



## The Dialectic of Dayak Traditional Rituals of the *Balala'* to Prevent the Spread of the COVID-19 in Landak Regency of West Kalimantan Province

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**ABSTRACT**

*The background of this research is the occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic in the world, including in the Landak Regency, West Kalimantan Province. Various efforts had been made by the government, religious institutions, and traditional institutions. Dayak traditional institutions in Landak Regency and all traditional administrators in various Dayak villages in Landak Regency carried out Balala' traditional rituals to prevent transmission. The purpose of this study was to describe the perceptions and reasons for the Dayak indigenous people to carry out the Balala' ritual concerning efforts to prevent the transmission of the COVID-19. This study used a qualitative method, where data was taken by observation, literature study, and interviews. Interviews were conducted by going down the field and also interviews via WhatsApp. The data analysis technique used an interactive model. The results showed that the Balala' ceremony which was held by the Kanayatn Dayak people in the Landak Regency of West Kalimantan, was believed by those who attended it to be able to free them from the attack of this COVID-19 outbreak, because of three things, namely: (1) they had invited Jubata to come on during the Balala' ritual so Jubata would protect them; (2) The traditional Balala' ceremony is in line with the government's call for social distancing; and (3) those who had been Balala' are clean so that the COVID-19 virus cannot enter them. This research needs to be continued especially to see firsthand the effectiveness of the traditional Balala' ceremony on the transmission of the Covid-19 and the impact of this pandemic on the social, cultural, and economic life of the Dayak indigenous people.*

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## INTRODUCTION

A study on the COVID-19 pandemic that is sweeping the world needs to be done (Buana, 2020). This research is important because it can contribute to the efforts that the community can take to prevent

transmission (Lestari, 2020). The government and various elements of society are trying to prevent this virus from spreading to their regions (Zahrotunnimah, 2020). The Kanayatn Dayak indigenous people are no exception in Landak Regency, West Kalimantan province. The climax is that they have carried out the traditional *Balala'* ritual which was held at the Ngabang Radakng house (longhouse), on Sunday, March 22, 2020. Previously, this event was held in Dayak villages in late February 2020. Each village took turns holding it. Prayers were offered to *Jubata* to prevent the Landak Regency from being in danger. The traditional procession of *tolak bala* held by indigenous peoples is a series of activities before the mass abstinence procession is carried out. This research is important because there are efforts by local communities to overcome the spread of the COVID-19 based on local wisdom.

The local cultural system that the community continues to turn on needs to get recognition from various parties (Kristianus, 2017). In West Kalimantan, each Dayak sub-ethnic has a different way and style in preventing the transmission of the COVID-19. In the Landak Regency, the *Balala'* ceremony is carried out. *Balala'* became popular again during the current covid-19 pandemic (Sukiada, 2018). During this ceremony, people stay in their respective homes as a way to reflect and introspect about their lives this year and actions to be taken in the future. In addition, *Balala'* is also a day to gather with family and pray to *Jubata* to forgive all their mistakes. This ritual is unique for the indigenous Dayak community, which comes from none other than their local religion (Pratama & Nurcahyo, 2019). Religion and its manifestations are always interesting to study (Hartatik, 2018).

The Dayaks already have empirical experience in preventing large-scale infectious diseases such as pestilence, smallpox, malaria, and diarrhea (Parulian, Manalu, & Munif, 2016). Infectious diseases for the Dayak people have a relationship with culture (Bernstein, 1991). Therefore, they perform various rituals with an ecological approach to prevent transmission (Rahmawati, 2017). Dayak people divide the disease into two categories, medical disease and non-medical disease (Herlan et al., 2020). Medical diseases can be prevented through ancestral belief rituals (Sutama et al., 2020). For medical treatment, they use traditional medicines from plants (Falah, Sayektiningsih, & Noorcahyati, 2013). As for non-medical diseases, they use the services of shamans to treat them.

Since long ago, the ancestors of the Kanayatn Dayak people, if there was a disease outbreak, they had carried out the *Balala'* ritual. There is no definite explanation for the historical traces of *Balala'*, it is very possible that there was influence from Hinduism (Nastiti, 2014) because the oldest Hindu kingdoms like Kutai Kertanegara are in Kalimantan (Wiratama, 2014) and several Hindu kingdoms also existed in West Kalimantan. Dayak people believe in *Balala'* as a legacy of their ancestors. When the Dayak people still live in the longhouse, rituals like this are something they always do, if there is a disease outbreak (Apandie & Ar, 2019).

The Dayak people have always respected adat as a social institution that can make vertical relationships with *Jubata* (God) and horizontal (social) relationships with others good and orderly (Asriati & Bahari, 2010). *Balala'* is intended to improve the vertical and horizontal relationship. This ceremony is usually carried out in the middle of the year or when the dry season changes to the rainy season where many people are sick. They assumed that maybe *Jubata* was angry because of sins committed by humans, for example, because they did not pay attention to sacred places such as the old forest (forest prohibition) or old graves (graves of ancestors). It could also be because humans do a lot of evil deeds in society, such as theft, fights, infidelity, etc., or caused by other mistakes (Darmadi, 2017).

*Jubata's* anger took the form of a disease which residents responded to by apologizing during the *Balala'* ceremony. The *Balala'* ritual lasts for four days. One full day no one can leave the house, no one should go out or enter the village. While the next 3 days are not allowed to pick any plants, take the fruit of the tree. These three days are called "*ngalayu*". The procession of this *Balala'* ceremony begins with praying from house to house. Then to the river, a boat drifting ceremony is carried out made of betel nut leaf petals in which various offerings are filled. The most important offering is the

chicks. The community began to carry out *Balala'* since the boat was washed away. Usually done at four in the afternoon until the afternoon of the next day. The drifting of this boat is a symbol that the disease will be washed away, while the chick is a symbol that the disease lives in the chick's body. Dayak culture is full of symbols (Kuenna, 2015).

The *Balala'* ritual aims to provide peace in the life of indigenous, nations and countries. *Balala'* is a traditional religious ritual because *Balala'* invites people to reflect. The community is invited to do introspection, a review of one's attitude, to reflect on what has been done for the good of the future. In *Balala'* there is also an element of *tolak bala*, whose function is to reduce events that can disrupt human life and is believed to be able to reduce social turmoil and keep away all forms of calamity and distress such as COVID-19 (Suni, 2020).

What is *Balala'*? Etymologically, *Balala'* consists of two syllables, *ba-* and *lala'*. *ba* (= as a prefix for a verb) which means *ber-*, and *lala'* which means taboo, fasting, or abstinence, or something that is forbidden. So *Balala'* means fasting and abstinence at the same time, both in terms of eating and drinking as well as in terms of deeds and work. In addition, limiting eating and drinking is only allowed inside each other's homes. This indigenous aims to offer a prayer to *tolak bala* to ask *Jubata* or the Almighty Creator to be kept away from plague, calamity, disaster, and other dangers. In this case, they hope to be kept away from the attack of the COVID-19. So, based on some of the above understanding it can be said that *Balala'* is related to disease prevention efforts, for that humans are obliged not to violate something that is prohibited (Alexander, 2000). The *Balala'* ritual to prevent the spread of the pandemic is something that has just been practiced. This is the strength of this research. This *Balala'* ritual is purely local wisdom and has nothing to do with the religions of the Dayaks today.

Dialectic according to Ridwan (2005) began to develop since the time of the philosophers Zeno, Socrates, and Plato. The meaning of the word dialectic (dialectic - English: dialectos - Greek) is speech, talk, debate. At first, the science of dialectics was used to draw the differences strictly. Its role, interpretation of its essence, and appreciation of its usefulness have varied greatly throughout the history of philosophy (Essays, 2008). This is due to the different positions, points of view of each philosopher.

Dialectics was originally synonymous with debate, the main purpose of which was to reject general arguments to bring them to the original reality, by showing contradictions, dilemmas, or paradoxes (Gordon, 1996). In short, dialectics is equated with exchanging opinions, so a dialectician is a person who does not leave things undisputed and this is a critical person, not easily accepting the opponent's argument while he sees contradictions, dilemmas, and paradoxes in that argument.

Dialectic in philosophy, then further developed by Socrates to get the classical form of dialectics. With dialectic, Socrates wants to bring humans to the essence, by explaining concepts in stages. Plato continues this effort by exploring nature through a process of statements and contradictions until he reaches the original reality, namely the idea. Therefore, for Plato, dialectics is a metaphysical method and produces the highest knowledge (Roberts, 2004). In culture, this is also true. Culture is the result of a dialectic that occurs unconsciously by members of the community of a society (Muqoyyidin, 2013).

The purpose of this study was to describe the perceptions and reasons for the Dayak indigenous people to carry out the *Balala'* ritual concerning efforts to prevent the transmission of the COVID-19. The efficacy of the *Balala'* Model in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic. The author finds out in detail how the relationship between the Dayak people and *Jubata* is and how the Dayak prayer model is. Another objective is to find out the impact of the *Balala'* Ritual on social interaction and clean living.

## METHOD

The research used qualitative methods (Moleong, 2019). The object of this research was the traditional *Balala'* ritual which is held in several villages in Landak Regency and the climax is in Ngabang, the capital city of the Landak Regency. The subjects of this study were the heads of traditional administrators and practitioners of the Kanayatn Dayak indigenous in the Landak Regency. Data collection techniques used observation, documentation, and interviews with some research subjects in the Landak Regency, West Kalimantan Province.

The data collection method used sense, namely by directly observing the traditional ritual and also conducting interviews both directly and through WhatsApp (WA). The interview with WA was conducted by video call and telephone (Bachri, 2010). Not infrequently also use SMS. In addition, the author also maximizes several WA Dayak groups, both sub-regency, regency, and provincial level groups. This method was chosen because throughout April 2020 many areas were not free to visit again. Field visits can only be done in March when traditional ceremonies take place in several places. The visit in March was used by the author to see firsthand the ceremony being carried out and to interview some of the traditional practitioners who were involved in the ceremony (Jailani, 2013). The data analysis technique used data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Sugiyono, 2016).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The belief of the Kanayatn Dayak indigenous people in Landak Regency towards Dayak traditional rituals is still very high (Ivo, 2012). This is marked by the orderly community following the stages of the traditional ceremonies carried out. This community order has something to do with their lifestyle which is still close to nature and also the pattern of work they do every day (Darmadi, 2017). Landak Regency consisted of 13 sub-regencies which were divided into 156 villages and 659 hamlets. The area of this district is 9,909 km<sup>2</sup> (Panggabean, 2017). The dominant ethnic group living in this district is the Kanayatn Dayak (Darmadi, 2016) no less than 90 percent. This traditional *Balala'* ceremony was carried out at all levels of government administration. This ceremony is believed by the Dayaks to have the power to prevent the arrival of COVID-19 in their area. From the results of interviews with 40 resource persons in Landak Regency, the following findings were obtained:

a. *Balala'* had efficacy because *Jubata* came to protect

From in-depth discussions with traditional Dayak Kanayatn leaders, why do they believe so much that *Jubata* came to them, the explanation was as follows: that *Jubata* (a free translation of God) which the Kanayatn Dayaks believe is around where they live. They believe that the COVID-19 originated in *Jubata*. They believe that currently, *Jubata* is punishing humans. The concept of *Jubata* is strongly influenced by the concept of God in Hinduism (Zahorka, 2012). There is more than one God (polytheist), while God is one (monotheist). This *Jubata* concept has existed long before religions entered (Kristianus, 2011). Because the concept of *Jubata* is different from the concept of God. This difference is one of the factors that influence the ambiguity of the Dayak people towards God. This concept is reflected in the life orientation of the Kanayatn Dayak people. His daily life is very closely related to customs, compare with the opinion of the Bahari (2018), myths about the events of the universe that show the relationship between humans and other creatures and the natural environment around them.

The Kanayatn Dayaks believe that there are two realms of existence, namely real life and the virtual world. Compare this with Maulana's opinion on Dayak cosmology (Maulana, 2020). What exists in the realm of real life are plants, animals, and humans. While those in the realm of virtual life include: *Iblis* (demons), *bunyi'an* (creatures such as humans who are not visible), *antu* (ghosts), *sumangat urakng mati* (spirits), and *Jubata*. These two realms of existence influence each other. The supernatural power possessed by a person is one example. To maintain a balance between real life and virtual life, the

ancestors of the Kanayatn Dayak people have local wisdom in the form of provisions or rules that must be obeyed and used as a way of life for all its citizens. Those rules are known as indigenous (Henley & Davidson, 2008).

All sources believe that everything that exists in nature comes from *Jubata* including this COVID-19. *Jubata* is the creator, keeper of everything that exists in the real world and cyberspace, and also the giver of punishment. Therefore, among the indigenous of Kanayatn Dayak, the *Jubata* people are highly respected, glorified, and feared. *Jubata* is also believed to be a very good substance, very generous, very fair, but does not hesitate to punish evil deeds (Thomson, 2000). Some expressions that are often used in mantras adequately describe this, for example: (1) *Jubata nang barampu' ai' tanah*, (2) *Adil ka Talino, Bacaramin ka Saruga, Basengat ka Jubata*, (3) *Samuanya baranse' ka Jubata*. (4) *Jubata ina' munuh, Jubata ina tidur, Jubata ina Bengkulu*. (5) *Labih adat Jubata bera, kurang adat antu nuntut*. (6) *Adat manusia sakanyang parut, adat Jubata sapatok insaut*, and many other expressions that state this.

*Jubata* as the creator and maintainer of all things by the Kanayatn Dayak people also called *Jubata Tuha* (the highest God), which is described by seven *Ne'* (a kind of God), as follows: *Ne' Panitah, Ne' Pangira, Ne' Patampa, Ne' Pangadu', Ne' Pangedokng, Ne' Pajaji, Ne' Pangu*. The number of these Gods there are 7 (Seven). The number seven is considered a sacred number, so when *Panyangahatn* (Priest) begins his prayer, he only counts up to the number 7.

Examples are as follows: *Asa..dua ...talu...ampat...lima...anam...tujuh, agi'nya koa...* etc. To present or (more accurately invite) *Jubata* to attend every traditional ritual ceremony held, *Panyangahatn* does several things, for example: (1) Calling Him in a clear and loud voice *Oooooooooo Kita' Jubata.....* etc. The word *Kita'* describes the plural, meaning more than one. (2) Calling Him employing *Bujakng Pabarar* (chosen rice mixed with coconut oil), which is symbolized by scattering seven whole grains of rice with *bamang* as follows: *Aaaa...ian Kita' Bujakng Pabarar, Kita' nang ba tongkakng lanso, nang ba seap libar, ampa jolo man linsode batinyo saluakng jannyikng.....* etc. This hyperbolic-like disclosure illustrates that the number being called out is a lot. (3) Calling Him by sounding the *potekng baliukng* (pickaxe) 7 times. Each sound represents one *Ne'* (God), this means that many are invited.

The *Jubata* concept which is believed by the Kanayatn Dayak people is influenced by oral tradition (Effendi, 2009), making it different from Hinduism in Bali or elsewhere. Evidence of the presence of Hindu belief in Dayak people is the *Balala'* ritual discussed in this study, and the *patunuan* (grave). Before the Dayak people embraced Islam and Christianity, the Dayaks were not buried but their bodies burned, that's why it was called *patunuan*. The concept is the same as the concept of the *Kaharingan* religion (Hindu Kaharingan) in Central Kalimantan. The *Kaharingan* people in Central Kalimantan still practice this culture of burning corpses. They call it the *Tiwah* ceremony (Kuenna, 2015). The same thing is practiced by Hindus in Bali, they call it the *Ngaben* ceremony (Suteja, 2019).

There are no Kanayatn Dayak characters, so there is no written documentation written by the ancestors of the Dayak people. This condition had a significant effect on the different understandings of *Jubata* earlier. This is where the dialectic occurs. The majority religion adopted by the Kanayatn Dayak tends to co-opt this *Jubata* concept. For the current conditions of this research, for example, when prayers/mantras are performed, there is the title *Jubata* which tends to be equated with God according to the concept of God in Catholicism, especially God Almighty and the Creator God – *Jubata-ne'patampa-ne'pajadi* -. The influence of Hindu belief has not been included in the analysis in this study.

b. *Balala'* renewed social interaction in the form of social distancing

In this study, it was found that maintaining the social distancing recommended by the government to prevent the transmission of COVID-19 is in harmony with the *Balala'* ceremony in Dayak culture. This is one of the factors why the Dayaks can follow the government's advice to keep their distance.

So this *Balala* ceremony needs to be seen with the approach of the social structure of the Dayak community (Wilson, 2017). How to understand the social structure of the Kanayatn Dayak people, the steps are as follows: first, to describe the social structure that still has remnants today. In the villages in the Landak Regency, they are generally still there. Researchers had visited 12 (twelve) villages and this can certainly be seen. Second, see and identify the function of the social structure in everyday life. In this case, using scientific methodology to analyze everyday life. How it works with the hermeneutic principle. In everyday life, social interaction usually occurs because each actor involved in it interprets the meaning contained in each of his actions (Randa et al., 2011).

This social structure consists of two basic components: rules and resources. Rules must come from norms and values. In that way, we can ensure that if there are rules that are still a reference for people to act, then there must be norms and values behind those rules. Meanwhile, sources in this context in the social structure of the Kanayatn Dayak people can be found in *parene'an* (units of patrilineal kinship), *radakng* (units of settlements), and *palasar-palaya* (units of the place of livelihood). The unity between the three units is used as a benchmark to see the basic form (ideal type) of Kanayatn's social structure. A chart of the basic framework of the social structure of the Kanayatn Dayak people can be seen in Fig. 1.

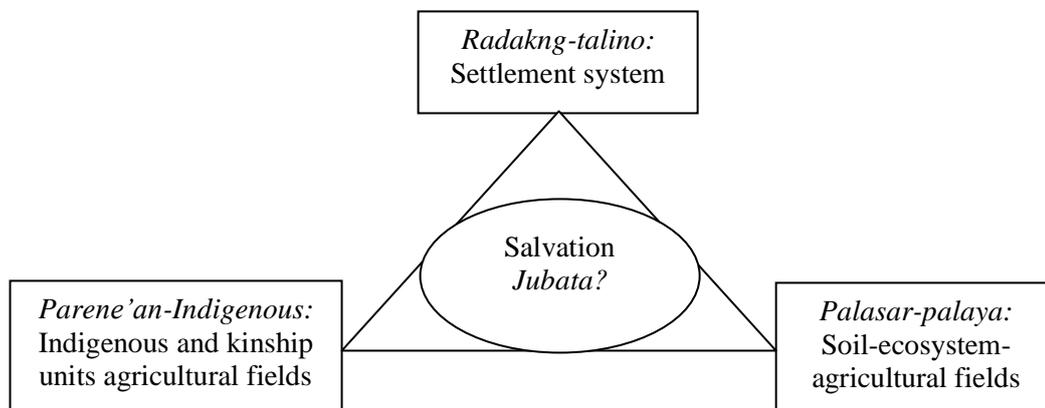


Fig. 1 Relationship Between Settlement System, Land, and Indigenous for Salvation

Based on Fig. 1, the core of the Kanayatn Dayak social structure is the *radakng-talino* (in the past it was called the longhouse). Meanwhile indigenous and *parene'an* and *palasar-palaya* are only supporters, although we realize that without indigenous and *parene'an* and *palasar-palaya*, *talino* cannot survive. In the past, people could move to the *palasar-palaya* they owned in search of a better, safer one. In essence, *parene'an* and *palasar-palaya* must have the function of providing salvation to members of a *talino*.

Since *talino* is at the core of the social structure, it is at the apex of a triangle that supports it. That is, he is important, but without two supports, *talino* cannot develop. The two supports are also related to each other. Each *talino* has a *sumangat* (spirit) that cannot be precisely defined. *Sumangat* is often combined with *ayu* which has the same meaning. The meaning roughly refers to the origin of *talino* who are spiritual, protective, and always present amid their lives. That *sumangat* is on the other side of the world. There are no clear signs as to whether the *sumangat* is transcendent. Instead, it may be more horizontal with humans. Part of the *sumangat* takes the form of an animal (Mariatie, 2018).

In the middle of the triangle, there is a circle filled with the concept of salvation that touches the relationship of the three structural components. Meanwhile, the word *Jubata* is intentionally put with a question mark to indicate whether salvation in the view of traditional society with such a structure, does come from *Jubata*, and what *Jubata* is like, or comes from something else.

Because *parene'an* is a community unit of the *talino* family. *Talino's* principle is *patrilineal* and seniority of kinship structure. *Patrilineal* leadership designates the authority that lies with men. Meanwhile, seniority leadership refers to the status of men in the kinship structure called brothers and sisters, not especially at their age. So, *talino's* leadership over the *parene'an* is in a group of brothers whose structure follows the principle of seniority: the father and the younger brothers. So, the *parene'an* leader is not a single leader, but a collective leader with an appointment system that is *primus inter pares*. Traditional leadership in Kanayatn is unlikely to be authoritarian. The decision rests with a body called the *tuha karamigi* (leader of the longhouse). Of course, we do not find any discussion of the intricacies of traditional Kanayatn leadership in this study. What we want to see is how the salvation of *talino* in *parene'an* is guaranteed, and how the role of *tuha karamigi* in it is.

The majority of *parene'an* is derived from a *talino* derivative. They are called *sote karabat*. *Palasar-palaya* also belongs to *Talino*. There are *palasar-palaya* that are done, and some are not. *Talino*, which has many *palasar-palaya*, is often partially unworked. From the several *palasar-palaya*, one or more function as *palasar-palaya kampokng* or *palasar-palaya binua*.

Although in sociology all belief systems are called religions (Dion, 2014), the author still uses the belief system as a concept. Why? because believing is more revealing of people's faith in something based on their needs in this world and possibly in the hereafter. While religion shows more organizational or institutional aspects, which do not necessarily directly touch people's beliefs about something they believe in. For the Kanayatn context, I refer to their religious system as the Kanayatn Traditional Belief System (KTBS).

- c. The *Balala'* ritual ceremony made the person who performs it clean, if someone is clean then COVID-19 cannot enter that person

From several sources, the author can explain it as follows: the core of trust is salvation in this world and the world there. How the ancient Kanayatn sought salvation is a central question for a sociological study. Whereas *Jubata* or whatever form it is called is a conclusion, if any, based on a description of how people obtain salvation, as one of the main questions in sociology, how society could exist (Kamil, 2018). To support the search for the concept of salvation according to the Dayak people, what they do during the *Balala'* ceremony is as follows: *Jubata* or whatever it is called, I present the *talino*, *parene'an*, and *palasar-palaya* salvation prayer models like in Fig. 2.

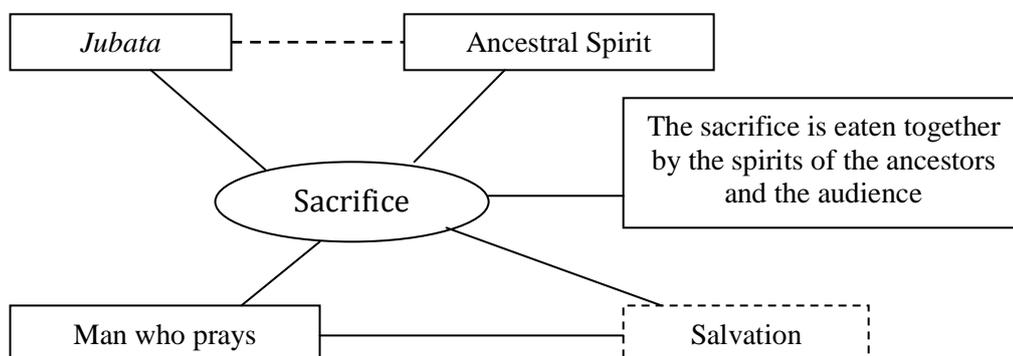


Fig. 2 The Dayak Prayer Model

Based on Fig. 2, the Dayaks place the position of *Jubata* side by side with the spirits of their ancestors (the existing Gods) and it is clear that the concept of *Jubata* is not the same as God in Islamic and Christian beliefs (Muttaqin, 2012). All forms of offerings were addressed to *Jubata* and also the spirits of the ancestors. Likewise, the request for welfare and life salvation and to avoid all curses, disasters and calamities such as the COVID-19 pandemic is as revealed in the prayer of *panyangahatn* : “ ... *minta' baraseh salamat panyakng omor* (minta bersih selamat panjang umur), *batubuh ringakng basukat panyakng* (bertubuh sehat, berukur panjang) *babohol lanu'*, *minta rejeki untukng tuah satingi kayu raya bukit sakayu ai'*, *ahe di inta samua*, *nyabauang barea' nginsi'i pati*, *kade bapadi*

*bakatibakng pahit, nginsi'i koyan, nginsi'i dango batanya padi lama batinih padi baru, kade bajalu sakumakng lati' bamanok sasige aur, iatn nang dipinta' dipulih kakita' pama .... Jubata.... ". Koanya agi' ka' ne'..... etc.*

All offering prayers in any traditional ceremony from someone delivered by priest *panyangahatn* are not only shown to *Jubata* but also to ancestral spirits and other spirits, basically praying and asking for the welfare and salvation of life in the world. Interestingly, there are no prayers that touch the salvation of life in the afterlife, in the afterlife, unless the prayer offering is specifically for the dead, and even then it is not a prayer or a request, but rather a message, namely a message to the spirits of people who have just been buried. When the earth's hole is filled with earth, then someone who is considered to be the elder will lead the prayer.

He, while patting the grave land on the head, said a prayer: "*Asa – Dua – Talu – Ampat – Lima – Anam – Tujuh*". *Duhani kao sianu'a, ian aku masatna' kao dah pulakng ka' nagari binua asal nyu, man jodo bagiatn-nyu, janji man Nek Nange nyu, kao batikar tanah, bakubu' amutn, babantal urat, ba api janyahakng bajalatn kao baik-baik, ame kao ngeba'-nganan, tamui' Nek Nange nyu, ame kao ngalit, ame kao naap surabekng ka' jukut urakng, pamare' kami dah cukup ka' kao, nang ada kao tantuatn, nang nana' ame kao gago'i. Kao urakng baik, urakng nang dipamaluatn, urakng nang diumpamaan, kao tali kaya, tali pagalar pangurantakng, ame kao jadi laok, jadi ganye, jadi tikus, jadi baho' ka' uma ka' tahutn, kao jadi biat, jadi pama ka' binua ka' nagari, nangahi' anak ucu' jujuhatn nyu nang masih idup. Diatn kao tamui' da' sianu, pa'uda' pa'tua, adik, aka', enek nyu ( sebutkan namanya yang telah disebutkan disitu ). Ame kita' nana' bapaduliatn. Iatn pasatn kami dah cukup ka' kao sianu'a, kao dah pulakng kanagari asal nyu, man jodo bagiatn nyu, janji man Nek Nange nyu, ame kao ngarere' ngalimatn kami, Kurs ... sumangat kami, pulakng ka' tubuh ka' karokngnya, ame rere' man urakng mati*".

After that, the *pangurukng sumangat* was clipped to each other's ears. In the message of the dead, it is clear that there is not the slightest touch about the new life of salvation in heaven or whatever it is called. Indeed, many people equate the notion of heaven with *subayatn* because the word *subayatn* is often mentioned in *panyangahatn* prayers in certain ceremonies, especially in the case of shamanism such as *baliatn* or *balenggang*. The concept of *subayatn* cannot be equated with the concept of Heaven. The word *subayatn* is taken from the story of *Nek Baruakng Kulup* about the origin of the descent of rice into the world, wherein the odyssey *Nek Baruakng* married a very beautiful girl named *Nek Siputih Panara Subayatn* from that marriage she gave birth to *Rasi Satempa'* meaning all kinds of *rasi* (natural signs) and because there are so many that they are full of one *tempa'* (big basket), like *so'oh, kutuk, keto, bura'*, and others. Thus the author concludes that *subayatn* is not heaven, but a land where spirits can change their faces and appearances to be very beautiful for *ngalimatn, ngarere'* (seducing) the human spirit. That's why the *baliatn* shaman when he calls a sick person *sumangat* often says: *Kurs sumangat, ame rere' ka subayatn* (Go home, don't roam your spirit in the land of spirits).

*Jubata* does not seem to live in *Subayatn*, while God in the Catholic sense resides in Heaven. The *Jubata* live close to human life, such as in residential houses, in areas where rituals are performed (usually marked by the sound of a *keto* bird), in agricultural areas, in gardens, in settlements, and in areas where humans are active. The approach to the structure of prayer and the concept of *subayatn* has not been included in this study, although it does not have a significant effect on the conclusion.

## CONCLUSIONS

The *Balala'* ritual which had been held by the Kanayatn Dayak people in the Landak Regency of West Kalimantan had four dimensions, namely prevention from disease outbreaks, protection from disease outbreaks, treatment for those who are already suffering, and recovery for those whose lives are burdened after being afflicted with the disease. The Dayaks believe that the outbreak of the COVID-19

pandemic could be overcome for three reasons: the first, they had invited *Jubata* to come during the *Balala'* ritual so *Jubata* would prevent the arrival of the virus and would protect them; the second, the *Balala'* traditional ceremony was in line with the government's call for social distancing; and the third, they who had been *Balala'* had been clean so that the COVID-19 cannot enter them. The belief pattern of the Kanayatn Dayak people tends to be syncretism. Dayak people believe in God according to their religion but also believe in *Jubata* according to the beliefs of their ancestors. *Jubata* is pragmatically the same as God but spiritually *Jubata* is different from God. This ambiguity occurs because the religion they follow is different from the belief system they believe in. One thing is certain that the Kanayatn Dayak indigenous are in line with government policies to prevent the COVID-19 pandemic.

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