

Evolution of Sacred Traditions: The Inclusive Transformation of the *Besale* Ritual among the Suku Anak Dalam, Indonesia

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Abstract: This research investigates changes in the *Besale* ritual tradition, a ceremony aimed at cleansing the soul tainted by malevolent spirits. Initially conducted privately and exclusively for the Suku Anak Dalam, the *Besale* ritual has now become an open event in the Dwi Karya Bhakti Village, even accessible to the general public. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method, collecting data through observation, interviews, and documentation, and analyzing it using the Creswell model. The research findings reveal five main patterns of change in the *Besale* ritual tradition, involving shifts in the value system, cognitive system, interaction system, institutional system, and behavioral acceptance level. These changes did not occur spontaneously but rather through an interactive process involving various social groups within the Suku Anak Dalam. The results of this study provide valuable insights into the dynamics of cultural and traditional changes in society, shedding light on how social factors and intergroup interactions can influence cultural transformations. These findings can serve as a valuable resource for cultural preservation efforts in various evolving societal contexts.

Keywords: *Besale* Ritual Tradition; Cultural Transformation; Intergroup Dynamics; Social Interaction.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini menyelidiki perubahan dalam tradisi ritual *Besale*, sebuah upacara yang bertujuan untuk membersihkan jiwa yang tercemar oleh roh-roh jahat. Awalnya dilakukan secara tertutup dan eksklusif untuk Suku Anak Dalam, ritual *Besale* kini telah menjadi acara terbuka di Desa Dwi Karya Bhakti, bahkan dapat diakses oleh masyarakat umum. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif, dengan mengumpulkan data melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi, serta menganalisisnya menggunakan model Creswell. Temuan penelitian mengungkapkan lima pola utama perubahan dalam tradisi ritual *Besale*, yang melibatkan pergeseran sistem nilai, sistem kognitif, sistem interaksi, sistem kelembagaan, dan tingkat penerimaan perilaku. Perubahan-perubahan tersebut tidak terjadi secara spontan, melainkan melalui proses interaktif yang melibatkan berbagai kelompok sosial di dalam Suku Anak Dalam. Hasil penelitian ini memberikan wawasan yang berharga mengenai dinamika perubahan budaya dan tradisi dalam masyarakat, menjelaskan bagaimana faktor sosial dan interaksi antarkelompok dapat mempengaruhi transformasi budaya. Temuan-temuan ini dapat menjadi sumber daya yang berharga bagi upaya pelestarian budaya dalam berbagai konteks masyarakat yang terus berubah.

Kata Kunci: Tradisi Ritual *Besale*; Transformasi Budaya; Dinamika Antarkelompok; Interaksi Sosial.

1. Introduction

Rituals hold significant symbolic and mystical purposes, often deeply entwined with religious or magical practices rooted in centuries-old traditions (Prasetyo, 2023; Suyono, 2007). These rituals are frequently associated with primitive belief systems that maintain a strong connection to the mystical and magical realms. However, amidst the vast tapestry of human rituals, some enduring traditions have weathered the test of time. One such example is the *Besale* ritual tradition, a practice upheld by the Suku Anak Dalam. This ritual serves as a means for the community to shield themselves and their families from malevolent spirits (Hanafi, 2003).

Besale is a ritual of purifying dirty souls due to evil spirits dwelling in the person's soul (Mailinar. & Bahren, 2013). According to Muthalib (1995), the Suku Anak Dalam believed that illness within their families reminds them of the transgressions committed. As a form of repentance and seeking forgiveness from God and ancestral spirits, they carry out the *Besale* ritual tradition (Muthalib, 1995). Another important thing is that the *Besale* ritual serves as the effort of the Suku Anak Dalam to maintain the relationship and harmony between the blind (supranatural being) and the living (human being). The Suku Anak Dalam maintains a state of harmony by avoiding the occurrence of a disaster, such as *tasapo* (disease), that is difficult to treat (Suradi& Khoiri, 2022).

Based on traditional practice and customs, the Suku Anak Dalam is led by several *Tumenggung*. There are some Suku Anak Dalam settlements led by three *Tumenggung*, such as Suku Anak Dalam settlements located in Pasir Putih Village, led by *Tumenggung* Bateguh, *Tumenggung* Sikar and *Tumenggung* Kecinto, and several other settlements are led by two *Tumenggung* such as Suku Anak Dalam settlements located in Dwi Karya Bhakti Village, namely *Tumenggung* Hari and *Tumenggung* Badai (Maisaroh, Kusmana, & Izar, 2023). When the Suku Anak Dalam group under the leadership of *Tumenggung* Badai, intends to carry out the *Besale* ritual tradition, people from other ethnicities except *Tumenggung* Badai group may not participate in the ritual, and vice versa when the *Tumenggung* Kecinto group carries out the *Besale* ritual tradition, other ethnicities out of the *Tumenggung* Kecinto ethnic group may not participate in the ritual (Prasetijo, 2011).

The *Besale* ritual tradition is generally carried out 4-5 times a year by all Suku Anak Dalam across various settlements, such as Dwi Karya Bhakti Village, Pasir Putih, Bukit 12 National Park, Batin Sembilan, and other settlements. The procession of the *Besale* ritual tradition is carried out behind closed doors because the Suku Anak Dalam community considers it a sacred ancestral tradition, so people not part of their group may not be permitted to participate in this tradition (Putri, 2017). The *Besale* ritual tradition is an exclusive local activity to the Suku Anak Dalam ethnic group; it is performed by and for the Suku Anak Dalam (Asra, Silalahi, & Fijridiyanto, 2020). Other ethnicities, although from the Suku Anak Dalam group itself, but different settlements are still not allowed to participate in the *Besale* activity. They have practiced the *Besale* ritual tradition behind closed doors for almost decades (Muchlas, 1975).

However, the *Besale* ritual tradition carried out in the Suku Anak Dalam settlement in Dwi Karya Bhakti Village, precisely on December 7, 2020, was unique. Even though it was previously limited to their community, they carried out the *Besale* ritual tradition to include people from other ethnic backgrounds, such as *Tumenggung* Bateguh ethnicity, *Tumenggung* Badai ethnicity, and *Tumenggung* Heri ethnicity. They can actively participate as spectators and in its implementation, such as being dancers or assisting in preparing various floral arrangements. This inclusive approach stems from *Tumenggung* Badai's ancestral dream, which served as a reprimand due to a violation. The Suku Anak Dalam prioritize the preservation of the *Besale* ritual tradition due to its ancestral significance and longstanding existence, as they express in a shloka (sacred verse or mantra): "*Berpinang gayur, berumah tanggo, berdusun beralaman, beternak angso budayo nan tuo.*" It means that wherever you are, wherever you live, whatever your job is, it is important to uphold the longstanding tradition, ensuring the preservation of ancestral traditions throughout the ages (HR, Personal Communication, October 12, 2022).

Besale is an exciting research object among researchers. Dwi Kurniawan (2018) examined the importance of preserving the *Besale* ritual tradition in the Suku Anak Dalam because it has local wisdom (Dwi, 2018). In his study entitled "*Besale* in Traditional Medicine of the Suku Bathin Sembilan," Muhtadi (2019) examined the use of traditional medicine for the Suku Bathin community. Another study about *Besale* is also found in South Sumatra, written by Firdaus Fuad (2009). The study discussed whether playing the redab musical instrument and the Suku Anak Dalam community's recitation of mantras (*sale*). It aims to eliminate the evil influence of spirits who intend to disturb the community. Therefore, they believe that the redab is a musical instrument and a means of communication facilitating the acceptance of prayers recited by *Malin* (Fuad, 2009). In addition, Arini Aprianti (2018) analyzed the meanings and symbols of the *Berentak* dance in the *Besale* ritual in the Suku Anak Dalam

community in Johor Baru, Bungku Village, Batanghari Regency, Jambi. In her research, Arini Aprianti (2018) explained that *Malin* performed *Berentak* to communicate with *Hyang*. In addition, the dance and all supporting aspects of the *Besale* ritual are considered signs that aim to understand the meaning and symbols of the *Berentak* dance (Aprianti, 2018). *Berentak* is a music player who accompanies *Sidi*'s movements.

Changes in the *Besale* ritual tradition attracted researchers to seek more in-depth information. Kleden's theory (1987), as cited by Syam (2005) about changing traditions, serves as an analytical tool to identify the factors of change in the *Besale* ritual tradition. According to Kleden (1987), five patterns of change can be observed: *first*, at the value system level, it is from integration to reintegration. *Second*, at the cognitive system level, through orientation, disorientation, and reorientation. *Third*, at the institutional system level, the change is from reorganization to disorganization to reorganization. *Fourth*, changes in the interaction level are from socialization, dissocialization, and resocialization. *Fifth*, at the behavior level, the processes are acceptance, rejection, and acceptance of behavior (Syam, 2005). The two main things discussed in this article are the procession of the *Besale* ritual tradition in the Suku Anak Dalam and how the form of change occurs in the *Besale* ritual tradition.

The aim of this research is to delve into and gain a profound understanding of the transformations that have occurred within the sacred *Besale* ritual tradition, evolving from exclusivity to inclusivity among the Suku Anak Dalam community in Indonesia. This study seeks to identify the patterns of change that have taken place in the *Besale* tradition, encompassing shifts in the value system, cognitive system, interaction system, institutional system, and behavioral levels. Consequently, this research provides deeper insights into how interactions among various social groups within the Suku Anak Dalam community have influenced cultural evolution and traditions, and how this cultural adaptation plays a pivotal role in preserving and enriching their valuable cultural heritage.

2. Method

This research uses qualitative methods utilizing an ethnographic approach (Melong, 2007). Ethnographic studies comprehensively describe and interpret various cultures, social groups, or systems. It usually focuses on activity patterns, language, beliefs, rituals, and ways of life (Moh, 2013). This study utilizes two sources of data: primary data and secondary data. The primary data are obtained through interviews with several traditional leaders, *Ninek Tuo*, *Tumenggung*, *Sidi*, village officials, and informants related to research, as well as observations in the daily activities of the people observed. Meanwhile, the secondary data were obtained from various reading sources and official documents from government agencies, such as minutes of association meetings and relevant previous study results (Nasution, 2004). The data analysis technique used in this study is a qualitative analysis model developed by Creswell (2015). There are six steps of qualitative data analysis: managing and preparing the data to be analyzed, reading and viewing the entire data, starting coding all the data, using the coding process, connecting between research themes, and interpreting the themes produced (Creswell, 2015). Such interpretation can help uncover an idea's essence and come from comparing research results with information from literature or theory (Sugiyono, 2018).

3. Results and Discussion

Besale Ritual Tradition Procession

A procession is a series of activities within a ritual or tradition. Etymologically, the word procession comes from the English "Procession," which means rows and processions (Saefullah, 2007). In the Big Dictionary Indonesian (1999), procession means solemn parade. Implementing the *Besale* ritual tradition based on the customs of the Suku Anak Dalam is carried out regularly, ranging from preparation, equipment, time, place, ritual leader, and the ritual procession until the end of the ritual. The stages are as follows:

Bejampi

The *Besale* ritual is a religious and magical ritual containing mystical elements (Esten, 1999). *Bejampi* is the initial stage in the procession of carrying out the *Besale* ritual tradition, which means preparation. At the *Besale* ritual, the sick person will ask *Sidi* (shaman) to determine the disease he suffers (Effendi & Purnomo, 2020). The traditional procession of the *Besale* ritual begins with a request from residents to do treatment, and the *Besale* requester will go home to meet *Sidi* and *Malin* (people who are considered to have supernatural powers who can talk to the spirits of the ancestors), *Sidi*. The requester of *Besale* must face or meet directly with *Cek*, *Pei*, and *Malin* and must not be represented by those who are not the family of the requester *Besale*, a thorough diagnosis of *Malin*'s illness, which spans a week, is necessary, as not all illnesses can be addressed through the *Besale* rituals (NR, Personal Communication, November 18, 2022). *Cek* and *Pei* are *Malin*'s mediators.

If *Malin* states that the disease cannot proceed to *Besale* treatment and requires surgery, they cannot continue treatment and promptly seek medical intervention at a hospital. The types of diseases that can be treated are village diseases, such as *guna-guna* and *tabacun*, which can be treated using spells (Fitrisia & Ernawati, 2022). After *Malin* stated that he could treat the disease with the *Besale* ritual, *Malin* also stated that he was willing and able to treat the disease of the *Besale* requester. A week later, the surrounding community would prepare materials for the ritual (ML, Personal Communication, October 16, 2022).

Before the procession of the *Besale* ritual, preparations are made in advance by involving all elements of the community who support its procession (Maisaroh et al., 2023). The *Bejampi* stage begins with a gathering or negotiation chaired by the group of *Besale* and *Tumenggung* requesters. Deliberation was held to discuss execution time, execution costs, materials for completing rituals, and the development of ritual committees. Individuals involved with expertise carry out their obligations and capacities as indicated by the tasks that have been assigned (Hasanah, 2022). The next stage is to determine the time, place of procession, and materials that will be used for the continuity of the *Besale* ritual. Ritual preparation can usually take a week or two weeks. The place for the *Besale* ritual is in the Suku Anak Dalam settlement located in Dwi Karya Bhakti Village, precisely in the Suku Anak Dalam field. At the same time, the time is due to the predetermined agreement. The next stage of *Bejampi* is to prepare materials that will be used for the *Besale* ritual (Anwar, Hanana, & Pujiraharjo, 2022).

The materials needed for the continuity of the *Besale* ritual are metal bells that have a *santer* (loud) sound, two small plastic plates to hold water *jampi-jampi*, white clothes, known as *vera*, which have been dipped with water and recited spells to drip into the eyes of the *Besale* patient, all *Besale* utensils are placed on woven bamboo (Sapina et al., 2022). Other equipment needed for the *Besale* ritual is a house made of bamboo and rattan and toys in the form of birds made from pandan leaves, as many as 17 and placed in *bale-bale*. In carrying out the *Besale* ritual, contributions must be ready to be given to the spirits of the previous ancestors, including red porridge, *coco*, *juwadah*, wheat flour, grilled chicken, eggs, *gelamai*, and others. All the food presented has a distinctive name (NOR, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022).

Based on the *Ninek Tuo* (Personal Communication, October 22, 2022) information, several types of food must first be prepared when carrying out the *Besale* ritual. *Coco* is an inherent rectangle defined as someone who will never be separated from everything and consistently accepts each other's unites with each other. *Second*, four types of *juwadah* (Light, Dark, Red, and Yellow). These four types of *juwadah* are a picture of the beginning of human life. For example, dark represents the earth, red symbolizes fire, light represents the element of water, and yellow represents the wind component (Maulia & Dewa, 2018). These four *juwadah* are defined as contributions to divine beings who are considered to have power over land, water, fire, and wind. All will work together to ensure the catastrophe of the disease does not torment the Suku Anak Dalam group. In addition, it can also be interpreted as a critical tool in the eyes of the community because the four elements of *juwadah* are glutinous rice, which is fracturing that cannot be separated from each other. *Third*, two chickens (male and female) tend to mean that all life difficulties will disappear along with the chicken. *Fourth*, the village chicken egg means adjusting and contains two tones, predominantly white and yellow. The egg is interpreted as unity in the

government. The white tone is compared with the public authority, and the yellow tone is the local area, so the color of the white egg will be below the yellow, and the public authority and the region cannot be separated (BT, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022).

The metal bell with a loud sound, interpreted as a symbol of human life, is related to the continuity of the daily life of the Suku Anak Dalam community, whose livelihood is as gatherers, breeders, and fishermen (Asra et al., 2020). This bell is interpreted to calm the Gods who are angry due to violations committed by the Suku Anak Dalam. The *Besale* ritual usually begins with the preparation of supporting tools such as frankincense, *balai bertih* (Mumps House), black chicken, pounded dry rice, skinned corn, turmeric, seven-colored flowers, the *Berentak* dancers, and others. After everything is ready, it is announced to the residents that the *Besale* ritual will be implemented on this date and at night (NR, Personal Communication, November 18, 2022).

During that period, the Suku Anak Dalam group made offerings to their ancestors to contribute to the divine power as a safeguard of the community from any potential disasters and calamities due to their established customs and traditions (Lamotokan, 2020). All equipment at the *Bejamp*i stage of the *Besale* ritual tradition must meet the predetermined conditions; this is the main prerequisite for the continuity of this ritual, and the procession for treatment can be fruitful. The need for *Besale* rituals that do not meet the standard requirements will make these rituals not run smoothly (Dwi, 2018).

Beterkas

The second stage in the procession of the *Besale* ritual is *Beterkas*, which means execution. An hour before the ritual begins, all *Bejamp*i have been prepared. Followers and citizens are ready to follow the *Besale* ritual to the end. The ritual will begin at 10 p.m. and can last until noon, depending on the number of relatives to be treated (NOR, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022). In implementing its ritual, people will attend in groups and wear all-white clothes or their best appearance, complemented by fragrances.

Meanwhile, the clothes of *Berentak* and *Sidi*, who will guide the *Besale* ritual, are adjusted according to applicable regulations. *Sidi*'s clothes in the *Besale* ritual are white, white pants, black belts, and head coverings with white hoods. White clothes worn by *Sidi* have been smoked with incense smoke after and before wearing. It is not only for medical purposes but will also make the cloth last long and not smell smoke because incense smoke has its aroma. The storage strategy is also very unique. All the white clothes *Sidi* wore during the *Besale* ritual must be uncleaned, untouched, or out of reach of people (HR, Personal Communication, October 12, 2022).

The white color on *Sidi*'s clothes is interpreted as a heavenly messenger greeting "Angel." The black color replaces speaking to spirits. Because humans have four messengers of heaven, the use of white cloth in the *Besale* ritual is interpreted as *Sidi* is guaranteed by the four messengers of heaven, regardless of whether the white cloth used by *Sidi* will eventually change color to dim or yellow due to continuous wear. People are naturally great individuals. Change from the outside and inside turns people into dangerous and evil behavior (Yelianti & Aswan, 2023). Meanwhile, the *Berentak* in the *Besale* ritual wears a long piece of cloth as dance equipment. The long cloth in the dance is considered a symbol of the wings of an eagle, which in the belief of the Anak Dalam tribe symbolizes the spirit of the Eagle God. Eagle wings are often seen as a link between the human world and the spirit world, so the *Berentak* who wears this long cloth act as intermediaries or communicators between humans and supernatural spirits.

The *Besale* ritual is carried out in a traditional hall in their area called the *ghumah gondong*. If the *Besale* ritual is an option, then in the treatment process, the treated patient must prepare various offerings, such as existing provisions (ML, Personal Communication, October 16, 2022). Offerings and *bale* are symbols of surrender to invisible beings such as the spirits of ancestors, heavenly messengers, and demons. Establishing offerings and halls also exemplifies local traditions (Melita, 2015). *Bale* was made like a larger house with supports with four poles made of wood, bamboo partitions, and tiled roofs. The meaning of four represents four figures associated with *Besale*: *Sidi*, *Malin*, *Berentak* and *Pembayung* (music players who accompany *Sidi*'s movement). The four backrests, such as those in the

hall, represent the holding of the *Besale* ritual. The four figures unite and support each other like each pillar that strengthens each other to keep the sturdy building. *Bale* in the *Besale* ritual is where the *Besale* patient will be treated, and the four figures can secure the patient in the hall. The depiction also alludes to using a *bale* as a donation warehouse and storing offerings that will be given to spirits entering the hall. The meaning of bamboo symbolizes the figure of a knight, a hero who comes to save the patient (Rahmawati, 2012).

The opening of the *Besale* ritual begins with the ritual guide, then lifts the relatives to be treated into the *bale*. The opening of the *Besale* ritual is continued by *Sidi*, who recited the spell: "*Betinjak dibungin baru sebiji, dijanjam baru setitik, angin baru berembu, beteduh di langit selemba payung.*" The mantra contains a philosophy of life, which means that we must uphold each other's joys and sorrows in this world. *Sidi* will continue to recite *jampi-jampi* (mantra) while going around the hanging hall and accompanied by dancers who have been prepared long ago, accompanied by the *Berentak* until finally meeting the atmosphere of trance or the union of *Malin* with the spirits of their ancestors (BT, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022).

When *Sidi* began to chant, *Malin* was already in a semi-conscious state because the spirits of the ancestors had united in *Malin's* body. The treatment began. *Caco*, *juwadah*, red porridge, wheat flour, roasted chicken, eggs, *gelamai*, and others, were placed in a container for the offering of the spirits of the ancestors, which were put into the halls and recited mantras by *Sidi* in a circle shaped like a floor pattern. In the floor pattern, *Sidi* passes through *Pembayung* to form a circular pattern because *Sidi's* movement circles the *bale-bale* or the *Besale* patient. The circular motion is repeatedly and continuously sacred, symbolizing attachment to one another and representing an unbreakable, unceasing whole. The circle also depicts *Sidi*, *Malin*, *Berentak*, and *Pembayung*, which is related to the whole because it is interrelated. In the moving floor pattern, *Sidi* also pushes straight back and forth, facing the direction of the beaver, or pushes forward and backward alone. When moving between the arrangements, there is a cooperation between *Sidi* and *Pembayung*, or *Sidi* and the shadow that follows (Afria, 2017).

Body signs and codes that govern nonverbal behavior result from the impression that the body is more than just an actual substance (Budiman, 2011). According to Berger (1984), wink, hand articulation, appearance, attitude, and other tangible activities convey something socially significant under certain circumstances. *Pembayung* will effectively reach marks on *Sidi's* body that ordinary people cannot feel. In this situation, *Sidi* didn't blink when *Sidi* spelled the mantras. However, *Sidi* and *Pembayung* cannot be separated; directly making a straight and circular floor pattern will make the *Besale* ritual tradition run properly (Marianto, 2010).

Sidi is assisted by *Malin*, *Pembayung*, and *Berentak*. *Sidi* walks as a messenger among shamans and spirits. When *Malin* is semi-conscious or dazed, *Sidi* will ask for some information about the illness suffered by the patient to the spirits of the ancestors possessing *Malin*. *Pembayung* is a person who follows *Sidi* from behind his back when moving because when *Malin* moves in a trance or unconscious state, it allows *Malin* to move out of his control, so *Pembayung* must accompany *Malin*. Every stage in the *Besale* ritual procession has recited a spell, from *Bejampi*, the *Besale* patient to *Beterkas*. That matter implies all activities and actions in the performance of the *Besale* ritual must conform to local customary standards and rules. Reciting mantras is a picture of belief in God; the extraordinary things received can fulfill the desires and wills one asks for (Asra et al., 2023).

According to Seodjijono (1987), mantras are words that can cause otherworldly forces whenever expressed. Overall, mantras are words or sentences that are considered to have the ability to be enchanted. Usually, the mantras performed in the *Besale* ritual all contain the hope of salvation and the blessings of God Almighty. Understandably, Suku Anak Dalam society is a primitive society, so all their behavior is always associated with magical things. Although the mantra is conveyed in the Suku Anak Dalam language, the motivation only solicits an invitation to God (Irawan, 2004). Mantras recited in the Suku Anak Dalam language are social images that show the personal character and personality identity of the Suku Anak Dalam community. In addition, they also believe in the existence of heavenly forces that can affect human existence, such as extraordinary beings believed to exist in every place where they live (Isdiana, 2017). The Suku Anak Dalam group in Dwi Karya Bhakti Village believes that

diseases result from spirits' disturbance because of the violations they commit. Violations will cause disasters and havoc in the form of conditions. Infections occur due to human actions that cause harm, such as cutting trees carelessly, throwing garbage in waterways, and saying dirty words anywhere. Some even get sick because of *keno sopo* or denounce (NR, Personal Communication, November 18, 2022).

During the procession of the *Besale* ritual, *Malin* dripped a drop of water that had been covered with a white cloth into the eyes of the *Besale* patient while fulfilling the trance of the spirits of the ancestors possessing *Malin*. Then continued by *Sidi* and *Malin Pengasu* (the person whose job is to follow *Sidi* behind his back when dancing) who continued to be accompanied by *Berentak* dances, by chanting the last mantra "*Bismillah hirohmanirohim, ikan pitak ikan pituk, ketigo jahilulah, nang melintang nang mujur hak lalulah*" *bismillah hirohmanirohim*. The word on this mantra is connotational, as seen in "*Nang melintang nang mujur*" and "*Hak lalulah*," which means transverse or lucky fishbones can be removed by reciting this mantra. The word symbol is in the lyrics "*Ikan pitak, ikan pituk*." The word "ikan" (fish) represents animals. The language used is colloquial, namely Malay (HR, Personal Communication, October 12, 2022).

The opening and closing of the mantra use *bassmalah*. In contrast, the content uses colloquial language, not using the hadith or verses of the Quran. After the final mantra is chanted, *Malin*, *Pembayung*, and *Sidi* come together to complete the process of performing the ongoing ritual. The Suku Anak Dalam considers *Berentak* as a religious movement. *Sidi* is an intermediary to ask for healing, whereas *Besale* is a form of regret and reflection of the mistakes committed. In it, there is a belief that the disease experienced by the *Besale* patient can be cured soon. When viewed from the movement, it can be said that in *Besale*, there is a human willingness represented by figures who play an essential role in the continuation of this ritual, especially *Sidi* and *Malin* (Hajri & Indrawadi, 2021). *Sidi* portrays a mother figure with one goal with her father in focusing on family. *Malin* and *Sidi* can be reliable for one purpose so that whatever *Sidi* needs, *Malin* will know what *Sidi* says will be understood by *Malin*. Suku Anak Dalam life is strongly influenced by legitimate norms applied as *seloko-seloko* (terms, sayings that become standard principles), which are expressly used as rules of life by the Suku Anak Dalam *Tumenggung*, especially *Tumenggung* in deciding a problem or an order. *Seloko* is also a guideline for speaking and acting for the lives of the Suku Anak Dalam community (Mailinar & Bahren, 2013).

Berentak is the culmination of a healing ritual for the Suku Anak Dalam group in Dwi Karya Bhakti Village. *Sidi* is a person who is considered capable as an intermediary, asking for help from the Gods or genealogical spirits for the healing of the *Besale* patient. A distinctive feature of a ritual is the presence of indications of symbolic objects. Even though they seem to be just symbols, for the Suku Anak Dalam people, symbolic objects have a reason and purpose for granting wishes as they wish. *Berentak* and *Besale* have an attachment to each other, like two sides of a coin. The movement contained in *Berentak* has the purpose of asking for something. In every movement, *Sidi* has trust and pleading. They believe that when *Sidi* moves without good intentions and goals, what happens is that the patient's illness cannot heal and can even worsen (Ahat M, 2018).

Besale

The final stage is *Besale*, which means closing by letting the *Besale* patient in the *bale-bale* for a few minutes. After *Pembayung* and *Sidi* have declared that they have finished doing the *Besale* treatment, the *Besale* patient can be taken home. After completing the *Besale* tradition, the family must pay a fee to *Malin* with the applicable terms and conditions. Implementing the *Besale* ritual by the Suku Anak Dalam is quite expensive. Although expensive, the Suku Anak Dalam community frequently performs the *Besale* ritual, even if it is not done every year. However, the ritual carried out on December 7, 2020, is free of charge. If people want to participate, they can help sincerely, depending on the ability of the patient's family (BT, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022).

Usually, the cost for the *Besale* ritual can be collected by accepting donations from Suku Anak Dalam or non-Suku Anak Dalam residents in their neighborhood. Patients or residents who recover will pray to their ancestors and hope they will no longer accept the disease or catastrophe they once

experienced. The *Besale* ritual tradition has existed since the Suku Anak Dalam community and continues to do so today. After *Sidi*, *Malin*, and *Pembayung* declare that they have finished the *Besale* ritual, the *Besale* patients can be taken home with the conditions given. The meaning contained in the *Besale* ritual is the responsibility, struggle, sincerity, and hard work of the Suku Anak Dalam community as a reflection of asking for forgiveness for violations committed and safety to avoid catastrophe.

Forms of Change in the Besale Ritual Tradition

The term tradition indicates the relationship between the past and the present. Tradition refers to something passed from one age to another, and its structure still exists today. Traditions can, of course, change. Traditions are born at certain moments when individuals retain certain parts of past heritage as habits. Traditions change when individuals focus entirely on a particular part of the habit and ignore the different parts. The tradition continues and may vanish when material goods are discarded and the mind is brushed aside or ignored. Traditions can also resurface after being inactive for a long time (Syam, 2005). However, tradition is unstable because tradition is passed from one individual or age to the next.

Furthermore, there will be changes both in an enormous scope and a limited one. Overall, traditions are not only acquired but also developed or designed. In the book "The Invention of Tradition" by Eric Hobsbawm (1992), quoted by Sham, tradition is acquired and built, or a series of activities aimed at instilling values and standards through redundancy, which naturally refers to coherence with the past. Of course, some things are preserved in change, while others change. The *Besale* ritual tradition has existed since the time of the ancestors of the Suku Anak Dalam. Hence, the *Besale* ritual is difficult to abandon and still survives today, but over time, the *Besale* ritual tradition has also changed. According to Kleden's conception quoted by Sham (2005) in his book "Coastal Islam." there are five patterns of change that can be observed in tradition: the value system level, the cognitive system level, the institutional system level, the interaction level, and the behavior level that construes the process of acceptance, to rejection and acceptance of new behavior (Syam, 2005).

Value System Level

From the perspective of changes at the value system level, the phenomenon in the *Besale* ritual tradition shows an apparent change, namely the change from integration, disintegration to reintegration, where the Suku Anak Dalam began to integrate new cultural values, namely the open procession of the *Besale* ritual tradition. If the *Besale* ritual tradition is carried out inclusively, the value of sacredness will cause havoc for relatives of the Suku Anak Dalam.

Implementing the *Besale* ritual tradition cannot be separated from religious elements or Suku Anak Dalam beliefs. The sacred values contained in the *Besale* ritual tradition can instill the community's attitude to remember its creators, such as *Berentak*, *Bejampi*, and *Beterkas* values. The *Berentak* movements that was initially considered sacred has changed in such a way. Then, the change from disintegration to the reintegration of social values in the implementation of the *Besale* ritual tradition when social activities, such as responsibility, deliberation, and mutual assistance. In the past, the Suku Anak Dalam carried out consideration and mutual aid with their neighbors; however, they do it together with the general public today. In the past, before the implementation of the *Besale* ritual tradition, they carried out the preparation of the ritual together only for themselves. Now, they cooperate with villagers and other general public (BT, Personal Communication, October 22, 2022). In mutual aid, many social values occur among communities, which refer to relationships among community members. The value of mutual assistance is significant for survival in society. These values become a unity as a form of cooperation, creating solidarity within the *Dwi Karya Bhakti* and Suku Anak Dalam communities. This unity emerged to form a solid team for the smooth procession of the *Besale* ritual tradition.

Cognitive System Level

Changes also occur at the cognitive level, namely changes at the discourse level, namely by introducing new ideas to the Suku Anak Dalam, such as the many expressions of *Sidi* to replace discourse, *Inang*, *Biduan*, and *Beterkas*. At the level of the *Besale* ritual procession, such as *Berelam*, which initially dominated the knowledge of the Suku Anak Dalam community, has also changed in such a way. Currently, the growing discourse is *Beterkas*. Similarly, the leaders of *Besale*, *Inang*, *Malin*, *Bujang*, *Pembayung*, and *Biduan* have changed to *Sidi*, *Malin*, *Pembayung*, and *Berentak*. These changes have occurred among communities in their various socio-religious cultural segments. This change does not happen by itself but through interaction involving all social circles in the Suku Anak Dalam community with a relatively high intensity of group interaction.

Interaction and Institutional System Level

Changes have also occurred at the level of interaction and institutional systems. In the past, the Suku Anak Dalam community only interacted with each other in one institution when they carried out the *Besale* ritual tradition. Now there has been a change, namely the Suku Anak Dalam interacting with the general public, with many institutions such as Tabligh Jama'at, Village Apparatus, and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). There has been a pronounced change in the level of interaction and institutional system in the *Besale* ritual tradition. They began to orient and interact with many institutions in the ritual.

The consequences that occur from intra and extra interactions between Suku Anak Dalam communities with Dwi Karya Bhakti Village officials, NGO, and Tabligh Jama'ah during the implementation of the *Besale* ritual tradition, namely reduced vigilance and increased self-confidence and solidarity of the Suku Anak Dalam in every social life, there will be relationships among various segments of society based on the socio-religious classification that exists in that society (Anwar et al., 2022). For example, during the implementation of the *Besale* ritual tradition, members of the Tabligh Jamaat were invited to attend the ritual, and there was an interaction between the two groups. The exchange took place through the field of *Besale* ritual traditions, for example, interacting about mutual aid, the formation of the *Besale* organizing committee, and submitting the *Berentak* dance represented by one of the members of the Tabligh Jama'ah. Interaction between Tabligh Jamaat and Suku Anak Dalam also occurred in the Grand Deliberation Meeting to determine the budget for implementing the *Besale* ritual tradition.

The NGOs and Suku Anak Dalam also meet in the implementation of *Besale* ritual traditions, for example, interacting when doing mutual assistance in preparing *Besale*, asking for help to meet *Besale* equipment such as lack of funds, *Besale* equipment materials, *Berentak* traditional clothes, and guest clothes (Sapina et al., 2022). Thus, there is an interaction between the two groups. NGOs also participated in the success of the *Besale* ritual tradition by donating needed grants. It is a picture of changes in the interaction and institutional system of Suku Anak Dalam communities, NGOs, Tabligh Jamaah, and village apparatus. Kleden's theory is also a concept that has yet to be explored. That is, through interaction at various levels of society, the conception of the NGOs and Suku Anak Dalam will also affect changes in the future.

Behavior Level

Changes also occur at the level of action or behavior level. From the point of view of cultural change, what happens is a change in the system of acceptance of new behaviors. At the behavior level, some changes occur in the *Besale* ritual tradition. The ancient *Beterkas* procession in the *Besale* ritual tradition was carried out in large halls made of planks surrounding the entire wall roofed with leaves in a sitting state. So now there has been a change, namely by carrying out the *Besale* ritual in halls made of bamboo with four wooden support poles, which are roofed with tarpaulins while lying down while closing their eyes. The Suku Anak Dalam themselves spearheaded this change. If in the past, the

materials used in the *Besale* ritual tradition were only flowers, coconuts, chickens, and birds. So now, the offerings used are *coco*, *juwadah*, red porridge, and exceptional food.

The implementation of the *Besale* ritual tradition in the past was carried out from the Suku Anak Dalam to the Suku Anak Dalam behind closed doors. Now, there has been a very significant change, and it is carried out for the general public, such as the Dwi Karya Bhakti Village apparatus, the Dwi Karya Bhakti Village community, Community Social Institutions, and Tabligh Jama'at. It is now open to all groups of the general public. In the past, the ritual tradition was due to customs with expensive costs. To meet all equipment, they simply ask for donations to all elements of the ritual perpetrators who want to attend, and it is free for the public (NR, Personal Communication, November 18, 2022). Among these very noticeable changes in the level of interaction and institutional systems, namely interactions between external parties and the Suku Anak Dalam community when implementing the *Besale* ritual tradition (Muthalib, 1995).

4. Conclusion

The *Besale* ritual procession has undergone significant changes while still maintaining a connection to its ancestral procedures. These adaptations reflect the evolving conditions within the Suku Anak Dalam community today. The *Besale* ritual is a multi-stage spectacle, beginning with the preparatory phase known as *Bejampi*, which involves various aspects such as disease diagnosis, cost deliberations, determining the time and location of the ritual, mutual cooperation, and the preparation of offerings. The subsequent stage, *Beterkas*, signifies the actual procession, encompassing the opening and worshiping of offerings as well as the treatment process. Finally, the *Besale* stage marks the closing of the ritual. Throughout the study, five distinct patterns of change have emerged within the *Besale* ritual tradition: shifts in the value system, alterations in the cognitive system, modifications in the interaction system, adaptations within the institutional system, and changes at the behavioral level.

In light of these findings, it becomes evident that the evolution of the *Besale* ritual tradition among the Suku Anak Dalam is a dynamic process. This transformation from an exclusive to an inclusive ritual has been driven by the changing social dynamics and interactions among various groups within the Suku Anak Dalam community. The study highlights the significance of cultural adaptation and preservation in a changing societal context. However, it's important to acknowledge the limitations of this research. The study primarily focuses on the evolution of the *Besale* ritual among the Suku Anak Dalam in Jambi, and while it offers valuable insights, a more extensive comparative analysis with other indigenous communities or regions could provide a broader perspective on cultural adaptations. Additionally, the research is based on qualitative methods, and future studies may benefit from quantitative data to complement and validate the findings. Nevertheless, this study contributes to our understanding of cultural transformations within indigenous communities, emphasizing the significance of cultural preservation and adaptation in a changing societal context.

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