



The Potential of Mangongkal Holi as a Cultural Tourism Destination

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A B S T R A C T

Mangongkal Holi is a secondary burial ritual of the Toba Batak tribe that can only be performed in the hometown of each clan located around Lake Toba. As the highest ritual in Toba Batak customs, Mangongkal Holi is a representation of the cultural identity of the Toba Batak tribe. Based on this, Mangongkal Holi can be an integral part in relation to the government's efforts to revitalise Lake Toba as a tourist destination. This article aims to analyse the potential of the Mangongkal Holi ritual as a cultural destination. The results of the analysis prove that the presence of dance, percussion, and ritual performance elements in the Mangongkal Holi procession of Mangongkal Holi has the potential as a cultural tourism destination for national and international tourists. The implementation of Mangongkal Holi also has an impact on the creative economy industry at the location of implementation. However, the potential of Mangongkal Holi as a cultural tourism destination is hampered by an unstructured implementation schedule and socialisation of ritual implementation which tends to be exclusive to the Toba Batak clan.

A. INTRODUCTION

Mangongkal Holi is a secondary burial ritual performed by the Toba Batak tribe. This ritual is carried out by moving the bones or saring-saring in the language of individual Toba Bataks from the primary grave to the secondary grave. The definition of primary grave of the corpse is the first location where the corpse is laid to rest some time after death whereas secondary grave defined as communal cemetery which located in the Toba Batak clan's hometown called *bona pasogit*. The tendency of the Toba Batak tribe to migrate results in the location of the primary graves of Toba Batak individuals scattered in various parts of Indonesia. The location of secondary graves in *bona pasogit* aims to honor ancestors by returning nomads back to ancestral lands. *Mangongkal Holi* is carried out by the Toba Batak tribe as a form of respect for descendants to ancestors and is the highest form of ritual of the Toba Batak tribe (Hutagaol & P. Prayitno, 2020; M. Silalahi et al., 2019).

However, secondary forms of burial have proven to be a challenge to the existence of *Mangongkal Holi*. Unlike other Toba Batak traditions, *Mangongkal Holi* cannot be adapted or performed in overseas lands. The location of primary graves scattered in various parts of Indonesia and the location of secondary graves in *bona pasogit* make the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* requires careful

planning both in terms of time, coordination, and finance. Ritual costs can increase if there is planning for the construction or renovation of secondary graves owned by the clan.

The complexity of implementation then triggers the rejection of Toba Batak individuals towards the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* (S. Tobing et al., 2023; S. H. L. Tobing, 2022). Some of the main reasons that hinder the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* are: i) The cost of performing rituals that can reach hundreds of millions of rupiah; ii) The social perception that the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* is contrary to the monotheistic values which are the dominant beliefs of the Toba Batak. Some of the main reasons that hinder the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* are: i) The cost of implementing rituals that can reach hundreds of millions of rupiah; ii) Communication and planning to implement *Mangongkal Holi* has high complexity by involving three clan elements called Dalihan na Tolu; and iii) The social perception that the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* is contrary to monotheistic values which are the dominant beliefs of the Toba Batak. Consequently, the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* today is rarely found. Therefore, *Mangongkal Holi* requires transformation in order to continue to exist today.

One way to transform *Mangongkal Holi* is to make this secondary Toba Batak burial ritual as a cultural tourism destination. As the highest ritual of the Toba Batak tribe, *Mangongkal Holi* presents cultural values that exist in Toba Batak culture which are material and non-material values. The material culture of *Mangongkal Holi* can be seen through the secondary grave building of the Bona pasogit clan which is the location of the ritual, dances, musical instruments, and ornaments used by ritual implementers. While the non-material value of the Toba Batak culture of *Mangongkal Holi* can be seen in the representation of Toba Batak local wisdom values as the cooperation principles of *dalihan na tolu* of Toba Batak which constructed from *hula-hula, dongan satubu, and boru* (Silalahi et al., 2020).

In addition to cultural aspects, *Mangongkal Holi's* potential as a cultural tourism destination is supported by the location of the clan's bona pasogit which is located around the Lake Toba area. Government Regulation Number 50 of 2011 established the Lake Toba region as one of the National Tourism Strategic Areas (KSPN). The development of Lake Toba Tourism was then strengthened through Peraturan Presiden no 81 tahun 2014 concerning the development plan and development of Lake Toba tourism. Today, a tourism development village has been formed that focuses on the development of natural tourism aspects (Siregar et al., 2018). Thus, *Mangongkal Holi* can be an alternative to cultural tourism in the Lake Toba tourism area.

Cultural tourism is a part of the tourism sector that is still growing today (Timothy, 2011). A report issued by the United Nation World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) Report on Tourism and Culture Synergies (2018) shows that there is an interest in cultural tourism today not only owned by European society but has spread to all corners of the world. UNWTO survey shows that 89% of the tourism sector in various countries boasts cultural tourism as a tool to attract tourists. A survey conducted by UNWTO (2018) of 61 international tourism experts also shows an understanding that the cultural tourism sector will continue to grow until 2023. The survey results show that culture and cultural artefacts are the main attraction for tourists. Copley and Robson (1996) state that artefacts and culture strengthen the characteristics of a region. The presence of these two things in one area creates differences in experiences experienced by individuals (tourists) due to cultural differences that strengthen the perceptions of ethnicity, culture, and natural landscapes of certain regions. However, there is no consensus regarding attractiveness as the success of a tourist destination (Pearce, 1991). Some studies emphasise that facilities and infrastructure close to cultural tourism sites with an emphasis on the different experiences that can be felt by tourists are decisive for tourism attractiveness (McClymont & Prideaux, 2007; Prideaux & Kininmont, 1999).

In Indonesia, some rituals already become cultural tourism destinations for both local and foreign tourists, which then presents commodification in the ritual procession such as Ngaben, Rambu Solo and Yadnya Kasadara rites. The elements of the ritual have been modified to accommodate tourism interests without losing the essence of the ritual. Modifications in the ritual are carried out starting from facilities and infrastructure, ritual implementation schedules in order to maximize visitors, to allowing visitors to be able to participate in the practice of

the ritual (Febriani & Riyanto, 2021; Randan et al., 2019; Segara, 2020). The modification has an impact on increasing local and international tourists, thus increasing the income of both the community and the government.

These rituals have similarities with *Mangongkal Holi*, namely as rituals that are a reflection of community culture in the form of rituals that are funeral processions (Ngaben and Rambu Solo), as well as ritual locations that have aesthetic natural panoramas (Ngaben and Yadnya Kasada) When compared with Ngaben, Rambu Solo, and Yadnya Kasada, the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual has the potential to become the next cultural tourism destination in Indonesia. Therefore, this article aims to discuss the potential of *Mangongkal Holi* as a cultural tourism destination based on the ritual procession and other supporting factors surrounding this Toba Batak secondary burial ritual.

B. METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods to analyse, classify the data obtained to explain the cultural tourism potential contained in the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual procession. Qualitative research focuses on explaining and understanding how human experiences shape perspectives and how human reflections on these experiences (Jackson II et al., 2007). This research was also conducted using an ethnographic approach to describe and interpret cultural behaviour based on the narrative of cultural actors in a particular community which includes historical, geographical, political, educational perspectives, to the family system of a particular group (Wolcott, 2014).

The purpose of this research is to identify strategic steps that can be used to revitalise the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual of the Toba Batak tribe from the threat of extinction due to the unpopularity of this tradition among the young Batak generation. The research data are in the form of literature, expressions of the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual tradition, opinions of practitioners related to the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual.

The data collection technique in this article uses literature review and interviews. Literature review is used for data tracking to find out the dynamics of *Mangongkal Holi* by collecting data and information by reading reference books, scientific articles, and references from the internet regarding the discourse of rituals as tourist destinations in general and *Mangongkal Holi*. This literature study is used to make conclusions and patterns of ritual formation as a tourist destination. Meanwhile, the interview method is used to find out the current perspective of the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual actors to complement the data that has been obtained from the literature study. The informants of this research are three people including : 1) *Mangongkal Holi* experts who have participated in the ritual implementation, 2) Ritual actors involved in the initiation of the ritual, and 3) Active actors involved in the tourism sector in the Lake Toba region. The data obtained was then analysed to find the cultural tourism potential of *Mangongkal Holi* and aspects that can be commodified in the Toba Batak secondary burial ritual.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Brief History of Mangongkal Holi

Mangongkal Holi is believed to be a ritual that has been performed since the megalithic era based on the findings of a sarcophagus on Samosir Island shaped like a boat with carved head ornaments that functioned as an object of worship to obtain blessings from ancestors (Setiawan, 2009; Simatupang, 2006). This opinion is based on the function of the sarcophagus to store bones or as a mass grave in the megalithic period. The function of the sarcophagus is in line with the implementation of the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual, which places the bones of ancestors in one place en masse. However, this opinion is a weak opinion. This is due to the debate among researchers about the origin of the Toba Batak tribe.

The mention of Batak is a way used by foreign ethnographers to distinguish between Islamic and pagan societies in Sumatra and the area called Batak has changed from the east coast of Sumatra to the west coast of Sumatra, Labuhan Batu, until it was finally concentrated north of Lake Toba. In addition, there is also the assumption that the ancestors of the Toba Batak tribe came from northern China (Hidayat & Damanik, 2018; Perret, 2010; Reid, 2009; Simanjuntak, 2020). The conflicting origins of the Toba Batak tribe have one thing in common: the Toba Batak tribe is now an immigrant in the Toba Batak region. Thus, it contradicts the assumption that *Mangongkal Holi* was carried out since the megalithic era. By considering the opinion of experts ten.

The historical certainty about the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* is that the ritual has been carried out by the Toba Batak tribe during the Dutch colonial period under a different name. J.C. Vergouwen in *The Social Organisation and Customary Law of The Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra* (1964) states that the Toba Batak tribe in the colonial period carried out the ceremony of excavating bones to be moved to a higher place called horja or turun. The description of the ritual procession down is in accordance with the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* by the Toba Batak tribe today. In the Toba Batak language, the word turun can be understood as two meanings, namely a massive party and a move from a high place to a lower place. If so, the use of the term turun can be understood as a massive party to welcome the arrival of ancestral spirits based on the dominant beliefs of the Toba Batak in the colonial era.

As the dominant belief of the Toba Batak changed to Christianity, the term turun was replaced with *Mangongkal Holi*. Literally the word *Mangongkal Holi* means digging up bones. This change of term serves to change the construction of the Toba Batak community towards the implementation of rituals or in other words to eliminate the assumption that the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* is closely related to the supernatural world and offerings to the spirits of ancestors. The transformation of the name from turun to *Mangongkal Holi* cannot be separated from the influence of the church, especially the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant (HKBP) church. HKBP had banned the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* before allowing it back through synod in 1952 and regulating its implementation through synod in 1988 (Simatupang, 2006; Suh, 2001).

The transformation of *Mangongkal Holi's* name shows that this Toba Batak secondary funerary ritual is not a rigid ritual form. *Mangongkal Holi* allows changes as long as the essence of the ritual does not change, namely togetherness and respect for ancestors (Sijabat, 2003). Based on this, *Mangongkal Holi* alteration can also be directed to accommodate the needs of tourism.

2. Stages of Mangongkal Holi as Funeral Rites

Mangongkal Holi refers to the activity of excavating the primary grave of a Toba Batak individual to be moved to the secondary grave located in Bona Pasogit. Professor of the University of North Sumatra, Robert Sibarani, in an interview conducted by researchers on 1 September 2022 stated that basically *Mangongkal Holi* can be done anywhere as long as there are individual graves that are part of the Toba Batak tribe. This understanding is based on the meaning of the *Mangongkal Holi* language which means the excavation of bones. However, Sibarani states that if what is meant is a ritual then *Mangongkal Holi* must be seen as a series of rituals from the beginning of the implementation to the end of the ritual series. Sibarani's opinion is in line with Victor Turner's (1973) view that rituals are a series of activities carried out in a certain place including gestures, words, and objects that aim to fulfil the goals and interests of ritual actors.

Silalahi (2020) divides the stages of *Mangongkal Holi* ritual procession into six sections, namely *tonggo raja*, *Panangkokkhon saring-saring tu Batu na pir*, *Sulang Bao*, *Mangaliat Horbo*, *Mambuat Tua ni Godang*, and *Pesta adat na Gok*. The six stages of *Mangongkal Holi* are shown in the following table.

Table 1
Stages of *Mangongkal Holi*

No	Stages of Rites	Explanation
1	<i>Tonggo Raja</i>	A meeting attended by the hasuhuton bolon (host of the <i>Mangongkal Holi</i> ritual) to convey the plan for the ritual which was attended by elements of Dalihan na Tolu in Toba Batak culture, especially the hula-hula such as rarobot bones, hula-hula namarhahaanggi, etc.
2	<i>Panangkokkhon Saring-Saring tu Batu Na Pir</i>	the activity of moving the excavated bones from the primary grave to the batu na pir or secondary grave located at the bona pasogit marga.
3	<i>Sulang Bao</i>	The gratitude conveyed by the host or hasuhuton bolon to the hula-hula along with the delivery of turi-turi sipanganon and money.
4	<i>Mangaliat Horbo</i>	A tribute to ancestors symbolised by the slaughter

		of buffaloes. (horbo sitikko tanduk).
5	<i>Mambuat Tua ni Godang</i>	The gondang sabangunan is preceded by an opening from the pangula ni huria (priest). Hasuhuton bolon, hula-hula, and dongan sahuta may perform manortor dances to the accompaniment of gondang sabangunan.
6	<i>Pesta adat na Gok.</i>	The big party. The Dalihan na Tolu gives traditional gifts to the ritual performer.

The six stages of the *Mangongkal Holi* procession show that the implementation of the ritual cannot be separated from the *Dalihan na Tolu* relationship of the Toba Batak tribe. *Dalihan na tolu* literal meaning is a three-legged stove which is a form of traditional stove (*dalihan*) of the Toba Batak tribe (Simatupang, 2019). The three elements of *dalihan na tolu* are *dongan satubu* (the clan), *hula-hula* (wife-giving party clan), and *boru* (clan woman). It can also be seen from table 1 that ritual planning is informed through a meeting that brings together the leader or spokesperson of the implementing clan with the hula-hula. this method shows that the socialisation of *Mangongkal Holi* implementation tends to be exclusive or limited to ceremony participants only. Reporting the implementation to the church is also due to the leader of the ceremony coming from the church. based on this, the exclusivity of *Mangongkal Holi* is because the ceremony is indeed carried out for the benefit of the clan itself. Nevertheless, changes are needed to be able to become a cultural tourism destination and to attract the attention of tourists.

3. Mangongkal Holi as Funeral Tourism

The first step of change can be done by looking at the existing potential of the six stages of *Mangongkal Holi*. Potential can be determined by paying attention to the stages that can present a cultural experience for tourists. In addition, the existence of historical buildings, entertainment in the form of music or other agendas is stated to attract tourists (Kay, 2009). MacCanell (1999) states that cultural experiences can be presented through two stages: i) representations of life that are artificially presented on the stage of drama or film. MacCannell refers to the first stage as a model; and ii) Modification or transformation of the existing model to create an experience. At first glance, the two methods stated by MacCannell cannot be applied in this research because *Mangongkal Holi* does not yet have an ideal model or image in the realm of art. The existence of *Mangongkal Holi* film is more of a personal documentation or social documentation that emphasises the aspect of study rather than the discourse of humanism. However, if the model is understood not as the existence of art products but how culture or rituals can be enjoyed as a performance, the MacCannell method can be used by focusing on the stages of *Mangongkal Holi* that have the potential to be a performance that can be enjoyed by the public.

Based on the definition of each stages in *Mangongkal Holi* rites in table 1, the *Mangongkal Holi* ritual procession can be divided into two categories, namely conversation dominant activities and performance dominant activities. Tonggo Raja and Mangampu are two activities dominated by conversations or negotiations related to the plan and closing of the event. The other four stages can be categorised as stages full of performance or activities that emphasise action. Of the four stages, it was then found that one stage was carried out outside the bona pasogit, namely *Mangongkal Holi* which was carried out at domiciles or primary graves scattered in various parts of Indonesia. Considering the location of the implementation of *Mangongkal Holi* which is not reached from the Lake Toba tourist area, this stage needs to be divided into two stages, namely the excavation and burial stages. Thus, the stages of *Mangongkal Holi* that can be transformed remain four processions namely burial stages, *Sulang Bao*, *Mangaliat Horbo*, *Mambuat Tua ni Godang*, *Pesta Adat na Gok*.

Basically, rituals in Indonesia tend to be closed to outsiders who are not part of the culture. For example, the Ngaben tradition in Bali is a funeral tradition carried out by Hindus in Bali with the aim of offering to the gods which involves aspects of Balinese art and culture (Murniti & Purnomo, 2017). This can be seen through the role of gamelan which is believed to be a mandatory requirement to accompany the spirit in making the transition of life (Maulana et al., 2022).

In general, Indonesian culture has an appeal when viewed on an international scale. The attractiveness of Indonesian culture is stated to be based on the beauty of natural panoramas and the uniqueness of Indonesian culture. The perception of natural beauty and cultural uniqueness makes Indonesian culture a favoured aspect in tourism, and funerals are no exception. In addition to Ngaben rites, Rambu Solo is forms of funerals that have established their status as cultural tourism destinations. The openness of the Balinese community to outsiders during the Ngaben celebration is believed to be an attraction for the implementation of the ritual while at Rambu Solo, the aspect of ritual performance and its variations are an attraction for tourists (Gerlach, 2007; Hadriaty et al., 2023). Therefore, it can be concluded that the charm of nature and art in the implementation of funeral rituals is a mandatory requirement as a tourism potential.

As a secondary funeral ritual, *Mangongkal Holi* can be stated to have aspects of charm and natural landscape and the appeal of Toba Batak art. The natural aspect can be seen through the location of the Batak clan's Bona pasogit located around the Lake Toba region. On the other hand, *Mangongkal Holi* integrates gondang sabangunan as the music that accompanies the ritual. the role of *gondang sabangunan* is equivalent to the role of gamelan in the Ngaben rites. Although it has prerequisites in terms of artistry, there are several aspects that need attention, especially from stakeholders on the perception of the Toba Batak community regarding the existence of gondang sabangunan as a cultural heritage and tourist attraction.

The function of *gondang sabangunan* for the Toba Batak was originally as a means of connecting humans with the gods. Gondang music has a role as a symbolic element in Toba Batak rituals. This role can be seen through the

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general rule of using *gondang* games to accompany traditional dances always starting with sounds coming from the *gondang mulamula* and ending with *gondang hasahatan* (Simon, 1984). The function and role of *gondang* can be known through the word that follows after the mention of *gondang*. for example, *gondang dalam* which indicates that the composition or *gondang* game is used on the road or is moving from one place to another (Purba, 2002). In this regard, two utterances were found about the *gondang* played during the death ceremony, namely *Gondang mulamula i ma tardok patujulona na marpardomuan tu par Tuhanon*, which has literal meaning that the *gondang mulamula* is related to the public, the king's power, and divinity. While the proverb related to *gondang hasahatan* is *gondang hasatan i ma pas ni roha na ingkon sabat saut sude na pinarsinta* which is a representation of all beliefs or ideals that must be achieved. Specifically, *gondang mulamula* was originally expressed as a sign of notification of the start of an event to the spiritual world and invited guests present (Tinambunan, 2022).

The history of *gondang sabangunan* can trigger internal conflict within the Toba Batak ethnic group if it does not receive attention from stakeholders. There are three main views of the Toba Batak related to *gondang sabangunan*: i) *gondang* functions as a link between the profane world and the spiritual world; ii) *gondang sabangunan* is a cultural heritage art tool that needs to be preserved. the first view can cause conflict because there are groups that reject this view because it is believed to be contrary to the dominant monotheistic view held by the Toba Batak today. On the other hand, some social groups still believe in the archaic function of *gondang sabangunan*. Therefore, stakeholders must play an active role in reducing or uniting the view that *gondang sabangunan* in this aspect is nothing more than a cultural heritage used to attract tourists to attend the mangongkal holi rites.

Apart from that issue, Generic issues about tourism development, namely the 3 A's (attractions, amenity, and accessibility) can be applied to see the potential of *Mangongkal Holi* as funeral tourism. The use of the 3 A's concept for potential analysis is because funeral tourism is similar to other tourism sectors. The following table emphasises the 3 A aspects of *Mangongkal Holi* as funeral tourism.

Table 2
Analysis of *Mangongkal Holi*

Variable	Aspect	Indicator
Location	Accessibility	Based on Space: There are alternative tourist destinations besides Mangongkal Holi Based on transportation: There is an airport that is relatively close to the <i>Bona Pasogit</i> area
Culture	Attraction	Based on uniqueness:

		Mangongkal Holi is a secondary burial ritual that showcasing Batak customs as a whole and the exoticism of the strains displayed for visitors that present a grotesque impression.
Facilities & Infrastructures	Amenities	Based on services: There are various supporting facilities both tourist villages and premium type hotels in the Lake Toba region

4. Mangongkal Holi Commodification

The commodification of the four stages of Mangongkal Holi can be achieved through the pseudo traditional art route, which is actually a concept of developing traditional art by forming an imitation of the original form (Maquet, 1979). The positive side of using pseudo traditional art is the hope that the essence of certain traditions will not be lost or reduced (Febriani & Riyanto, 2021). In comparison, the commodification of tradition in Bali transforms products in the form of services and goods that were previously based on non-market social rules into subjects embedded with market rules (Gleick, et al., 2002). It must be recognised that commodification can eliminate the sacredness contained in tradition or culture (Segara, 2020; Febrianti & Rianto, 2021; Ermayanti et al., 2023).

Rituals or commemorations of death that involve a dimension of belief tend to be a means for ritual actors to experience catharsis or cleansing of the soul. As a death-themed ritual, Mangongkal Holi also presents this dimension. Sijabat (2003) states that women cry and wail during the excavation of saring with the aim of showing grief. The grief shown strengthens as the saring-saring is found and accompanied by the music of the *gondang sabangunan* players. This phenomenon shows that Mangongkal Holi has sacredness in its implementation. Sacredness can be understood as the formation of perceptions based on social influences based on an understanding of divinity or an understanding of reality (Evans, 2003: 32). Based on this understanding, sacredness can appear if there is a social formation of perceptions of an event that occurs naturally. If so, the preservation of Mangongkal Holi through commodification has the potential to eliminate the sacredness of the tradition, both for ritual owners and tourists who come. However, if faced with two choices between the extinction of the tradition or the reduction of the sacredness of the tradition, the researcher assumes that the reduction of sacredness is better than the extinction of the tradition.

One of the interviewees of this research, Dickson Silitonga, realised that the Mangongkal Holi ritual is not very interesting for the younger generation of Toba Batak. Silitonga is a lecturer who teaches at a campus in Jakarta and is the chief organiser of the Mangongkal Holi ritual held in July 2022. Silitonga stated that the enthusiasm of the

clan in the implementation of Mangongkal Holi is different from the enthusiasm for the implementation of other Toba Batak customs. The lack of enthusiasm of marga member for the execution of Mangongkal Holi in the long run can be a bad precedent in the preservation of traditions. Regarding the younger generation of the Toba Batak, Silitonga's opinion is expressed as follows:

"I see that it is a bit difficult for us to bring them into this traditional event, which they think is too boring and takes time. Nowadays, they want something simple. But as Batak people we have to be able to involve them. Like me, who did not understand at first, if we don't see it, I'm sure, those Batak people who have never seen it are difficult. I myself understand adat by getting used to seeing and participating in traditional events. It is difficult to invite them, so we must occasionally invite them to see traditional events. So they can know, there is something interesting about this traditional event. Not to mention that there is the influence of certain parties who provoke that this is not in accordance with the teachings, so yes, as parents we must take them to the traditional event so that they do not one-sidedly, like the teachings of charismatics, for example, do not fully enter but they can see. Unfortunately, many of our people cannot bring him. And secondly, the influence from outside is so great. Whereas we also need to utilise young people, because in Batak culture there are also many Batak philosophies that they need to understand." (Interview with Dickson Silitonga)

A similar view was also expressed by Mangongkal Holi expert Charles David Marudut Silalahi. Silalahi is a lecturer at the Methodist University of Medan who pursued his doctoral studies at the University of North Sumatra Medan with research on oral tradition of Mangongkal Holi. Silalahi stated that currently the Mangongkal Holi tradition is rarely found when compared to the previous period. The main reason for the lack of implementation is the cost and complexity of planning compared to other Toba Batak traditions. Silalahi stated that apart from the polemics of religious perspectives and beliefs in the implementation of Mangongkal Holi, the Toba Batak tribe should place more emphasis on other functions of Mangongkal Holi such as the efficiency of burial land through the implementation of this secondary Toba Batak burial ritual.

In line with Silalahi and Silitonga, Mangongkal Holi practitioner, Andries Sibarani, in an interview with researchers on 21 June 2023 stated that access and costs to Lake Toba are the main obstacles to the lack of execution of Mangongkal Holi. Sibarani stated that there is a discourse among the Toba Batak tribe with a diaspora in Jakarta to move their parents' graves to Jakarta from the village. This transfer aims to be time and cost efficient in carrying out the pilgrimage.

The current enthusiasm of the Toba Batak tribe for Mangongkal Holi is inversely proportional to the response of tourists who come to the Lake Toba tourist area. Toba Batak tourism practitioner Annette Horschmann stated that Mangongkal Holi needs to be preserved and regretted that this secondary Toba Batak burial ritual was abandoned by the Toba Batak tribe, especially those overseas. Anette comes from Germany who later became part of the Silalahi

clan through marriage and has undergone the traditional Toba Batak wedding procession. As a Batakised individual, Anette was also repulsed by the implementation of Mangongkal Holi. However, after discovering the value contained in Mangongkal Holi, Anette participated in the Batak traditional procession. Foreign travellers' responses to Mangongkal Holi were stated by Anette as follows:

"I also saw them inviting guests several times and they were willing to invite guests to attend this ritual. But I instruct the travellers to give an envelope to the host of the ritual. There's no way we can attend, eat, and then go home. Although I think that's a bit difficult to plan. Because mangongkal holi has not been registered with this agency. Maybe if the party is registered with the tourism office, we can plan ahead. It's a bit funny, we know the party but the tourism department doesn't know that there is a party in a location. I think Mangongkal Holi can be formed like rituals in other customs, I often bring guests (tourists) and do manortor. Most of them are happy." (Interview with Anette Horschmann)

Through Anette's statement, we can find the advantages and disadvantages of the implementation of Mangongkal Holi in terms of tourism so far. First, tourists have an interest in getting involved and experiencing how Toba Batak cultural life is through the implementation of rituals. Second, the relationship between tourists and the host of Mangongkal Holi is symbiotic mutualism. Tourists get the experience of doing Toba Batak culture, while the host gets a thank you in the form of money. These two factors show that by involving tourists, especially foreigners, Mangongkal Holi is not only consumptive for the Toba Batak tribe but can be a mode of economic production. On the other hand, the implementation of Mangongkal Holi today has weaknesses, especially in terms of time organisation and implementation socialisation. So that tourism practitioners find it difficult to make plans so that the tourist experience in living a typical Toba Batak cultural life is maximised. There is a need for synergy from the local Tourism Office with practitioners, and traditional elders in the Lake Toba tourism area to maximise Mangongkal Holi as a cultural production.

The second weakness of the Mangongkal Holi ritual procession is the ritual itself. So far, Mangongkal Holi can be performed when the corpse has turned into bones or what is often referred to as saring-saring. Silalahi stated that the process of decomposing the corpse to become saring-saring takes at least five to eight years depending on the soil moisture in the primary grave. With such a procession, the implementation of Mangongkal Holi depends on whether or not there are bodies that have turned into saring-saring and there is an initiative from the family and clan to perform the ritual. This method risks the intensity or frequency of implementation which cannot be determined. This is certainly different from the implementation of the Yadnya Kasada ceremony, for example, which has a fixed agenda every year, namely on the 14th day of the Kasada month. So that both tourists and tourism practitioners can schedule activities. Based on this, the researcher argues that the pseudo traditional art process is used to anticipate problems that arise due to the

lack of frequency of Mangongkal Holi. It is important to emphasize that the commodification of mangongkal holi as a cultural tourist destination does not only bring positive impacts but can also have a negative impact on Toba Batak culture. The commodification of culture as a tourist destination is stated to deflate the meaning of culture as a means of gaining profit so that the sacredness of culture is reduced (Nurhadi et al., 2022). In addition, the success of commodification can lead to social conflicts due to the interaction of local residents, government, and tourists not working properly (Indrianto, 2005). Nevertheless, the risk of commodification is still better than the existence of Mangongkal Holi which is continuously eroded by modernity.

The endangered existence of Mangongkal Holi for the Toba Batak tribe can be seen through a survey conducted by researchers on 56 Toba Bataks who have a diaspora in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi (Jabodetabek). From the survey, researchers found the following data.

Table 3

Toba Batak Jabodetabek knowledge of *Mangongkal Holi*

Aspect	Number of Respondence	Percentage
Know rites	46	82,1
Did not know Rites	10	17,9
Total	56	100

Table 4

Toba Batak Jabodetabek understanding of *Mangongkal Holi*

Aspect	Number of Respondence	Percentage
Understands the rites	12	21,4
Did not understand the rites	44	78,6
Total	56	100

The attention of the Toba Batak Diaspora to Mangongkal Holi can be stated minimally Table 3 shows that 82.1 percent of respondents stated that they had heard of Mangongkal Holi. However, only 21.4 percent of respondents claimed to understand the implementation of the Toba Batak secondary funeral ritual as shown in Table 4.

The attention of the Toba Batak Diaspora to Mangongkal Holi can be stated minimally Table 3 shows that 82.1 percent of respondents stated that they had heard of Mangongkal Holi. However, only 21.4 percent of respondents claimed to understand the implementation of the Toba Batak secondary funeral ritual as shown in Table 4. Thus it can be stated that urban life in Jabodetabek and

lack of involvement in the Mangongkal Holi ritual are the main causes of the Jabodetabek Toba Batak's lack of understanding. Although this survey is limited to Jabodetabek, it does not rule out the possibility that the Toba Batak diaspora in other areas has similar conditions. If so, the commodification of Mangongkal Holi can be stated as an urgent thing to do.

5. Recommendation for Promoting *Mangongkal Holi* rites

A workshop held in Australia in 1995 by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) produced one of the most significant concepts on cultural landscapes, which can take the form of anything that encompasses the human senses: visual (sight), acoustic (sound), kinetic (dance or movement), and fragrance (Akagawa & Siririsak, 2008). The interrelationship of the senses in determining the cultural landscape is based on a discussion about the possibility of not detecting great values that are associations of religious, artistic, or cultural values if the cultural landscape is only based on the physical aspects of culture. The physical aspects of culture include archaeological evidence, architectural monuments, and religious relics. If cultural landscapes are defined through the historical value of the past, it may lead to the reduction or elimination of other forms of landscapes that are not fixed in form such as art. In addition, the definition of cultural landscape that only includes the physical aspects of culture limits the cultural landscape to only historical objects. Thus, only sarcophagi and relics of the relics fall into the category of cultural landscape while monuments, which are a new architectural form in the Toba Batak tribe, fall outside this category.

In addition to the monument that functions as a cultural landscape, Lake Toba can also act as a supporting factor for the commodification of Mangongkal Holi. Another supporting factor is the existence of both natural and artificial tourist attractions in the area around the bona pasogit marga centred on the Lake Toba region. Lake Toba natural tourism was formed from volcanic activity which was later designated by UNESCO as a geopark (Widhijanto & Tisnaniqtyas, 2018). In addition to the geopark, the Lake Toba area is also a source of inspiration for various myths in the Batak community.

Myths or folklore can be processed as the basis of tourist areas and Batak myths such as Folklor and the relics of Sisingamaraja have the potential to become new tourist destinations (Amanat, 2019; Hutahuruk et al., 2023). If so, the Mangongkal Holi myth can also develop its tourism base through myths, especially about the sianjur mulana myth which is often associated with the formation of perceptions of the importance of bona pasogit for the Toba Batak tribe (Tobing, 2021). The last supporting factor is the existence of tourist villages that have been developed by the government to support the revitalisation programme of the Lake Toba National Tourism Strategic Area.

Everything mentioned above is an aspect that needs to be synergized in order to maximize the potential of mangongkal holi as a tourist destination. For this reason, researchers argue that the local government must play an active role as a mediator as well as an initiator in promoting mangongkal holi as a tourist attraction. The mediator role of the local government is needed to bridge the opinions of the Batak toba clans. It cannot be denied that there is

competition within the Toba Batak clans to represent themselves as clans that have world success in line with the Toba Batak worldview. However, the development of today's world requires ethnic collectivity to survive the onslaught of globalization on culture.

As the initiator, the local government needs to meet with the heads of each Batak clan to examine the possibility of holding Mangongkal Holi simultaneously at least on a regular basis. So far, Mangongkal Holi has been carried out without provisions for implementation and massive socialization outside the implementing clan due to the exclusive nature of the ritual. The success of the local government in organizing meetings and reaching agreements has a major impact on the commodification of Mangongkal Holi as a cultural tourism destination.

The next step to take is to improve facilities and infrastructure, road access, and create a tourism map that tourists can visit. The government can use Toba Batak myths and folklore as material to create drama performances that serve as an entrance for tourists to understand the Mangongkal Holi ritual. Besides that, Tambak or the clan's communal grave can act as a museum. The role as a museum presents the impression that Tambak needs to be modified to be able to provide clan history for tourists. Thus, tourists who attend not only visit a culture but feel involved in it. The hope is that tourists can receive the impression that each implementation of mangongkal holi is able to present different feelings.

D. CONCLUSIONS

The *Mangongkal Holi* ritual has the potential as a cultural tourism destination. To be able to fulfil its potential as a cultural tourist destination, Mangongkal Holi requires transformation both in terms of implementation to accommodate tourism interests. *Mangongkal Holi* must be able to change the rules that previously referred to customary law to be changed into the mindset of the tourism industry so as to maximise the experience of experiencing Toba Batak culture for tourists. The cultural tourism potential of *Mangongkal Holi* can be presented through imitation of the atmosphere of ritual implementation in the form of a festival so that it can attract the attention of foreign tourists. The strategic location of *Mangongkal Holi* in *Bona Pasogit* is the main supporting factor for the commodification process of this Toba Batak burial ritual. However, the impact of commodification is the reduction of ritual sacredness so that there needs to be a commodification strategy to overcome the reduction of sacredness.

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