



Transformation of Ma'pasilaga Tedong Gambling: Social And Economic Transformation In Toraja Cemetery Traditions

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Abstrak

In Tana Toraja and North Toraja, rambu solo' is not only a funeral ceremony, but also reflects significant social changes. This article describes the transformation in Torajan society that is evident in the rambu solo' ceremony. One interesting element is the buffalo fight (ma'pasilaga. tedong), which is now the main attraction in this ritual. This study was conducted using ethnographic methods. The study relied on participant observation and in-depth interviews. The results showed that each buffalo fight not only arouses the atmosphere, but also involves an increasingly growing element of gambling. In traditional practice, buffalo fights are held to entertain grieving families, adding meaning to the ritual. However, in recent times, gambling arenas have emerged in the ceremony, with betting on the outcome of the fights becoming commonplace. Ma'pasilaga tedong, conventional gambling, remains and attracts attention amid the increasing popularity of online gambling. This transformation shows how rambu solo' has evolved into more than just a funeral ceremony, but also a new social and economic arena. As the Ma'pasilaga tedong arena and gambling become more dominant, this creates a new cultural mark in Torajan funeral traditions.

Keywords: *Toraja cemetery traditions; social; buffalo fighting.*

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INTRODUCTION

Gambling has been an integral part of human history and culture since ancient times. Gambling practices have existed in various forms throughout the world, with each culture having its own views and traditions regarding gambling. In a cultural context, gambling carries complex implications, reflecting the values, social norms, and identities of the society in which it develops. In some cultures, gambling is seen as a form of entertainment inherent in traditional ceremonies or religious festivals, while in others, gambling may be viewed as sinful or immoral. On a social level, gambling in cultures can provide a means of social interaction and communal experiences that may be difficult to achieve through other activities. Gambling is often seen as a way to create bonds within a community, or as a form of entertainment that enlivens certain events. However, on the other hand, gambling can also lead to conflict, financial instability, and division between individuals or groups in society.

The history of gambling as part of culture can be traced from simple betting games in primitive societies to

the complexity of the modern gambling industry involving sophisticated technology. In this digital era, gambling games are increasingly being played online by digital media actors. Online gambling or online gambling has become an increasingly popular phenomenon in Indonesia in recent years. The phenomenon of online gambling in Indonesia has become headline news. The voaindonesia.com news page stated that the phenomenon of online gambling in the country is increasingly worrying. The news conveyed a statement from the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia which stated that Indonesia was in a gambling emergency (voaindonesia.com, April 24, 2024). The Ministry of Communication and Information stated that the turnover of online gambling money was looking for 327 trillion. This phenomenon prompted the Indonesian government to form a special task force to eradicate it.

This is due to technological advances and easy access via the internet. The development of online gambling in Indonesia presents various types of games ranging from casinos, sports betting, poker, to lottery. Online gambling sites offer easy access and various attractive promotions so that they attract people to

try their luck. Online gambling sites that provide attractive offers do not necessarily eliminate the appeal of offline gambling or offline gambling. Some traditional games that are gambling fields are still interesting to play offline by gamblers. Traditional games such as cockfighting are games that are commonly found in Indonesian society. Often this activity is correlated with the value system in a culture. The cockfighting game (tajen) played by the Balinese people contains meanings related to the social structure and life of a society (Geertz, 1992) or becomes an important cultural manifestation where significant ideas about society are expressed in open and closed ways (Jonge, 1990). Likewise, the bull race (karapan sapi) which is widely known in Madurese society contains social status values for a person (Jonge, 1990).

Traditional games that pit animals against each other are also known in the Toraja community in the form of buffalo fighting. The buffalo fighting game in the local language is called ma'pasilaga teding. The game is a traditional game and is part of a cultural attraction. Although the Ma'pasilaga tedong game is a traditional game, it is still interesting for the local community. One of the

attractions of this game for the local community is because it can be an arena for gambling. This game itself has undergone changes and is accompanied by the development of gambling. Nowadays, buffalo fighting which is part of the cultural attraction of the rambu solo' ceremony has now become an arena for gambling.

Ma'pasilaga tedong is a tradition that has meaning and social values, especially in the context of Toraja society, South Sulawesi. This attraction is often held to be an entertaining spectacle and also to honor the deceased. In addition, this activity can be a moment to strengthen social ties among community members. In this article, the author will discuss the transformation of Ma'pasilaga tedong gambling, as well as how this practice reflects the social and cultural dynamics of Toraja society.

The introduction summarizes the fundamentals, explains the background of the study, critically evaluates the previous research study (the literature review of the last ten years), and clearly states the aims. The introduction contains (1) the background of the study, (2) a brief literature review, (3) gap analysis, (4) the novelty, and (5) the purpose of the study. The literature review is used to find research novelty. The author evaluates the

previous research to find research problems and state the originality and novelty of the writing idea. The introduction includes the fundamental issues, showing that the study's theme/topic/title is essential and exciting. All cited or paraphrased sources should be written in the references list. The introduction does not allow subchapters.

METHOD

Methodologically, this study uses ethnographic methods to describe continuous cultural actions and socio-cultural transformations or changes. Through participant observation and in-depth interviews, this study sees, feels, and sometimes even behaves as a native (Tedloc, 1991). Through attendance at several rambu solo' ceremonies and participating in buffalo fighting rituals, much information and data were obtained (Little, 2007). Informants came from various circles, namely the families of the ceremony organizers, traditional and community leaders, mourners and those who attended to watch the buffalo fights and were involved in betting. The research was conducted in several locations (Marcus, 1995) in Tana Toraja and North Toraja Regencies. In this case, the Ma'pasilaga tedong activity

accompanied by gambling in funeral ceremonies is more developed in North Toraja.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Toraja Culture and Change

The Toraja people are one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia, the majority of whom live in Tana Toraja and North Toraja Regencies. Both of these regencies are located in the highlands of South Sulawesi Province. This region not only offers natural beauty in the form of green mountains and terraced rice fields, but also unique culture, including funeral rituals which in the local language are called rambu solo'.

In the indigenous religious beliefs of the Toraja people, namely Aluk To Dolo, there are two main rituals, namely rambu solo' (grief) and rambu tuka' (joy/gratitude) (Waterson, 2009: 301). The ceremony that attracts a lot of attention from the local people and tourists is the rambu solo' ceremony. This ceremony shows its splendor because of the large amount of energy, time and funds allocated. It is possible that modern people from outside Toraja view the ceremony as economically wasteful. However, for the Toraja people, there are life values that prioritize satisfaction on what must be

appreciated and is culturally important (de Jong: 2013). Thus, understanding Torajan society, especially in carrying out funeral ceremonies, must be carried out in a comprehensive manner, both from a cultural and economic perspective.

In Toraja culture, the implementation of the rambu solo' ritual is placed in a hierarchy of social status, so that the size of the ceremony is based on the social status of the deceased. Thus, it can be observed that there is a social gap in society. Those with low social status such as servants do not have access to hold funeral ceremonies at a certain level.

The size of a funeral ceremony is measured by the number of buffaloes sacrificed. Hierarchically, the rambu solo' ceremony at a high level or strata requires the sacrifice of a large number of buffaloes, which means that large funds are needed, which can only be done by those who have capital. Buffaloes provided by the family at a funeral are used as sacrificial animals. This concept is an aspect of the religiosity of animal sacrifice because it aims to bring people closer to the Almighty and guarantee a person's life in the afterlife (Abdullah, 2016). Similar

animal sacrifice rituals are found in almost every religion or belief system. In ancient Roman and Greek society, animals as sacrifices were a principle thing used as a means to communicate with the Divine (Ekroth, 2014).

The sacrificial buffaloes in a rambu solo' ceremony are slaughtered and the meat is eaten together during the ceremony, and also distributed to the surrounding community and people who come to pay their respects. There is a kind of obligation to give because the family and also the deceased have received from others. This is what Mauss said that there is no free gift, Pure gift? Nonsense (Mauss: 1966). Of course, the greater the gift, the higher the social status of a person. The buffalo here becomes a symbol of social status. The function of the social status symbol of the buffalo motivates a person to make maximum effort, namely by spending a lot of money or without any calculation at the funeral ceremony to achieve or win prestige (Malinowski, 2002).

Along with the development of the times and economic progress, this funeral ceremony has undergone many changes. On the one hand, the Toraja people persist with their traditions but on the other hand they experience changes. Several studies present the changes that have occurred in

Toraja society. These changes are caused by factors such as globalization, migration, economic development and the spread of Christianity have brought changes to funeral rituals (Volkman 1985, 1984, Waterson 2009, de Jong 2013, Scarduelli 2016).

These changes can be traced to the beliefs of the Toraja people in Christianity over the past century (Michaela, 2013). Toraja society experienced many changes after the Dutch colonizers arrived in Toraja in 1906 (Volkman, 1981). The foundations of transformation were laid by the Dutch colonizers after Indonesian independence, which was marked by the opening of schools, the availability of cash and general monetization of the economy, the spread of Christianity, and the official abolition of slavery which challenged the social hierarchy at that time. This change was also accelerated by the migration of Toraja people who migrated and lived outside of Tanah Toraja. They managed to collect money while away from home and then returned to sponsor the implementation of funeral rituals. Among the migrants, there were those who did not have the privilege of holding ceremonies at a certain level because of their social

status, but because they already had great wealth and capital, they could hold the ritual. The development of the migrant community gave birth to new wealth or gave birth to new rich people (Waterson, 2009:159-160). That's where social change can begin to be observed.

This has an impact on social symbols that become the identity of a society. Social identity can change and even give rise to new identities. It appears here that identity does not refer to a fixed reality, the construction of this identity is a social process (Volkman 1984). There are many factors that can influence this social process as previously mentioned, namely migration and tourism needs. Efforts to maintain tradition and recreate a tradition as a strategy to face modernity (Shahab, 2004:130). This strategy to face modernity has brought changes to the Toraja community including in funeral rites. Tourism makes Toraja open to the outside world and interact not only with Indonesians from outside Toraja but also foreign tourists. The encounter certainly affects the Toraja community and may encourage them to start leaving or rejecting the traditional way of life and adopting more western social and cultural patterns (Scarduelli 2016).

3.2. Buffalo Sacrifice Ritual in Rambu solo' Ceremony in Toraja

Toraja society is rich with various traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation and are well-preserved until now. One of the riches owned by Toraja society is the funeral ritual which in the local language is called rambu solo'. The rambu solo' ritual or Toraja death ceremony perpetuates traditions that have long existed in society. In this ritual there are many attractions and rituals that can be observed. One of these rituals is the buffalo sacrifice ritual. The buffalo sacrifice ritual cannot be separated from the level of implementation of the ceremony.

3.2.1. Levels of Implementation of the Rambu solo' Ceremony

In the original religious beliefs of the Toraja people, namely Aluk To Dolo, there are two main rituals, namely rambu solo' (grief) and rambu tuka' (joy/gratitude) (Waterson, 2009: 301). The ceremony that attracts a lot of attention from the local community and tourists is the rambu solo' ceremony. This ceremony shows its splendor

because of the large amount of energy, time and funds allocated. It is possible that modern society from outside Toraja views the ceremony as a waste of money economically. However, for the Toraja people, there are life values that prioritize satisfaction on what must be appreciated and is important culturally (de Jong: 2013). Thus, understanding the Toraja people, especially in the implementation of funeral ceremonies, must be carried out in its entirety, both from the cultural and economic realms.

In Toraja culture, the implementation of the rambu solo' ritual is placed in a hierarchy of social status, so that the extent of the implementation of the ceremony is based on the social status of the deceased. Thus, social inequality in society can be observed. Those with low social status such as servants do not have access to hold funeral ceremonies at a certain level. Not only because they are economically disadvantaged but also because they do not have social privileges. Toraja society, like other Asian societies, is traditionally divided into classes or social strata, namely honorable people, ordinary people (free people) and servants (Waterson, 2009: 159). In Toraja society, these three categories are divided into four classes. The class division uses the term

tana'. Tana' means "peg" or "peg". There are four levels of tana' which indicate a person's social level in society, namely, tana' bulaan, tana' bassi, tana' karurung and tana' kua-kua.

Based on social status or caste, the rambu solo' ceremony is divided into four levels, namely:

Silli', the simplest funeral ceremony for the lowest caste, namely the kua-kua or slave caste. This type of ceremony does not involve slaughtering animals as offerings. This ceremony is carried out in several forms, such as didedekan palungan bai (a funeral ceremony by hitting a container for pig food) and dipasilamun tallo' manuk (burial with chicken eggs), meaning that the deceased is buried by only providing chicken eggs that are buried with the body.

Dipasangbongi, namely a ceremony that lasts only one night with only a buffalo being slaughtered and several pigs. This ceremony is usually for the lowest class or the middle class who are economically disadvantaged. This ceremony is still divided into several types in its implementation, including bai a'pa' (offering of four pigs), si tedong tungga (offering of one pig), di isi (burial for a child who died before teething with

an offering of a pig), and ma' tangke patomali (offering of two pigs).

Dibatang or didoya tedong, namely a ceremony for the tana' basi caste (middle nobility) and tana' bulan (high nobility). In addition to buffalo, this type of ceremony also offers pigs and chickens. The ceremony is usually held for 3-7 consecutive days. At the end of the event, a simbuang (menhir) is made as a monument to honor the deceased. The dibatang or didoya tedong ceremony is divided into three based on the length of the ceremony.

a. Dipatallung bongi (three nights).

This is a rambu solo' ceremony that lasts for three nights at home. Four buffaloes are slaughtered and around ten pigs.

b. Dipalimang bongi (five nights).

The dipalimang bongi funeral ceremony is a ceremony that lasts for five days and five nights. In this ceremony, the number of buffaloes sacrificed is 9 with dozens of pigs.

c. Dipapitung bongi (seven nights).

This ceremony is held for 7 days. In this ceremony, more than 9 to 20 buffaloes are slaughtered, as well as a large number of pigs.

Rapasan, is the highest level ceremony in Toraja society and is specifically for the tana' bulan (high nobility). This ceremony is at a high level and consumes the most expensive. This

rapasan ceremony is divided into three levels, namely.

a. Rapasan diongan or rapasan dilayu-layu. Low-level rapasan only meets the minimum requirement of offering 9-12 buffaloes

b. Rapasan sundun, is a complete rapasan with an offering of 24 buffaloes and an unlimited number of pigs.

c. Rapasan sapu randanan. In rapasan sapu randanan, the number of buffaloes sacrificed is greater, at least 30 buffaloes. In addition to the large number, the funeral rite at this level requires all types of buffaloes to be present as sacrificial animals except for the white buffalo (tedong bulan). For the Toraja people, the differences in buffalo types are based on the motifs of skin color, horns and tails (see Nooy-Palm, 1979: 184-192). The type of buffalo also shows a person's wealth status. The characteristics and size of a buffalo's body determine its value or price.

The highest level of ritual in the funeral ceremony is rapasan. Funeral rites for this level may only be carried out by people from the aristocratic class, namely those who are included in the tana' bulaan (Waterson, 2009:383). Those who do not come from a high caste or social status do not have the privilege

to carry out the rapasan ritual. Actions that violate aluk are considered as a pali and the person who violates it is ashamed of his actions.

3.2.2. The Story Behind the Buffalo Sacrifice Ritual

In the buffalo funeral ceremony, it is directly related to the implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony. The buffalo becomes the sacrificial animal and at the same time becomes a requirement that must be met for the implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony at a certain level based on a person's tana'. As explained above, the division of society into classes, tana' bulaan, tana' bassi, tana' karurung and tana' kua-kua are closely related to the regulation of society in marriage relations and also in the implementation of funeral rituals.

The function and meaning of the buffalo in the rambu solo' ceremony is based on the aluk to dolo belief. The core of the aluk to dolo belief is the belief in Puang Titanan Tallu – Tirindu batu lalikan, namely the belief in three bases (aluk tallu oto'na). The three bases of belief are the belief in Puang Matua (God), deata-deata (the gods) and the spirits. Based on this belief, in the aluk to dolo belief, there are three forms of rituals known, namely aluk rampe mata allo, aluk mangola tangnga and aluk rampe

matampu' (Manta', 2011). Aluk rampe matallo refers to a ritual carried out on the east side (rampe), the direction from which the sun (matallo) rises. This ritual is known as the rambu tuka' ritual (rambu = smoke; tuka' = rising), namely a ritual related to joy or gratitude directed to the gods and Puang Matua. The term rambu tuka' (smoke rising) presumably refers to the time of implementation of this ritual which is held in the morning until midday, namely when the sun begins to rise (Manta', 2011).

Aluk mangola tangnga, can literally be translated as the "middle way" rite. This probably refers to the time of implementation of this rite which can be carried out during the day or night. Different from the rambu tuka' rite which is carried out in the morning until noon and the rambu solo' rite which is carried out in the afternoon until evening. This rite is related to the hope for Puang Matua. Examples of this rite are rites around the process of building a house and also the rampanan kapa' (marriage) ceremony (Manta', 2011). Aluk rampe matampu' can be interpreted as a rite (aluk) carried out on the side (rampe) where the sun sets (matampu') or the west side. This rite is

related to grief or death which is better known as rambu solo' (descending smoke). The term rambu solo' which is in contrast to the term rambu tuka', probably indicates the time of implementation of this rite. This ritual is carried out when the sun begins to lean to the west, after 12 noon, until the evening (Manta', 2011). These rituals use animals as offerings or sacrifices. The animals offered are pets, especially buffalo, pigs, chickens and sometimes dogs (Waterson, 2009).

Buffalo is the main sacrifice. As previously explained, the level of the rambu solo' ceremony is based on the number of buffalo sacrificed. In the daily life of the Toraja people, buffalo is one of the common pets in the Toraja community that has several functions. In terms of economy, buffalo in ancient times functioned to help humans in their work, especially plowing rice fields. In addition, for the Toraja people, buffalo has a high economic value because it has a high selling value on the market. There are several types of buffalo that can be sold at fantastic prices with a value of hundreds of millions of rupiah to approaching and reaching a price of one billion rupiah. The Toraja people themselves differentiate several types of buffalo based on special signs such as skin

color, horn shape, tail and also eye color (Nooy-Palm, 1979: 184-192).

The very high selling value of buffalo cannot be separated from its religious and social functions. In religious rituals in the rambu solo' ceremony, buffalo functions as a sacrificial animal. Buffalo as a sacrificial animal has a religious meaning. In the *aluk to dolo* religious belief, buffalo is believed to be a provision and vehicle for the journey of the deceased's soul to *puya* as the destination for the deceased's soul. This is a religious motif, namely that after this worldly life, the soul or spirit enters a new realm and lives in that new realm like life in this world. Behind this motif is the belief that everything that is sacrificed in the rambu solo' ritual, such as buffalo, is also taken to the afterlife called *puya*. So in the understanding of the Toraja people, especially in the *Aluk To Dolo* religion, the buffalo sacrificed at the death ceremony is a provision for the journey and accompanies the deceased to *puya* (Nooy-Palm, 1979: 196). This concept is an aspect of the religiosity of animal sacrifice because it aims to bring people closer to the Almighty and guarantee a person's life in the afterlife (Abdullah, 2016). Animals as sacrifices are a

principle used as a means to communicate with the Divine (Ekroth, 2014).

The number of buffaloes sacrificed in a ceremony indicates the level of the ceremony being carried out and at the same time presents the social status of the deceased and his family. Hierarchically, the rambu solo' ceremony at a high level or strata requires the sacrifice of a large number of buffaloes. High-level ceremonies accompanied by the sacrifice of a large number of buffaloes require large funds. Such large ceremonies are only possible for those who are rich.

The sacrificial buffaloes in a rambu solo' ceremony are slaughtered and the meat is eaten together during the ceremony. Also, buffalo meat in the rambu solo' ceremony is distributed to the surrounding community and people who come to pay their respects. There is a kind of obligation to give because the family and also the deceased have received from others. This is what Mauss said that there is no free gift, Pure gift? Nonsense (Mauss: 1966). Of course, the greater the gift, the higher the social status of a person. The buffalo here becomes a symbol of social status. The function of the social status symbol of the buffalo motivates a person to make maximum efforts, namely by spending a lot of money or without any

further calculation at the funeral ceremony to achieve or win prestige (Malinowski 2002).

3.2.3. Ma'pasilaga tedong (buffalo fighting) game in the Rambu solo' ceremony

The ma'pasilaga tedong tradition has existed for a long time in Toraja culture. This event is usually held in conjunction with a magnificent funeral ceremony, known as Rambu Solo. The slaughtering and fighting of buffalo in gambling is a symbol of strength, honor and social status. Buffalo is a symbol of wealth, and the more buffalo at stake, the higher the social status of the family in question.

Ma'pasilaga tedong is a term used by the Toraja people to refer to the game of buffalo fighting. The term ma'pasilaga comes from the word silaga which means fighting or fighting using the head. The way of fighting with head butting is a typical fighting characteristic of animals that have horns such as sheep, goats, cows or buffalo. In the context of the kerabu fighting game, a buffalo will be released in an open field and allowed to fight by clashing heads. In the context of Toraja's mother, the game of Ma'pasilaga tedong is only carried out in

the context of the rambu solo' ceremony. This certainly cannot be separated from the function of the buffalo as a sacrificial animal in the mourning ceremony (rambu solo'). The buffaloes that are sacrificed in the rambu solo' ceremony are pitted against each other. in a funeral ceremony before being slaughtered.

This buffalo fighting game was originally just a buffalo fighting game as entertainment for the grieving family. Buffalo fighting is not something that must be carried out and is not a main part of a rambu solo' ceremony. Ma'pasilaga tedong is an additional activity that made possible by the ritual of sacrificing a number of buffaloes. This game features a bet on the strength of two buffaloes in the arena. The winning buffalo can be seen as the strong buffalo. In modern times, this buffalo fighting game can have more meaning than just an entertaining game for grieving families. The game This can show the social structure and life of the community, such as cockfighting in Bali (Geertz, 1973) or bull racing in Madura (Jonge, 1990). Through these games or animal fights, meanings are contained which are related to the social structure and life of a society (Geertz, 1973) or become important cultural manifestations in which significant ideas about society are expressed in overt and

covert ways (Jonge, 1990).). Through cockfighting and bull racing, Geertz and Jonge show a metaphor and example of Balinese and Madurese social life.

In Toraja society, social status is greatly influenced by wealth and the ability to hold festive ceremonies. One indicator of economic ability in the rambu solo ceremony ' is a buffalo. The number of buffaloes is an indicator of the economic capacity of the family. The more buffaloes that are sacrificed, the more likely the Ma'pasilaga tedong attraction is and this opens up the possibility for gamblers to gamble. At present, the big ceremony of rambu solo' is identical to ma'pasilaga tedong gambling . Thus, nowadays, ma''pasilaga tedong gambling has become an indicator of a family's economic capability. In practice, individuals with high social status usually have better access to participate in or organize these events, while those with less means may be marginalized.

The game of buffalo fighting in the present day can show the social structure of society. The social structure of Toraja society that is seen in social strata is presented through funeral ceremonies. The level of funeral ceremonies as described in the previous

section shows a person's social status in society. The level of this ceremony is also accompanied by buffalo sacrifice. The higher the ceremony, the greater the number of buffalo sacrificed. The sacrifice of a large number of buffalo opens up the possibility of buffalo fighting which ultimately leads to well-organized buffalo fighting gambling. The presence of institutions such as KPTS (Tedong Silaga Lovers Community) is a community that organizes buffalo fighting games in a rambu solo' ceremony. KPTS is a community that is a forum for buffalo fighting lovers to communicate and share information. In the Ma'pasilaga tedong game, KPTS becomes a community or organization that plays a role in regulating the implementation of buffalo fighting activities. The presence of KPTS during the Ma'pasilaga tedong attraction in a rambu solo' ceremony assumes that there is gambling in the game. Gambling in the Ma'pasilaga tedong attraction is marked by the presence of a special arena for buffalo fighting and the presence of fighting buffaloes. These buffaloes are buffaloes that are deliberately brought specifically to fight in the Ma'pasilaga tedong activity. These buffaloes are not part of the sacrificial animals that will be sacrificed (slaughtered) in the funeral ritual. The buffaloes will be taken home by their

owners after participating in the fight. This situation is different from what happened in previous periods. The buffaloes that are fought in the Ma'pasilaga tedong activity are only buffaloes that will be sacrificed in a rambu solo' ceremony. These buffaloes are prepared by the deceased's family or brought by other parties who are indeed intended as sacrificial animals. Nowadays, the presence of fighting buffaloes is a novelty in the rambu solo' ceremony. The presence of fighting buffaloes and the fighting arena are indications of gambling in the ma'pasilaga tedong activity.

A large ceremony that sacrifices a large number of buffaloes certainly indicates the social status of the deceased and his family. The more buffaloes sacrificed, the greater the ceremony and the higher the status of the deceased and his family. The more buffaloes sacrificed, the more likely it is that there will be buffalo fighting games. Buffalo fighting games, especially those accompanied by gambling arenas, indicate the level of the ceremony being held. So nowadays, the buffalo fighting arena that becomes a gambling arena can be a symbol of the level of the rambu solo' ceremony which can ultimately be

a symbol of a person's social status in society.

3.3 The existence of ma'pasilaga tedong gambling amidst the rise of online gambling.

Gambling in the ma'pasilaga tedong attraction became a phenomenon in Toraja society in the late 90s and has been booming until now. Although online gambling has become popular and widely played today, the buffalo fighting gambling activity in the rambu solo' ceremony remains popular among the Toraja people. This popularity is marked by the continued large number of people who attend each game and most of them are involved in gambling. Not only men but also women are involved in this gambling. Buffalo fighting gambling in Toraja involves people from various circles. Here the question arises why gambling can develop in buffalo fighting activities? Gambling activities can be found in almost all societies from various cultures Guille'n et al. (2012). studied and answered the question of why people play gambling (lottery) in syndicates They emphasized that individuals play in syndicates mainly for social reasons, for example to strengthen membership and status positions in social networks. The same thing was done by Beckert and Lutter

in studying the motivation of people, especially the poor, to gamble or play the lottery (Beckert and Lutter, 2013). Beckert and Luter's study was based on the question of why do poor people spend more on lottery tickets compared to richer people or their more educated peers? Beckert and Luter tested three sociological approaches, namely socio-structural, cultural and social network accounts to explain why poor people play the lottery (Beckert and Lutter, 2013: 1152). According to Beckert and Lutter, educational attainment and perceived social deprivation have a strong effect on lottery playing.

Gambling, whether played conventionally or online, has an appeal to many people. On a social level, gambling in culture can provide a means of social interaction and communal experiences that may be difficult to achieve through other activities. Gambling is often seen as a way to create bonds within a community, or as a form of entertainment that enlivens certain events. The bonds within a community as shown in KPTS are an example of this. However, on the other hand, gambling can also cause conflict, financial instability, and division between individuals or groups in society. The

cultural implications of gambling practices can also be reflected in literature, art, and media. Many works of literature, films, and other works of art address the theme of gambling as an embodiment of moral tension, obsession, or even individual freedom. In some cases, gambling is depicted as a symbol of human ambivalence towards luck, courage, or risky decisions. In the modern world, gambling has also developed into a major industry with significant economic, political, social, and cultural impacts. Mega casinos, large-scale sports betting, buffalo fighting arenas in the rambu solo' ceremony and online gambling sites are part of the gambling ecosystem that has a broad influence on various aspects of people's lives. Overall, gambling in culture reflects the complexity of humans in responding to the desire to seek challenges, excitement and luck. A deep understanding of the role of gambling in culture is needed so that we can recognize its implications holistically and consider its impact on identity, values and social relationships in society.

Nowadays, the popularity of online gambling exceeds conventional gambling. The popularity of online gambling has indeed become a phenomenon in Indonesia in recent years. This is due to technological advances and easy access via the internet.

The development of online gambling in Indonesia presents various types of games ranging from casinos, sports betting, poker, to lottery. Online gambling sites offer easy access and various attractive promotions so that they attract people to try their luck. The ease of accessing the internet today drives the popularity of online gambling. In addition, the convenience, especially in the space to play online gambling, is also a driving factor for the popularity of online gambling. Online gambling can be played anywhere as long as players can access the internet network. Players can play online gambling from their place without having to spend money and energy. In the context of Toraja society, the presence of online gambling does not reduce the popularity of ma'pasilaga tedong gambling which is played conventionally. Gambling that occurs around the ma'pasilaga tedong game at the rambu solo' ceremony has also become a phenomenon in Toraja in recent years. Its conventional form makes the game not easy to play in terms of time and place. This game can only be played during the rambu solo' ceremony in a large field. The game of ma'pasilaga tedong cannot be separated from the rambu solo' funeral ritual. Nowadays,

this ceremony continues to change and has also become a phenomenon in Toraja society. The popularity and development of the game of ma'pasilaga tedong which is colored with gambling is supported by the implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony which is still maintained and continues to develop. The implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony by the Toraja people with all its elements including the ma'pasilaga tedong attraction is one form of effort to preserve local culture. The rambu solo' ceremony including ma'pasilaga tedong as an inseparable part is a rich cultural heritage, the challenges in its preservation are increasing due to the influence of globalization and modernization as well as the change in paradigm in the community's outlook on life.

Gambling, both conventional and online, on the one hand can be entertainment for the community, but on the other hand, this online gambling activity also carries the risk of addiction and financial loss that can harm individuals and families. The negative impact of gambling places gambling as an activity that is prohibited in some places such as Indonesia. Although in Indonesia regulations on gambling, both online and conventional, have been established, it is

still a hot debate. In the context of ma'pasilaga tedong in Toraja, betting using money in the ma'pasilaga tedong arena is an activity that is very easy to find. However, until now there has been no legal action against gambling perpetrators in the game. The reason that this game is part of a tradition (culture) is a reason that is often put forward by perpetrators in the field. Currently, gambling is prohibited in Indonesia based on the Gambling Act of 1950. However, the implementation of this law is difficult to do effectively when dealing with cultural attractions in which gambling takes place. The same thing happens in online gambling considering the online nature of online gambling. In online gambling, several efforts have been made by the government to limit access to online gambling sites by blocking them, but this is not always effective because of the ease of access to technology to overcome these restrictions. The ma'pasilaga tedong attraction which is often accompanied by gambling also has an economic impact. This activity involves many stakeholders, such as buffalo breeders, service providers, and craftsmen. This not only creates jobs but also strengthens the local economy.

However, there are also risks and social impacts of gambling, both conventional and online. These impacts also need to be considered. Online gambling activities can cause social problems such as debt recovery, household breakdown, alcohol and drug abuse, and mental health problems. The public needs to be more aware of the dangers of gambling. In terms of economy, the losses suffered by individual gamblers can harm the economy of families and society as a whole. Therefore, strict and effective regulation of online gambling is needed to protect the public from the economic risks that arise.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of rambu solo' on the one hand, allows the community to continue the rambu solo' tradition in a more efficient and appropriate way to current conditions. However, on the other hand, this transformation can also cause the loss of fundamental cultural values. Consumerism can take over the essence of the ceremony, where some people prioritize the luxury of the ceremony over the spiritual and cultural meaning contained therein. This can lead to the neglect of traditions and cultural heritage that have existed for a long time. The transformation of the rambu solo'

ceremony also has an impact on its elements such as the ma'pasilaga tedong attraction. With the modernization and changes in community values, the ma'pasilaga tedong game has also undergone a transformation along with the transformation that occurs in the rambu solo' ceremony. One significant transformation in the ma'pasilaga tedong game today is the development of gambling. Overall, the development of ma'pasilaga tedong gambling in Toraja and online gambling in Indonesia shows the complexity of the issues that need to be addressed seriously. Gambling, both conventional and especially online gambling, is a popular game among the community. Ma'pasilaga tedong gambling and online gambling have become popular phenomena in recent years, especially in Indonesia. Non-online gambling such as ma'pasilaga tedong in Toraja still exists and is popular among the Torajan people because it is played in a cultural context. The popularity of online gambling also raises various related issues, including regulatory aspects, social impacts, and economics. Clear and effective regulations, social awareness of the risks of gambling, and an understanding of the economic impacts it causes are

key in dealing with the gambling phenomenon. Only with a holistic and sustainable approach can society and government work together to overcome the challenges presented by gambling, both conventional and online gambling in Indonesia.

The conclusion provides closure for the reader while reminding the reader of the contents and importance of the paper. It accomplishes this by stepping back from the specifics to view the document's bigger picture. In other words, it is reminding the reader of the main argument. The conclusion simply and succinctly restates the main ideas and arguments, pulling everything together to help clarify the paper's thesis. A conclusion does not introduce new ideas; instead, it should clarify the intent and importance of the paper. The implications of the study results and suggestions for further research should also be presented in the conclusion.

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