

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

In the Chinese wedding traditions, several stages that should be done by the future bride and the future groom, and the family and *Sangjit* is one of them. In this chapter, the writer discusses the stages of *Sangjit* and the wedding gifts required in the tradition and their meanings.

4.1 Stages of *Sangjit*

Based on the writer's interview with the informants, it can be summed up that *Sangjit* is usually preceded by three stages (1) Asking for consent from the future bride's family, (2) wedding proposal (*Tingjing*), (3) *Sangjit* itself.

4.1.1 Asking for acceptance from the future bride's family

Asking for acceptance from the future bride's family is the initial step of *Sangjit*. To understand more about this tradition, the writer interviewed a *Saikong* named Mahmud. A *Saikong* is a person who leads the prayer at events like funeral, wedding, or calculation of the auspicious day. The interview reveals that before doing *Sangjit*, the future groom's family will usually go to the house of the future bride's family to ask whether the future bride has been betrothed or not, had a boyfriend or not, or had a suitor or not. During that time, the future bride's family will ask the future groom about his *shio* (Chinese zodiac), date, month, and time of birth. The details of the future groom's personal information were needed in the past because there was no dating process like nowadays. After the future bride's family asks about the *shio*, the hour, and the date of birth, the future bride's family determines whether the future groom is accepted or not.

To determine the future groom's and the future bride's match, their zodiac, date, and hour of birth are calculated by an expert to decide the auspicious day. The expert is called

Suhu or *Saikong* or *Taosu* if they are men and *Caima* if they are women. In the calculation of the auspicious day, those people use the *Tung Shu* book or *Dongsu* book, which contains the calculation of the auspicious day based on the *shio*, the hour, and the date of birth. The entire book is written using the Chinese language. “The name *Tung Shu* (通书) means a “book of everything”. It is an almanac that contains information on auspicious and inauspicious dates for carrying out important events.”(Fern, 2013, p. 44). In some cases, the future bride’s family refuses to accept the future groom because the future groom’s hour and date of birth, as well as *shio*, do not match the future bride’s.

The unmatched hour of birth, date of birth, and *shio* in Chinese tradition is called *chiong*. The interviewee, *Saikong* Mahmud, explains that the word *chiong* comes from Hokkien *chōng* (冲) which literary means “not suitable”. It usually refers to the clashes between one zodiac and another. There are twelve zodiacs or *shio* in Chinese tradition; all are represented by animals. They are a mouse, buffalo, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, chicken, dog, and pig. Chinese people believe that each zodiac has its characteristics. For example, the person who has oxen as a *shio* is believed to be fair, trustworthy, calm, good listener, stubborn, hardworking, not irritable, and systematic.(Lian, 2018, pp. 53-57)The person who has tiger as a *shio* is believed to be disorderly, brave, confident, adventurous, trustworthy, generous, and temperamental.(Lian, 2018, pp. 79-83).

In terms of *chiong*, someone with a tiger zodiac should not marry a person with a tiger zodiac because it is believed that the similarities in characteristics will make the couple fight each other often. Additionally, a factor like the time of birth is taken into consideration because it will determine the elements of the zodiac. There are five elements of the zodiac, fire, earth, metal, water, and wood. Each element is also believed to have its characteristics. Therefore, even though the future bride and the future groom are considered matched in terms of their *shio* but if the element opposes each other like fire and wood, the couple is

considered *chiong*. The belief of *chiong* is not only applied for the wedding but also for other occasions. When people come to the funeral at the event of closing the coffin, they have to make sure that their *shio* do not clash with the *shio* of the dead or else they may get bad luck (it can be anything).

Sometimes *chiong* is used as an excuse to refuse the future groom politely. In the Chinese tradition only the future bride's side who is involved in the calculation of the future groom's and the future bride's match, so only the future bride's side who knows whether the future groom is suitable or not for the future bride. If the future bride's side does not like the future groom, they can use the calculation as a reason to reject the future groom. This information is gained from the following interview result: "*Ya kalau pihak perempuan tidak setuju, tinggal gimana caranya lahirannya anak perempuan ini dibuat yang ciong dengan shio dan lahirnya si laki-laki. Artinya pihak perempuan menolak secara halus. Wah anakmu dan anakku tidak cocok karena mereka chiong atau bertentangan.*" [If the future bride does not agree, just find a way to make the future bride's birth with the future groom's birth become *chiong*. This means that the future bride's side refuses the future groom politely. Wow, your son and my daughter are not suitable because they are *chiong* or contradictory.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018).

The process will continue when the future bride's family accepts the future groom's family request. "*Kalau pihak perempuan menerima ya tinggal nanti akan dihitungkan benar-benar. Maksudnya adalah emang anak perempuanku belum ada yang mengikat, belum ada calon, dan sebagainya.*" [If the future bride accepts, then the calculation will be done more thoroughly. It means that the future bride has not been bonded with another man, that there is no other candidate, and so on.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018). After the future bride's family positively accepts the future groom, the future bride's family will take a turn to visit the future groom's house to provide the answer that has been decided.

After the future bride's side answers the future groom's side, then the process is continued to the wedding proposal.

4.1.2 Wedding proposal (*Tingjing*)

The second stage of the tradition is the future groom's family's proposal to the future bride's (Interview with *Saikong* Mahmud on November 11, 2018). This process occurs when the future bride's side has accepted or approved the future groom to be betrothed as the future bride's prospective husband. After deciding the auspicious day of the proposal, the future bride's family will tell the future groom's family the exact day to come to the future bride's house to carry out the wedding proposal. Wedding Proposal is one tradition where the future groom's side intends to bind the future bride by arranging a direct meeting between the future groom's side and the future bride's family.

On this occasion, one of the representatives of the future groom's family will convey the purpose of their arrival. This representative must be a married person. Then the future bride's parents will give permission and allow their daughter to wear a binding symbol. The binding symbol is in the form of a necklace that is put on with the help of the mother of the future groom. Only then the two families start the talk about *Sangjit*. The discussion is about what items are included in *Sangjit*, or whether there are any special requests for certain items from the future bride's family or not. Nowadays, the *Tingjing* process will commonly be carried out together with the *Sangjit* procession to save time.

4.1.3 *Sangjit*

Sangjit, the main ritual studied by the writer, is held after the wedding proposal is done. The details of *Sangjit* are discussed below.

A. The meaning of *Sangjit*

Before describing and discussing *Sangjit*, the writer needs to explain the meaning of *Sangjit* itself. *Sangjit* comes from the Hokkien language “*sàng-jit-thâu* (送日頭, lit.

delivering day)”(WordSense.eu Dictionary). It is the continuation of the wedding proposal.

“*Sangjit* dari bahasa Hokkien. Artinya seserahan atau proses lanjutan dari lamaran. Tapi tiap adat itu bisa beda-beda walau sama-sama Chinesenya. Kalau ngelihat dari tulisan mandarinnya itu emang bener artinya nganter hari.” [*Sangjit* comes from the Hokkien language. It means *seserahan* or the continuation of the wedding proposal. But the ritual done by one group can be different from the others’, even though they all come from Chinese ethnic groups. Seen from the *Hanzi*, *Sangjit* means ‘delivering day’.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018)

Furthermore, Saikong Mahmud explained that *Sangjit* is a combination of two words that have one meaning, so *Sangjit* cannot merely be interpreted as delivering day.

“Kalau lihat tulisan *Hanzi* itu tadi lo ya tidak bisa terus diartikan sang itu artinya nganter dan jit itu hari. Tidak bisa kalau diartikan seperti itu. Dua kata itu tidak bisa disebut nganter hari. Ya *Sangjit* itu dua kata yang artinya satu. Kecuali kalau sang berdiri sendiri baru artinya mengantar. Seperti kalau bahasa sini tu nganter seserahan atau kalau istilah jawanya ya tukon.” [If we look at the *Hanzi*, we cannot just translate *sang* as delivering and *jit* as day. It cannot be translated like that. Those two words cannot just be translated into delivering day. *Sangjit* is two words which have one meaning. Unless when the word *sang* is standing alone, it means to deliver. It is just like the language here, it is *seserahan* or in the Javanese language dowry.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018)

B. Requirements for doing *Sangjit*

To carry out *Sangjit*, the future groom’s side and the future bride’s side must also look for the auspicious day, date, and time to avoid bad luck in the future. They are also not allowed to carry out *Sangjit* in the month when their family is mourning or when the family commemorates the death of their members for up to three years. For example, when one of the future groom’s family members or the future bride’s family members died in December,

they are not allowed to carry out *Sangjit* in that month because they are still mourning. The mourning period is one year and for some, it is up to three years. However, on average, in a year, people can have *Sangjit* or married.

To do *Sangjit*, there are some requirements to be done. The requirements are:

1. Requirement of Place

Usually, *Sangjit* is carried out at the bride's house as this is the time when the future groom and his family come officially to the future bride's parents after the wedding proposal (*Tingjing*). In this occasion, luncheon is served. However, some choose to do it in a hotel or restaurant because the future bride's house is narrow so it is impossible to do this event at home. Some do not bother to follow the rule so they do *Sangjit* in a hotel or a restaurant.

2. Requirement of Time

To determine the arrival time of the man's family, the calculations done by *Suhu/Saikong/Taosu/Caima* are applied. The auspicious time is chosen by the future groom's side to convey their intention and to hand over the items to the future bride's family. Determining auspicious time cannot be done arbitrarily because the auspicious time is always different each day. For example, if today's auspicious time is from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m., tomorrow's auspicious day is not necessarily to be between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m.

Based on the observation the writer did while following the *Sangjit* procession of Hendy and Vania on September 16, 2018, at the Oriental restaurant, the writer noted that the time when the man and the entourage of tray bearers were about to meet the future bride was at 11:03 a.m. The decision to pick up 11:30 as the time of the meeting is explained by *Saikong* Mahmud, "*Jam 11 itu jam peralihan dari shio yang satu dengan shio yang selanjutnya, jadi harus lebih. Misalnya kalau jam 11 jadi jam 11.03 atau 11:15 gitu malah tidak apa-apa.*" [11 o'clock is the hour of transition from one zodiac to the next zodiac, so it

must be avoided. It's better to be over 11 a.m. For example, it is better if 11 o'clock is postponed to 11:03 or 11:15.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018)

3. Requirement of Participants

The following are the participants who usually present during the *Sangjit* procession:

A) The future groom and the future bride

The future groom and the future bride are the most important participants in this event. The future groom wears red clothes or usually wears a suit with a red shirt and the future bride wears a red cheongsam or red dress. Cheongsam means Chinese clothing (Liu, 2009, p. 55). They wear red color because red is a symbol of happiness and great kindness. For the Chinese, red is the best color although gold is also often used because it symbolizes wealth and fortune. *“Kalau orang Hokkien bilang merah itu besar kebaikannya, lambang kebahagiaan juga. Jadi warna merah itu warna yang paling bagus kalau buat orang Chinese. Warna emas juga sering dipakai, lambang kekayaan dan keberuntungan”* [The Hokkien people say that red means great kindness; it is a symbol of happiness too. So red is the best color for the Chinese people. Gold is also often used as a symbol of wealth and luck.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018)

Cheongsam has particular patterns. The patterns that are often used in cheongsam are as follows (2008):

- a) Peony (*mudan* 牡丹): the symbol of royalty and honor.
- b) Lotus (*he* 荷, *lian* 莲): the symbol of purity and auspicious.
- c) Chrysanthemum (*juhua* 菊花): the symbol of longevity.
- d) Bamboo (*zhu* 竹): the symbol of longevity and vitality.
- e) Dragon (*long* 龙): the symbol of good fortune.
- f) Phoenix (*feng* 凤): the symbol of good fortune and opportunity.

g) Fish (*yu* 魚): the symbol of wealth.

B) The future groom's and the future bride's nuclear family.

Participants who are required to attend are nuclear families from the future bride's and the future groom's side such as father, mother, and siblings.

C) The future groom's and the future bride's extended family

Some choose to invite the extended families from both sides such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, nephews, and distant relatives who still maintain good relations with the future bride and the future groom or with the future bride's parents and the future groom's parents.

D) Close friends and colleagues

The future bride and the future groom sometimes also invite their close friends and some of their colleagues, or close friends or colleagues from the future groom's and the future bride's parents. The colleagues that the future bride and the future groom invite to attend the *Sangjit* procession are usually their closest colleagues. The future bride's and the future groom's parents can also invite their colleagues. The number of guests must also fit the place where the *Sangjit* procession takes place.

E) Tray bearers

These tray bearers are usually family members. The numbers of tray bearers are also matched with the number of the tray because everyone will carry one tray.

Tray bearers usually have to be unmarried people for custom's reason, "*Iya memang, biasanya yang bawa baki itu harus orang yang belum menikah di keluarga itu sendiri, entah yang bawa itu adik, keponakan atau sepupu pokoknya yang belum menikah. Kalau maksudnya gimana kok harus yang bawa baki orang yang belum menikah karena itu adat turun temurun seperti itu.*" [Yes indeed, those who usually become tray bearers must be unmarried people in the family, whether they are younger siblings, cousins, nephews/nieces,

or distant relatives who are not married. The reason for having unmarried tray bearers because it is the tradition from generation to generation.](Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018). There is also another reason that the tray bearers must be unmarried and are usually teenagers. Bearing the tray during *Sangjit* procession may also be seen as an intention to show the unmarried ones to the public to get a partner. At the end of the procession, the future bride's side will give *angpao* to the tray bearers. "*Namanya kalau orang yang belum menikah itu masih bocah, masih patut ditonton dan biasanya umurnya masih belasan. Jadi dilihat bawa baki itu masih patut. Kalau kita bawa bawa baki pasti yang pertama dilihat adalah orangnya dulu, kalau remaja yang jadi pembawa baki, orang yang datang pasti penasaran itu anaknya siapa, rumahnya dimana, kan seperti itu siapa tahu ada yang mengincar. Kalau pemikiran saya kok gitu.*" [The unmarried ones are usually still young; they are still proper to be shown off as they are still in their teenage years. When we carry the tray, the first thing people see is the bearer. When the tray bearers are teenagers, the guests must wonder who the bearers are, whose children they are, where their houses are; they are seen as prospective in-laws. That is what I think.](Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018)

Nowadays, tray bearers may also include married family members, as long as both families agree, when the bride and the groom do not come from a big family, when they do not have many relatives, or when the unmarried family members are still too young. For example, one of the tray bearers in Hendy's and Vania's *Sangjit* is married. "*Jaman sekarang kalau yang maaf kata tidak punya keluarga yang banyak, sebenarnya mereka tidak apa-apa untuk menjadi pembawa baki kalau memang sudah tidak ada yang dapat menggantikan.*" [Nowadays, if ...sorry to say... they don't have many family members, it is okay for them (married ones) to be the tray bearers if no one can replace them.] (Interview with Mboen Peter on September 16, 2018).

C. The process of *Sangjit*

The process discussed here is based on the direct observation made by the writer in the *Sangjit* procession of Hendy and Vania, on September 16, 2018, at the Oriental Restaurant Semarang. Below are the stages in the *Sangjit* procession at that time.

First of all, the future groom's family with twelve tray bearers waited for the time to meet the future bride's family in the agreed time, at 11:03 a.m. The future groom wore red shirts and the future bride wore red cheongsam. The red color here symbolizes happiness. The future groom would be in front of the line accompanied by his parents. While for the tray bearers, must be in pairs, lined up behind the future groom. The number of tray bearers must be fitted to the number of the trays that were carried so that everyone would carry one tray.



Figure 4.1

The future groom's side along with the entire tray bearer came to meet the future bride's side

At 11:03 a.m., the future groom's side and all the tray bearers met the future bride's family. At this time the future bride along with all her tray bearers would place themselves similar to the arrangement of the future groom's family. It means that the future bride welcomes the arrival of the future groom's family.

Second, one of the representatives from the future groom, usually a married one, conveyed the intention of their arrival and asked permission from the future bride's parents to give a binding symbol to their daughters who would later become part of the future groom's

family. The future bride's father, then, would answer and give a permit to continue the procession.



Figure 4.2

The future groom's side conveyed the intention of their arrival

Third, after getting the approval, then the tray bearers handed over the twelve trays starting from giving the tray to the future bride's parents who would then pass it to the future bride who finally gave the tray to her tray bearers. After received by the future bride's side, the trays were placed onto one table.



Figure 4.3

Hand over the trays to the future bride's side

Fourth, after handing over the trays to the future bride's side, then the future groom, the future bride, and their parents stood in front of the table of the trays and faced the guests who were present. They waited for the opening prayer led by the prayer leader which can be anybody or the representative from the future bride or the future groom's family. The future groom stood on the left and the future bride stood on the right, followed by the two parents as

required by Chinese tradition. The tradition is different from the westerners' where the future groom stands on the right and the future bride on the left.



Figure 4.4

Embedding a necklace and earrings as a sign of binding

Fifth, the prayer is followed by a procession to put on a gold necklace and a pair of gold earrings to the future bride by the future groom's mother assisted by the future groom. In *Sangjit*, necklace and earrings are usually gold, because gold is a symbol of prosperity. The necklace means that the future groom's family accepts the future bride to be part of the family. The wearing the necklace and earrings, the future groom and the future bride are officially bound. They are then officially called the groom and the bride.



Figure 4.5

Sangjit toast with all the guests

Sixth is the step called *Sangjit* toast. In HENDY and VANIA's *Sangjit*, the toast was led by one of the event organizers. The bride, the groom, and their parents were given a glass of red drink, it means symbolize of happiness. They usually would use *Fanta*, syrup or red wine. After that, the event organizer invited all guests to stand and toast with the bride, the groom,

and their parents. The toast means sharing the feeling of joy and giving blessings to the bride and groom.

Seventh is the step calls the greetings from the groom to all guests. After the toast, the groom delivered a welcome speech and thanked all guests who attended the *Sangjit*. On this occasion, the groom asked for support and blessing from all the guests for the smoothness of all processes until the wedding day. After that, the event was followed by a photo session for the bride and the groom with all the trays. This photo session continued with the families of the bride and the groom, followed by the friends of the groom and the bride. This step ends with the luncheon together.

Eighth, in this section, one of the event organizers introduced the extended family of the groom to the extended family of the bride and all guests. After that, the event organizer did the same thing for the bride's family.



Figure 4.6

Giving hampers to all the guests

Ninth, giving hampers were done at the end of the event. The contents of the hampers were food matched the food carried in the trays. The hampers were given by the bride and the groom to all the guests.

4.2 Mandatory food and goods for *Sangjit*

As mentioned earlier in the explanation about tray bearers, *Sangjit* requires mandatory food and goods carried on the trays. The trays usually used for *Sangjit* are even in number, for example, 6,8,10 and at the most 12 trays. This is based on the assumption of the ancients

if more and more trays are used which means the future groom's family is rich. The number of trays given is suited with the ability of the future groom's family and or with the items requested by the future bride's family. For instance, in the past, the future bride's family asked for items such as a scale, a scissor, a ruler, and a mirror. *“Ada yang minta timbangan artinya dalam rumah tangga harus selalu menimbang agar adil, gunting artinya harus berani untuk ambil keputusan, garisan artinya agar kedua mempelai bisa mengukur kemampuan masing-masing, cermin artinya kedua mempelai agar selalu merefleksi diri masing-masing, dan barang-barang lain yang punya arti bagus.”* [Some asked for a scale which means that the couple must always balance themselves to be fair; a scissor which means that the couple must be brave in making decision; a ruler which means that the couple must be able to measure their ability; a mirror which means that the couple must always be reflective, and other goods which have good meanings.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018).

4.2.1 The mandatory foods for Sangjit

A. Fruits

Mandatory fruits that must be presented in *Sangjit* are apples and oranges. Both fruits have very good meanings. Apple symbolizes salvation and orange symbolizes fortune. *“Biasanya pilih buah yang punya arti yang bagus. Seperti apel itu lambang keselamatan, jeruk lambang rejeki.”* [Usually, fruit chosen has a good meaning. Like apple is the symbol of salvation and orange is the symbol of fortune.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018). The varieties of fruit used are as follows: for the apple, the varieties used are Fuji apple or Washington apple- that both have a red color. While for the orange, the varieties are those which have yellow colors such as Sunkist and Mandarin. The number of apples and oranges must be even and should be the same number for both.



Figure 4.7

Oranges and apples

B. Sweet treats

The sweet treats here do not always have to be sweets from dried fruit, but they can also be candies or other sweet treats as a substitute. In Hendy and Vania's, there is *Manco* cake, a kind of sweet treats that are made from sticky rice flour, which is fried then wrapped in sugar and sesame seeds. The texture of the *Manco* cake is very crunchy and sticky which is hollow inside the cake and the shape of this cake is usually oval. Sweet treats contain the hope for the bride and the groom to always have sweet and romantic life in the future, away from any bitterness in the relationship which may break the household. "*Kalau untuk manisan itu tidak harus dari buah kok, pokoknya makanan yang manis-manis. Permen biasanya digunakan untuk pengganti manisan. Maksudnya biar nantinya kehidupannya selalu manis dan romantis.*" [The sweets do not have to be made from fruits; basically, they should be sweet. Candy is usually used as a substitute for sweets. The purpose (of presenting sweets) is that the life of the bride and the groom is hoped to always be sweet and romantic.] (Interview with *Saikong* Mahmud on November 11, 2018)



Figure 4.8

Sweet treats

C. A pair of pig's legs or canned food

A pair of pig's legs is a mandatory item in *Sangjit*. Surprisingly, for a reason that cannot be explained by the informant, the pair of pig's legs can be substituted by canned food. "*Kaki babi sepasang untuk nantinya diberikan pada pihak perempuan. Bisa juga diganti sama makanan kaleng, sama aja kok.*" [A pair of pig's legs is later given to the bride. It can also be substituted by canned food; they are just the same.] (Interview with Mboen Peter on September 16, 2018)

Canned food presented by the future groom in *Sangjit* is usually canned fruit or other canned food depends on the request an agreement from the two families. The number of canned food should be even. Some also add at least six cans of peas. The informant says that a pair of pig's legs or canned food is a symbol of safety.



Figure 4.9

Canned food

D. Two bottles of red wine or champagne

The drink usually presented in *Sangjit* is two bottles of red wine or champagne. *“Kalau dalam Sangjit pasti ada kasih 2 botol anggur merah, atau champagne [In Sangjit, there must be two bottles of red wine or champagne] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018). However, Saikong Mahmud said that if the red wine or the champagne is not available, it can be replaced by sparkling drinks like sparkling red grape juice. The informant further explained that the drink can even be replaced by another type of drink as long as the drink is colored. The drink is presented as a symbol of happiness and celebration. On some occasions, after the future groom presents the red wine, the future bride will take both bottles and replace them with two bottles of red syrup. It means that the bitter and the sour taste can be replaced with sweetness. “Bisa diganti minuman yang lain pokoknya berwarna. Nanti pihak perempuan akan ambil 1 botol dan Inya dikembalikan. Tapi ada juga yang 2 botol itu diambil semua kemudian diganti dengan 2 botol sirup merah. Biar ganti rasa asam pahit dengan yang manis-manis.” [In Sangjit, there must be 2 bottles of red wine or champagne, it can replace with other drinks which are colored. Later the future bride’s side will take 1 bottle and 1 bottle again will be returned to the groom.](Interview with Mboen Peter on September 16, 2018)*



Figure 4.10

Two bottles of red wine

4.2.2 The mandatory goods for *Sangjit*

The mandatory goods presented in the trays for *Sangjit* are as follows:

A. *Angpao* (red pocket)

Angpao given in *Sangjit* contains *uang rawatan*, money symbolizes the amount of money spent by the parents to raise the bride. People in the past always look for good meaning in the amount of the money. “*Uang susu atau uang rawatan itu artinya kan anak cewek ini tadinya dirawat mamahnya, istilahnya mengembalikan uang rawatan. Memang tidak ada minimalnya tapi cari arti yang bagus dan jumlahnya genap. Misalnya 168 artinya sekali berjalan Berjaya, 338 artinya naik-naik Berjaya. Dan biasanya yang pakai itu suku Khek.*” [*Uang susu* (lit. milk money) or *uang rawatan* means this girl was raised by her mother, it means that the groom repay the money spent to raise the girl. Indeed, there is no minimum amount, but people look for a good meaning and even number. For example, 168 (*Yī liù bā*) means that ‘once it goes it will be victorious’, or 338 (*Sān sān bā*) which means ‘to rise and rise victoriously.’ The one who uses it is *Khek* ethnic group] (Interview with *Saikong Mahmud* on November 11, 2018). Nowadays people prefer to use *angpao* with even numbers, for example, IDR 1,680,000 or IDR 3,380,000. The *angpao* is usually taken entirely by the future bride’s family. The fact that people only consider the even number and disregard the meaning does not mean that they disrespect the tradition, but because not many people know about this tradition anymore.

B. Party money

This party money is also one of the items that are presented in *Sangjit*, even though not all people present the party money. Here, the future groom's family gives some money which is then put into a red envelope or *angpao*. The amount is approved by the future bride's family. The future bride's family will take half of the party money and the rest will be returned to the future groom's family. The point is that if the bride's family takes all the party

money, then when the future bride and the future groom are married, the future bride's family may not interfere anymore. People in the past said that having party money was the same as selling the future bride to the future groom's family. “*Uang pesta itu harus diambil setengah lalu setengahnya lagi kembalikan ke pihak laki. Kalau orang dulu bilang itu keluarga perempuan ini tidak boleh ikut campur lagi kalau uang pestanya diambil semuanya. Jaman sekarang ada yang cuma pakai uang susu aja.*” [The party money must be taken half and then the other half will be returned to the future groom. In the past, the future bride's family could not interfere with the future bride anymore if all the party money was taken. Like nowadays, some people choose to give *uang rawatan* only.] (Interview with Saikong Mahmud on November 11, 2018).

C. Jewelry



Figure 4.11

Necklace as a binder

Jewelry is mandatory to be presented in *Sangjit* because jewelry is also a symbol of formally binding the bride before the wedding. The future groom provides a set of jewelry and for the binding symbol, the future groom's side will put on a necklace, bracelet, earring, and ring to the future bride. Sometimes the future groom's parents are the ones who put on the binding symbol assisted by the future groom to wear it to the future bride. Some just wear a necklace as a binding symbol.

D. Clothes and daily needs



Figure 4.12

The future bride's clothes and daily needs

Clothes are usually presented as mandatory items in *Sangjit*. The clothes are given by the future groom's side to the future bride's side. The clothes and the daily needs consist of a pair of daily clothes including gowns, shoes, and bags. The items symbolize that later the husband can provide the wife with clothes and daily needs.



Figure 4.13

The future groom's clothes and daily needs

For the future groom's clothing, the future bride's family prepares returned goods containing the items needed by the future groom. For the future groom, mandatory items such as a pair of everyday clothes such as shirts and pants, belts, watches, and wallets. In the past, the gift was in the form of cloth. Nowadays, there are still those who provide cloth as a mandatory item but it is very rare. They prefer to give ready-to-wear clothes because it is more practical. The returned trays were carried by the future groom's side at the end of the procession.

E. Makeup



Figure 4.14

Makeup

The future groom will provide makeup and beauty equipment for the future bride along with other skincare. It means that the future bride can still beautify and take care of herself when she is married. Usually, the future groom asks the products and items commonly used by the future bride daily or they bought it together. *“Iya, alat makeup itu wajib, artinya itu biar nantinya ketika sudah menikah kebutuhan si perempuan mulai dari makeup, perawatan kulit, dan lainnya itu bisa di penuhi sama si prianya ini.* [Yes, makeup tools and skincare are mandatory; it means that later on, the needs of the wife starting from makeup, skincare, and others can be fulfilled with the husband].(Interview with Mboen Peter on September 16, 2018)

F. Two pairs of red candles



Figure 4.15

Two pairs of red candles

The future groom gives 2 pairs of candles to keep away the negative influence. Candles that commonly used are red candles with dragon or phoenix patterns and then tied with a red ribbon. After being handed over to the future bride's side, the future bride will take 1 pair of candles and 1 pair will be returned to the future groom. It means that the future groom and the future bride are always protected from negative energy. (Interview with Mboen Peter on September 16, 2018)

