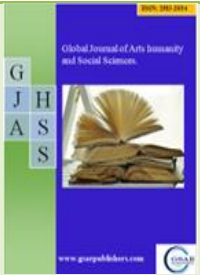
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ETHNIC TOURISM: AND TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES OF THE TOBA BATAK COMMUNITY IN NORTH SUMATRA

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Abstract

This study aims to track and reveal Ethnic Tourism and Traditional Ceremonies of the Toba Batak Community. It is quite interesting that ethnic tourism, where the main attraction is the exotic culture of the local population and its various artifacts (music, dance) is a special case that is interesting for looking at various ethnic relations, and furthermore, advantageously, can be analyzed as ethnic relations. The method used in this research is a qualitative method involving descriptive analysis. The theories used for analysis are tourism theory, commodification theory, and change theory. The research results show that the church supports performances that aim to broadcast religion to the public, not for tourism purposes. On the other hand, it is in the government's interest to stimulate activities of traditional ceremonies, not only for tourism purposes but also as an effort to preserve and develop their cultural identity. The Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony presented in a tourism context has reflected the complexity and ambiguity in the efforts and reconstruction of the ethnic and cultural identity of the Batak people in the midst of a situation where traditions and inter-ethnic relations continue to change.

Keywords: Tourism, ethnicity, traditional ceremonies, Toba Batak

INTRODUCTION

The characteristics that characterize ethnic tourism are tourism where the exoticism of the ethnic group is sought. Or in other words, the main attraction is the "native" population. More importantly in ethnic tourism, the native is not only in place to serve the needs of tourists, but becomes part of the performance, a living spectacle that is observed, photographed, recorded, and interacted with in various specific ways.

This article describes a process of presenting ethnic tourism in the Nias Batak community, as well as its impact on the implementation of traditional ceremonies of the Toba Batak community. The main topic of discussion in this article is how tourism helps revive the practice of Toba Batak traditional ceremonies, especially ceremonies related to native beliefs which are increasingly diminishing and disappearing in the contemporary life of the Toba Batak people.

The Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony or buffalo slaughter sacrifice ceremony, which is also called Gondang Mandudu. The ceremony is held for four days every August. What was unusual

about holding this ceremony was when the ceremony was initiated by the Indonesian Government for a festival called "Lake Toba Festival XII." The festival was in accordance with the tourism program that was being implemented at that time, Visit Indonesia Years 1991. Therefore, the context of the event above was clearly related to tourism promotion and the desire to attract the interest of tourists to visit that location. This is a common way to promote tourism. A tourist attraction is anything that attracts tourists to come to a particular area with the characteristics and uniqueness of each region.

This article discusses how Toba Batak traditional ceremonies are being attempted again to place the Batak ethnic (especially Toba Batak) in its existence as one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia, and more broadly, within the framework of the national culture of Indonesian society. The discussion will focus on the involvement of the Indonesian government in sponsoring the ceremony, based on tourism needs, which has influenced the responses and attitudes of members of the Toba Batak community who are involved in displaying their culture and ethnic existence. Efforts to present the ceremony within the framework of Indonesian culture influenced



and in some cases, changed the essence of the ceremony from its actual context to a tourism context. Apart from that, it will analyze how tourism promotion has given rise to conflicts among the communities involved in it, especially in determining which party has the authority to carry out each activity and has the right to make decisions, which will be linked to the issue of power.

Controversy (pros and cons), some people support it, others reject it. (Yuwono, 2014, p. vi). Controversy is a difference of opinion or conflict due to different opinions or judgments. Each of these differences has a strong foundation (Aizid, 2014, p. 6). Starting from this understanding, what is meant by controversy in this article is differences in views regarding a thought, speech, and action that is being discussed, namely the commodification of the Horbo Lae-Lae mangalahat in relation to tourism.

The term commodification is new and is starting to become known to social scientists. Commodification is a capitalist strategy to perpetuate its intention to accumulate capital. Capitalists change the use value of an item into exchange value. Commodification, as Adorno said, does not only occur in consumer goods but also occurs in the fields of art and culture. Capitalists make culture obey the commodity laws of capitalism (Amir Piliang, 2012, p. 87). Today, commodification has penetrated all aspects of human life. Something that was previously untouched by money and markets, but has now become a commodity, including culture. Culture that is not related to commodities, in fact, must be sterile from commodities, has now become a commodity (Amir Piliang, 2012; Ibrahim & Akhmad, 2014). Likewise, Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae was originally related to the original belief of the Toba Batak people for offerings to supernatural spirits controlled by anesthesia.

Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae is not only known as a traditional ceremony but has the flexibility to always be adapted to various presentation temperaments. This presentation is nothing more than an effort to preserve and develop which leads to change. Change cannot be rejected, because change is the main characteristic of society and culture. There is no society and the culture it supports that does not change, everything changes according to changing natural and social conditions. Changes can be evolutionary or revolutionary (Sairin, 2002, p. 19).

Tourism in Indonesia: The Case of Toba Batak

The tourism industry in Indonesia is one of the centers of government attention which is expected to be an aspect of efforts to increase the country's foreign exchange. The cultural diversity of the archipelago is a major potential in attracting the attention of visitors. Since the New Order era in 1966, tourism began to receive intensive attention by being included in the program agenda for improving and developing the Indonesian economy. The aim is to spread employment opportunities for Indonesian people and introduce Indonesian ethnic culture to the outside world. The interests of this National program have been formally stated in the 5th Five Year Development Plan (Repelita V) and in the 1988 State Policy Guidelines which state that the aim of tourism is to promote and develop Indonesian National culture.

Domestic tourism continues to be developed and directed at fostering a feeling of love for the homeland and nation as well as strengthening national unity and unity. In addition to increasing economic activity. Efforts to foster and develop domestic tourism are also aimed at improving the quality of the nation's culture, introducing the richness of historical heritage and natural beauty, including maritime nature, in various regions in remote areas of the country. ((Majelis Permusyawarana Rakyat (MPR), 1988, p. 137)).

The existence of programs and the implementation of tourism activities have been prioritized, especially to attract and attract international tourists. The development of tourism activities has apparently had an impact on the attitudes and cultural behavior of the Indonesian people themselves. The impact of tourism activities in Indonesia, especially those related to international tourism. (Yoeti, 2006, p. 256) explains that tourist attractions are divided into four parts, namely (1) natural tourist attractions including natural views, sea, beaches, and other natural views. (2) tourist attractions in the form of buildings which include historical objects, monuments, archaeological remains, golf courses, shops, and other shopping places, (3) cultural tourist attractions in the form of history, religion, art, theater, entertainment, and museums. (4) social tourism attractions which include the local community's way of life, language, community social activities, community facilities, and services.

After Indonesian independence, the Batak area continued to be an important place for tourism. Samosir Island, which is surrounded by Lake Toba, is a strategic place for tourism. Moreover, in this area, there are several places that are historically very important and are believed to be the origins of Batak culture, including the presence of historical elements that still exist, such as traditional house buildings, handicrafts, weaving, and also traditional music. These tourism activities have an impact on the community. One of the impacts of tourism on Batak life and culture. The tourism sector is one of the mainstays that can generate foreign exchange for the country and region. (Pitana, 2005:40). Through the expenditure used by tourists at their destination, people's income increases. Another benefit that can be obtained through tourism is income distribution. Through the spread of destinations, tourist spending will spread according to existing destinations. (Prasiasa 2013:10). The benefits obtained through tourism are so great that each regional government is competing to promote tourism in its region.

Since 1979, the Indonesian government has organized the annual Lake Toba Festival. This activity is a cultural festival, especially Batak culture, including traditional music, art, and dance performances from the six existing Batak sub-ethnic groups. Definitely, this activity is carried out to attract international (foreign) tourists as well as domestic tourists. Furthermore, the aim of this festival is to stimulate ideas about the cultural traditions of the six sub-ethnic groups. Recently, various tourism attractions have been promoted to develop an area into a tourist destination.

Recreational and competitive sports activities, traditional fashion shows, and handicraft exhibitions, including cultural performances from ethnic groups outside North Sumatra, for example, Minangkabau and Aceh as well as Indonesian popular music performances, the majority of which are performed by artists from the capital city, is also part of the performing arts displayed.

Efforts to promote ceremonies and rituals related to indigenous Batak beliefs as part of tourism attractions in the last two decades have begun to be noticed. However, the ceremonies displayed are not complete. For example, at the Huta Bolon museum, since the 1980s, a short performance (approximately half an hour) has been displayed in a tourism performance package which shows footage of a buffalo slaughter accompanied by music and dance taken from the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ritual series (sacrificing a buffalo). However, the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-lae or Gondang Mandudu carried out in Limbong village on Samosir Island this time is the first attempt to present a complete Toba Batak traditional religious series as part of a tourism attraction.

Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae and Gondang Mandudu: Historical Background

In the pre-Christian era, ritual activities and ceremonies in the Toba Batak community were always related to their original beliefs. Although since the 1980s some Batak people have embraced Christianity, many Batak Christians still carry out rituals that are still closely related to their traditional beliefs. Especially on Samosir Island, there are several old rituals and ceremonies that are still carried out. But restrictions on the part of the church caused many traditional elements and meanings of the ceremony to be simplified and eliminated.

Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae is an animal slaughter ceremony that is closely related to the original Toba Batak beliefs. This ceremony is a buffalo slaughter ceremony for offerings to supernatural spirits carried out by community groups in one village, or a particular family group, which is usually held over several days. In the context of this tradition, animal slaughter is controlled by Bius, namely the organization or group that regulates its implementation.

The community of Bius sacrificial offerings is built from generation to generation at a level that is directed towards what can be called the ritual integration of the community within each territory.... The involvement of Bius in various ceremonies... for example, to carry out a sacrificial ceremony whether an ox, buffalo, or horse is slaughtered: a group from a particular clan/clan must request permission from the sub-group component of the overall Bius where the community is grouped.

The first thing to do in the ceremonial activity at the slaughter of the buffalo is Mangelek Namartua Pusuk Buhit, which means asking for permission and blessing from the highest supernatural authority, Mula Jadi Nabolon (The Great Origin), and the supernatural spirits who live around the peak of Pusuk Buhit. According to Toba Batak belief, the name was king Uti. The Toba Batak people believe that Pusuk Buhit is the birthplace of their first ancestors. Many of them think that Pusuk Buhit is the place where the sombaon (spirits that control certain places) reside. They often

make offerings such as sacrificing goats or sometimes chickens and various other foods to these supernatural spirits.

The buffalo slaughter ceremony is carried out in the middle of the yard of the house. However, previously several activities were carried out which were usually held in the main house since the morning. This activity involves the Suhut (host) giving offerings to the musicians, as well as to the people whose job it is to look for wood and leaves to make borotan (a piece of wood decorated with leaves) to make boratan which is staked where the buffalo is tethered.

Another main part of this ceremony is the ritual activity which involves playing music or reciting poetry at night. Through this activity, the musician acts as a mediator who connects the person carrying out the ceremony with the supernatural spirits who will be summoned. The type of music they play in offering ceremonies varies depending specifically on the main purpose of the ceremony. One example is Gondang Mandudu. Gondang Mandudu is a collection of reports exclusively played for Mula Jadi Nabolon (the great origin) and his representative Raja Uti. This gondang is believed by the Batak people to be the gondang of their God. Gondang Mandudu consists of two parts; first, Gondang Dudu Borngin or "evening dudu", which is played to invite supernatural spirits to come dance in the middle of the ceremony, and second, Gondang Dudu Tiar Ni Ari or "Morning Dudu" which is played to usher in the spirits return to its original place.

The term Mandudu means the investigation ceremony at the New Year celebration. The buffalo sacrifice was a sign for the following year. Sometimes the term Mandudu is called Mandundang, which means the ceremony of guiding buffalo with drumming to obtain the desired omen. Literally means to make noise, to wake up.

In Mandudu ceremonies humans participate in the re-creation of the world. They took the initiative by organizing the ceremonies that were so necessary for its re-creation and actively handed over the buffalo by beating drums to produce the desired sign. Humans actively cause and discover the future through Collaboration with God. The omens given by the buffalo are considered to be the meaning given to humans and determine the future of the middle world.

Due to the traditional context of the Toba Batak community, when Gondang Dudu is played, everyone must sit and listen quietly without doing other activities. At that time the music played must be in a dark atmosphere, without lighting. This music is intended only for supernatural spirits so that they want to dance in the middle of the ceremony. Sometimes, there are one or two people who are entered by these supernatural spirits. After the musician plays the gondang mandudu, the people involved in the ceremony will pay attention to the buffalo placed in the cage to see which direction the buffalo's body is facing. The Toba Batak people believe that if the buffalo is positioned to the East or facing the direction of the rising sun, supernatural spirits will descend and dance in the middle of the ceremony. This situation could mean bad luck for those holding the ceremony.

The ceremony is usually continued with Manortor Hasuhutan (a dance by a group of hosts). At this time the people involved dance according to their role and position in the ceremonial structure. The reportage played is different from the Gondang Mandudu reportage which is played to summon supernatural spirits. This Manortor event is the final part of the first night of the ceremony. The ceremony continued the next day by playing the music Gondang Mandudu Tiar Ni Ari (played in the morning at 05.00 am. At that time, only musicians went to the ceremony venue. The rest of the community remained at home. The music report played was the same as the report "Gondang Dudu Evening", only this time it is intended to accompany supernatural spirits back to their place.

The tethering and slaughtering of the sacrificial buffalo is the most important dynamic event of the ceremony. Usually, this is done the next day, morning to evening. The sacrificial ceremony was held in the middle of the courtyard, where the community gathered to witness the slaughter of the buffalo. The buffalo slaughter event is carried out with musical accompaniment from the pen to the place where the buffalo will be tethered. A certain number of people led the buffalo around the tether seven times. Then one of those tasked with killing the buffalo came forward. Using a spear made of sharpened bamboo, he made the buffalo die on the spot. The spearman (pamantom) took his spear and asked the people whether he should stab the buffalo. He then repeated his question three times... finally the people answered enthusiastically. "Spear" and the spearman stabbed the animal being sacrificed accompanied by applause and cheers from the community.

After the buffalo was killed, the people present returned to their homes, leaving the sacrificed buffalo under the guard of a group of people on duty all night. The Toba Batak people believe that the supernatural spirits they summon will enjoy the buffalo all night before the buffalo is distributed throughout the community. Usually the next day the community continues the ceremony by distributing buffalo meat. All the people present, such as Bius representatives, Datu, musicians, Suhut (host), and guests will receive a part according to their role in the ceremony. This ceremony is the final part of the main ceremony.

Ethnic Tourism: Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae in the Tourism Context

Implementation of the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony as a tourism attraction, with the presence of several tourists as spectators and government representatives as part of the host, the ceremony, meaning, and other customs of the ceremony in the traditional context. Below is the impact of tourism on the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony held in Limbong Sagala village.

The Role of the Mediator: Elaboration of Myth

This buffalo sacrifice ceremony as a tourist attraction was sponsored by PT (Limited Liability Company) Pahuta Danau Toba. PT. Pahuta is a foundation consisting of Batak people who hold quite important government positions in North Sumatra. This foundation aims to manage the potential of the area which includes Lake Toba and its surroundings, to develop it into a representative

tourist destination. The focus of its activities is to explore, preserve, and develop traditional Toba Batak arts and culture.

The idea to revive and hold the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony was generally proposed by PR. Limbong and RMK Limbong to PT. Pahuta as the organizer of the Lake Toba party both come from the Limbong Samosir area. This is because the Indonesian government encourages cultural attractions for tourism purposes, PR. Limbing and RMK Limbong along with PT. Pahuta proposed this ceremony as one of the attractions for the XII Lake Toba Festival. Three months before the ceremony started, they made various preparations. Because the sacrificial buffalo slaughter ceremony, especially the Gondang Mandudu ceremony, is rarely carried out, not too many Batak people still remember the ceremonial procedure. Except for people who are old and still have ties to their traditional ceremonies. For this reason, PR Limbong and RMK Limbong began collecting information about how to carry out the ceremony by interviewing elderly people from the village. They also collect stories or myths that have developed regarding the village.

An attempt to make the area attractive as a location of choice, not only for tourists, but also more importantly for the government, is to elaborate on the myth about the origins of Limbong Village. PR Limbong and RMK Limbong proposed a myth about the ancestors of the Siregar clan who married women from Limbong village. This myth starts from the story about the origins of the Batak people to the descendants of the Siregar clan, who were also instrumental in building an important water fountain in the village. And according to mythology, it has seven flavors. PR Limbong and RMK Limbing elaborated on this myth by concluding that the Siregar clan were the most loved and respected sons-in-law.

There are at least two targets in elaborating this myth. First, the myth presents Limbong village as an important place for tourism purposes, because of its specialty as the place of origin of the Batak people. Second, this myth was used by the two Limbongs to invite Governor Raja Inal Siregar to be part of Suhut who hosted the ceremony. The elaboration of this myth was carried out to influence Governor Rja Inal Siregar, who is actually from the Angkola tribe (a subclan that is different from the Toba Batak), to be involved as one of the hosts in the ceremony. And apparently, this method was successful in getting the Governor to pay a visit as part of the Suhut (host).

The elaboration of this myth can also be linked to the motto that developed among the people of North Sumatra which was promoted by Raja Inal Siregar himself, namely marsipatureforestabe which means mutually improving each other's hometown. Apart from that, this motto is used to encourage and urge Batak people who have moved to big cities and are successful in educational and economic life to pay attention to and develop the villages where they come from (Usman Pelly 1994: 291-306). Thus, it is hoped that emphasizing the importance of the Siregar clan in Limbong village will strengthen the Governor's desire to promote the ceremony as a tourism attraction.

Changes in the Structure and Course of the Ceremony



During the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony, it was shown that the Toba Batak people involved had modified the ceremony into a kind of theatrical performance. The main attraction is the Limbong people who are holding their traditional ceremonies. This is one of the characteristics of ethnic tourism/tourism. The local community is an important part of this exotic and authentic event. These theatrical characteristics are especially visible at nighttime Gondang Mandudu events and buffalo slaughter ceremonies, which are often attended by tourists and the government, ceremony supporters/performers, and Limbong village residents involved in the ceremony. There is a place specially built for visitors, tourists, and government people to sit on benches and watch the whole event, although sometimes representatives of the government are invited to dance together and be involved in some parts of the ceremony. Several local residents involved commented that in fact, previously the organizing committee had carried out a kind of rehearsal regarding the event. Apart from that, throughout the event, PR Limbong as the host of the event emphasized the idea of showcasing Batak culture in his speech.

In the context of this tourist performance, PR Limbong uses Batak Toba language and Indonesian alternately, so that the ceremony can be followed and understood by all visitors. The organizing committee also provided a synopsis distributed to visitors written in two languages, namely Indonesian and English. It seemed that the television crew and journalists were busy covering the show. All expenditure funds are supported by the government, in this case PT. Pahuta, both to buy buffalo and to make special uniform costumes for the village people involved.

During the preparation and timing of the performance, there appeared to be conflict within the group of people involved. According to sources PT. Pahuta, initially the plan for this performance was rejected by the church authorities in the Limbong area. PT Pahuta was forced to negotiate repeatedly with the church and the village community there. By emphasizing the importance of promoting tourist destinations and showcasing Batak culture, the ceremony was finally allowed to take place,

Since this ceremony is held in Limbong village, it is also related to the aim of getting blessings for the surrounding village area (traditionally this is the responsibility of the village through the Bius ritual). Suhut (host) should also be the entire village community represented by the Bius king. Then the king anesthet should have the task of controlling the ceremony. However, in this ceremony the role of Bius is ambiguous; all decisions are taken by PR. Limbong and RMK Limbong. However, most of them question whether the ceremony is still valid in its actual context. This ambiguity was also reflected when a group of journalists asked the Bius kings about their role. They are unable to give a clear answer.

In the process of carrying out the ceremony itself, there are several parts that have changed with the assumption that these parts are less attractive to visitors. For example, in the ritual section of Gondang Mandudu. Various music reports that were supposed to be performed in the dark were planned not to be performed without

lighting. This is clearly very contrary to the meaning of the context in which it must actually be implemented. As a result, a debate arose between the dedication committee and the village people regarding how to display this part. In the end, it was decided that the ritual would still be carried out in the dark, with the note that the duration of the ritual would be shortened for the convenience of tourists and other outsiders.

Another change relates to the sequence of performances part of the Manortor Husuhutan event (dancing performed by the host) which was supposed to take place after Gondang Mandudu, which was replaced with the Batak Opera performance ceremony which is a traveling theater performance found in the Toba Batak community. This part of course never occurs in the traditional ceremonial activities of the Toba Batak people. Toba Batak Opera is a form of performing art that is almost extinct, only performed in a secular/entertainment context. This is related to the committee's efforts to present Batak opera as part of their "cultural performance" and efforts to show concern for the empowerment of Toba Batak culture which should be preserved.

The changes that occur at the climax event, namely the slaughter/sacrifice of the buffalo. The panantom (spearman) is supposed to kill the buffalo as an offering. In the traditional context, buffalo are even speared to death, but only speared three times. The spearman seems to focus more on his dance (the way he dances) when spearing. This was apparently done to avoid the stereotype of the Batak people being rude and even "cannibals." The sacrifice of the buffalo on the bollard is an example/prototype of the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus on the cross. The sacrifice of the Lord Jesus on the cross has similarities with the sacrifice of a buffalo on a mooring pole (borotan). The shedding of blood from each sacrificial eye aims to erase the sins of the world and provide a new resurrection for the earth and humans (Anonim, 2013, p. 57).

Catholics accept the Mangalahat ritual performance as preparation for good news, preparation for the Gospel, and not as an attraction for visiting Samosir Island. It is true what Bourdiu said, there are as many interests as there are values to be maximized, and as many arenas as are available (Jenkins, 2004, p. 128). There are many interests in the Mangalahat performance, the government has an interest in promoting tourism, the drug king has an interest in recognizing power, while the Catholic church has an interest in broadcasting religion. From this explanation, it can be understood that the Mangalahat ritual performances carried out on Samosir Island have different purposes.

In a traditional ceremony, after the buffalo is killed, the ceremony participants leave the buffalo's body overnight so that the spirits they invite enjoy the buffalo first before the next day, the meat is distributed to the entire community. In this ceremony for tourists and the government, the next day the buffalo is slaughtered in the Islamic way, namely in the Mambagi Jambar ceremony (meat distribution). PR Limbong explained to the residents that this method of slaughter was carried out because they were going to send the meat to the Governor and the Minister was not present.

Signs of Ethnicity: Emphasis on Exoticism



One example of this emphasis on ethnic signs can be seen from their efforts to "exaggerate" or reinterpret the importance of the number three in the Batak Toba cultural concept which always appears in their socioreligious meaning. For example, by adopting the concept of Dalihan Na Tolu, which is the Toba Batak social hierarchical structure, based on three sub-groups, namely hula-hula (wife givers), anak boru (wife recipients) and dongan sabutoha (people who come from the same stomach/womb). the same), which is the basis of social interaction. In addition, they believe in the "trinity" namely the Supreme God, Mula Jadi Nabalon (Great Origin), manifesting itself in three supernatural figures, namely Batara Guru, Soripada, and Mangala Bulan. In traditional beliefs, the Toba Batak people also believe that there are three regions of the world that are considered religiously important, namely banua toru (underworld), banua tonga (middle world), and banua ginjang (upper world).

Belief in the religious symbol "three" in Toba Batak mythology has been re-emphasized in many aspects of the ceremony as a symbolic sign of their religious and cultural identity. For the context of this ceremony, the Toba Batak people involved in the event were deliberately grouped into three sections based on the use of costumes. The costumes are distinguished by the three most important colors in their beliefs, namely black, white, and red. The three datu (saman) and the group of musicians are dressed in different clothes based on the colors above. To add to the exotic appearance of the village people involved, they add leaf accessories to their heads, white streaks to their faces, and so on. This kind of thing is never encountered in the context of their traditional ceremonies.

One phenomenon that seems strange is the placement of three datu or shamans at the same time in the ceremony. This is not common in the context of traditional Toba Batak ceremonies. In the traditional concept, the involvement of several datu in preparation and implementation does exist, but their functions and duties are separate in handling certain sub-rituals. The appearance of the three datu (shamans) was to make the ceremony look more sacred.

Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious Identity of the Toba Batak People in the Context of Indonesian Culture

The initiator of the ceremony was the Indonesian government, represented by the Minister of Forestry, Hasyrul Harahap at that time, and the Governor of North Sumatra, Raja Inal Siregar. Both of them come from one of the Batak, Angkola, and Muslim sub-ethnicities. The presence of the two government figures shows a tendency to emphasize Batak ethnic identity in a more inclusive manner (exclusively Batak is often meant to refer only to Toba Batak people). Interestingly, as implied in their speeches, the Minister and Governor also positioned themselves as part of the Batak people who want to preserve Batak culture and the environment.

Throughout the ceremony, the Toba Batak people displayed their Batak ethnic and cultural identity as one unit in the multi-ethnic context of Indonesian culture and society. This concept is illustrated by the prayers and explanations delivered by the

parsinabul (host) throughout the ceremony. In talks and prayers, he repeated several times the purpose of the ceremony to showcase the culture of the Batak ethnic group as part of the Indonesian nation.

The invocation mentioned by the parsinabul (host of the event) implicitly indicated that the Toba Batak people, especially those involved in the ceremony, wanted to reunite the six sub-ethnic groups under the Batak ethnic identity. They also emphasized the idea of presenting Toba Batak cultural identity in the context of the complex identity of Indonesian society. The speech above, which emphasizes the Indonesian nation's culture of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, is a general illustration of the discourse of Indonesian nationalism, and of course, is never found in the context of traditional ceremonies. Here we can see that the Batak people wish to redefine their cultural identity in the broader context of Indonesian national culture, based on Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

It is interesting to note that the Toba Batak people also want to display the existence of their traditional beliefs among Indonesian national culture. This desire can be seen from the way they re-emphasize the importance of the number "three". For example, the words spoken loudly by one of the datu/saman in front of the visitors were that basically there are three names of God in the world, namely Muhammad (Islam), His Majesty Jesus Christ (Christian), Omputa Mulajadi Nabolon (Batak Toba). He further stated that there are three political parties in Indonesia PDI, PPP, and Golkar. From the statement above. It is understandable that the datu/saman attempted to bring Toba Batak traditional beliefs into the framework of Indonesian culture by manipulating the symbolic concept of "three" into one inclusive symbol.

CONCLUSION

Tourism, in several ways, has helped bring back the traditional culture of the Toba Batak community, specifically in the context of the Mangalahat Horbo Lae-Lae ceremony which was held in Limbong Samosir village, North Sumatra. Before this performance, the Toba Batak people had been prohibited, especially by Christian missionaries, from holding various ceremonies, especially those closely related to their traditional beliefs. Cultural performances (cultural parties) in the context of this tourism event have at least provided an alternative for efforts to revisit the potential of Toba Batak local culture.

Various tensions of opinion, both from the initiator of the ceremony (government), church institutions, and the Batak Toba community, in reinterpreting various existing cultural concepts, sometimes actually present things that are not found or conflict with ceremonial customs, while reducing the existing religious essence.

It seems that there is an interplay between the interests of the government on the one hand and the interests of the Toba Batak community on the other, which influences the attitudes and assessments of both of them towards the ceremony that will be presented. On the one hand, the government has an interest in stimulating activities from traditional ceremonies not only for tourism purposes, but also as an effort to preserve and develop

culture which is one of the national cultural assets of the Indonesian nation. On the other hand, the interest of the Toba Batak people themselves is an effort to present their cultural identity as one of the varieties of Indonesian national culture. This effort is one of the cultural and preservation programs that has been outlined in the Indonesian government's policy. In the end, by looking at the process and product of the existing performance, the Mangalahat Harbo Lae-Lae ceremony presented in the tourism context reflects the complexity and ambiguity in the construction and reconstruction of the ethnic and cultural identity of the Toba Batak community. In the midst of a situation where ethnic traditions and relations continue to change.

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