

sakaya

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SAKAYA: BALIA TRADITION TRANSFORMATION IN THE KAILI TRIBE COMMUNITY OF PALU, CENTRAL SULAWESI

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¹ Abstract

The social changes of the Palu community after the 2018 disaster affected the values, attitudes, behaviors, and perspectives of some religious groups in society, which in turn forced the Balia tradition to transform as an adaptive step. This qualitative research aims to find the transformation of Balia by using an ethnographic approach. The research location was in the cities of Palu and Sigi. The sample was determined twice using the snowball technique and convenience sampling, which resulted in five respondents. Data was collected using depth interviews and analyzed using triangulation. This study found that Balia has transformed into a new form adapted to the community's needs and demands, called Sakaya. The term Sakaya is intended for someone who can be a medium or a means of communication with supernatural beings. Sakaya is not a colossal ritual but a personal ritual with religious nuance. The transformation occurs in the second aspect of Balia and does not leave the primary aspect. As a result, these

rituals have become more effective, efficient, inexpensive, and easily accessible to the public. Another finding of this research is that the function of the Sakaya is extended beyond Balia, which includes economic, social, and political aspects, which makes it more acceptable in the social life of the Kaili tribal community.

Perubahan sosial masyarakat Palu pasca bencana 2018 berdampak pada nilai, sikap, perilaku, dan cara pandang sebagian kelompok agama di masyarakat, yang pada gilirannya memaksa tradisi Balia bertransformasi sebagai langkah adaptif. Penelitian kualitatif ini bertujuan untuk menemukan transformasi Balia dengan menggunakan pendekatan etnografi. Lokasi penelitian berada di kota Palu dan Sigi. Penentuan sampel dilakukan sebanyak dua kali dengan teknik snowball dan convenience sampling, yang menghasilkan lima responden. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara mendalam dan dianalisis menggunakan triangulasi. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa Balia telah menjelma menjadi bentuk baru yang telah disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan dan tuntutan masyarakat, yang disebut Sakaya. Istilah Sakaya ditujukan untuk seseorang yang mampu menjadi media atau sarana komunikasi dengan makhluk gaib. Sakaya bukanlah ritual kolosal, melainkan ritual pribadi dengan nuansa keagamaan. Transformasi terjadi pada aspek sekunder Balia dan tidak meninggalkan aspek primer. Alhasil, ritual-ritual tersebut menjadi lebih efektif, efisien, murah, dan mudah dijangkau oleh masyarakat. Temuan lain dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa fungsi Sakaya diperluas di luar Balia, yang meliputi aspek ekonomi, sosial, dan politik, yang membuatnya lebih dapat diterima dalam kehidupan sosial masyarakat suku Kaili.

Keywords: Sakaya; Balia; magical ritual; ritual transformation; Kaili tribe

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Introduction

Every religion has a supernatural dimension embraced and practiced by its followers. The supernatural dimension in religion appears when human reason cannot explain various phenomena that occur in society. The supernatural, mystical, or occult tradition is not limited to Indonesia; Western nations have also experienced a period in which people prefer to use supernatural powers on particular issues rather than reason or logic. It was alluded to by Auguste Comte, as quoted by Haryanto, who stated that society develops through theological, metaphysical, and positive stages. The main characteristic that distinguishes the three stages lies in the rationality of human thought in

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explaining and determining the factors that cause an event (phenomenon) (Haryanto, 2015). Some scholars in the West, as quoted by Selove (2020), do not reject supernatural activity and consider it a potentially useful heuristic device if applied critically, noting the possibility that magic can be considered a source of power or prestige in certain societies (Selove, 2020).

The diversity of traditions in Indonesia can be seen in the many ethnic groups developed in Indonesia. The number of tribes in the large and medium categories recorded in the BPS data is 633 (*Badan Pusat Statistik*, 2015). Some of these large ethnic groups have sub-ethnics, which in detail amount to 1,340 ethnic groups (*Badan Pusat Statistik*, 2010). For example, as part of the tribe in the medium category, the Kaili community has 12 sub-ethnics that inhabit the area of Central Sulawesi. They are the majority group in several districts/municipalities, especially Palu and Donggala. In addition, there are also ethnic groups who live in the mountains, such as Laujeh, and on the edge of the sea, such as the Bajo tribe. In subsequent developments, the Kaili tribe was divided into several sub-ethnics, namely: Kaili Rai, Kaili Ledo, Kaili Da'a, Kaili Tara, Kaili Ta'a, Kaili Inde, Kaili Ija, Kaili Doi, Kaili Moma, Kaili Edo, Kaili Ende, and Kaili Unde (Djafar, 2014). Just as most tribes in Indonesia have a tradition of mystical rituals, the Kaili tribe also has such rituals, one of which is the Balia ritual.

In general, the majority of the Kaili tribe know the Balia ritual. Balia is a magical tradition to summon supernatural powers that are believed to be spirited by using the ancient Kaili *uslub* with suggestive, aesthetic, and mystical intent (Agustan, 2019). In this tradition, the mantra or verse (Khair, 2021) is pronounced by the ritual leader Sando or Tina Nubalia (Arwan & Pitriani, 2017). Although the Balia ceremony uses a dance-like rhythmic movement called *notaro* (Arwan & Pitriani, 2017; Misnah, 2020; Nurfani, 2016) and with musical accompaniment (Arwan dan Pitriani, 2017; Hastuti, 2009), Balia is a magical activity in the form of summoning spirits (Khair, 2021). This ritual is intended as a form of obedience and belief in *karampua langi* (God of the sky) and *karampua ntana* (God of the earth) (Sadi & Akil, 2016). It also aims to find medicine/healing for specific diseases (Agustan, 2019; Arwan dan Pitriani, 2017; Hastuti, 2009; Misnah, 2020; Nurfani, 2016; Sadi & Akil, 2016; Saprillah, 2017) and repellent catastrophe (Nurfani, 2016). The summoned spirit is then inserted into the sick patient or representative, and not infrequently, this process is accompanied by physical reactions in

1 the form of shaking, nausea, dizziness, and even fainting (Arwan & Pitriani, 2017; Khair, 2021).

Balia is a hereditary tradition of the Kaili tribe that is passed down from the old generation to the next generation. The existence of Balia in the community is deeply rooted, often done to find alternative healing for non-medical diseases. This research started from academic anxiety about the call to ban the practice of Balia rituals among the Muslim community of Kaili, Palu, Central Sulawesi. This prohibition arose due to public misunderstanding of the causes of the disaster that occurred in September 2018. Some of the people of Palu city and cyberspace are of the view that the earthquake, tsunami, flood, and liquefaction disasters were caused by Balia traditional rituals, which were considered to have deviated from Islamic teachings (Karebasuttengnews, 2018, oktober 2017; Mercusuar, 2018, ; oktober 2017; Saude et al., 2020). Some even labeled them with the predicate of polytheism (*musyrik*) (Saude et al., 2020). On the other hand, Balia practitioners, including Sakaya, are Muslims, and we will discuss this in the next chapter. The illicit labeling raises a negative stigma in the Palu city community toward the Balia customs, which results in antipathy and negative thinking, which in the end, has the potential to erase the Balia tradition (Saprillah, 2017).

The focus of this research, then, is to trace the existence of Balia after the 2018 disaster. Based on the initial study of the research, a new face named Sakaya was found, which has several functions and characters similar to Balia. Therefore, this research must add insight to the community to avoid misunderstandings about customs and traditions. Furthermore, this study aims to trace the transformation of the Balia tradition after the earthquake, tsunami, flood, and liquefaction in September 2018 in Palu and its surroundings. The basic assumption is that a tradition that is deeply rooted in people's lives cannot be eliminated in a short time. Therefore, this study tries to answer two questions: what Sakaya is, and how Balia transform into Sakaya.

Literature review

Sakaya means "boat" (Evans, 2003). This word is derived from the Kaili ledo language and is frequently used with the verb "nosakaya," which means "to ride a boat" (Evans, 2003). Among the Kaili, Sakaya refers to a person who becomes a "boat" (container) inhabited or entered by supernatural forces or summoned spirits. This term is unpopular among academics; no Sakaya-related

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literature exists in scientific writings or scholarly journals. To comprehend Sakaya, one must first comprehend Balia, a term directly related to it.

The word “Balia” in ledo kaili language means “shaman” (Evans, 2003) or “challenge him” (Agustan, 2019). This word is typically combined with the suffix “no” to form “nobalia,” which means “healing ceremony by a shaman,” or “na” to form “nobalina,” which means “opponent, enemy”; “a type of prayer or treatment by a shaman to treat diseases caused by black magic” (Evans, 2003). The term Balia is defined as a type of “religious emotion” (Nurfani, 2016), “sickness healing ceremony” (Agustan, 2019; Arwan dan Pitriani, 2017; Hastuti, 2009; Misnah, 2020; Nurfani, 2016; Sadi & Akil, 2016; Sapriillah, 2017). It also includes “witchcraft or ‘rebuked’ spirits” (Adriyansyah et al., 2019; Khair, 2021), “traditional arts of the Kaili tribe” (Hastuti, 2009), “disaster repellent ritual,” and “the inauguration ceremony of young sando” (Nurfani, 2016). Meanwhile, Sulastri et al. (2000) as quoted by Agustan, define Balia as a form of resistance to diseases caused by demons in humans being (Agustan, 2019).

Based on the preceding definition, Balia’s primary function is to heal disease and resist reinforcements, while its secondary function is to actualize art and culture. Other functions include the initiation of the young sando or shaman, the religious expression of the Kaili tribe, resistance to harmful human elements, and the preservation of traditions. Based on these functions, Balia is subdivided into several types, such as (1) Balia Tampilangi, which is a ritual of healing disease and rejecting reinforcements by slaughtering animals such as chickens, goats, buffalo, pigs, and the like according to ritual needs; (2) Balia Bone, which is a disease healing ritual performed by walking/dancing on coals (Nurfani, 2016); (3) Balia notaro, which is a ritual of healing disease through the Balia dance, which is believed notorudu to have originated from the Saweri Gading dance (Misnah, 2020) (4) Balia Ntorudu, which is a Balia that is carried out by stepping on hot coals; (5) Balia Jinja, which is a ritual for treating disease and rejecting reinforcements by making sacrifices that are washed away in a river or sea (Mohammad et al., 2021). Arwan and Pitriani mentioned it as Balia Jingga (Arwan & Pitriani, 2017); (6) Balia Tomini, is a ritual ceremony used to treat illness. The implementation procedure is nearly identical to that of Balia Jinja, except for the musical instruments, which consist of one drum (*gimba*), one flute (*lalove*), and one gong (*goo*). (7) Balia Baliore is a traditional ceremony used as a cure for a disease, as a deterrent to reinforcements, or as a rite of passage for young sando (*nompoponturo*) (Nurfani, 2016).

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Commonly a traditional ritual practiced by Indonesian tribes, Balia also has procedures for carrying out the ritual's stages. The traditional Balia ceremony involves a large number of people (mass/colossal) and has at least three stages of completion: preparation, execution, and inference. The ceremony begins with the traditional leader rubbing the ingredients on the person's body parts to be healed, beginning with the palms of the hands, then washing the face, hands, crown/forehead, ears, and feet while reading al-Fatihah (AntaraNews, 2018).

This study concern Transformation of balia tradition in language means "change of appearance (form, nature, function, etc.)", "change of grammatical structure into another grammatical structure by adding, subtracting, or rearranging its elements" (KBBI Daring, 2022). Kuntowijoyo (2006) defines transformation as a change from one form to another without changing the structure contained therein, even though in its new form, it has changed (Kuntowijoyo, 2006). In another sense, the displacement of the form does not change the core character of the previous form. Transformation occurs because of social changes (Siswoyo et al., 2018) and the will of society (Zaeny, 2005) on particular objects (Yunus, 2013). Social change affects values, attitudes, and behavior patterns between groups in society (Soemardjan, 2009), which, according to Marxists, the process of occurrence is strongly influenced by social structure (Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

Method

This qualitative study used an ethnographic methodology to collect data on the origin of Balia traditions among the Kaili tribe in Palu and Sigi. Using the snowball technique, the subject is determined in an organized manner during the preliminary research phase. After locating research volunteers using the snowball technique, the researchers checked the subjects and took only those who were well-known as Sakaya in the Kaili community. In the subsequent stage, this study used nonprobability sampling, also known as non-random samples, to determine and collect samples using the convenience sampling method (Sukardi, 2005). In this method, this type of sample is not selected randomly, and not all elements or elements of the population have the same chance of being chosen as samples. Elements of the population selected as samples may be determined by chance or by other variables that has been predetermined. Based on these criteria, the researchers used five

detailed respondents from Palu City and Sigi Regency, including two primary and three supporting respondents.

Data were collected using in-depth interview procedures, with the participation of field researchers. The obtained raw data was then encoded, reduced, and categorized according to the research topic. Furthermore, triangulation was used for analysis and interpretation.

Finding and Discussion

What Sakaya is?

Sakaya, literally means boat (Kaili language). In terminology, Sakaya can be interpreted as a medium used to communicate with spirits or jinn. To facilitate understanding of Sakaya, the researchers used the terms Sakaya and passenger. Sakaya is meant as a person who is still alive, has a body and soul, and has a life like a living being, but he becomes a medium, intermediary, boat, or messenger from passengers. The term passenger is intended for jinn, spirits / supernatural beings, or astral beings who enter into the Sakaya and provide the necessary information. Although the researchers cannot classify passengers, in this study, all kinds of creatures that enter the soul of a person are grouped into one term, namely passengers.

Basically, the Sakaya is divided into two groups. The first group is Sakaya in the sense of a boat that is climbed/possessed. In this type, astral beings use Sakaya as a medium by borrowing their bodies. Sakaya is unconscious and unable to control himself and his thoughts. He also can not control limb movements and the sounds or words spoken. In this first type, there is usually a drastic change in the sound of the Sakaya when the ritual is carried out. Changes in body movements are also seen in the ritual process, such as changes in sitting positions that remain for a long time, bent back position, or other body movements. In essence, Sakaya cannot control herself because astral beings have already occupied her body.

“When he (the astral being) entered me, I felt that it was as if I had moved to another dimension. Glittering lights and beautiful scenery are in front of me. I feel like I’m not in this world anymore” (Maria, interview, 2018, Desember 2).

Several other Sakayas experienced the same condition. There was an exchange of positions between themselves and their passengers. A question that may arise is, where were they at that time? One of the Sakayas explained that in the process of “exchanging places” with the passenger, he moved to another realm called “Uventira”.

¹ “I felt like I was in a big, beautiful, and amazing place. Suddenly I was at a large gate guarded by nine guards. I was welcomed into that place, a place like a metropolitan city with towering buildings. I saw there were hotels and tall buildings, lots of shops and I even saw an airport there. Life there is like our human life on earth. There are trades, mosques, offices, smooth roads with various luxury cars passing on them, and so on, just like our human lives. However, that is Uventira, a city with a more advanced civilization than humans” (Razak, interview, november, 23, 2018).

Uventira, in the Kaili dialect read Wentira, is a Palu legend about mysticism in Central Sulawesi. Uventira is a mystical and occult symbol in Palu. Most people in Palu who are related to mysticism cannot be separated from their connection with Uventira. In this case, it may be the same as the case of gunung kaei in java, wich some people used to seek knowledge of pesugihan, pellet (love spell), promotions, and the like, or the southern sea with its famous character, Nyi Roro Kidul. These two places in Java are famous for their mystique and occultism, as is Uventira in Central Sulawesi.

The second type of Sakaya is the companion Sakaya. In this second Sakaya model, it does not “switch positions” with its passengers. Passengers do not enter and control the body of the Sakaya, but only accompany the Sakaya. Unlike the first, the second model of Sakaya is always in a conscious state when the ritual process is carried out. Passengers usually only whisper information to the Sakaya, and the Sakaya’s job is to translate the information to people in need. Another visible difference can be seen in the movements of the Sakaya. This second type of Sakaya is not very visible with any movement or sound that is different from the body movements and sounds of the original Sakaya. In other words, the condition of Sakaya’s body is controlled by himself and not controlled by the passengers.

Sakaya is different from occult sciences such as immunity, pellets, lightning the body, disappearances and other occult sciences often found in various myths in traditional society. Sakaya tends to one’s ability to communicate with astral beings through self-unification or accompaniment to answer various problems that occur in life. The majority of Sakayas can treat non-medical ailments. Researchers use the term non-medical disease because, in some cases, it is found that there is a disease that the sophistication of medical equipment cannot detect. Medical devices are only able to detect physical diseases suffered by humans. They are not able to read non-physical diseases suffered by a person. The phenomenon of trance is one example of a non-medical disease. it also cannot be categorized as a mental illness, considering that people who

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are possessed are not necessarily those who are affected by mental disorders. According to the researchers, categorizing a trance as a psychiatric disorder is not appropriate, considering that someone can convey important information related to an event when a person is in a trance. It is very different from people who suffer from mental disorders, let alone crazy people. The researchers assumed that the trance occurs only temporarily, it does not take long to heal, and no particular drugs or medical devices are needed. Meanwhile, people with mental disorders need ongoing therapy and, sometimes, require special medical equipment and drugs in the treatment process.

It is not known precisely when the Sakaya tradition emerged. There are not many studies that discuss the Sakaya. It is possible because the discussion about Sakaya is a mystical phenomenon, which has less place in various positivistic studies. Some additional research sources state that the Sakaya has existed since ancient times, since the time of the ancestors of the Kaili tribe. The Researchers cannot justify or assume that this opinion is wrong, and those with competence in related disciplines need further research on the history of Sakaya.

Characteristics and Functions of Sakaya

Sakaya is a picture of someone who can become a medium or means of communication with supernatural beings. This section briefly describe the characteristics of the Sakaya.

Sakaya did not have a noticeable difference from the others. In their daily life, they carry out activities like other people in general. They need to eat, drink, reproduce, sleep and interact with other people. They have livelihoods such as farming, gardening, trading, sailing, fishing, or other jobs. They also have families, wives, children, descendants, or grandchildren. The dress model is also the same as other people in general, wearing clothes, pants, sarongs, caps, or other clothing models, and does not require wearing certain clothes such as traditional clothes or traditional symbols during ritual implementation. In terms of physical appearance, no significant difference was found between the Sakaya and other communities.

“I work every day as a trader at Masomba Market. I have worked there for a long time. Thank God my needs have been met so far, I can also send my children to school. My husband’s job is sedentary, but that’s not a problem for me. In this area, many people know me. I used to treat their children”
(Maria, Interview, 2018, Desember, 29)

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 “We are prohibited from asking for wages or setting wage rates after receiving treatment. Even that includes a strict prohibition for me. Those inside (passengers) were very angry when I asked for wages. What is given, that’s all we receive. The rest we ask for nothing. That’s why we also have to work for our daily needs, I almost every day go to the sea looking for fish” (Rahmat, 2018).

Physically, Sakaya does not have a striking difference from other ordinary people. Therefore, looking for Sakaya based on physical characteristics will be difficult. It is understandable because the essence of the Sakaya process is not physical activity. Sakaya can only be known from habits carried out in everyday life, such as a penchant for talking about mysticism, the supernatural world, or things related to the supernatural. They often associate/connect various natural phenomena or events that occur around them with magical or supernatural things. In several interviews, Sakaya addressed various events such as politics, business, health, lifestyle, and various natural phenomena and connected them with the supernatural.

The reliance on the Sakaya is based on people’s belief in the existence of other forces outside the human world, which are believed to be able to influence life in this world. This kind of belief has usually termed the belief in animism and dynamism. In the context of Sakaya, this power is believed to solve various life problems. Although in practice, Sakaya is often used in medicine, it is not uncommon for it to be used in the political, economic, social, and health fields.

“Those who came to ask for my help came from various groups, from the middle class to the elite. Their problems also vary, from household problems to political and position problems. I rarely have guests from legislative candidates, especially during the election season. They usually ask for help to win votes in the legislative elections. Usually, I consult first with the “inside” (passenger, pen) about the solution for the candidate. If the ‘insider’ agrees, I will convey it according to the information I get from the inside. If the ‘inside’ cannot be helped, I will tell you what it is” (Razak, 2018, November 28).

“In that field, the first level is the health sector related to medical and non-medical diseases. The next level can search and find something missing. Usually, there are lost items, such as wallets, money, and even missing people. So I was given information about the position of the item, and then I informed the person who lost it. Then the next level is on the ability to clean sacred places and move the location of spirits, in the sense that this level is already in direct contact with another jinn in nature. Next up is the power level. If he can reach this stage, he can assist someone related to power in the world, position, or leadership, even to the CPNS test. Let the presidential election issue, “the inside” also plays a role” (Razak, 2018 November 28).

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Someone who has the advantage of being able to become a saint gets appreciation and is positioned higher/respected by the Kaili community. In the observations of the researchers, it was found that the behavior or behavior of the Sakaya tended to be polite, humble, and gentle. The way they talk and act also shows that they have high ethics. His gestures the tone of voice are gentle, which indirectly attracts the sympathy of others. Researchers have not yet found a Sakaya who speaks loudly or in a high tone, like an angry person. According to the Sakayas, this gentle and high-ethical attitude is a form of respect for nature and its passengers. Sakaya believes that their abilities are, favors, and great gifts given by God. Based on this belief, a high social spirit emerges in them. In addition, Sakaya is easygoing and ready to help others to the best of their ability. These characteristics make it easier for Sakaya to be accepted in the community.

Sakaya Execution Procession with religious nuance

Sakaya carries out the ritual procession through three stages: pre-implementation, implementation, and post-implementation. All respondents the researcher met agreed that the conditions for carrying out the ritual of summoning 'passengers' must be in a holy state.

"Those insides (passengers, ed) were very unhappy when they saw me drinking alcoholic beverages such as sagero, rat stamp, palm wine, beer, and the like. He told me if you drank liquor then I would never have come. I don't know, what kind of genie is with me, he always tells me to pray, to give alms. Even if I wake up late to pray, he wakes me up" (Rahmat, Interview, November, 28, 2018)

Purity is a condition and the first step when carrying out the Sakaya procession. Purity in this term refers to the definition of holiness according to Islam, namely purity from major and minor hadiths. However, this assumption needs to be investigated further because a research respondent stated that chastity is not the primary requirement in the Sakaya process.

"How can purity (refer to the definition of Islam) be the main requirement? What about the Sakaya of other religions? In this world, the ability of a Sakaya is not only owned by Muslims but also other religions" (Irwan, Interview, 2018, November 29)

The next step after ablution is to sit quietly, then read the creed. Two respondents said that the *creed* was read seven times, two other respondents said that they had read the syahadat two sentences of the creed three times, and one respondent stated that they did not have to say two sentences. Two Sakaya added that sometimes he prays two rak'ahs first after performing

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ablution and sambulugana, which is done if the problem faced by the patient is severe. After saying the two sentences of the creed, the Sakaya said as many *shalawat* as the sentences of the creed. Then, Sakaya was silent for a moment, concentrating on addressing the passengers by greeting them. Passengers usually arrive after the greeting said by the Sakaya. Some say the greeting in a low voice, and some do it silently.

The next stage contains the communication process between the patient and the Sakaya passenger. In the Sakaya group that was boarded, the patient communicated directly with the passengers who had entered the Sakaya. They asked and answered like two people in a discussion. The passengers have fully controlled Sakaya's body in this type. All of the Sakaya's behavior during the dialogue, changes to the behavior and voices of other people (passengers). The voice and body movements match the passenger's identity. For example, if the passenger is an older adult, his voice and body movements are like an older man's, but if the passenger is a child, his voice and body movements will resemble that of a child. It is different from the accompanying Sakaya group. Their movements and voices are not affected because passengers do not control their bodies. They are only interpreters of messages given by passengers to patients.

The Sakaya procession was closed at the last stage, namely with greetings. Sakaya greeted her passengers. To the accompanying Sakaya, she also thanked her before greeting her passengers. After the greeting, Sakaya rubs her hands on her face, just as she does when she greets her during the prayer. These rituals reflect the religious nuance of the execution process of sakaya.

Transformation of Balia's Tradition

Along with the times, traditional rituals are invariably distorted by advances in science and technology, especially traditional rituals with mystical and supernatural characteristics such as balia. Balia faces challenges from two sides, namely modernity, represented by science and technology, and religion, promoted by authoritative clergy. Although balia is generally used to cure non-medical diseases, it is sometimes also used to cure medical ailments. In the current era of society 5.0, if the balia ritual maintains the healing of medical illnesses, it will be replaced with increasingly sophisticated medical equipment. On the other hand, if balia then focuses on non-medical, mystical, and rejecting diseases, then it will be faced with the predicate or label of polytheism and worship the devil echoed by authoritative religious leaders who hold God's

authority. In this position, balia needs to transform to maintain its existence amid modern society.

Balia transformation occurs in the secondary aspects of the ritual by not leaving the primary aspect and carrying out several adaptive modifications tailored to the community's needs and demands and ease of access so as not to burden the user. Some aspects of the author's balia are shown in table 1.

Table 1. Balia ritual aspects

Primary aspects	Secondary aspects
a. Curing illnesses, both medical and non-medical	a. Dance accompaniment
b. Calling on spirits or otherworldly beings	b. Offerings (sambulugana)
	c. Animal offerings (chicken, goat, cow, buffalo, pig)
	d. Musical instruments and music players
	e. Sando (traditional leader/shaman)
	f. Dumping the sacrifices into a river or the ocean
	g. Need ritual place
	h. Ritual media such as embers
	i. Custom oil
	j. Ritual procession for three days or seven days
	k. Crowd participation/Colossal

Sakaya has the same primary characteristics as balia, which strengthens the assumption of this study that Sakaya is a form of transformation of balia. Some secondary aspects of balia that do not affect the purpose and function of the ritual are omitted in the Sakaya. Then, with the addition of ritual functions, the Sakaya became more progressive and updated with the times. Some modifications to the Balia ritual aspects can be seen in table 2.

Table 2. Balia's transformation into a Sakaya

Primary aspects	Balia	Sakaya
Curing illnesses, both medical and non-medical	Yes	Yes
calling on spirits or otherworldly beings	Yes	Yes
Secondary aspects		

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a. Dance accompaniment	Yes	No
b. Offerings (sambulugana)	Yes	Yes/No (some)
c. Animal offerings (chicken, goat, cow, buffalo, pig)	Yes	Yes/No (some)
d. Musical instruments and music players	Yes	No
e. Sando (traditional leader/shaman)	Yes	No
f. Dumping the sacrifices into a river or the ocean	Yes	No
g. Need ritual place	Yes	No
h. Ritual media such as embers	Yes	No
i. Custom oil	Yes	No
j. Ritual procession for three days or seven days	Yes	No
k. Crowd participants	Colossal	Personal

In addition to changes in the ritual's shape and qualities, the modification of balia also affects its inherent functions. The Sakaya function reveals the transformation of the balia function, as seen in the accompanying table:

Table 3. Alteration of balia's functions and advantages

Balia	Sakaya
Curing illnesses, both medical and non-medical	Curing illnesses, both medical and non-medical
Calling on spirits or otherworldly beings	Remove any influence from magic or supernatural entities.
Young Sando inauguration	Resolve household problems
	Functions of Intelligence (such as searching for missing people or things)
	Purify the holy site.
	Resolving political and bureaucratic challenges
	resolving work-related problems

The social changes of the Palu community in the aftermath of the 2018 disaster affected the values, attitudes, and behaviors of religious groups, which ultimately compelled the balia to transform into the Sakaya as an adaptive response to these changes. It is unknown when the historical existence of the Sakaya began. However, the Sakaya is becoming more prevalent alongside the decline of balia rituals following the September 2018 earthquake, tsunami, liquefaction, and flood in Pasigala. Sakaya is a person who, for specific purposes, can become a medium for communicating with supernatural beings. Sakaya is not a ritual but a term for a person with supernatural and magical powers. The Sakaya perform only personal, small-scale rituals that do not involve large groups of people (colossal). These characteristics support Sakaya's acceptance within the Kaili tribal community.

Considering that Balia traditional rituals are a biotic culture that evolves alongside social changes, Balia's transformation is natural. Before becoming

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a Sakaya, balia had modified its secondary aspects, such as offerings and ritual processions. Despite the fact that the era has reached a modern level of development with numerous facilities and technologies, some people still rely on and require magic to solve life's problems. This condition necessitates continuing Balia ritual practice, even though it is prohibited. Furthermore, psychologically, people still require strength from outside to face life's challenges, if only to make them feel comfortable, not stressed, and strong when confronting life's challenges. By transforming into Sakaya, Balia can continue to meet users' needs while avoiding the prohibition or negative stigma that exists as a result of its continued existence.

Sakaya, as a balia transformation, offers a model for a magical ritual that is effective, inexpensive, and simple to perform without sacrificing the essence of a traditional ritual. Some aspects of balia, such as dances and dancers, musical instruments and performers, offerings, and other instruments, are omitted, resulting in a substantial reduction in the cost of the ritual. Beyond the function of balia, the broader and more flexible function of the Sakaya in addressing problems in social and political life makes it easier to adapt and be accepted by the community.

Conclusion

This research found that the Balia ritual of the Kaili community did not disappear from the Palu community after the 2018 disaster but evolved into a new form known as Sakaya. Sakaya is a person who, for specific purposes, can become a medium for communicating with supernatural beings. Sakaya is not a ritual but a term for a person with supernatural and magical powers. The Sakaya perform only personal, small-scale rituals that do not involve large groups of people (colossal). Transformation in Balia ritual occurs in secondary aspects. The primary characteristics of Sakaya are similar to those of balia, ie, an effort to heal through the use of supernatural beings. In contrast, the secondary characteristics change and adapt according to the needs and demands of the community. The transformation of balia into Sakaya affords a widening function, not only as a healing ritual ceremony but also in resolving economic, social, political, and office-related issues.

It is the preliminary research on Sakaya. The study of Sakaya is conducted minimally due to the absence of references. The people of Central Sulawesi are less receptive to the study of Sakaya because it is associated with the balia traditional ceremony, which is negatively stigmatized by the community.

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Therefore, it is necessary to conduct further research on the dynamics of culture in the Kaili community, especially regarding traditional ceremonies, which are decreasing and disappearing from the community's social life. Research on culture has a high significance for preserving the nation's culture. Researchers suggest that academics conduct further research on balia and Sakaya rituals regarding educational, social, religious, and cultural aspects.

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