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SHIFTING THE MEANING OF *TABUH RAH* BECOMES *TAJEN* (COCKFIGHTING) IN BALI (THE PERSPECTIVE OF MAX SCHELER'S HIERARCHY OF VALUES)

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Abstract

Bali has kept various forms of unique traditions, different from other regions. Like one of them is the tradition of tabuh rah. This tradition is part of a ritual or yajna carried out by the Balinese Hindu community. In this tradition, the facilities used are two roosters pitted against each other. The blood from the chicken will be used as a tabuh rah. However, the tabuh rah ritual has changed its meaning to become tajen. Several factors influence this change and one of them is the implementation of a hobby owned by Balinese men, which is known as a bebotoh hobby. This article explores the values in the shift in meaning from the tabuh rah ritual to the tajen by using the philosophical hermeneutic method from data obtained through library research. The results of this study are 1). The value contained in the tabuh rah ritual can be explained in the form of Max Scheler's hierarchy of values. The highest value is the values of the holy as a sacred ritual and aims to perfect the animal's spirit to be sacrificed. The spiritual value seen from the tabuh rah ritual is the implementation of tantrayana teachings. The vital value can be seen from the purpose of the tabuh rah ritual as the implementation of the Tri Hita Karana teachings last is the value of pleasure. 2). There is a shift in values from the tabuh rah ritual to tajen. 3). The value to be achieved in tajen is the value of pleasure, which is a form of channelling a hobby and wanting to win from the gamble. Thus, other values are neglected.

Keywords: Tabuh Rah, Tajen, Hierarchy of Value, Max Scheler.

I. INTRODUCTION

Talking about Bali with its various traditions will never run out to be studied, either through the fields of anthropology, social science, philosophy, law, politics, or with other scientific fields. One of them is the tradition of *tabuh rah*. This *tabuh rah* tradition is a tradition that is closely related to the implementation of a ceremony/ritual (*yajña*), etymologically as described in (Mertha, 2010) *tabuh rah* comes from the word *tabuh/tawur* which means to pay, and *rah* which means blood. So, *tabuh rah* can be interpreted as paying by shedding blood (*tetabuhan rah*) during certain *yajña* ceremonies (Remaja, 1999). Animals that are often used as *tabuh rah* are closely related to certain levels of ceremonies in Bali, usually the blood used is two-legged animals such as chickens, geese, ducks and also four-legged animals such as cows, buffalo, goats and dogs (Kniten & Gunanta, 2005).

The term cockfighting or *tajen* with percussion in Bali has experienced a different concept. The tradition of *tabuh rah* is closely related to rituals or *yajnas*. However, it seems that in reality this *tajen* and *tabuh rah* is very contradictory. This is clear in his study (Ayodhya A., 2020) which reveals that *tajen* is a culture that has been ingrained in Balinese society and passed down from generation to generation, *tajen* even has become a daily activity of the local community, especially for men and adult male. While the *tabuh rah* tradition is a series of rituals from a series of Hindu religious ceremonies held in the temple area. This *tabuh rah* is usually associated with the *Bhuta Yajna* ceremony (ritual of *caru*) which is a ritual aimed at the *bhuta* with the aim of harmonizing human relations with the *Panca Maha Bhuta* element and restoring positive energies from the influence of negative energies (Kniten & Gunanta, 2005). Thus, *tabuh rah* in its implementation is sacred, because there are certain principles that must be followed in the continuity of the ritual.

Further in (Diksyiantara et al., 2016) in his research explains that in carrying out the *tabuh rah* ritual as a series of *yajna* ceremonies it should not be done arbitrarily, in other words, one must follow and obey the provisions and

always be guided by literature. In short, not all *yajna* ceremonies in Bali are always coupled with *tabuh rah* rituals but only certain ceremonies that use *tabuh rah* such as the *Panca Kelud* and ceremony or ritual, *Balik Sumpah*, *Tawur Labuh Gentuh*, *Tawur Agung*, *Tawur Eka Dasa Ludra*, *Tawur Panca Wali Krama*.

The *tabuh rah* tradition is also known as the *perang satha* which in principle is a series of *bhuta yajna* ceremonies. But over time the Balinese who carry out this tradition become fond of it because there are entertainment values for those who witness it. For them, the cock fighting and the cock's movements when fighting is considered an art (Hidayat, 2011). In addition, Balinese people tend to like raising chickens, because chickens are very often needed in Hindu religious rituals and ceremonies in Bali. Even more firmly in the research conducted by (Andrianto, 2003) which states that between Balinese chickens and men can not be separated, even chickens can be said to be a symbol of masculinity of Balinese men.

The *tabuh rah* ritual in Bali has undergone a significant shift in meaning. The essence of the *tabuh rah* has been manifested predominantly in the term *tajen* (cockfighting). In fact, it is clear that *tabuh rah* and *tajen* are two different things. Even more extreme (Sari & Wirasila, 2019) explained that *tajen* (cockfighting) under the guise of *tabuh rah* should be done for ritual purposes and should not be done arbitrarily, but in fact *tajen* is carried out for days exceeding one to three days.

Referring to some of the problems above, this study seeks to focus on the values contained in the implementation of the *tabuh rah* ritual, especially in the current era, *tabuh rah* has undergone a transformation of meaning into a cockfighting phenomenon (*tajen*) in Bali. Because apart from that, the traditions that exist in Bali are actually very full of values. Max Scheler's hierarchy of values is used in this study to find out what values are still contained in this *tabuh rah* tradition, whether the existing values are formed hierarchically as described by Max Scheler or vice versa, which no longer attaches importance highest value as a principle thing that

must be achieved and becomes a priority such as the values presented by Max Scheler. Is the *tabuh rah* ritual that has been manifested into a *tajen* phenomenon (cockfighting) still maintains the spiritual value as the highest value, or only the value of pleasure as a value to be obtained. Thus, it is important to examine the phenomenon of a shift in the meaning of *tabuh rah* to *tajen* in Bali in the perspective of Max Scheler's hierarchy of values.

II. METHOD

The method used in this research is a qualitative type of library research with a philosophical hermeneutic approach (Bakker & Zubair, 1990). Data collected through literature review, as well as studies relevant to the problems studied. The libraries used are scientific works in the form of books, articles, and other scientific works such as theses. The material object of this research is the *tabuh rah* ritual with its transformation into *tajen* in Bali. While the formal object of this research is the value hierarchy according to Max Scheler. According to Max Scheler, values such as pleasure values, vital values, spiritual values and values of the holy will be used to analyze the ritual traditions of *tabuh rah* and *tajen*. By using the Max Scheler value hierarchy, the researcher proceeds to the stage of analyzing the data in depth. From the results of the analysis, further researchers are required to provide critical reflection on the findings and provide conclusions from the data that has been analyzed.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Max Scheler and The Concept of The Value Hierarchy

Max Scheler was born in Germany, precisely in the Munchen area in 1874. Scheler enjoyed his life for 54 years, and died in Koln. Scheler is a brilliant figure and as a philosopher who is quite influential in the field of philosophy in mainland Europe. Scheler in his life has written a book with the title (*Der Formalism in der Ethik und die material Wertethik*) or "Formalism in Ethics and the Ethics of Material Values". A book with a thickness of 590 pages is a monumental work that was completed in 1913. With this book, Scheler later became a founder

and a phenomenological value ethics figure. In this book, Scheler has invited us to look at the value issues that already exist in our consciousness with the method that Scheler uses is the phenomenological method (Suseno, 2006).

Scheler by referring to what we realize is dealing with the realm of values, then in this dimension he refutes the assumption of Immanuel Kant which explains that the essence of morality consists in the will to fulfill obligations. Whereas for Scheler this is not the case, obligation is not a primary element, but an obligation to follow what is of value. We must do something in order to achieve something good. The good thing is the value. So it is not the origin to fulfill obligations, but the realization of values is the essence of moral action (Suseno, 2006).

Max Scheler points out that values are material and a priori. Material here does not mean anything to do with material, but as the opposite of the word formal or as contained. Kant's ethics is called formalism because it can be returned to demands to fulfill what is recognized as an obligation. With this we don't know yet what we should do. Anyway, do your duty! In contrast, values always have content, for example honest, delicious, holy, true, healthy, fair. All values are different. So there are many values and phenomenology groups and organizes them according to the relationships between them (Suseno, 2006).

Scheler firmly emphasizes that values are a priori. That is, what is the meaning of a value, for example delicious, honest or holy, we know not because of an experience, a posteriori, but we know once we are aware of the value. Humans do not create values, but find them. Humans can be blind to some values, such as the eyes in a dark place need time to see what is around them, so the eyes of the human heart must get used to seeing values. But once he realizes a value, its value shows itself (Suseno, 2006).

In principle, Max Scheler does not really want to formulate a theory, but only describes what appears when we open the eyes of the heart. Like when we explain a complex painting to the layman. The characteristics that we describe are all already in the painting, we only direct

people's attention to things that they have not realized, even though they are already there. As if we at night from a brightly lit room out onto the street looking up only see a black sky, but after our eyes become normal, the stars begin to appear. The stars are already there, but only now are we seeing them. Once the value will show itself as long as we are able to open the eyes of the heart. Of course, people whose hearts are very confused or darkened by lust or dry thoughts, can be blind to values and it's useless to talk to them about values (Suseno, 2000).

Furthermore, in (Fronzizi, 2011) explains that Scheler believes that values have been arranged in an a priori hierarchical relationship. Hierarchy for him must be found in the nature of value itself, even that also applies to values that we do not know. The advantage of one value over another is understood by using preferences which are a special activity of consciousness. Enjoying is not judging, axiological judgment is based on preferences that preceded it. The hierarchically arranged values can be seen below.

Figure 1. Max Scheler's Hierarchy of Values



Source: Constructed from (Fronzizi, 2011)

Max Scheler in the hierarchy of values, at the lowest (lowest) level are the values of pleasure and displeasure, which correspond to the affective atmosphere of sensory pleasure and pain. The second value after the value of pleasure is a vital value that is independent of and cannot be reduced by pleasure and displeasure. The antithesis of fine and gross is fundamental in the axiological stratum although the value of the good state corresponds to this area, as already stated, all modes of vital feeling such as health, fatigue, illness, old age and death (Fronzizi, 2011).

The third value after the vital value is religious value. In the presence of this value, vital values must be sacrificed. In spiritual values there are values that can be distinguished hierarchically, namely, the value of beauty and clarity, the value of justice and injustice, and the value of pure knowledge of the truth. Furthermore, above spiritual values, there is the last value, namely, the value of holiness (holiness) and profane value (Fronzizi, 2011). By sensing a value, we simultaneously feel whether it is higher or lower than other perceived values. Higher a value means that the value is realized that it must take precedence. The position of each in the hierarchical order is not deduced logically and is not determined based on any considerations, but is immediately realized along with the value itself. So the hierarchical order is also a priori, preceding any empirical experience. Once a value is perceived clearly, it is automatically felt whether the value is lower or higher than another value (Suseno, 2000).

3.2 Dimensions of Shifting the Meaning of *Tabuh Rah* to *Tajen* in Bali

The shift in meaning from *tabuh rah* to *tajen* is very visible from the standard and its implementation which has undergone a significant transformation. As in the research conducted (Gunarta, 2019), in this study, there are several real dimensions that can be seen what things have experienced a shift in meaning. The first thing is seen from the means used. At first, *tabuh rah*, which is a *perang satha* ritual in Bali and can be found in the *Bhuta Yajna* ceremony, only uses two roosters as a fight, and the chickens are pitted, until one of them loses and bleeds. Then the blood is used as *tabuh rah* which is sprinkled as an offering to the *bhuta* with the aim of harmonizing the *Bhuana Agung* (universe) with *Bhuana Alit* (the contents of the universe, including humans). In addition, the means used in *tabuh rah* are egg, *tingkih* (candlenut) and coconut (*nyuh*), the three means are also pitted against each other. In addition, as a means of *toh dedamping* used *pis bolong*. But now it has developed into a *tajen* using a rooster, which is not only *telung saet* (three times fight), but even more than that, even carried out for

more than one day. The means of *toh dedamping* are also no longer using *pis bolong*, but have become money commonly used as a medium of exchange in daily life (banknote) more than tens to hundreds of thousands of rupiah. On the legs of the chickens that are used as a fight, a spur-shaped tool is also attached, with the aim that when the chicken is fighting and stabs each other with the spur, making it easier to kill the opponent's chicken.

Furthermore, the second is seen from the shift from the ceremonial order. At the time of *tabuh rah* is carried out and the ceremony used is to offer several offerings in advance, as well as the holder who leads the ritual. First, the holder gives *caru*, the next *tabuh rah* with dripping blood from the two roosters who are fighting. However, different with *tajen*, which is only done by presenting *canang* and *segehan* at the *tajen* arena as a request and asking permission from the *bhuta* when that place will be held *tajen* (Gunarta, 2019).

The implementation of the *tabuh rah* ritual is a sacred ritual, so that in its implementation it is very important to pay attention to the time and a good day (*dewasa ayu*). At the time of holding the *tabuh rah* ritual also pay attention to the time as it is done on *tilem* day at 12.00 (the sun is directly above) or also in the afternoon at 17.00 (Hidayat, 2011). This dimension reflects how sacred this *tabuh rah* ritual. However, in the current dimension, it has manifested into *tajen*, and even an arena for the chicken competition has been made inside the temple's which has been arranged. There is even the procurement of ticket money under the guise of *punia* funds. Also, during the *tabuh rah* ritual, it is usually required to wear custom, but when *tajen* no longer wears traditional clothes, but uses ordinary clothes, as long as it has *matirta panglukatan* (sprinkled with holy water) before entering the temple area (Gunarta, 2019).

3.3 Analysis of Max Scheler's Hierarchy of Values Between Tabuh Rah Being Tajen in Bali

Max Scheler with his hierarchy of values namely pleasure values, vital values, spiritual values and values of the holy will be used and

dissect the phenomenon of *tabuh rah* into *tajen* in Bali. By looking at these four values, it is hoped that we will be able to comprehensively explain what values are still being maintained in the implementation of *tabuh rah* as *tajen* in Bali. Thus, the values in the *tabuh rah* tradition that have undergone a shift in meaning to become *tajen* can be explained as follows.

A. Pleasure Values

Basically the shift in the meaning of this *tabuh rah* ritual is due to the value of pleasure. The value of pleasure is based on the occurrence of a transformation between *tabuh rah* rituals into *tajen*. Basically, people who like *tajen* are called *bebotoh*. At first, percussion *rah* was only performed three times for cockfighting (*telung saet*), but when it turned into *tajen*, it became 10-20 cockfights. This is certainly inseparable from the entertainment function in the *tajen*. The tendency of pleasure value is obtained from the cheers of the actors of this *tajen* and the audience who are watching the cockfight. For him, the match between the two roosters in the *tajen* arena is an art that can be seen from the movements of the cocks being pitted against.

In addition, the cockfights even dared to bet with each other, not only chicken bets, but also there is such a thing as *toh dedamping* namely by using money, that is, one bet reaches tens to hundreds of thousands of rupiah. The pleasure value is also obtained by the rooster, when they have a chicken that wins the fight. So that the winners automatically get the losing chicken, as well as the *toh dedamping* or money that was used as a bet. On the other hand, the spectators who were watching the *tajen* also participated in betting each other in the sense of guessing which chicken would win, and which chicken would lose. Guessing the winning and losing chickens also uses money bets. So, when the guessed chicken wins, the guess is also said to be the winner of the bet, so the winner will get money according to the agreement on how much money is used as a bet. So that in this area the value to be obtained is in the area that is entertainment and there is a value of enjoyment obtained when winning in the *tajen*.

In another dimension, the pleasure value is seen from the environment or the arena around the area that is used as a place to do *tajen*, for example at the *wantilan* temple. Usually, when a *tajen* is held under the guise of *tabuh rah*, it is equipped with various Balinese culinary specialties, which are not found when eating at home such as *babi guling*, *ayam betutu*, and other snacks sold around the right and left of the arena or environment where the *tajen* is held. Thus, the audience or those who take part in the *tajen* can enjoy the Balinese culinary specialties, so that from the *tajen* there is also an economic turnaround that is obtained from the implementation of the *tajen*.

The conclusion of the shift in the meaning of *tabuh rah* to *tajen* in Bali, is because some men in Bali have a hobby of *babotoh* in the sense of playing cocks. From the *babotoh* hobby, it continues to become a *tajen* which is a place to channel the *babotoh* hobby. Thus, the values obtained are the value of pleasure, entertainment and pleasure in carrying out the *babotoh* hobby. Furthermore, also from the audience who just watched the cockfight, slowly dissolving into what was initially only guessing and betting money in the game, and then also joined in to become players in the cockfight held in the *tajen*. In addition, the thing to be achieved in the *tajen* is victory. With a win, the *tajen* players will get money briefly from the results of their bets with other players.

B. Vital Values

The vital value found in the *tabuh rah* ritual tradition is the principle of harmony. Balinese people have a philosophy of life called *Tri Hita Karana* which means three things as the cause of harmony. These three things are *Parhyangan*, *Pawongan* and *Palemahan*. *Parhyangan* means that Balinese people always maintain a harmonious relationship with God. God is not only the creator, but also the preserver and fuser of the universe with a power called the *Tri Murti*. Next is *Pawongan*. *Pawongan* is defined as always maintaining a harmonious relationship between human beings. By living side by side, Balinese people always expect harmony, tolerance, and peace. Balinese people have the

principles of *sagilik saguluk*, *salunglung sabayantaka*, *paras paros sarpanaya*. And lastly is *Palemahan*, meaning that Balinese people always maintain harmony with their surroundings and with their environment, both in *niskala* (transcendent nature) and *sekala* (real nature).

The *tabuh rah* ritual in this context is an implementation of the *palemahan* concept which is to always establish a harmonious relationship with nature, it is felt that Balinese people cannot be separated from nature. Nature is very instrumental in human life. Thus, this *tabuh rah* is an offering intended for a harmony of nature. Balinese people realize that in their lives they always coexist with *rwa bhineda* or the duality of life, namely good and bad, right and wrong, darkness and light, *vidya-avidya*. So that it is expected to always be neutralized. The bad qualities are to be neutralized and returned to the good qualities, the dark qualities are to be harmonized and returned to become bright and full of light. However, when *tabuh rah* experiences a shift in meaning to *tajen*, the vital values that appear in it are economic values and welfare. In the *tajen* arena, there are many things that cause an economic cycle, such as the availability of stalls selling various foods, the *bebotoh* who bet if they win from a cock fight, they will get a large amount of bet money, and relatively fast time. Vice versa, if you experience defeat, not only your money will run out but your assets will also run out as a result of having this *bebotoh* hobby.

C. Spiritual Values

The spiritual value in the implementation of the *tabuh rah* ritual can be seen from the means that use chicken, as well as rattle the chicken until it bleeds. So the blood that is offered is not blood from the process of slaughtering chickens, but from the process of the chickens fighting until they are injured and bleed, so the blood is then sprinkled and called *tabuh rah*. This series of *tabuh rah* rituals is the implementation of *tantrayana* teachings. As explained by (Arini & Paramita, 2021) that the teaching of *tantrayana* places more emphasis on performing rituals with the means used in the

form of animals to be sacrificed, and these principles are manifested in the implementation of rituals in the form of *caru* in Bali and one of them is the *tabuh rah* ritual, which uses the blood of a chicken being pitted as an offering.

The *tabuh rah* ritual is a ritual that is carried out in a *pecaruan* place. And when the *pemangku* leads the *caru* ritual and is coupled with the *tabuh rah* ritual, namely a rooster fight or also called a *perang satha*. This *perang satha* can only be done three times, and can not be more than that. As explained by (Angel et al., 2019) that the *perang satha* was carried out three times with the aim that the chicken blood dripping on the ground (*pertiwi*) was also three times. The blood that dripped on the ground was then presented to *Tiga Bhucari*, namely *Dhurga Bhucari* by offering the first drop of blood, then the second drop of blood was offered to *Kala Bhucari*, and the third drop of blood was offered to *Bhuta Bhucari*.

The spiritual dimension in the implementation of *tabuh rah* is when this ritual is carried out as a manifestation of the application of *tantrayana* teachings which are full of the use of blood and animals as sacred sacrifices. This ritual has a goal to harmonize the universe and its contents. Balinese people believe that there are *bhuta* elements in human life. These *bhuta* elements, if not neutralized, can interfere with human life. So that negative forces are always neutralized into positive forces. *Tabuh rah* is also a ritual that is offered to the *Tiga Bhucari* namely, *Dhurga Bhucari*, *Kala Bhucari* and *Bhuta Bhucari*.

D. Values of the Holy

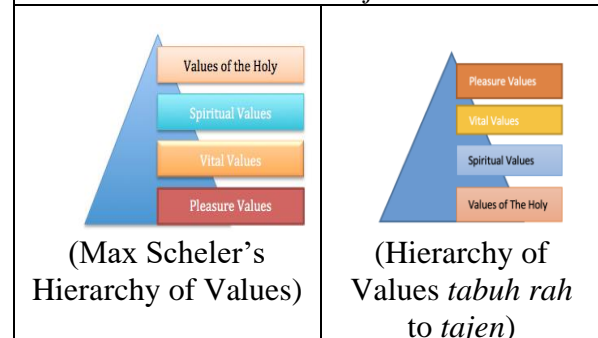
Tabuh rah is a very sacred ritual. This can be seen from the implementation, which is led by a clergyman (holy person), is in a sacred area (temple) and uses certain days (not on ordinary days) and has a holy purpose. The Balinese Hindu community believes that if an animal is used as an offering or sacrifice, the spirit of the animal will increase in rank and become purified. So that this process also has the aim of accelerating the purification of the spirit of the animal to be sacrificed. Thus, the *tabuh rah* ritual

is not a ritual that hurts animals (*himsa*), but in this area the *tabuh rah* ritual is a sacred ritual.

3.4 Critical Reflection on the Shift in Meaning and Value of *Tabuh Rah* to *Tajen* in Bali

The transformation from *tabuh rah* to *tajen* is certainly a debate that raises the pros and cons. However, here what needs to be considered is how to restore the essence of the ritual. In Max Scheler's view of the hierarchy of values, the value to be obtained is the value of holiness, namely when it is associated with the *tabuh rah* ritual, this value is the process of perfecting the spirit of the animal that is sacrificed. The sacredness of this ritual should not degenerate into values that are only pleasure and entertainment, while the highest values are neglected. If described in Max Scheler's hierarchy of values, the values that appear to be present in the shift in the meaning of *tabuh rah* to *tajen* in Bali are shaped like an inverted pyramid, the value of holiness being the lowest value, and the value of pleasure being the highest value to be obtained from the situation. For more details, see the figure below.

Figure 2. Assumption of Shifting the Value of *Tabuh Rah* to *Tajen* in Bali



Based on the figure above, it can be explained that the values in the *tabuh rah* ritual that have experienced a shift in meaning have become *tajen* in Bali. Even the orientation of *tajen* now is not on the value of holiness which is a priority, but the value of pleasure is the value to be achieved. The *tajen* phenomenon is a form of implementation of the tendency of the *bebotoh* hobby owned by the Balinese people, so that what is expected from the implementation of the *tajen* is as entertainment, hobby, and more

towards gambling, because in *tajen* using bets of money that are not small in number, even reaching hundreds of thousands of rupiah.

Furthermore, the shift in the meaning of *tabuh rah* to *tajen* in Bali also has an effect on the desacralization of Hindu holy places (*pura*), because this *tajen* is carried out at the *wantilan* temple, although not in the *utama mandala* (the most sacred area), but the *nista mandala* (*jaba sisi*). It is also a sacred place that must be kept sacred. From this, an education is needed so that the implementation of *tajen* under the guise of *tabuh rah* can be controlled. Because it not only overrides the main values such as spiritual values and the value of holiness, but also has an impact on the area of the desacralization of holy places. The principle thing again, as a result of the shift in the meaning of *tabuh rah* to *tajen* is the occurrence of *himsa* (hurting animals), because in *tajen*, chickens are used as sparring not for *yajna* (holy sacrifices), but in the context of entertainment, gambling, and doing hobbies of *bebotoh*.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the shift in the meaning of the *tabuh rah* ritual to *tajen* in Bali, of course, there are several factors that influence it such as hobby factors, environmental factors, and economic factors. Balinese people who have a hobby of *bebotoh* will tend to prefer this *tajen*, regardless of the values and principles that must be obtained from the ritual. This shift in meaning is very influential on the shift in value to be achieved. In the *tabuh rah* ritual, the value to be achieved is the value of holiness and spiritual value, because the *tabuh rah* ritual is an implementation of the teachings of *tantrayana* in Bali. And next is the vital value, namely a balance of the universe and the value of harmony, which is the implementation of the *palemahan* concept, namely that Balinese people always maintain harmony with nature and the environment. Furthermore, the lowest value is the value of pleasure. However, it is different from the implementation of *tajen* which is the opposite of the values that have been arranged hierarchically. In the *Tajen* tradition, the priority

values are the value of pleasure, hobbies, and wanting to win in the implementation of the cockfight. Thus, the values of vital, spiritual and sacred values become sidelined.

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