

Helping Ease during Marriage: *Tombor Magh* as Social Ties among Family Members of Fakfak Family, West Papua, Indonesia

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Abstract

A tradition that is still carried out by the Patipi Pulau community of Fakfak Regency is the collection of dowry called the *Tombor Magh* tradition, which is determined by the female party to the male party through an agreement. The aim of the research is to determine the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition and the impact of the *Tombor Magh* tradition carried out by the Patipi Island indigenous community in Fakfak Regency. This is qualitative research, using a social phenomenology paradigm. Research results the *Tombor Magh* tradition (collection of dowry) is carried out when marriages occur between members of the Fakfak traditional community. The *Tombor Magh* tradition is carried out at the groom's house. In tradition, there are reciprocal gifts made by the groom's family to cover the groom's lack of dowry. Giving to women is a gift. When *Tombor Magh* is not fulfilled, the consequences are borne by the man. The delivery objects in *Tombor Magh* are *jumbur*, *ndrup*, *pdour*, *yana*, *mongmongka*, *lela*, *nteing*, and antique plates. The function of *Tombor Magh* is to maintain community culture as a means of unifying, strengthening, binding, maintaining the integrity of family relationships, maintaining traditions passed down from generation to generation, maintaining the honor and dignity of the male

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family in fulfilling the dowry. If you don't implement *Tombor Magh*, there are consequences that must be obeyed, which are habits that arise from mutual agreements which have become the customary law of the community by discarding the surname/family/clan from men to be passed on to their children, which is used is the surname/family/clan.

Sebuah tradisi yang masih dilaksanakan oleh masyarakat Patipi Pulau Kabupaten Fakfak adalah pengumpulan mas kawin yang disebut dengan tradisi Tombor Magh, yang ditentukan oleh pihak perempuan pada pihak laki-laki melalui kesepakatan. Tujuan penelitian untuk mengetahui pelaksanaan tradisi Tombor Magh dan dampak yang dari tradisi Tombor Magh yang dilakukan masyarakat adat Patipi Pulau di Kabupaten Fakfak. Merupakan penelitian kualitatif, menggunakan paradigma fenomenologi social. Hasil penelitian: Tradisi Tombor Magh (pengumpulan Mas Kawin) dilakukan apabila perkawinan antara sesama masyarakat adat Fakfak. Pelaksanaan tradisi Tombor Magh dilaksanakan di rumah mempelai laki-laki. Dalam tradisi terdapat pemberian yang bersifat timbal balik, dilakukan keluarga mempelai laki-laki untuk menutupi kekurangan mas kawin dari pihak laki-laki. Pemberian pada pihak perempuan bersifat hadiah. Ketika Tombor Magh tidak dipenuhi, konsekuensi ditanggung pihak laki-laki. Benda hantaran dalam Tombor Magh yaitu Jumbur, Ndrup, Pdour, Yana, Mongmongka, Lela, Nteing, dan piring antik. Fungsi Tombor Magh yaitu pemeliharaan budaya masyarakat sebagai alat pemersatu, mem-pererat, mengikat, menjaga keutuhan hubungan kekeluargaan, mem-pertahankan tradisi turun temurun, menjaga kehormatan martabat serta harga diri keluarga laki-laki dalam memenuhi mas kawin. Jika tidak melaksanakan Tombor Magh terdapat konsekuensi yang harus dipatuhi yang merupakan kebiasaan yang timbul dari kesepakatan bersama yang menjadi hukum adat masyarakat dengan membuang margafam/klan dari pihak laki-laki untuk diteruskan pada anak-anak mereka, yang digunakan adalah margafam/klan dari pihak ayah mempelai perempuan.

Keywords: collection; dowry; tradition; *tombor magh*

Introduction

West Papuans, especially in Fakfak regency, protect their ancestral heritage. The people of West Papua are still thick with their culture and can still be found until now, which is a picture of local culture that still exists in several regions in West Papua which is actually still being carried out by the community (Yusuf et.al., 2023). Fakfak culture doesn't know much about it, and few understand the meaning of each local wisdom element. The indigenous people of Fakfak practice oral traditions, so it is feared that they will disappear by themselves. Patipi Island Village in Patipi Bay is part of Fakfak Regency, which has many cultures. Patipi Islanders have a diverse

culture, including *tahlilan*, *damar*, marriage, circumcision, and other traditional processions passed down from generation to generation. Society has continued its tradition. Indigenous tribes in Fakfak, particularly Patipi Island village, always collect dowries determined by the woman and agreed upon by both parties.

Tombor Magh comes from the Iha language, the native language of Fakfak regency and spoken by mountaineers. *Tombor* means woman, and *Magh* means gathering, collecting, and treasures. Fakfak traditional dowry includes *Tombor Magh* treasures. As is customary in other regions, the bridegroom must give the dowry, which begins with marriage customs like proposing, giving, and legalizing. The dowry is one of the absolute rights for women because of a marriage contract (Nidal, 2024). The dowry is a gift in the form of money or other objects promised by the groom to the bride at the time of the marriage contract, and the husband is obliged to pay the dowry to his future wife if requested (Goodarzi, 2018). The dowry must be paid or given by the groom to the bride in accordance with the amount of dowry that has been determined according to the family agreement (Alfida, Usman, & Ruslan, 2016). Not all Indonesian traditions, especially in Papua, are alike. For instance, in Fakfak Regency, Papua, dowry is in the form of *jumhur* (state gold or first-level wedding gold), *ndrup* (second level dowry), *pdour* (third level dowry), traditional bracelets with state gold (*yana*), *Gong* (*mongmongka*), *lela* (cannon), *nteing* (earrings), and antique plates.

The Patipi community practises this tradition, not just buying or selling a woman for a high price and calling it paid in full. However, Patipi women are valued for various symbols and privileges owned by them. Harijah Damis said: The dowry is a symbol of honor, respect, and the desire to give happiness to the woman who will become his wife. The dowry is said at the time of the marriage contract and then handed over after the marriage contract takes place or only the type of dowry is mentioned (Nidal, 2024). Such as *Tombor Kahrang*, where men give dowry as one of the traditions and respect for women of the Patipi community, called *Tombor Magh*, in the form of *jumhur* (state gold or first-level marriage gold), *ndrup* (second degree dowry), *pdour* (third level dowry), traditional bracelets containing gold (*yana*), gong (*mongmongka*) and any Dutch or Portuguese relics.

Tombor Magh has an element of kinship in every implementation by involving all families participating in activities. Kindred in the society of many nations in the world, a person often associates with each other helping each other and doing activities together with his siblings, his paternal and maternal cousins, second degree cousins also from the father and mother, then also his wife's siblings (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). This is because sometimes the woman asks the bridegroom to give a dowry in the form of games, bracelets, or treasures that are requirements for the man to receive at the *Tombor Magh* procession, then the man must be willing to fulfil the request of what has been requested by the woman. In addition to the obligation of giving dowry, this value can be taken from the procession or tradition of *Tombor Magh*; this is the value of kinship.

The process also involves good kinship relationships with fellow Fam/clan/ clan participating in the *Tombor Magh* procession. Kinship relations also solve the problem of coordinating access to resources by grouping individuals and prioritizing access that combines but also substitutes (genetic relatedness) and reduces the potential for conflict claims (Alvard, 2003). The kinship system is part of the most important social structure, which is a complex network based on marriage and blood relations; similarly, in maintaining the tradition of *Tombor Magh* in the Patipi Island Village area, Fakfak Regency, which is a cultural heritage that is still carried out today to strengthen family ties and kinship that continues to be established. This phenomenon occurs in society regarding marriage traditions that still uphold customs and culture. It involves using items considered rare in today's modern era, such as dowries, along with the collective involvement of families in gathering them. The purpose of this study is to explore the practice of the *Tombor Magh* tradition, focusing on the fundamental reasons behind its practice, the forms of offerings in the tradition, the various items that must be prepared, and the symbolic meanings of the items presented in the tradition. In addition, this study aims to understand the impacts of the *Tombor Magh* tradition as practised by the Indigenous Patipi Island community in the Fakfak Regency. Specifically, it has focused on the function of *Tombor Magh* in the community, the customary laws applicable if the tradition is not practised, the values of communal togetherness fostered through the tradition,

efforts to preserve the tradition, and the perspectives of the younger generation of Patipi Island regarding the *Tombor Magh* tradition.

Previous studies that have similarities with this study include: The basic concept of dowry and delivery money in the Rejang tribal community of Perbo Village, North Bengkulu, is carried out after going through a mediation process, then deliberation is carried out between men and women regarding the amount of dowry and delivery money desired by the woman, then a *basin* (rice) event is carried out and the determination of the wedding date. The background and forms of social stratification in giving dowry and money delivered by Perbo are power, family position, and factors of education and work (Suroh, 2021).

There are seven functions of dowry payment. First, it is to fulfil family food needs. Second, as a fulfilment of reproductive needs for the continuity of individuals, families, clans, and communities; Third, as a supporter of compensation payments from the husband's family to the wife's family to meet the needs of comfort and welfare. Fourth, as a Christmas celebration and ritual activity in traditional houses, to fulfil safety needs. Fifth, the fulfilment of the family's relaxing needs. Sixth, the needs of the movement must be fulfilled to approach relationships between women who are separated from their residences. Seventh, traditional and formal education activities should be supported to meet the developmental needs of individual families (Usman, 2018).

The method of determining dowry in *Gampong Mamplam* is implemented through an application process mediated by Seulangke. The recurrence has the duty of liaison between the bride and groom. If the bride accepts the proposal from the bridegroom, the process repeats to the stage of carrying a dowry on the woman from the family of the man who proposed. The procedure for determining dowry at marriage is determined by the woman's parents or based on the decision of family deliberation. Furthermore, the value of the dowry is influenced by social status, namely the level of education and wealth. If the woman comes from a wealthy family, the amount of dowry is relatively high, and it can reach a value of 20-25 golden spinach. However, if the woman comes from a simple family, the amount of dowry is

relatively less; it can range from 10-15 golden spinach (Husen MR. et al., 2022).

Men often commit kidnappings to increase bargaining power in marriage negotiations and reduce the price of dowry payments (Hombrados & Novak, 2024). The history of using moko as belis (dowry) in the Alor community starts from the culture of Dongson, centred in North Vietnam. The use of moko in the life of the Alor people is a tradition of ancestors who have carried out vows and commitments as dowry. The meaning of use teaches us that belis is the sacredness of marriage, social, Alor community identity, and conservation; 2. Mathematical aspects contained in the drum, as believed in Alor society, are counting, measuring, designing, locating, and playing. There is a mathematical concept that is a pattern in making teaches. The mathematical concepts in moko are tubes, circles, and rhombuses. This shows that mathematics grows and develops in the customary order of certain peoples, which is termed ethnomathematics. The concept of mathematics in moko can be used in the learning process and can also introduce culture; it is also expected how to apply the culture-based learning process (Pandu & Suwarsono, 2020).

Marriage is divided into two types: arranged marriage and elopement. Meanwhile, an ideal marriage is a combination of both (Allendorf, 2013). *Ararem* is the tradition of delivering dowry from the future husband to the future wife. The giving of *Ararem* has the following meanings: first, increasing family relations between clans/kits, namely the male family and the female family; second, Ploughing is a sign of appreciation for women. Third, giving is a sign of peace that contains prayers and hopes for a large family so that a husband and wife can live happily and harmoniously to build a household (Apiem, 2021).

Supiori people are the dominant community in using oral communication; they are reliable in telling stories, but it is rather challenging to use writing, which is a communication product, making it difficult to find stories in the form of writing about the wedding gold custom, which is a historical relic (Hastuti & Maswati, 2021).

The research mentioned above differs from research conducted by researchers in that it focuses on the power of symbols on delivery objects,

unifying society, respect for Fakfak women, and the existence of gifts that have meaning in them. In addition, the community has a desire to maintain traditions that are inherited from their ancestors.

The initial steps of the theoretical footing in a study are as follows. G. H. Mead and other experts say that most symbols are words, gestures, paintings, musical sounds, mechanical devices such as clocks, or natural objects such as gems (Geertz, 1992, p.56). Langer and Geertz say: Every object, action, personality, trait, or relationship is capable of having a role as a vehicle for a conception and that conception is a "meaning" of symbols. Thus, cultural perception is essentially the interpretation of symbols (Dillistone, 2002, p.109). Local wisdom plays a vital role in maintaining social cohesion (Howes, 2022).

A ceremony (ritual, ceremony) is a system of activities or a series of actions regulated by custom or law carried out in communities that have a relationship with various fixed events that are usually carried out in the community concerned (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). In understanding the role and meaning of such traditions, it is helpful to look at broader anthropological perspectives on ceremonies. Regarding ceremonies, Victor Turner said: 1) Ceremonies can integrate and unite communities by strengthening key cultural values beyond and above individuals and groups. Here, ceremonies are seen as a means of unification and integration; 2) Ceremonies can let people convey their feelings and emotions; 3) Putting coercion on social order. Pressures are placed on people to follow social norms experienced by members of society. In the rite, these pressures are released. 4) Effective energy created from symbolism and socially harmful behavior is transferred to that in a socially positive way; and 5) Ceremonies are tools to condition socially. The ceremony reunites the community and strengthens the structure (Haggar, 2024; Winangun, 1990).

Guided by the research objectives described before, the essence is to explain the tradition of *Tombor Magh* in Village Patipi Island. The research conducted is included in a qualitative descriptive study. The research paradigm carried out is social phenomenology. Schutz and Luckman described social phenomenology as formulating a social science that can

interpret and describe human actions and thoughts by describing basic structures of reality that appear real in the eyes of everyone guided by natural attitudes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009). The data sources used in this study were primary data and secondary data. Researchers directly collect primary data from their first source, namely informants or subjects to be studied, namely the Patipi Island Community. Secondary data is compiled in documents or books, journals, and scientific magazines related to the object under study. The setting of the study was conducted in Patipi Island, Fakfak Regency, West Papua Province. The key instruments in the research are the people of Patipi Island Village and the researchers themselves. The informants were selected using the purposive technique, focusing on individuals who know the subject of the study, specifically the *Tombor Magh* tradition in Patipi Island Village. Field data will be obtained by carrying out passive participatory observation. About this, researchers came to Patipi Island village and carried out observation activities to get field data. While in-depth interviews use semi-structured interviews, the depth of the interview is a dialogue or interview to obtain data to be studied by informants more freely and to get more open problems.

Implementation of the *Tombor Magh* Tradition on the Patipi Island Indigenous People in Fakfak Regency

Fundamental Reasons for the Implementation of the *Tombor Magh* Tradition

Every tradition practised by traditional communities has a fundamental reason for its implementation between one region and another, although sometimes there are similarities in the core of a tradition. In addition, it is not uncommon for these reasons to have changed as a result of cultural transformation and cultural diffusion that takes place in the region, as a result of the increasing number of immigrants who blend into the local community so that there is a change in culture in a region. However, these changes can also occur due to forgetting the reason for carrying out a tradition. Similarly, the implementation of traditions related to the collection of dowry treasures

in each region in Indonesia has reasons for its implementation that are different between one region and another. For example, the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition in the Patipi region of West Papua Island, an oral tradition carried out from one generation to the next, also has a reason for its implementation.

People in Patipi village prefer to marry their children to their community because there are reasons: First, after marrying this male and female couple, then in the course of their household later, when there is a problem, the son is not easy to commit violence against his wife, and vice versa the daughter is not easy to *daMaghe* the dignity of her husband, because it continually arises in the feelings of this couple that we are still brothers. Therefore, when a husband hurts his wife's feelings, it is the same as the husband hurts his feelings. When this couple wants to do things that damage the harmony of this couple's household, they will think that what is harmed is not only the couple's relationship, but the extended family relationship is also harmed. Second, the Patipi people prefer to marry into their community to increase family members so that their family is bigger and not out of lineage.

The *Tombor Magh* tradition is a customary decree related to customary marriage processions where individuals are part of Indigenous peoples. Hence, implementing the *Tombor Magh* tradition in the community is an obligation for individuals in Indigenous communities. If a marriage is carried out that still binds the kinship relationship between the bride and groom, the *Tombor Magh* tradition must be carried out. This tradition has been carried out for generations by the community; the tradition is carried out when marriages are carried out between fellow people who come from areas that use the *Tombor Magh* tradition, namely the Fakfak indigenous people in general, especially in the Patipi Island community, especially for those who still have kinship ties between communities that carry out marriages, this is done to enlarge and strengthen kinship relations and maintain family relationships in the form of binding these relationships in marital traditions so as not to be separated and preserve the dignity and dignity of the family which also aims to avoid divisions in the family. However, this tradition does

not apply to those who carry out marriages with people from outside Fakfak who do not know the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, so this tradition only applies to indigenous people in the Fakfak area, especially those in Patipi Island Village.

The implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition begins with a meeting held by the family to facilitate the course of the traditional activity, then is distributed with invitations with various procedures for its implementation (see Figure 1). Furthermore, the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition carried out at the bridegroom's house is a unity in the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition, which has a series of meanings (beliefs, knowledge, and habits), which is unique, which is the basis of mutual understanding and develops interaction and action in a standard way to integrate and unite society through strengthening the main norms and values of culture beyond and above individuals and groups and strengthening the structure in Indigenous communities as outlined in the *Tombor Magh* tradition where there are social norms in the community which in the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition invite close relatives from various places.

Reciprocity and Gift Exchange in the *Tombor Magh* Tradition

The implementation of collecting dowry from relatives in the *Tombor Magh* tradition has its uniqueness, where every relative who is related to the man participates in providing assistance or donations to the groom to fulfil the dowry desired by the bride according to his ability, to meet the needs of the bridegroom measured based on a predetermined dose based on the customs of the people on Patipi Island, Fakfak Regency. The gift can be given directly at the time of collection, where the family gathers both from the woman and the man, but the gift can also be directly handed over to the man before the start of the dowry collection event.

The collection of the general dowry (*Tombor Magh*) involves all guests and relatives to assist the male side in completing the reduction in the amount of basic dowry previously collected by the male nuclear family. For example, the female party asks for dowry property, thirty million and two gongs. The

male party had a basic dowry of only ten million and one gong. To fulfil the demand for dowry from the women, the remaining twenty million and *Gong* one piece, a general dowry collection (*Tombor Magh*) was carried out.

Figure 1

Implementation of the *Tombor Magh* Tradition in Patipi Island Community



Source: Personal Document

Tombor Magh is carried out not only to fulfil the shortage of dowry requests from women but also as a means for the Indigenous people of Fakfak, especially on Patipi Island, to help each other. Although this boy has so much wealth that he can afford to pay his dowry without anyone's help, this *Tombor Magh* must be carried out because this has become a tradition for generations carried out by indigenous peoples. In simple terms, reciprocity is a reciprocal exchange between individuals or groups. This understanding does not explain the characteristics of the exchangers (Sairin et al., 2002).

In the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, there is a term of giving, which is a series of traditions carried out by relatives of the bridegroom to help each other to cover the shortcomings of the request for dowry desired by the bride, which is the result of the moral idea that arises from the family to help each other which is a sense of generosity shown by the family towards his brother who is experiencing difficulty to complete the lack of dowry that must be provided to be used in the *Tombor Magh* tradition which is the bride's

request. Giving made to the indigenous people of Patipi Island Village applies in the form of reciprocity, where if the donator carries out the same activities, the same thing will be done by the previous donation. Even though the bridegroom can pay the dowry in its entirety, this tradition must still be carried out to impress the entire bridegroom with the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition. The symbolic meaning of the dowry in *Tombor Magh* tradition is a form of respect for the status of Fakfak women who hold a high position in society. They deserve the utmost honour because of their role in giving birth and nurturing the next generation of the Fakfak community.

Form of Giving (Debt or Gift)

Every activity carried out by traditional communities is inseparable from the nature of mutual assistance or mutual help between each other, especially when they have kinship relations, in the success of the activities to be carried out. The models of giving in the *Tombor Magh* tradition have a kind, including some that are voluntarily given to the bridegroom. It arises due to the sense of generosity that someone has to his family, but there is also a way of debt, where, when needed by the person who owes the debt, the debt can be collected by him for reuse, in the sense that the property is a loan given by his brother to cover the lack of demand for a dowry desired by the woman. In the case of the provision of debt at the collection of the dowry, there is an agreement on the procedure or rules for repayment, with a contract between the creditor and the debtor. Some of the objects owed are in the form of being loaned and later returned in the same form when the borrower needs them back. Still, some are exchanged for objects desired by the borrower or the creditor and approved by the bridegroom when considered commensurate with what he lent.

The giving of dowry by the man to the woman whose amount depends on the woman's request. The dowry is made of money and gold from the country (*jumhur*, *ndurp*, *pdour*, *yana*, *gong*, *lela*, and *nteing*). The money was used to finance weddings, and the country's gold was given to women as gifts. If the man does not accept the request for dowry by the woman, then

negotiations are made with the woman. Uncles or aunts from the male side represent negotiations. Negotiations related to the demand for dowry in the form of money usually reach common ground, meaning it cannot be owed until there is an agreement. Negotiations related to the country's gold demand, if not fulfilled, can be owed with the following conditions: If the male party does not comply with the request of the female party until the mother of the daughter dies, then the husband of the daughter digs the grave of the mother. If the woman's request is not fulfilled until the girl's parents have problems with the country's gold needs, the mother of this daughter collects it by patting her breast, a sign that the daughter's mother collects the debt. If it is not fulfilled, it can be replaced with a sum of money.

Marcel Mauss explains, alms, on the one hand, is the result of the moral idea of giving gifts and possessions, and on the other, is the result of the idea of sacrifice (Mauss, 2016). Further, the theory of giving explained by Marcel Mauss is that the gift received belongs to the recipient, but the possession is a special possession. Regarding giving, no one refuses a gift given to him, but it is sometimes shown that people have a sense of generosity towards others (Nuhuyanan et al., 2022).

There are various forms of giving in the *Tombor Magh* tradition, where it can be said that the gift is more of a gift to the bride who is the result of a shared moral idea from the bridegroom on the bride's side and belongs to the recipient of the gift, namely the bride's party, which shows the generosity carried out by the Patipi Island community in the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition. However, in the implementation of *Tombor Magh*, when the bridegroom is unable to fulfil the requested conditions, it can be owed with consequences that must be borne by the male party, which has traditionally become a fixed refraction that applies to the community descended from his predecessors which is a collective agreement that applies to the indigenous community of Patipi Island.

Objects That Must Be Provided In the *Tombor Magh* Tradition

A wedding event requires various objects to succeed in its implementation. Sometimes, these objects are required to be brought in for a

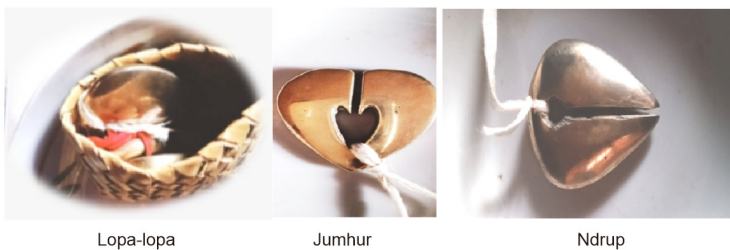
wedding delivery by the man to the woman. Especially when the marriage is a traditional marriage that still maintains its customs and traditions that must not be violated by the community so that the delivery of objects is an obligation that must be done, where the objects brought are also diverse in accordance with the customs in the community inherited by their ancestors which are carried out from generation to generation so that it becomes a habit, where every object is delivery It has its own values. As with the delivery objects that must be brought by the male side to the female side, in the *Tombor Magh* tradition, there is diversity in terms of goods needed to be given to the bride, which is a condition that the bridegroom must fulfil.

The objects provided in *Tombor Magh* are money, a common obligation for holding a wedding. The amount of money depends on the ability of the man to fulfil the demand for dowry on the part of the woman. State gold is an absolute requirement that must be met and present in collecting dowry by the Patipi indigenous people. The form and grade of state gold are as follows.

Jumhur, usually called head gold, is the highest level of state gold with more gold content than others. In ancient times, *Jumhur* was pure gold shaped like a split heart shape and then stored in a separate container, in the Paitpi language, called "*lopa-lopa*" (a purse-like container made of mat leaves, which is the storage place of *jumhur*). Wedding gold in the form of *jumhur* at the time of the implementation of *Tombor Magh* is required for the son's father, who puts it in a container used to collect dowry (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Lopa-lopa, *Jumhur*, and *Ndrup* are Ritual Objects that must be Provided as the Dowry for *Tombor Magh* Tradition



Lopa-lopa

Jumhur

Ndrup

Source: Personal Document, 2023.

The next wedding gold is *ndrup*, which is the second level of marriage gold in the *Tombor Magh* tradition. It is referred to as *penongka* (support) wedding gold, which means helping the son's father pay the dowry to the woman. This *ndrup* dowry at the time of the implementation of *Tombor Magh* is required for the uncle, the elder of the son, who puts it in a container used as a dowry collection place. This *ndrup* will be given as a dowry payment, which is handed over to the uncle or aunt of the bride, who is closer to her daily life with the bride's child. *Pdour* wedding gold is the third level of marriage gold, referred to as rope marriage gold, meaning that the dowry from the big family is handed over at the time of *Tombor Magh*, which also helps the father of the son in paying the dowry to the woman. *Pdour*'s dowry will be given as dowry payment for uncles, aunts, or relatives closer to the bride and her family. The amount of dowry of *pdour* can reach tens to hundreds when implementing the *Tombor Magh* tradition.

Yana is a dowry in the form of a genuine gold bracelet, which, at the time of the implementation of *Tombor Magh*, is mandatory for the mother of the son who provides. The dowry in the form of *yana* is intended for the mother of a daughter as a tribute to the mother giving birth to a daughter. Before handing over *yana* to the woman, the family of the male side asked the mother of the daughter what kind of *yana* was liked and then provided by *yana* according to the wishes of the mother of the daughter. The original *yana* is very expensive; the price can reach tens of millions of rupiah.

Guests give this dowry gong (*mongmongka*) during the implementation of *Tombor Magh*, which the man's family can also provide as a form of gift in collecting dowry, which will later be handed over to the woman. The gong is used when *Tombor Magh* is held, so the gong is beaten to indicate the collection of dowry (*Tombor Magh*). Gong is used in the process of *Tombor Magh*, the process of delivering dowry to the woman, the process of marriage, and the process of handing over women from their families to men's families.

Pdour, *yana*, and gong as the traditional objects that must be provided collected as the dowry for *Tombor Magh* tradition can be seen at Figure 3.

Lela (cannon) is a dowry in the form of a small cannon made of brass with a length of ten to twenty cm, giving a dowry *Lela* intended for women's

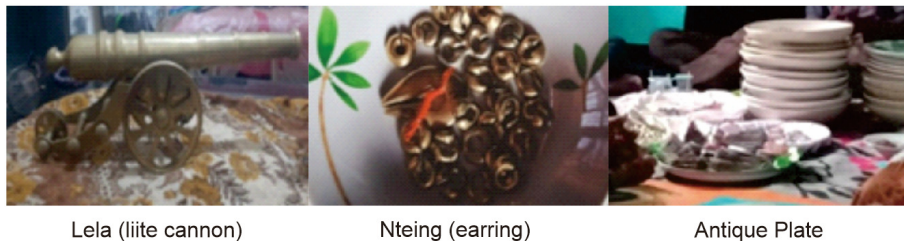
families as gifts that will be displayed at home. *Lela*, which is of the best quality, usually has the Dutch VOC emblem.

Figure 3
Pdour, Yana, and Gong



Source: Personal Document, 2023.

Figure 4
Lela, Nteing, and Antique Plate



Source: Personal Document, 2023.

Nteing dowry (earrings) is often referred to as dowry earrings, usually collected by invited guests and relatives who come. The number of *nteing* can reach hundreds or even thousands. *Nteing's* dowry is handed over from the male to the female side, which is later used to pay the person who assists in the wedding process. For example, people who help wash dishes, split firewood, set up tents for invitees, etc.

Antique plates are dowries that are used almost throughout coastal Papua. Its usefulness is expected for married couples in the future to meet their household needs, especially daily food needs. Besides, the antique dishes

given are usually also used to pay for the sense mistakes made by individuals or groups with other individuals or groups. The use of antique plates as dowry has been going on for a long time, especially in coastal parts of Papua, including in the Fakfak Regency. The amount requested depends on the wishes of the woman. The antique plates used are from Europe or China and widely circulated in Papua.

Delivery objects in the *Tombor Magh* tradition ranging from *jumhur*, *ndrup*, *pdour*, *yana*, gong (*mongmongka*), *lela* (cannon), *nteing* (earrings), antique plates, which are the dowry of the Fakfak community have the function of each object used in the tradition, all of which are in the context of adaptation carried out by the community related to the implementation of tradition, as well as to achieving the objectives of implementing the *Tombor Magh* tradition, as well as being able to integrate the community formed in the maintenance of habitual patterns that have been carried out for generations in the form of the *Tombor Magh* tradition.

Symbols of delivery objects in *Tombor Magh*

Every implementation of tradition is inseparable from the various symbols accompanying it, especially in areas that still apply their customs. The implementation of tradition contains various symbols, and the community can interpret each symbol according to its own interpretation. Similarly, the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition, full of various symbols believed by Indigenous people to have meaning of each of these symbols, in the form of various forms of delivery objects, sayings delivered by traditional elders, and so on. The symbols in the *Tombor Magh* tradition are also a series of processions that inevitably have to appear in implementing the *Tombor Magh* tradition. This tradition has been carried out for generations in the Patipi Island community and is still maintained to this day.

Jumhur is used as a dowry payment handed over to the daughter's father to honour all forms of sacrifice in raising a daughter from birth to marriage. Giving *ndrup* the aim of honouring the sacrifice of the uncle or aunt to the daughter. Perhaps the daughter of her uncle or aunt in childhood, once held, advised, or fed the child. So this *Ndrup* dowry is intended for uncles or aunts.

The *pdour* is intended as a tribute to the sacrifice of the uncle or aunt and close relatives, who may have helped the woman's family, advised or fed the child, or helped the girl's family in distress. *Yana's* dowry payment is so special because the man knows how to sacrifice in giving birth to a daughter, so the man does not want to disappoint the mother of the daughter, because if the mother of the daughter is disappointed, it is feared that the household of the boy and girl will not be good. In contrast, gong (*mongmongka*) is used as a sign of implementing *Tombor Magh* activities.

G.H. Mead and other experts affirm that most of these symbols are words, but also gestures, paintings, musical sounds, mechanical devices such as clocks, and natural objects such as gems (Geertz, 1992, p.56). Furthermore, Clifford Geertz says, the symbolic mentalist approach rests heavily on descriptions of what are seen as layers of mediation, such as mood, motivation and conception, between systems of symbols and factualities of everyday life (Jenks, 2013, p.88). Langer and Geertz explain that any object, action, event, trait, or relationship is capable of acting as a vehicle for a conception, and that conception is a "meaning" symbol. Thus, cultural perception is essentially the interpretation of symbols (Dillistone, 2002, p.116). Strauss (1997, p.144) says that symbolic function is the peculiar human ability to designate reality through the help of signs. The symbolic function shows how human intellectual effort aims to mediate and understand the transition from nature to culture.

Delivery objects in the *Tombor Magh* tradition have symbols that can be interpreted by the people in Patipi Island Village, which are signs such as invitations using cigarette paper, sounds generated from gong (*mongmongka*) as a sign of the beginning of the *Tombor Magh* tradition, and words used in the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition, as well as other equipment that is a dowry in the island Patipi community, such as *jumhur*, *ndrup*, *yana*, *pdour*, *lela* (cannon), *nteing* (earrings) and antique plates. In the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, objects, actions, events, properties, or relationships can be a vehicle for a conception, all of which have their own meanings that the people of Village Patipi Island can interpret. All of them have meaning to others involved in the tradition. Others interpret the communication symbol and orient their

countermeasures based on their understanding, which is the distinctive ability of the people of Village Patipi Island to designate reality through the help of signs.

The Impact of the Implementation of the *Tombor Magh* Tradition

The Function of *Tombor Magh* in the Patipi Island Community

Each tradition carried out by the community usually has its own function that can be interpreted by the community that carries out the tradition. This function is related to community activities related to the implementation of the tradition. Usually, various activities contained in the tradition are carried out continuously and become routine habits in the community concerned. Call it the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition carried out by the people of Patipi Island, where its implementation has various functions. This function is attached to the implementation of tradition, a unity that cannot be separated from tradition and that has been maintained by the community for generations. The function of *Tombor Magh* is a reflection of unity in the life of the people of Patipi Island village in the implementation of customary marriages in their communities.

The implementation of *Tombor Magh* is not only coming to collect dowry, but the family must also provide food for the guests in the tradition of *Tombor Magh*. This *Tombor Magh* tradition can be attended not only by one village but also by neighbouring villages. The villagers also prepared the *Tombor Magh* event. The people in Patipi Village have the principle that today, we see people have difficulties so that tomorrow if we are difficult, people can also see us. A unifying function for Islam and Christianity in Patipi Bay. In the implementation of *Tombor Magh*, it is mandatory to invite their brothers who are Christians, because if you do not invite them, there will be a language that you may have forgotten. We, the indigenous people of Fakfak, especially in Patipi, adhere tightly to the philosophy of one three-stone furnace to maintain harmony and togetherness.

The function of carrying out the *Tombor Magh* tradition in the Patipi Island community is to help each other in order to fulfill the needs related to the fulfillment of the dowry of the bridegroom which will be handed over to the bride and also other needs in which there is adaptation, expected goals,

integration, and maintenance of cultural patterns in the community as a tool to unify, strengthen, and maintain the integrity of family relations in religious differences, which carries out the collection of property not only from Muslim community groups but also carried out by Christian communities who still have kinship relations, and in order to maintain traditions that have existed for generations in society that are inherited from ancestors, as well as to preserve the honor of dignity and self-respect of the male family for can fulfill the dowry desired by the women to be fulfilled, and is a respect for the dignity and dignity of Fakfak women who will give birth to the next generation of Fakfak indigenous people, especially the Patipi Island people who further maintain the tradition.

Customary Law that Applies when Not Implementing *Tombor Magh*

Maintaining customary values and norms in traditional communities is strengthened by customary law. Customary law that develops in traditional communities can still be found in several regions in Indonesia, such as in the Patipi Island area of Fakfak Regency, where indigenous people still maintain customary law applied to daily life to regulate various activities carried out by their communities so that they can run according to the customary wishes of the local community which has been passed down from generation to generation. As is the case in the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* Tradition, where customary law regulates its implementation, it cannot be carried out at will or carelessly; this is because the implementation of the tradition is considered sacred in the community. When the implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition is carried out at will, customary sanctions will bind the family. These customary sanctions have various models, mostly in the form of social sanctions on the bride and groom.

If the man has more wealth and does not do *Tombor Magh*, which means that the man and his family can afford to pay dowry without doing *Tombor Magh*, then it does not affect customary law. But when the boy does not pay the dowry and does not do *Tombor Magh*, customary law called incoming marriage applies. Incoming marriage means that all children born to this couple will follow the surname on the woman's paternal side.

Traditional customary law has universal values such as the principle of mutual assistance, human social functions, and belonging to society, the principle of consent, which is the general power, and the principle of representation and consultation in the system of government (Soepomo, 2007, p.21). In the traditional marriage of the Indigenous people of Patipi Island village, when each party of the bride and groom is an Indigenous person, then when not carrying out the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, some consequences must be obeyed, which are customs that have been done previously inherited from their ancestors arising from mutual agreement that is carried out which is a reality in which there are universal values and cannot be changed by alone by individuals within an indigenous group. The agreement that has become customary law for the people of Patipi Island Village is to dispose of the clan/family-owned property by the male party, in this case, the bridegroom, to pass on to their children later. So what is used is the clan/family from the female side of her descendants, in this case from the bride's father's side, where indigenous peoples in general in the Papua and West Papua regions, especially in Fakfak Regency, still maintain their family hierarchy based on patrilineal based on male lineage.

Values of Togetherness in Society

The values of togetherness that exist in Indonesian society are very strong both in their home area and abroad. In contrast, in traditional societies, togetherness is formed from kinship values established from incestuous, village, or marital relationships that unite two families to form a community and bind them. Especially in Indigenous territories, everyone in the area usually has a close kinship and knows each other. Call it in the Patipi Island area of Fakfak regency, a small village where the people know each other, and there are often marriages in the neighborhood, so that kinship between one another arises. In relation to the *Tombor Magh* tradition carried out by the community in collecting dowry to be handed over to the woman, it is carried out jointly by the man for the family's good name to carry out the tradition. So, family intervention is needed to implement the tradition. The help from the family is evidence of kinship values that arise in the implementation of traditions.

With the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, there are values of togetherness; this can be seen in the togetherness of the family in solving a case. Namely, his family carries out marriage, where they can help each other, so that activities can be carried out properly. It is also related to the self-esteem of the male family if it cannot pay it, for usually, the male side of the family helps each other in Islam and Christianity. Where the Fakfak community maintains the tradition of One Furnace Three Stones, namely, in one clan, there are three different religions. It has been true since ancient times, before the entry of the Samaritan religion.

Charles Horton Cooley says that interconnectedness and mutual inseparability between individuals and society are born twins; social consciousness cannot be alienated from self-consciousness. Society and individuals do not describe different phenomena; they describe the collective aspect and spread the same thing (Roucek & Warren, 1984, p.286).

The implementation of the *Tombor Magh* tradition can increase the values of togetherness in society, which can be seen in solving a case. Namely, the collection of property (dowry) carried out by men involving their relatives, both Islamic and Christian, to help each other, which becomes a social consciousness in a society where every individual in a clan is part of the clan so what is suffering is mandatory assisted by other individuals in the clan. It is also done in order to enlarge and strengthen family relations where the *Tombor Magh* tradition is able to unite the two big families in traditional marriages, and in to maintain the tradition and also the traditional structure, which is a legacy handed down by the ancestors of the Patipi Island community.

Maintaining Tradition

In the current era of globalization, there are so many traditions in traditional societies that gradually begin to disappear due to the increasingly modern times so that space or barriers start to have no boundaries, so more and more foreign cultures affect domestic culture, which, if the foundation of a region's culture is not strong, it will erode by itself so that it undergoes

changes in its culture resulting in various traditions carried out by Indigenous peoples will be easily lost to the times. The foundation can be in the form of habituation rooted in a traditional society. Similarly, the people of Patipi Island Village who continuously carry out the *Tombor Magh* tradition in traditional marriages of their community is a form of maintaining the tradition, where the tradition is still carried out by the community, even though the tradition is not carried out for men who marry other tribes outside Fakfak Regency.

The livelihood of people in Patipi Island Village is generally based on fishing and gardening, so it is rather challenging to fulfil a large amount of dowry without assistance from the family. The tradition of *Tombor Magh* is very well maintained to facilitate the implementation of marriage, in which there is a spirit of mutual help, which affects other activities such as assistance for children who continue their education, as well as for the benefit of the younger generation of Patipi Island in applying for jobs, as well as other activities such as grief and so on.

The small group develops a unique set of meanings (beliefs, knowledge, habits) to form the basis of a common understanding and develop its interactions and actions (Turner, 2012, p.647). The Patipi Island community strives to maintain and preserve the tradition of *Tombor Magh* in traditional marriages that have a uniqueness that underlies mutual understanding to maintain the heritage of their ancestors who are considered good by the community and that there are norms and values contained in it to maintain family relationships by helping each other between families so that family relationships are maintained. In developing interactions and actions together that can be realized in other activities or activities in community life to help each other in realizing togetherness.

The Perspective and Adaptation of the Younger Generation Toward the Practice of *Tombor Magh* Tradition

To preserve the *Tombor Magh* tradition, the people of Patipi Island Village, both the older and younger generations, continue to uphold the practice. The dowry items required for the tradition, which are passed down

from one generation to the next within each clan or family, remain available to ensure the tradition continues to be observed by the Indigenous community in the Fakfak region, particularly in Patipi Island. Thus, mutual assistance within clans or families to fulfil dowry requirements is customary among the Indigenous community.

However, if the marriage takes place outside the customary territory, the *Tombor Magh* tradition is not enforced unless both parties wish to carry out the tradition. Especially when the marriage occurs between two different ethnic groups and is held outside the Fakfak customary area, many of the current generation choose not to follow the *Tombor Magh* tradition. Instead, they tend to adopt the more common wedding practices, following broader societal customs rather than practising traditional rituals.

Conclusion

Tradition *Tombor Magh* is part of a traditional marriage procession carried out for generations, involving marriages between fellow people from the Fakfak customary area. This tradition does not apply to those who perform marriages with people from outside Fakfak. The implementation of the tradition begins with a family meeting, then the distribution of invitations, and then the implementation of *Tombor Magh* is carried out at the bridegroom's house. In the tradition of *Tombor Magh*, there is a gift carried out by the bridegroom's family to help cover the lack of dowry requests desired by the woman, which is a sense of generosity shown by the family towards their brother, who is experiencing difficulties. Giving is carried out by the man's family in reciprocity if the donor carries out the same activity. Although the groom can pay the dowry in its entirety, this tradition must be carried out to make it seem that the entire family implements the *Tombor Magh*. The gift to the bride is a gift and belongs to the recipient of the gift, namely the bride. When it cannot be fulfilled, the collection of *Tombor Magh*'s dowry property can be owed with consequences borne by the man. Delivery in the *Tombor Magh* tradition, starting from *jumhur*, *ndrup*, *pdour*, *yana*, gong (*mongmongka*), *lela* (cannon), *nteing* (earrings), and antique plates are the dowry of the Fakfak community, having symbols that can be

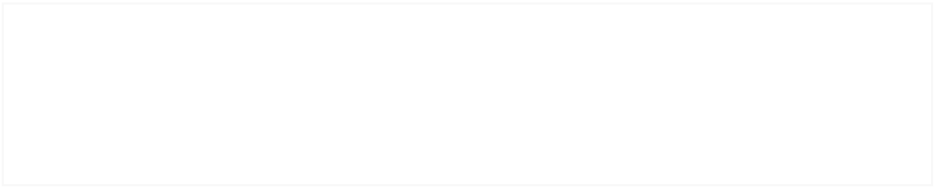
interpreted by the community. The function of *Tombor Magh* in the Patipi Island community is the maintenance of culture in the community as a means of unifying, strengthening, and binding family relationships with marriage and maintaining the integrity of family relationships in religious differences, where those who carry out the collection of wealth are not only from the Muslim community but also carried out by Christians who still have kinship relations, also to maintain existing traditions for generations, and to maintain the honour, dignity and self-esteem of the male family in fulfilling the dowry desired by the woman. Suppose you do not carry out *Tombor Magh* for indigenous people. In that case, there are consequences that must be obeyed, which is a habit arising from a collective agreement that is implemented and cannot be changed, which becomes customary law for the people of Patipi Island Village, which is to throw away the clan/family owned by the male party to be passed on to their children later. So what is used is the clan/fam/ clan of the bride's father in his descendants.[]

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