

Make-Up of the Pengantin Pegon: Cultural Acculturation in Surabaya City Dewie Noviena

ABSTRACT

There are many traditional wedding ceremonies in Indonesia. One of these ceremonies is *Pengantin Pegon* representing the traditional wedding ceremony present in Surabaya in which there is an intense acculturation of Javanese, Arabic, Chinese, and Dutch cultures. As one of the cultural realities in Surabaya, the Pengantin Pegon is replete with symbols with different meanings. This paper tries to explicate several forms of acculturations happening in traditional wedding ceremony of the Pengantin Pegon, it also describes and provides an explanation of the stages existing in the traditional wedding ceremony along with symbolic meanings attached to it.

Key words: traditional wedding ceremony, Pengantin Pegon , symbols

Nearly all of the areas in Indonesia have different traditional wedding ceremonies where such ceremony is inherited from generation to generation. Surabaya as the second largest city after Jakarta in Indonesia has communities with different cultures. People from various ethnic backgrounds migrate to Surabaya, including Malay, Chinese, India, Arabic, and Dutch ethnics. Furthermore, people from domestic ethnics such as Madurese, Sundanese, Batak, and Balinese people also reside in Surabaya. They all live together with the indigenous people forming a cultural pluralism characteristic of Surabaya city.

This cultural diversity has significant effect on wedding ceremonies. One of these wedding ceremonies is a traditional wedding ceremony known as Pengantin Pegon. The tradition has begun to take place since eighteenth century or 1860 (Aisya, 2001:41). At the time, some people from other areas migrate to Surabaya city. They may be called as local migrants. Large parts of the ceremonial stages carried out in Pengantin Pegon are similar to Javanese wedding ceremony. These stages are including a preparation prior to wedding ceremony, *akad nikah* (marriage settlement), and *temu pengantin* (meeting of bride and bridegroom), a stage after wedding ceremony. The difference lies in *temu pengantin* procession which is usually called as *loro pangkon*, facial make-up, bridal clothing, and some accessories.

The question is what is the form of acculturation existing in traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon and what is the symbolic meaning? An answer to this question becomes a central theme of the current paper. This paper was arranged based on a research conducted in Surabaya city, involving some wedding make-up ateliers. Using qualitative method, this study tries to describe phenomena of

Pengantin Pegon under supervision of HARPI Melati in Surabaya city in which the description consists of a preparation stage prior to wedding ceremony, execution of traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon, as well as some ceremonial equipments and their symbolic meanings.

Acculturation refers to an effect of one culture on another culture or interplay of the two cultures producing a significant change. Acculturation is defined as a change in culture, which begins with interplay of the two or more cultures where each culture stands independently. The analytical unit here is each culture belonging to certain community. Individual members of the community become supporters of the culture, and act as mediator in disseminating their culture to other individuals outside their own community. Although individuals change their behavior and belief due to the effect of the foreign belief and behavior, but only tradition of community experiences acculturation (Lauer, 2003:403).

Human has a close relation to culture, suggesting that human is cultural creature. Regarding the fact that culture consists of ideas, values, and symbols as result of the human being works, then human is also called as symbolic creature (Herusatoto, 2005:9). Turner argues that a symbol refers to a thing, which is recognized collectively as epitomizing, representing or remembering of anything through a presence of analogical properties or through association of the realities or ideas (Silvester, 1991). A symbol corresponds to simplification or shortening of the aspects within human life at reality or idea level, which is used as means to describe a thing. Thus, in certain community, we can reveal a thing existing beyond the symbol based on analogical association to other things.

The purpose of any symbolic action is to simplify a thing that has meaning, while the meaning can be discerned through interpretation. Hence, people life is always associated with various symbols at both action and idea levels (Cassirer, in Lukitosari 2002:8). To disclose anything beyond the symbols or symbolic actions, we must find out a meaning attached to the symbolic action, which is then employed to introduce the symbols to the symbol users. Symbol has a profound meaning requiring us to interpret it.

Turner (in Lukitosari, 2002:10) says that there are three levels of symbolic meanings. The first level is an interpretation level of the symbol owning community. This level is also called as meaning interpretation level. This meaning interpretation is achieved from symbol owning informants regarding things having symbol. Second level is operational meaning. At this level, the symbol contains depiction or explanation of how a culture of the symbol owning community takes a form. The third level is positional meaning. At this level, the symbol has numerous meanings, but relating to context, it is necessary to determine one or several meanings only.

Brief History of the Pengantin Pegon

Term “Pegon” derives from the ancient Javanese language, which is meant as “neutral”. Neutral is defined as not identifying with any parties, being impartial. In

Pengantin Pegon, such impartiality refers to clothes and execution of the wedding ceremony. Clothes that the bride and bridegroom wear show a mixture of several cultures, while the wedding ceremony doesn't eliminate indigenous elements of Javanese culture. In this case, acculturation process appears obviously. The traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon has begun to take place since nineteenth century or 1860 (Aisya, 2001:41).

In associated with the historical course, many factors or elements influence make-up of the Pengantin Pegon.

Effect of the Javanese culture. In Javanese society, there are two dominant wedding make-ups, namely Jogjakarta and Surakarta styles. Jogjakarta style encompasses *corak putri*, *kasatrian*, *kasatrian ageng*, *paes ageng*, and *paes ageng jangan menir*, while Surakarta style is composed of *Solo putri* and *Solo basahan* motifs. As an example, Surakarta styled-make up will be described in short. Make-up of the bride includes facial make-up and hair bun (*sanggul*). The distinguishing feature in facial make-up is *paes*. *Paes* is a facial make-up on forehead until the ears. There are four types of *paes*, namely types of *gajah* (elephant), *athi-athi*, *pengapit*, and *godeg*. *Paes* color is adjusted to the color of clothes worn by the bride and bridegroom. In addition, there are two types of bun make-up of *bangun tulak* and *bokor mengkurep*. After a bun is placed, it is adorned with several strings of beautiful jasmine flowers of the so-called *teplok*, *sisir melati*, *ndok remek*, *tibo dodo*, *sintingan*, and *karang melok*. Another accessories placed on the head are *cunduk mentul* or *kembang goyang*, *centung*, *cunduk jungkat*, and *semyok*. The bride clothing or commonly known as *basahan* consist of *semekan* or *kemben* as upper garment, *dodod* or *kampuh* as lower garment, *sampur* or shawl completed with *timbang* belt, and *jarik sekar cinde sekar abrit* cloth. The bride wears slipper on her feet. Conversely, the bridegroom clothes and accessories consist of *dodod*, *stagen*, *epek*, *keris warangka ledrang* and *kolong keris* (kris sheath) whose its tip is attached with a string of jasmine flowers and red roses, *cinde sekar abrit* trousers, and *timbang* belt. He wears light blue *kuluk matak* on his head. He wears slipper on his feet.

Effect of the Chinese culture. The bride in Chinese culture wears a long-sleeve shirt and long skirt; they are usually red. Her shirt is adorned with glister beads. An accessory that she wears is a crown adorned with beads and gemstones. The bridegroom wears a long-sleeve shirt and long trousers whose outer part is covered with skirt-like cloth. He uses *kupluk*-like hat with pleated hair on the back. In the past, the pleated hair is made of the true hair of the bridegroom, but currently no bridegrooms lengthen their hair; thus, the pleated hair is artificial. The bridegroom clothes are usually red too, made of the silk material.

Effect of the Arabic Culture. In their daily activities, Arabic women wear "closed clothes", namely long louse dress extending down beneath ankles with long sleeves, wearing *jilbab* and socks. Arabic men wear *gamis*, a loose long dress extending down beneath the ankles with long sleeve. At the wedding ceremony, the bridegroom usually wears a loose white *jubah* (robe). *Jubah* here is upper garment over the legs with long sleeve, while the lower garment is white long trousers. He uses *surban* on his head.

Effect of the Dutch Culture. In the Dutch culture, in general there are no specific rules regarding the wedding make-up and wedding clothes. The bride usually wears a long white gown. The gown here is a long dress with the enlarged lower part. There are various types of clothes for wedding ceremony, including clothes with short-sleeve or without sleeves, or *kemben*. The back part of the gown is completed with *sleyer* or long shawl like a tail hanging loosely on the floor. The bride wears high heel slipper. Several accessories that she wears are golden jewelries such as necklaces, earrings, bracelets, rings, corsage worn on the chest, and white arm sock. Additionally, the bride also brings *hand bouquet* that after the end of wedding ceremony will be thrown and grabbed eagerly by those present in the wedding ceremony who are still single. Anyone who can catch the *hand bouquet* will get married soon. In contrast, the bridegroom wears a long-sleeve shirt, long butterfly tie, coat, and long trousers. The additional accessories are handkerchief or corsage placed on front pocket of the coat and vest worn beneath the coat. The bridegroom uses slippers.

Several forms of the acculturation in Pengantin Pegon can be seen from wedding make-up and clothes worn by both bride and bridegroom. The first is wedding make-up and clothes. Wedding make-up of the bride includes a bun covered with the pleated jasmine flowers or *teplok*. The bun is completed with a string of the pleated flowers. *Jasmine comb* is placed on upper part of the bun, between head and the bun, and then completed with a string of the arranged *ndok remek* in lower part of the bun connected with the jasmine comb. Afterwards, *tibo dodo* in the right side and *sintingan* in the left side are also placed. *Karang melok* is placed on the back of the bun, and finally, a string of pleated rose flowers are placed on the head in the back of *jamang* (crown). Some accessories placed on the head are *cunduk mentul* or 12 *kembang goyang* (rocking flowers) where seven *kembang goyang* are facing forward and 5 *kembang goyang* are facing backward. They are placed by embedding them on the bun and form a fan. *Cunduk mentul* is made of golden metal or sun flower-shaped metal. Besides *kembang goyang*, other accessories used in the wedding are crown or *jamang* put on the head, namely front head. The use of bun, string of pleated jasmine flowers and the related accessory is indicative of the Javanese culture. However, the use of crown is also influenced by Chinese culture as seen in crown adorned with beads from China.

Initially, the bride wears long gown over the leg. But after modification, the gown may take the form of upper *blouse* with zipper in the back and skirts of *midi*¹ or *maxi*² or adjusted to the current modern trend. The gown is made of Chinese silk material or silk combined with other shiny materials but the transparent material is not allowed to use, with soft colors or light colors like white, bony white, ivory

¹ Midi skirt is a long skirt over the legs.

² Maxi skirt is a long skirt extending down the ankles.

yellow, pink, light blue, and other light colors. The gown is completed with long and slim sleeve without *maset*. The bride also wears thin arm socks with color fitted to the clothes worn. She also uses a 2-meter shawl placed on the left shoulder, and corsage³ is placed above the shawl with color fitted to the clothes worn. The footwear she uses is white high-heel slipper or the color fitted to the clothes worn. She wears stocking with color fitted to the skin. Jewelries used are a pair of earrings, gemstone necklace, bracelets, and rings. She also brings another accessory of *hand bouqued*⁴ made of fresh flowers or artificial flowers. Clothes she wears represent a combination of Javanese, Arabic, Chinese, and Dutch cultures. Taken together, there is a well-blended mixture of the four cultural elements of Java, Arabic, China and Dutch.

Make-up and clothes of the bridegroom. Clothes of the bridegroom usually consist of long trousers and *jubah*. He puts a *surban*-shaped hat on his head, which is equipped with pleated jasmine flowers and two pairs of *kembang goyang* are placed on the right side. He also places several knitted jasmine flowers on his right shoulder. The footwear is *terompah* (wooden sandal). The clothing of bridegroom represents an acculturation of Javanese and Arabic cultures.

Make-up and clothes of the followers. Followers of the bride and bridegroom wear clothes specific to Surabaya. Bearer and recipient of *loro pangkon* wear *Cak Sakerah*-styled clothes, namely black shirt and long trousers and white and red-colored undershirt. They put *udheng* (a piece of the arranged cloths attached on head) on their heads. Some other male followers wear black *beskap*, while female followers wear *kebaya*. Players of *rebana* or *terbang jidor* wear Islamic clothes with sarongs twisted along the legs. Some of followers wear *baju koko*. These show characteristics of Surabaya culture.

Wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon

This section explains a preparation stage prior to the wedding ceremony, execution of wedding ceremony, until after the wedding ceremony along with symbols inherent in this traditional wedding ceremony.

Preparation stage prior to wedding ceremony. There are many things, which must be carried out before execution of wedding ceremony. Generally, the preparation stage in Pengantin Pegon is similar to Javanese wedding ceremony. However, there is a difference between both ceremonies. In Javanese wedding ceremony, before *midodareni*, the bride and bridegroom perform *siraman*, but in Pengantin Pegon, *siraman* doesn't exist. In Pengantin Pegon, there are five stages prior to the

³ Corsage is an artificial flower. It is usually made from cloth, plastic, or dried corn husks.

⁴ *Hand bouqued* is lovely arranged flowers. It is made of the fresh or artificial flowers. Its arrangement form is round or oval with rather long stalk. As shown by its name, the arranged flowers are brought by the bride. *Hand bouqued* corresponds to a result of acculturation from the Dutch culture, but at the end of the wedding ceremony, it is not thrown and grabbed eagerly by single young women/girls.

ceremony, including *njodokno* or *nelesik*, *nontoni*, *nakokno* or *nglamar*, *peningsetan*, and *malam manggulan* or *midodareni*.

In previous time, the parents usually seek a partner for their children without asking approval from them. The children are forbidden to reject a partner already chosen by the parents. Consequently, the parents try to seek the best partner for their children. One of the ways they usually use to do so is *nelesik*. *Nelesik* is usually done at ceremony or party day. When the parents have found a proper candidate for their children, they will perform in-depth investigation (*nelesik*) through their “delegate” to search for and seek necessary information on the candidate. When the candidate has fulfilled requirements as desired by the parent, then the parent will inform their children that they have found a proper partner for them.

Ndelok in Bahasa Indonesia is meant as seeing. In this case, *ndelok* is used to know further information and personal data of the candidate chosen by the parent by seeing candidate more closely. *Ndelok* is performed intentionally at small party in which members of both families are present. In this small party, candidates of both families will see one to another more closely. When members of both families have achieved approval regarding the candidate, then this proceeds with a *proposal*. However, since our time has changed drastically, this “matching” stage is hardly done. Now, parents allow their children to choose their respective partners.

Besides that, the parents also take into consideration of *bibit*, *bebet*, and *bobot* of the candidate. *Bibit* refers to familial genetic factor. In this stage, the parents of the candidate will be evaluated of whether they have good morality; whether they are mentally and physically sound; and their cultural background is also assessed. *Bebet* corresponds to social status of the candidate and his/her family members regarding their behavior and morality in their environment. *Bobot* refers to social and economic factors related to adequacy of the financial resources of both bride and bridegroom. In broad sense, *bobot* is meant as character, competency and material resources. After this assessment is already done, the parents will approve candidate and will supervise and control their children’s social interaction with expectation that they will not commit immoral acts such as free sex.

Besides *bibit*, *bebet*, and *bobot*, the Javanese people have certain standard or criteria to evaluate candidate. These criteria are *jangkepeng warni*, meaning that the candidate is mentally and physically sound; *rahayu ing manah* is meant as generosity, honesty and nobility; *wasis* is meant as being quick responsive and sensitive; and *ngertos unggah-ungguh* is meant as politeness and humbleness (Soesilo, 2005). These criteria are put forward to the candidate to avoid something wrong in the future. The parents of course wish to give the best to their children. *Ndelok* or *nontoni* is currently known as acquaintance stage. In this stage, family members of the male candidate will come to the family of female candidate. This acquaintance stage is carried out to explain that their children have known well one to another and they ask whether there is anyone who propose the female. In the stage, family members of the male will bring foods or cookies.

The next stages are *Nakokno* or *Nglamar*. This activity is undertaken not later than six months prior to the marriage in which both parents/guardians of the male candidate accompanied by several family members will come to parents of the female. Single purpose of this stage is to propose the female candidate. When the proposal is already accepted formally by parents of the female candidate, then four months later the family members of the female candidate will give an answer to the proposal and this proceeds with discussion among them to determine a day they consider good for execution of the marriage.

The good day is calculated from number of *weton* or birthdays of both candidates. It is also well established that the day doesn't concur with *geblak* or day of the parent death. This can be known by calculating values of *neptu* or birthday of each candidate. However, this calculation doesn't determine whether or not the candidate is accepted by the parent. The results of the *neptu* calculation indicate "good day", then this day will be chosen. But when the results show "bad day", then both candidates must be careful and surrender everything to God with expectation that they would be safe both in this world and in the heaven. Calculation of *weton* and its prediction is shown in table below.⁵

Table 1. Calculation of *Weton*

No.	Day	Score	Pasaran	Score
1.	Sunday	5	Kliwon	8
2.	Monday	4	Legi	5
3.	Tuesday	3	Pahing	9
4.	Wednesday	7	Pon	7
5.	Thursday	8	Wage	4
6.	Friday	6		
7	Saturday	9		

Table 1. Prediction

No.	Residual Score	Residual Score	Prediction
1.	0	0	Without difficulty seeking livelihood (luck). Financial condition is always good.
2.	8	0	Must be careful not irritating our partner's feeling to maintain harmonious life.
3.	8	8	Being beloved by others, being community leader. Financial condition is rather problematic.
4.	7	0	Household life is maintained well and harmoniously till the death.
5.	7	8	Must be careful of our own wrongdoings, having many children.
6.	7	7	Role of wife is more dominant. Husband must be able to take position and increase his income.

⁵ Hariwijaya (2005 : 6-12)

7.	6	0	Being loyal to the partner; disadvantaged economically. Financial condition is problematic.
8.	6	8	Not suitable of being community leader. However, he can live harmoniously with family members.
9	6	7	Living peacefully and harmoniously.
10.	6	6	Faced with many challenges and complex problems. However, when the couple can overcome this condition, they will become strong and being self-reliant.
11.	5	0	Blessed with great deal of the material resources and having many friends. Being easy of seeking livelihood when each partner is loyal each other.
12.	5	8	Faced with many obstacles and problems. But when the couple can tackle this condition, they will become increasingly strong and patient.
13.	5	7	Blessed with much enjoyment and having many friends. Being able to produce income when each partner is loyal each other and have strong conviction.
14.	4	0	One of the partners will be defeated and adherent, but this is not problematic when either partner doesn't commit violence to another.
15.	4	8	Being loyal to the partner. Disadvantaged economically. Financial condition is up and down.
16.	4	7	Being loyal to the partner. Disadvantaged economically.
17.	4	6	Being beloved by parents and other people. Being <i>role-model</i> for other people even though economically rather disadvantaged.
18.	4	5	Many plans cannot be carried out successfully because of the obstacles. However, we must remain optimistic. Financial condition is up and down.
19.	4	4	Family health condition must be maintained optimally. Health factor will become urgent issue within the household. Financial condition is rather difficult. They must manage their family financial condition.
20.	3	0	Being loyal to the partner. Disadvantaged economically. Being alert of the family member health.
21.	3	8	Life-long fidelity. Each partner will not be deceptive to another. Economic condition is modest.
22.	3	7	Being patient and rigid of facing various obstacles, but they will be able to solve the problem when they are subject to God's rules.
23.	3	6	Blessed with much enjoyment and nobility. Economically prosperous and being successfully accomplishing their dreams.
24.	3	5	Being alert of the partner's fidelity. When they remain patient, divorce will not occur. Economically modest.
25.	3	4	Life-long fidelity. Each partner will not be deceptive to another. Economic condition is modest.
26.	2	4	Blessed with much enjoyment and nobility. Economically prosperous and being successful accomplishing their dreams.
27.	2	3	Being loyal couple and living harmoniously but their life may be short. Each partner will maintain the marital ties. .
28.	2	2	Being safe and blessed with great deal of material resources. Being tolerant to difficulties and physically and mentally sound, no fatal disease.
29.	2	0	Being dynamic and looking good till reaching old age. Material resources are abundant when they can manage them properly.
30.	2	5	Financial condition is not bad, but have high social status as long as they make every decision jointly (cooperation between partners).
31.	2	1	Good fortune and blessed with much enjoyment. Successfully

			accomplishing goals both in career and business. Being affluent and living prosperously.
32.	1	8	Fidelity is of high importance when the marriage reaching age of 5, 10 and 15 years. But after that, they will become ideal couple till old.
33.	1	7	Should establish good relationship in their social interaction. This couple will stand for long time when either partner doesn't break the marital ties.
34.	1	6	Disadvantaged economically when they live lavishly. Avoid lavish life to build harmoniously family.
35.	1	4	Social environment and family members will be helpful in case of financial difficulties as long as they often do good deeds. Financial condition is fluctuating.
36.	1	2	Good fortune and blessed with much enjoyment. Successfully accomplishing goals both in career and business. Financial condition gets improved increasingly over the times.
37.	0	3	Loyal couple. Financial condition is modest. Get regular health examination and do preventive measures.
38.	0	2	Being dynamic and looking good till reaching old age. Money is abundant when they can manage it efficiently. However, income amounts may be fluctuating drastically.
39.	0	1	Being patron to many family members, like a banyan tree giving shade to the surrounding area. Economic condition is good.

Example of *weton* calculation is given below. Suppose that Ani and Abi will get married. Ani was born on Sunday Kliwon, meaning that the score is $5 + 8 = 13$. This number is divided by 9, the result is $13:9 = 1$, remainder 4. Abi was born on Monday Pon, the score is $4 + 7 = 11$, divided by 9. The result is $11:9 = 1$ remainder 2. According to this calculation, the score used here is residual scores of 4 and 2, respectively. When Ani gets married with Abi, the prediction says that they will obtain many rewards and nobility, living prosperously; material resources are abundant and successfully accomplishing their dreams.

Akad nikah or *ijab kabul* (marriage settlement) usually is done by considering good day and month. Javanese people commonly recognize certain days and months in which they are allowed or not allowed to have ceremony. Months they deem proper to perform *ijab kabul* according to Javanese belief are Jumadil Akhir, Rejeb, Ruwah, and Besar. Times which are considered most proper to do *ijab kabul* is Tuesday Kliwon and Friday Kliwon within these Javanese months. Beside Sura and Pasa (Fasting Month for Muslims), another months which are considered less proper to perform *ijab kabul* become good months when there are Tuesday Kliwon and Friday Kliwon days within these months.

Days during which the Javanese people are prohibited to conduct wedding ceremony are Monday and Tuesday in Besar, Sura, and Sapar months; Wednesday and Thursday in Mulud, Rabiul Akhir and Jumadil Akhir month; Friday in Jumadil Akhir, Rajeb and Ruwah; Saturday and Sunday in Pasa, Sawal and Dulkaidah

months. Additionally, dates that are generally avoided to perform wedding ceremony are 06 – 10 in Besar month, 11 – 10 in Sura, 01 – 20 in Sapar, 10 – 20 in Mulud, 10 – 20 in Rabiul Akhir, 01 – 11 in Jumadil Awal, 10 – 14 in Jumadil Akhir, 02-14 in Rejeb, 12-13 in Ruwah, 09-20 in Pasa, 10-20 in Sawal, and 12-13 in bulan Dulkaidah month.

Besides the good days and months, times should be adjusted to *pasaran* birth of the bride candidate. First, the bride born in *pasaran* Pon is forbidden to perform *ijab kabul* at 11.00 – 13.00. Second, the bride born in *pasaran* Wage is forbidden to engage in *ijab kabul* at 09.00 – 11.00. Third, the bride born in *pasaran* Kliwon is forbidden to engage in *ijab kabul* at 06.00 – 08.00. Fourth, the bride born in *pasaran* Legi is not allowed to engage in *ijab kabul* at 15.00 – 17.00. Fifth, the bride born in *pasaran* Pon is forbidden to engage in *ijab kabul* at 13.00 – 15.00. In accordance with Javanese culture and belief, when these times are violated intentionally, it will result in negative effect. Those times are regarded as ill-omened days. However, they remain believe that people fate is absolutely determined by God.

Peningsetan and Manggulan Eve (Midodareni)

Peningset derives from Javanese word *singset*, meaning “fastening”. In this case, *peningset* is done to fasten a tie. *Peningset* may take the forms of goods or items arranged tidily which are handed over to the bride candidate as a sign of tie. Tying here is defined as tying the bride’s heart, verbal activity and action, suggesting that after the bride already accept *peningset*, and then she is forbidden to receive a proposal from another people. Hand over from the bridegroom to the bride is carried out at the bride’s house in the presence of family members and close relatives.

Peningset consists of *Pisang Ayu*, meaning a beautiful banana, which is composed of two bunches of Raja banana and pot-pourris; equipment necessary for *nginang*, namely limestone, betel leaves, areca nut, and tobacco; sugar and coffee; tetel, jenang, wajik as symbol of the foods, staple food made of glutinous rice; white cummerbund (stagen) made of threads; various long cloths; pot -pourris consisting of seven types of flowers such as jasmine, rose, ylang -ylang (Cananga), magnolia, and cut-fine pandan leaves, pandan flowers, a scarce and fragrant flowers; golden rings of *tebu sakeret*.

These eight good or items are sometimes completed with several types of clothes and jewelries in associated with the bridegroom’s financial capacity. Those goods are arranged on a tray or basket which is covered with white cloth and then decorated with ribbons or lace. *Peningset* usually contains even number of the goods. After these goods are arranged tidily and lovely, *peningset* is brought by female relatives of the bridegroom candidate and then awarded to mother of the bride candidate. A certain family member is usually assigned to receive the *peningset*. They then wait for marriage day as determined by them.

Manggulan eve represents a night at which the *bidadari* or fairy (widodari), Nawang Wulan descends to the earth. Until today, *manggulan* tradition is always conducted at traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon. An activity taking place during *manggulan* eve is *tirakatan* (jointly perform some ascetic act to achieve or commemorate anyone) without gamelan sound or any attraction. The bride's fine hair (known as *sinoman*), particularly fine hair in nape of the neck, back of the ears, and whole surface of face is scraped thoroughly. *Sinoman* derives from word "si anom" (young woman); *ngerik* (scraping) here is used as symbol to eliminate childish characteristics. After the fine hair is scraped, the bride candidate uses slight make-up to meet her female friends in the room. Afterward, the female candidate sits in a place made available for her, accompanied by the elders and close relatives of the female. No men are allowed to enter the room because the *manggulan* eve is the last night for the female as virgin. This activity usually takes places until the late night. This bride candidate wears light blue or pink gown furnished with simple jewelries.

In this *manggulan* eve, *langkah* (stepping over) will be carried out when the bride's older sister has not get married yet. In Javanese tradition, getting married first prior to her older sister marriage is taboo. To avoid undesired consequences, *langkah* ceremony is undertaken before guests have arrived at the place since it is done for family members only. Accessories or equipment which must be made available in *langkah* ceremony are *sak pengadeg* clothes, namely a set of complete clothes and related accessories necessary for woman from the head to the ankles and wrapped tidily. These clothes are then given to the bride's older sister to whom she "steps over" while *sungkem* (show respect by kneeling and pressing her face to her older sister's knees) apologizing to her because of getting married first. After the older sister has provided an approval to her younger sister to get married first, the younger sister prays for the elder one with expectation that she will find proper partner soon. At present time, *sak pengadeg* clothes can be replaced with another clothes in associated with financial capacity.

Execution of Marriage

Execution of marriage begins with *Akad Nikah*. *Akad Nikah* or *Ijab Kabul* ceremony is conducted with respect to customary and religious rules of the related bride and bridegroom. This ceremony can be executed at the bride house or Mosque or elsewhere as agreed by both parties. Position of followers of the bridegroom is arranged as follows. The elder who is appointed by both parents of the bridegroom takes a position in the first front row. He works as a leader of the group and hands over the bridegroom to parents of the bride for being getting married with their daughter. The second row is occupied by the bridegroom who is hemmed by two men. Those taking position just behind the bridegroom are followers, including family members and close relatives of the bridegroom. Their tasks are bringing bride price, rings, cookies and parcels.

Followers of the bride take a position as follows. The first row near the gate is occupied by the elder appointed by parents of the bride. He works as a leader of

receptionists and gives a brief speech of receiving the bridegroom. The second row is occupied by both parents of the bride. Family members and close relatives of the bride stay on the third row receiving bride price and rings and place them at a location where the marriage is conducted, while parcels or gifts are located in the room.

For example, when a bride getting married is Muslim, she usually wears *sarung rawan*, embroidered apparels, *kebaya*, and veil. The bridegroom wears *baju hem taqwa* (specific shirt for Muslim) and *kopyah hitam beludru* (black velvet hat). After all of these persons gather, *penghulu* will read some requirements in the marriage. The bridegroom must imitate all of the words spoken by *penghulu*. The bridegroom promises to fulfill entire requirements as read by *penghulu*. After *ijab kabul* or *akad nikah* is already executed, both bride and bridegroom sign the marriage certificate, meaning that they become husband and wife formally.

The next stage is *temu pengantin* (meeting of bride and bridegroom). *Temu pengantin* ceremony is carried out at the time as agreed by both parties. *Temu pengantin* ceremony is known as *Loro Pangkon*. *Loro Pangkon* is symbolized as a cock. At this ceremony, there is group of followers of the bridegroom, including: lance bearer; the bearer is usually male; Cock bearer or *Loro Pangkon*. Cock bearer from the bridegroom group must be able to speak fluently and know *gending* well. Actually, there are no specific criteria for anyone who brings or receives cock, but they must be able to speak fluently (*parikan*) and understand various types of *gending*. In line with the high verbal capacity, the host usually hires certain person who works as cock bearer. However, the cock here is not the true cock (living cock), but it is only artificial. Artificial cock is made resembling the true cock, and some cocks are modified. For a family with good financial capacity, the cock is represented as bringing a golden ring in its beak. Stomach of the cock is usually filled with jewelries or money, while its tail is decorated with light coloring cloths. This cloth must be used as material for making the bride apparel. Bearers of *rontek* or *kembang manggar* (palm blossom) are two single men. Umbrella bearer is male. The bridegroom is protected with umbrella from behind. The bridegroom along with his parents. Parents accompany and provide approval to the bridegroom in order that the execution of *temu pengantin* will work smoothly. Bearer of areca nut and betel leaves and bearer of *Pisang Ayu*, areca nut and betel leaves, and *pisang ayu* is brought by two *gadis*.⁶ Followers of the bridegroom; those are close relatives of the bridegroom; they are usually women bringing goods (cookies & foods). Bearer of *Jodhang*. *Jodhang* is a wooden rectangle-shaped box where there are two 10-cm holes on both sides for inserting *pikulan* to lift it. The top of *jodhang* is furnished with the covering cloth or *sajud*. *Jodhang* is lifted by two men. There are two or more people beside the left side of *jodhang*, representing a symbol of social status. *Jodhang* is composed of *Jajan pasar*, kue cucur, onde-onde, opak, rengginang, jadah, wajik, jenang ketan, roti boli and others. Side dish, *nasi ingkung utuh* and some types of side dishes which are served at reception time. *Sak pengadek* clothes are a set of complete apparels for women from the head to the ankles. *Sak pengadek* clothes

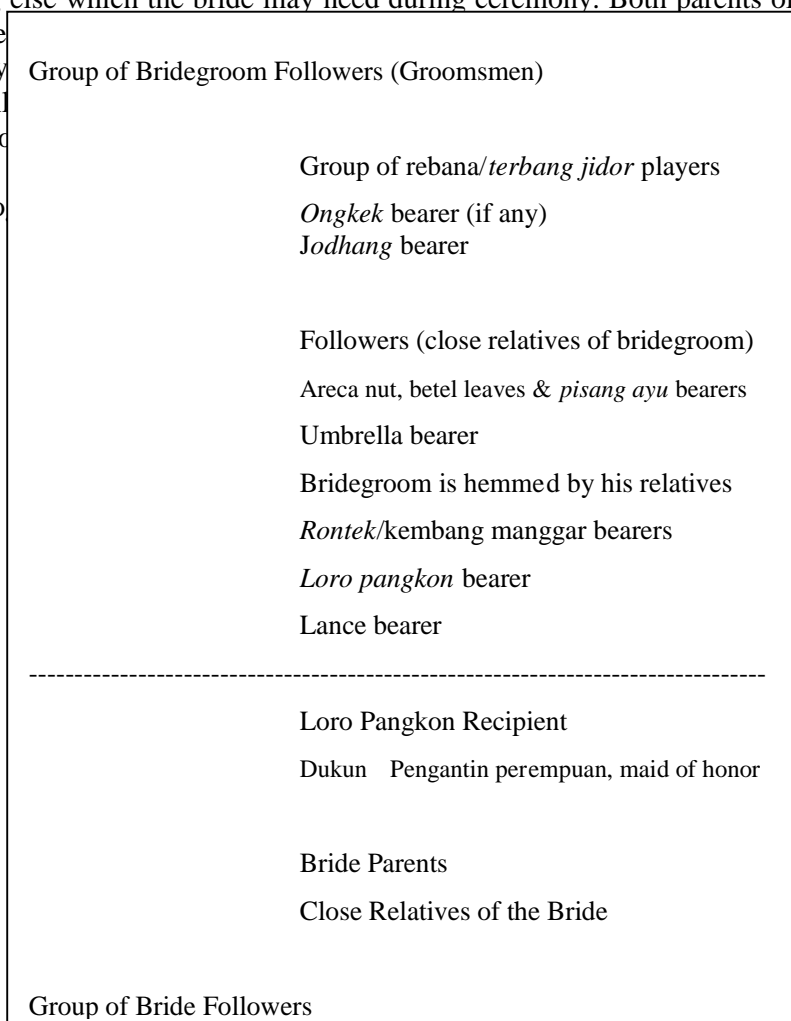
⁶ *Gadis* = girl, single woman.

consist of a long cloth with distinct coastal motif, showing that bride and bridegroom are Surabaya people. *Kebaya* is traditional dress in Java. *Selop* or slipper is Javanese shoes with open heel. Female underwear. Shower accessories like towel, soap, brush, toothpaste, shampoo and perfume, a set of shirts, number of shirt is not determined; at least one set of shirt as standard requirement. Shoes, handkerchief. Various types of cosmetics, including powder, conditioner, foundation, *eye shadow*, *eye liner*, *blush on*, *mascara*, *lipstick*, eyebrow pencil, facial cleanser, *body lotion*, and the like. 1 set of jewelries such as rings, bracelet, earrings. These *sak pengadeg* clothes are adjusted to the bridegroom's financial capacity. When the bridegroom is the first child, he must bring *ongkek* made from bamboo, which can be carried on shoulders and filled by various types of kitchen appliances. These will be seized eagerly by women present at the ceremony. *Rebana* group. Bearers of rebana or *terbang jidor* since going out from the bridegroom house to the bride house constantly strike their rebana by singing *Shalawat Nabi*.

Group of followers of the bride consists of *loro pangkon* recipient. The bride is hemmed by her close relatives and *dukun manten*. Make-up worker usually acts as *dukun manten*. This *dukun* is responsible for giving necessary information or anything else which the bride may need during ceremony. Both parents of the bride.

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After group of the bridegroom followers bringing *loro pangkon* (cock) have arrived, the bride followers welcome them and ask the cock. But the cock is not given freely. They must compete each other in proficiency of using *Suroboyoan* language or known as *parikan*. Afterwards, they perform *pencak silat* (Javanese self-defense) together to grab the cock. Finally, the bride followers can defeat the bridegroom followers, and the cock is surrendered to the bride followers. This ceremony is continued with *panggih* ceremony. The ceremony is intended to make an encounter between bride and bridegroom. The bride and bridegroom shake hand each other and the bride kisses the bridegroom's hand. The bride walks around the bridegroom, symbolizing a wife's devotion to her husband. Even though the wife's social status may be higher than that of husband, but within household life, she is obliged to show devotion and respect to husband as the household head. After standing in parallel line, parents of the bride bring a glass of water and have both bride and bridegroom drink it.

Afterward, the ceremony is continued with both bride and bridegroom kissing hands of both parents. This *Sungkem* or *ngabekten* ceremony becomes an integral part of the traditional wedding ceremony. Both bride and bridegroom alternately kiss the hands of both parents and the elders (grandfathers and grandmothers) from both parties. This symbolizes sincere devotion and love to parents. In practice, the bride performs *sungkem* first and then bridegroom to the bride parents and then to bridegroom parents.

After *sungkem* ceremony is already done, both bride and bridegroom along with their parents sit in their dais. This ceremony is ended with Surabaya Remo dance by two girls. After the Remo dance, all of the guests are allowed to shake hand with bridal couple and express pray to them. Afterward, to enliven the ceremony, the host can invite traditional art group of *ludruk* characteristic of Surabaya city, hire *wayang kulit* performer or *Hadrah Jidor* dancers.

Pengantin Pegon; Results of Cultural Acculturation

Traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon reflects a formation of culture. Regarding its strategic location, many people from other areas visit Surabaya city and then reside in it. These migrant communities have culture, which is inherited from generation to generation. Thus, when they move to a new place, they still maintain their own culture. Ideas on traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon representing a well blended mixture of several cultures come from observation toward migrant people when they begin to mingle with Surabaya indigenous residents. Culture of these migrant people assimilates with culture of the indigenous people, resulting in a cultural product of Pengantin Pegon.

Acculturation refers to a mixture of local culture with another culture in certain community but the original elements of the local culture still exist; this also influences make-up of Pengantin Pegon. Regarding a definition of Pegon itself meaning "impartiality," then in practice, a result of acculturation can be seen from make-up, dress and accessories worn by bride and bridegroom, representing a mixture from another culture. Pengantin Pegon represents a well blended mixture of

Javanese, Arabic, Chinese and Dutch cultures. Acculturation process occurs when Surabaya indigenous people witness and see mode of clothing of the migrant people which in their minds fit to bridal clothing.

A change in Surabaya indigenous people begins with an intense interaction between four cultures (Javanese, Arabic, Chinese and Dutch cultures) each with distinct characteristics. This opinion is supported by Lauer saying that acculturation is defined as a change in culture, which occurs as a result of interaction between two or more cultural systems each having autonomous elements. Cultural assimilation may also happen due to avoidance of the conflict between ethnics. Mutual respect between the cultures, leading to cultural assimilation in Pengantin Pegon, can build stronger ties between ethnics, particularly between Surabaya indigenous people and the migrants.

The wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon as one of the inevitable realities has become a tradition for Surabaya people. The existing traditions within traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon can be seen from the ceremonial stages as described above. These traditions carried out in the wedding ceremony are intimately related to symbols. Turner argues that a symbol is a thing collectively owned, used as an instrument to decipher a thing. This can be seen in accessories used in wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon. Thus, accessories used in the traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon account for a manifestation of cultural reality. Each symbol has distinct meaning. Meanings beyond the symbol can be disclosed by interpretation. Symbolic meanings of the traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon indicate an expectation of accomplishing safe and happy life in the world and heaven as well. Symbolic meanings of the Pengantin Pegon are described shortly below. Jasmine flower symbolizes sacredness and purity of our hearts, suggesting that sacredness and purity of heart in marriage can avoid and reject any perils which likely attack us and our family members. *Tiba dada* is a pleated jasmine flowers placed longitudinally contacting to the chest, symbolizing division of labor between husband and wife. That is, a husband has authority to create a thing, while the wife is authorized to maintain it. Both authorities become a foundation to establish harmonious life within household and family. Knitted jasmine flowers present in the hair bun symbolizes sincere devotion of wife to her husband. *Pisang ayu* (lovely banana) possesses a meaning of *sedoyo rahayu* or all of family members are safe and prosperous. In addition, banana tree that is bearing fruit once time epitomizes a marriage that should happen once time only in our life. *Inginang* equipments such as limestone, betel leaves, areca nut, and tobacco symbolize difficulties in life experienced by the bride and bridegroom. Sugar and coffee epitomizes sadness and happiness likely happening in their new life, which they undergo cheerfully. *Tetel, jenang, wajik*, as symbol of foods made of glutinous rice symbolize strong ties between wife and husband. White cummerbund (*stagen putih*) made of threads symbolizes long-lasting clothes. Several long cloths symbolize good goals. Pot-pourri consists of seven types of flowers, including jasmine flower has meaning of white and pure; rose has meaning fragrance and beauty, having many sharp thorns; ylang-ylang (cananga) has meaning of remembrance of the husband, *Kantil* (magnolia) symbolizes union or unity between wife and husband; fine-cut pandan leaves symbolizes equality between wife and husband; pandan flower, scarce, white

and fragrant flower, epitomizes love and the couple may live harmoniously till old age. Golden rings of *tebu sakeret* indicate that girl already proposed by a man cannot be teased and proposed by another people. *Tebu sakeret* possesses meaning of *antepi kalbu* which encircles endlessly. Group of *rebana* players singing *Sholawat Nabi* has meaning of safety in passing through the new life for both bride and bridegroom. Lance symbolizes that bridegroom will be responsible for prosperousness of the household. Cock or *Loro Pangkon* is indicative of social and economic status of the person. Social and economic status of the bridegroom is reflected in the content of the *Loro Pangkon*. The cock symbolizes courage behavior in seeking the hen (bride). Cock symbolizes bravery and physical strength, being resilient in pursuing their life and capable of working hard in fulfilling the family needs. *Rontek* or palm blossom symbolizes complexity of life problem, and desire of becoming bride and bridegroom is already realized or *udarung roso*. Umbrella symbolizes protection to all of family members. *Sak pengadeg* dress is a set of complete clothing for a women from the head to the ankles, meaning that a man as husband must be able to fulfill all of the needs for both wife and children. *Ongkek* has function of initiation of being single to fatherhood and motherhood. *Cunduk mentul* is made of golden metal or its imitation with sun-flower shape along with its stalk. This symbolizes the sun light, meaning that a women becomes a focus of light like *Cunduk mentul*.

There are three levels of symbolic meanings, including interpretative, operational and positional meanings. In the traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon, the three levels of symbolic meanings are: Interpretative meaning. *Religious meaning*. This meaning is seen from many accessories and equipments necessary for reaching safety and happiness in life. Besides these equipments, there are specific requirements prior to execution of the wedding ceremony; that is, members of both bride and bridegroom choose “good day” and avoid “bad day”, days they deem improper for conducting ceremony. This is done to avoid detrimental effects. By fulfilling entire requirements and equipments, they wish their request for safety and happiness in the future may be realized well. *Educational meaning*. This meaning teaches us about the importance of surrendering any life event or everything to God. *Philosophical meaning*. This meaning depicts that integration of all of the elements are essential in social life. This can be seen from acculturation present in traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon. Nowadays, a few people conduct wedding ceremony using Pengantin Pegon tradition.

There are several sequences or stages which must be done serially. Based on these sequential stages, the Pengantin Pegon has achieved a perfection in conducting ritual and all of desires in family life may be fulfilled sufficiently. *Positional meaning*. At this level, a reality in the field indicates that only a few people conduct Pengantin Pegon tradition. However, symbols present in the traditional wedding ceremony are still used, since Pengantin Pegon is rather similar to wedding ceremony in Surakarta and Jogjakarta. On overall, these three symbolic meaning levels show that human being life is replete with symbolic meanings. This indicates that there is supernatural power much beyond human being power. People merely attempt to obtain happiness

in the world and heaven. This is done by, among many others, using symbols in Pengantin Pegon tradition.

Conclusion

A marriage becomes a principal part of the life cycle. In this case, Surabaya city has traditional wedding ceremony of the so-called Pengantin Pegon. This traditional wedding ceremony corresponds to acculturation of several cultures of Java, Arab, China and Dutch people. Forms of acculturation in Pengantin Pegon are found in make-up and bridal clothing. The bride wears apparels similar to the Dutch bride, wearing *midi* and *maxi* skirts. She wears arm socks, stocking and slipper. This “closed apparels” is an effect from Arabic culture. A hair burn and pleated jasmine flowers are placed on the head as a symbol of Javanese culture. The bride also uses crown decorated with beads, representing acculturation of Chinese culture. The bridal apparels have pastel and shiny colors made of Chinese silk or silk combined with another material. The bridegroom wears *jubah* (robe) and long trousers like Arabic or Persian people apparels. The robe is long extending down over the legs. This acculturation of several cultures make Pengantin Pegon tradition appear attractive.

The meanings of symbols can be deciphered through interpretation. Symbolic meanings inherent in the traditional wedding ceremony of Pengantin Pegon mostly express people’s expectation and desires of living safely and happily in the world and heaven. The symbols are believed being able of resulting in happiness and safety in the world and heaven when they are exploited properly. Fulfillment of requirements and necessary accessories in Pengantin Pegon tradition shows a strong belief that perfection in conducting ritual is correlated with approval of the request by God. With this expectation, human being is taught to be submissive to God over everything happening to them. Even though the Pengantin Pegon tradition is rarely implemented, but its symbols are still alive. This is because these symbols are of polysemic and multivocal in nature, namely showing similarity to Surakarta - and Yogyakarta-styled bridal traditions.

Pengantin Pegon becomes a medium through which meanings are delivered. Several elements are attached to this tradition. For example, bridal clothing of the Pengantin Pegon reveals an acculturation. This is not limited to one culture, but involves several ones creating integration of some cultures in Surabaya city. In essence, the researcher not only provides account and description on Pengantin Pegon but also discloses meanings inherent to it.

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