to match the body status.

### **Structure**

As a work of art, classical jewelry in *Payas Agung Badung* must be evaluated for its intrinsic value and extrinsic value. Intrinsic values refer to structure and matter, while extrinsic values refer to contextual and universal interpretations (Sumardjo, 2000). The structure and materials of *Payas Agung Badung* Jewelry convey the sociocultural background of Balinese royalty. On many occasions, the people of the *puri* like to wear luxurious jewelry made of gold, diamonds, and gemstones, especially rubies. This particular choice is according to their artistic taste.



Figure 1 The wedding dress of Badung Nobles in the 1960s. Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

In general, *Payas Agung Badung* is created from the synergy of traditional Balinese textiles, such as *songket*, *endek* and *prada* with jewelry sets. This has been bound by customary rules called the *pakem* (the aesthetic principles) which are still referred to today. One of the principles practiced is *tri angga*. The placement of jewelry at *Payas Agung Badung* through the interpretation of *tri angga* is as follows:

Table 1. Jewelry Composition According to the *Tri Angga*

<i>Tri Angga</i>	Jewelry	
	Men	Women
<b><i>Dewa Angga</i></b> (Head)	<i>Gelung, Rumbing</i>	<i>Gelung, Subeng, &amp; Temple cover</i>
<b><i>Manusa Angga</i></b> (Neck, Body, & Hands)	<i>Sesimping, Badong, Arm Bracelets, Hand Bracelets, &amp; Keris (Balinese dagger)</i>	<i>Sesimping, Badong, Arm Bracelets, Hand Bracelets, &amp; Belts</i>
<b><i>Bhuta Angga</i></b> (Legs)	Leg bracelets	Leg bracelets

The concept of *tri angga* assumes that the head symbolizes the honor of the gods. Furthermore, the head should be decorated with jewelry that reflects the honor of the gods or goddesses. Headwear for men is specially made with very tasteful materials such as gold, diamond, and ruby. Men's headdresses are composed of gold plates such as *petitis*, *tajug*, *prakapat*, and *garuda mungkur*. At the top of the headdress is a golden flower. The ears have golden ear studs called *rumbing* which are decorated with rubies



Figure 2. Dewa Angga jewelry for male consist of Headress called *Gelung Garuda Mungkur* (*petitis, tajug, prakapat* and *garuda mungkur*) and ear studs. Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

Women's headdress (*gelung*) consists of various forms of hairpins. This hairpin is a duplicate of the familiar flowers in Bali, such as the styled clover and *ylang* (*sandat*). There are six types of flower-shaped hairpins, each made from a gold plaque. The plaque forms a petal that is supported by a rod made of iron or gold-plated copper. The golden flowers are arranged in such a way as to imitate Mount Agung which is believed to be the cosmic center. The front is decorated with a curved gold plate with gemstones called *petitis*. The *petitis* in *Gelungan Garuda Mungkur* has a special feature where the lower part is straighter than the female *petitis*. On the left and right the *petitis* are equipped with *tajug* and *prakapat*. On the back is lined with *garuda mungkur* which is a triangular gold plaque. A golden eagle head appeared from below with a set of rubies and diamonds. The *garuda mungkur* ornament is a floral pattern called *pepatraan* or *keketusan*. The ornaments are enriched with beautiful gemstones. The best rubies are pure red, bright to slightly purplish red alongside blue sapphires, and clear colorless diamonds. It is a beautiful mix of colors with a gold base. Ears are completed with a gold *subeng* with ruby trimmings. On the left and right forehead are attached *chakra* pins decorated with rubies.



Figure 3. Dewa Angga jewelry for female consists of: parts of *gelung* or headdress that include gold flower hair pins, two gold plaques set with rubies and diamonds in the front (*petitis*, and *tajugs*) and in the back (*penekap pusung*), and *tampel pelengan* or *chakra* pins. Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

*Manusa Angga* jewelry for men consists of a gold vest, collar, *keris* (Balinese dagger), bracelet, and ring. The gold vest is a gold plaque embossed with a floral pattern. The gold

plaque is covered with leather on the inside. The neckpiece that hangs around the neck is made of a gold plaque studded with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. On the man's back was tucked a dagger. Balinese daggers called *keris* are made of iron with a gold hilt decoration. The handle is usually in the form of a giant decorated with gemstones such as diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The upholstery is made of ivory or wood covered with gold plaques and set with gemstones. Both hands have jewelry placed on the upper hand. The bracelet which is called the *naga satru* bracelet is made of embossed gold plaque with gemstones. The bracelet is made of engraved gold. The fingers are decorated with rings. The ring is called an engraved gold ring or *ali-ali* set with a ruby or sapphire.



Figure 4. Manusa Angga's jewelry includes a gold vest (*sesimping*), neck ornament (*badong*), ring (*ali-ali*), dagger (*keris*), upper arm decoration (*galang satru bracelet*), and hand ornament (bracelet). Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

*Manusa Angga* jewelry for women includes gold vests, neck decorations, belts, bracelets, and rings. Vests or slim for women are usually designed in a smaller size. The surface layer is an embossed gold plaque with a floral or geometric pattern. The inner layer is leather or black velvet. The collar is an embossed gold plaque with a gemstone set. The woman's waist is tied with a *bebekang* belt in the form of a carved gold plate decorated with gemstones. The sleeves are adorned with a single dragon bracelet or bracelet made of gold plaque with rubies and diamonds. The wrist is worn a pair of bracelets made of engraved gold plaques.



Figure 5. Manusa Angga jewelry for women includes vests, necklines, upper arm bracelets, bracelets, belts and rings. Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

*Manusa angga* jewelry for both men and women is generally the same except for the parts that emphasize genders such as the *keris* and belt. The size is adjusted to the usual body size of men and women. The difference that is not visible may be in the application of motifs where floral motifs highlight the feminine side of women.

Less valuable jewelry is Butha Angga jewelry which is equally applied to both men and women. This jewelry is worn on the ankle. This anklet is called a *selaka* bracelet which is made of plain silver. The anklet has a hole on the inside which makes it lighter.

Patterns of men's accessories are simpler than women's jewelry and generally seek to display masculinity traits. At *Payas Agung Badung*, some women's accessories also have similarities with men's accessories, for example on the *naga satru* bracelet, *kana* bracelet, *badong*, *semping*, anklet, and ring or *ali-ali*.



Figure 6. Butha Angga jewelry (silver bracelet) for men and women. Courtesy of Puri Anom Denpasar

### Meanings

Discussing the topic of jewelry is directly related to the study of humans and civilization. Ever since humans appeared, humans have been projecting their lives into the possession of things. From time to time humans also find meaning in life through ownership. It seems that ownership is a medium of self-expression (Richins, 1994). Miller (2005) even explained, "We cannot know who we are, or who we become, except by looking into a material mirror...". Individually, what has always been an obsession, especially by women, is jewelry. Precisely, for women, the meaning of jewelry parallels the image of women who are pursuing recognition. Michael Korsc (Livlola, 2016), said "Jewelry is an exclamation point for women's clothing." Jewelry is the person who wears it.

In Bali, jewelry speaks volumes. They communicate social hierarchies that are important in traditional life. The jewelry at *Payas Agung Badung* is full of extraordinary symbols. Materials, designs, and placements have deep meaning. It starts with a male headdress, while each part such as *petitis*, *tajug* and *prakapat* has a special meaning. *Petitis* means calm in thinking. On the left and right of the *petitis* there are *tajug* and *prakapat*. *Tajug* symbolizes focus or clear thinking. Under the *tajug* there is a *prakapat* made of gold plates in the form of small leaves, arranged or connected to each other. The meaning is dynamic and flexible.

On women's headdresses, ornaments consisting of various gold flowers are arranged in such a way that they form a triangle called the *Gelung Agung*. This magnificent hairdo symbolizes the majesty of Mount Agung, while the flowers symbolize fertility and beauty. The back hair cover is made of gold plate inlaid with gemstones. In the lower center, there is the head of an eagle which is believed to be the vehicle of Lord Vishnu. In this case, the nobility is



considered a descendant or incarnation of Lord Vishnu. *Penecep pusung* is also interpreted as a symbol of strength. The pin on the forehead is made of a gold plate inlaid with gemstones, then affixed to the left and right of the forehead. This chakra pin means concentration or attention on a goal.

The front of the coil has *petitis*. The *petitis* is placed on the forehead (*srinata*). The meaning of *petitis* is peace of mind. At the top of the front is equipped with accessories shaped like a *kerun*. *Kerun* is a kind of comb made of tortoiseshell or horn decorated with gold and gemstones. But the headdress did not contain a comb, only decorated with gold as a symbol of firmness. On the right and left sides of the headdress, there is jewelry called *ron-ronan* which means leaves as a symbol of fertility. On the top left and right of the back, there is a piece of jewelry called a *roke*. This jewelry is considered a symbol of sharpness of mind and intelligence. The back consists of two parts namely; the shoulder is the part that rises and is considered a symbol of majesty; and an eagle's head in the bottom center is a symbol of strength. *Pepundakan* is usually patterned with gold and fire (Sitowati and Miksic, 2006). *Rumbing* is worn on the ears of men. Elongated oval jewelry with a pointed tip curved outward, made of gold encrusted with gemstones. A pair of *rumbing* is a symbol of masculinity and is believed to be able to weigh good and bad.

Jewelry on the female torso, neck, and hands consists of neck ornaments, belts, and bracelets. *Badong* is made of gold plate inlaid with gemstones with a circular shape around the neck. *Badong* is a symbol of authority. The bracelets worn on the left and right arms are made of gold plates inlaid with precious stones. The flower ornaments that are often used are *patra sari* and *patra punggel* which are in hand, indicating agility and diligence. The *kana* bracelet is a symbol of introspection. One *Naga satru* bracelet worn on the wrist is made of a gold plate inlaid with gold ornaments. *Naga* bracelet means strength. *Bebekeng* belt is an ornament on a woman's waist made of gold plate inlaid with gemstones. *Bebekeng* belt is a symbol of self-control or restraint of lust. *Sesimping* is a vest worn by both men and women. This vest is made of gold plate inlaid with gold-gold motifs and is sturdy. This accessory is mounted above the chest covering the shoulders. This vest is a symbol of self-defense.

*Keris* is considered a sign of greatness in all kingdoms in Java and Bali. The *keris* is tucked in the back of the body in the desired direction. The position of the *keris* on the waist attached to the belt is on the left for easy portability, it is called *nyasa* ready for combat. If the position of the *keris* on the back of the waist is pointing to the right, it is called *nyasa ring ayu* which signifies a safe and calm state. According to Sitowati and Miksic (2006) Balinese *keris* plated with gold and inlaid with gemstones is a symbol of nobility. In addition, the *keris* is a public attitude that affects the implementation of the ceremony, including representing the groom when proposing to a woman. With a *keris* there is a message to be conveyed that "Balinese men are masculine".

Rings or *ali-ali* worn by women and men, pinned on the fingers symbolize beauty and authority. Usually, everyone wears two or more rings. According to Scarinrick (2007), the ring is a symbol of strength, love, and loyalty.

Feet are the lowest part of the body with less respectable status according to traditional beliefs. Therefore, the less valuable jewelry adjusts to its position. Decorations on the legs of both men and women should not be conspicuous. The anklet is made of silver (*selaka*) without ornamentation. The anklet is a symbol of strength and self-awareness.

Regarding materials or jewelry, it is clear that Balinese nobles like to use special materials, such as gold and precious stones (diamonds, rubies, and sapphires). These materials are symbolic and their qualities reflect the characteristics of noble families. Gold is considered pure and rich. Gold is also illuminating, sacred, durable, and precious. Gold is universally associated with the sun, in this sense reflecting the highest stage of spiritual

development of the nobility. Diamonds are a symbol of strength and invincibility. Sapphire is a symbol of heaven and sustainable life.

## CONCLUSION

It is known that most Balinese nobles, especially Badung nobles, dress up with *Payas Agung* when they have big events. The clothes are very detailed and beautiful. *Payas Agung Badung* is an appropriate attire to compensate for the highest level of ceremonies. The most artistic part is the jewelry which gives a strong identity to the overall look of the outfit. The composition is the result of a combination of *pakem* and good fashion sense.

A mix of traditional textiles and jewelry is governed by a dress code within the rich palaces of Badung. Extraordinary jewelry designed with traditional compositions makes *Payas Agung Badung* look beautiful and classy.

Like other cultural products, jewelry also keeps history. For this reason, understanding the aesthetic values of jewelry that is part of *Payas Agung Badung* is to pass on traditional culture into a contemporary context. As a representative of Balinese culture, classic jewelry at *Payas Agung Badung* has historical and cultural traces. At the same time, it also gives the community a better understanding of the story behind Balinese life.

## REFERENCES

- Aziz, Muhammad. (August 2019), Enchanted Antique, in *Mazalah Bazaar*.
- Buzzard, Amy Peace. (2020), Journal of Jewelry Research.  
www.journalofjewelleryresearch.org ISSN 2516-337X.
- Covarrubias Miguel. (1973), *Island Of Bali*, PT Java Books Indonesia, Jakarta.
- lazy. (1978), *Traditional Balinese Architecture*, Faculty of Architecture, Udayana University, Denpasar.
- Holt, Claire. (2000), *Art in Indonesia: Continueties and Changes*, Cornell University Press, New York.
- Jessup, Helen Ibbitson. (1990), *Court Arts of Indonesia*. The Asia Society Galleries, New York.
- Mayun AANgr. Anom. (June 2006), The Beauty of Balinese Dress Beyond the Details. in *Suardi Magazine*.
- Mayun AANgr. Anom. (2008), Payas Agung Dewi. in *Visitor Guide to Bali*, PT. Media Dutasevisindo, Denpasar.
- Mayun AANgr. Anom. (2009), Balinese Wedding Attire Tells All. in *Mahligai Magazine* Edition-3.
- Mayun AANgr. Anom. (May 2021), Western Fashion Hegemony in Noble Clothing in North Bali (1800-1940), E. Jurnal *Mudra* Vol. 2.
- Miller, D. (2005), *Materiality*, Duke University Press. Durham USA.
- Rezazadeh, Fred. (2002), *Costume Jewelry*, Collector Books, Kentucky.

- Richins, M. (1994), 'Special Possessions and the Expression of Material Culture' in the *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol.21.
- Ocean, Ngakan Made. (1994), *Balinese Traditional Dress*, Cultural Service of the Province of Bali, Denpasar.
- Scarisbrick, Diana. (2007), *Rings: Jewelry of Power, Love, and Loyalty*. Thames & Hudson, United Kingdom.
- Sitowati, Retno Sulistianingsih and John N. Miksic. (2006). *Icons of Art National Museum Jakarta*. Chapter Publishing Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Soedibyo, BRA Mooryati. (2003), *Clothing of the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace*, PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Sumardjo, Jakob. (2000), *Philosophy of Art*, ITB Publisher, Bandung.