The Ritual of Farming in Indonesia
(An Ethnographic Study in the Aneuk Jamee Community in South Aceh- Sumatra)

Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, MSc, MA
Faculty of Adab and Humanities of the State Islamic University (UIN) Ar-Raniry, Aceh- Indonesia

ABSTRACT
Farming is one of the main sources of income for the Aneuk Jamee. There is a well-known expression that “the main source of income is farming and the main ruler of the land is a king”. This expression can be interpreted that farming affects all livelihood. Another expression says “rich by having gold is incomplete, rich by having unhusked rice is complete”. In other words, wealth is valued in farms and rice, not in gold. This article discusses the contemporary adat relating to “the feast ritual for farms” in the villages in West Labuhan Haji, South Acèh which may have been forgotten or will be forgotten due to development and technological advances as well as the mobility of human beings. It pays particular attention to the ways the villagers conceive rice and how it is presented in Blangporoh village. Other neighboring villages, however, are also taken into consideration when necessary to complete this discussion. This research is a field research and its data were obtained through meticulous observation and in depth interview with key informants. The result of the research shows that it rice is seen as a metaphorical human child because the farmers believe that rice has the same origin as humans, that it comes from the myth of the sacrificed daughter of Adam and Eve which has become a divine template and an integral part of the culture of the Aneuk Jemee Tribe in Blangporoh village. The farmers apply various adat to improve the harvest; to get rid of pests, and they observe taboos from the planting until the rice enters the granary, preserving its vital force so that stomachs can be filled with its nourishing power. This also portrays an ideal image of the communities.

Key words: The Ritual of Farming, Farming Activities and Its Adat

1. INTRODUCTION
The adat of cultivating the farm in Blangporoh village does not differ from other villages in Acèh. Only the terms used are different. A four square rice field in Acèh is known as yôk umong but in Blangporoh village the term used is pirieng. A field is planted with eight litres of rice seeds. The field always has the same form and is bordered with a boundary called pematang sawah. There are different types of agricultural land: “farm with stored rain water” and “irrigated rice field”. For the farm with stored rain water, all activities in the rice fields follow the seasons. The dry land is called ladang and the wet land is called sawah. Consulting a seasonal calendar is of utmost important in sowing rice seeds in their
seedbeds to moving young rice plants to the farms to avoid problems from plant pests. For the irrigated rice fields, the farmers do not depend on seasons. Nearly all farms in Blangporoh are of the “farm with stored rain water type” as irrigation does not function well. As a result the farmers regulate their farming activities according to season.

Like other areas of Aceh, in West Labuhan Haji there are two kinds of terrain) for planting rice; 1) The wet rice field is called sawah and is situated in low areas. 2) The dry rice field is called ladang and is situated on slopes of hills or mountains. Ladang which is just cleaned of clumps of earth and plants is fertile enough. The earth is loose and moist because of a thick layer of fertile soil. The rice seeds for ladang are different from those for sawah. Rice plants in dry rice fields are stronger and more resistant to pests. The way of planting is by filling holes called teumajôk or tajôk. Men and women do teumajôk. The man makes the holes with a wooden stick called dugay and the woman fills the holes with several rice seeds that have been soaked earlier. The woman then covers the holes with the soil so the seed does not get eaten by birds. It is similar to what the village farmers do for planting peanut but peanut seeds are not soaked prior to being placed in holes.

Traditionally, the rice plots have a certain size; a general size is called yôk. One yôk can be planted with one naléh of rice. One naléh is equal to 32 kg of rice. Usually one wet rice field is a half yôk which is called siblah yôk umong. There is also one wet rice field that is ¼ (a quarter) yôk in size called sisukée umong. There are three kinds of wet rice fields: (1) Farms with stored rain water situated near a river and often utilizing the river’s water. This kind of wet rice field is called umong ie peneuék (irrigated farm). (2) Muddy farms that are situated lower down on the earth’s surface and do not depend much on rainfall. (3) Swamp farms whose mud is thicker compared with the muddy ones. These three kinds of wet rice field are cultivated differently. The farms with stored rain water are usually cultivated by plowing. The muddy farms can be plowed or hoed but the swamp farms are often prepared by weeding the grasses with a little bit hoeing. Sometimes the farmers chase their buffalos onto their farms called publôh so that the farm becomes nearly ready to plant.

During plowing, the first place which is plowed by the farmers is their seedbeds. These take about two weeks to plow. After the first plowing, the terrain is allowed to rest for several days to let the grasses covered by mud decay. Then the second plowing called balék cak is done, that is, to turn over the clumps from the first flowing. The clumps of soil are broken while the remaining grasses in the mud are weeded. The third plowing will be then done to make the terrain ready to plant. Before planting the young rice plants in the fields, the farmers first flatten surfaces of the wet rice field with a harrow made of wood. In cultivating the wet rice field, the harrow is only used for the last stage. For the previous stages the farmers use a plow intensively.
2. METHODS

The field researches were conducted by means of participant observation as the principal method of this empirical study. Participant observation method means that the researcher is involved directly with the community in order to observe and document people’s activities. Besides a meticulous observation of the ritual actions and the library research mentioned earlier, I also used in-depth interviews, discussions, recording and audio-visual registrations with the main protagonists of the ritual performance as an instrument to gather information. All interviews were conducted in the Acèhnese language (my mother tongue), Indonesian (my national language), and the Jamee language (local language). For interviews conducted in Jamee language—spoken by some members of the population the assistance of a local interpreter had to be solicited. The interviews and discussions enabled me to communicate with a large number of people in West Labuhan Haji district, and to explore the meanings, symbols, and values people attach to these calendrical rituals, the ways in which their ritual practices are embedded in the local world view.

3. THE ORIGIN OF RICE

There are several myths about the origin of rice. According to one male farmer in Blangporoh, rice originated from the light of the Prophet Muḥammad called Nūr Muḥammad. His ‘soul’ (roh) is believed to be an embryo of the complex universe from which everything emerged; the souls of all prophets, apostles, angels, jinn, human beings, animals, plants etc. The myth is as follows:

After the Nūr Muḥammad was created, it was motionless for about 60,000 years and finally the light of the praise-worthy claimed to be God: “I am the God”. Immediately Allāh responded: “No, you are not God, you are the embryo of the whole universe I have created”. Hearing Allāh’s decree Nūr Muḥammad trembled with fright and his whole body was covered with sweat and fell down six drops/levels:

The first drop/level turned out to be the soul of Saidina Abubakar, the first caliph
The second drop/level turned out to be the soul of Saidina Umar, the second caliph
The third drop/level turned out to be the soul of Saidina Usman, the third caliph
The fourth drop/level turned out to be soul of Saidina Ali, the fourth caliph
The fifth drop/level turned out to be Air Mawar [flower]
The sixth drop/level turned out to be Beras [rice].

However, most male and female farmers who I talked to say that rice is from the Prophet Adam’s daughter who was sacrificed and who became a source of life for her parents, she has various names. One female farmer says that the sacrificed Adam’s daughter’s name is Sinur Qadim Cinta Rahman. One male farmer says that her name is Nurmani. Another male
farmer says that her name is Pho Kujamadah and Khadijah says that her name is Simeulue while the other male farmer says that her name is Nurhayati. All the mentioned names are female.

According Rosmawati, one female farmer in Blangporoh village, the Prophet Adam discovered rice. At the command of Allāh through Jébrail [Angel Gabriel], Adam sacrificed his daughter and received the first rice grains from her body and learned step by step how to raise and care for the crop. In the myth, Adam and Eve play the role of a ritual specialist; that is, carrying out the ritual, asking Allāh for divine guidance and leading others in each step of cultivation. The full version of this myth is as follows:

The Prophet Adam cultivated his land. He was then confused as to what seeds should be planted. He asked Allāh about it. Allāh then sent word to Adam by way of an angel [Gabriel] that he should cut his last daughter’s throat, cut her into little pieces, and scatter the pieces onto the farm. The pieces turned into rice seeds, and grew to become rice plants. After hearing Allāh’s word from Gabriel, Adam took his last daughter Simeulue from the cradle, brought her and sacrificed her in the center of the field without Eve’s knowledge. After being cut, her body was divided into 5 portions. Her blood was placed in a container, her skin was placed into another container, her flesh was placed in another container, her bones were placed in another container, and her inner organs such as heart, lever, intestines etc. were placed in the other container. After a moment, her blood became black glutinous rice, her inner meat became red glutinous, her skin became sikuneng rice, her bones became white glutinous rice, and her flesh became normal rice, with the name Simeulue. After searching for several days, Eve asked Adam where her daughter was. Adam did not answer. He asked Eve to go the farm. Eve then went to the farm and called out her daughter’s name. All rice plants answered, saying: “I am Simeulue”, while shaking. Simeulue [the name of rice] said, “Please no longer look for me, mother; I have become your means of life.

As the myth continues, Allāh teaches Adam how to harvest, thresh, and cook the rice, and how to perform rituals for healing the crops and expelling the pests. When the first rituals had been performed, Gabriel scrutinizes Adam’s preparation to ensure they were correct. As Adam had forgotten how to proceed, he asked for divine guidance by praying, just as the rice ritual specialist does today in Blangporoh village. In addition, the myth about the origin of rice in Kutaiboh village is more or less the same as that in Blangporoh in which rice also originated from a human. Katijah, one female farmer in Kutaiboh speaks on the origin of rice as follows:

Rice was from the daughter of the Prophet Adam. Her name was Putri Sanang Sari. Adam had prepared land for cultivation but had nothing to sow, so Adam brought and sacrificed his daughter in his field. Her body then became
normal rice such as *siemelue*, *sigupai*. Her blood became glutinous rice such as *leukat idie* and *leukat adang*. Eve, her mother did not know that her daughter had turned to rice. She looked for her in the field and called out her daughter’s name. The rice plants answered: “I am Putri Sanang Sari”. She [rice] then asked for food; *kanji* (porridge), *apam* cake and *leumang* cake to her mother, Eve.

In this myth the sacrificed girl is also the same as mentioned above, that is the daughter of Adam. Three entities are of special importance in the narrative: ordinary rice and glutinous rice and asking for three types of food: *kanji*, *apam* and *leumang* as offerings made for the farming ritual in Blangporoh village. *Kanji* is served several weeks after the rice plants are planted. *Apam* is served when the rice plants are “pregnant” or germinated. *Leumang* is served as the rice plants blossom.

These myths become a divine template and culturally belong to the Aneuk Jemee because they trace the power to nourish from a sacrificed daughter, with whom humans continue to speak generation after generation. In addition, these myths are typical of those told in West Labuhan Haji, South Acèh and are found elsewhere in the archipelago especially the myth of rice narrated by one female farmer in Blangporoh and in Kutaiboh. These myths fit with the general Indonesian idea that fertility comes from a divine female figure through sacrifice (de Josselin de Jong 1965). iv

4. **THE ADAT BEFORE CULTIVATING FARMS**

4.1. *Khanduri ulèe lhueng*

A khanduri held annually at the head/top of a ditch /water supply when the farmers want to start plowing their farms is called *khanduri ulèe lhueng*. The following is a description of the *khanduri ulèe lhueng* held by Kemukiman Blangkeujèrèn in west Labuhan Haji which consists of Kutaiboh village, Ujongpadang village, Tengohiboh village, Pulokan village, and Tutong village. The performance of the *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is at the grave of deceased Tgk. Chik Muḥammad Amin Abdul Gaffar alias Tgk. Ciraceu. This grave is situated in a mountain and close to a water supply. The people in west Labuhan Haji deem that deceased Tgk. Ciraceu a saint and an ‘ulamā’ as well. That is why he is *keuramat*, a miraculous gift bestowed by Allāh. vi Every year the *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is held on the farm to ask Allāh with the *keuramat* of deceased Tgk. Ciraceu to bless the farmers’ rice plants and to ensure its smooth transition from seedling to plant to nourishing food. Farmers believe that the soul of deceased Tgk. Ciraceu could protect the rice plants for a good harvest; meanwhile the aim of the ritual of *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is to improve the harvest.

A month before the ritual of *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is performed, all village rice specialists called *keujruen blang* vii and the head rice specialist at district level called *hop keujruen blang* are invited by the head of the district to hold a meeting with the invited village leaders and the leader of several villages at the district office in Blangkeujèrèn, West Labuhan Haji.
They are invited to hear these rice specialists’ considerations about the appropriate time for cultivating the farms because they know many kinds of seasons such as the season of caterpillars, the season of mice and so on. After consulting the “science of stars and seasons”, they decide that the appropriate time to start plowing the farms is in the middle of June. The \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng} is then held at the beginning of July. After meeting each rice specialist goes back to his village and announces the decision made in the meeting after the Friday prayers. In the past, each rice specialist went back to his village after the meeting, and blew a trumpet made of buffalo’s horns. The sound of trumpet meant that two days later the farmers could cultivate the rice fields.

A day before the \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng} was held, the grave of Tgk. Ciraceu under shady trees was cleaned by some farmers and several white pennants were “planted” to flutter at the grave. These pennants are saved by the rice specialist. Some farmers say that fluttering a white pennant at the graves is the sign that the farmers are ready to cultivate their farms. Others say that fluttering the white pennants at the sacred graves is a sign of asking an approval and “blessing” from Tgk. Ciraceu for cultivating their farms. Some others say that fluttering the white pennant at the grave means that the \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng} ritual is performed sincerely by the farmers. The farmers believe that the white pennant has been infused with “blessing” because it is fluttered before the Qur’ānic verses, \textit{taḥlīl} (repeating recitation of the confession of faith: there is no deity but Allāh) and \textit{du’ā’} (prayer) are recited at the grave. In addition, the white pennants fluttered at the grave are often torn by the farmers and a little bit is then placed in the junction of the water flowing to their fields. This is done to allow the pennants’ water to flow throughout the farm to ward off the rice pests. In addition, the pennant is also often fastened to a bamboo and erected at one of the corners of their farms. By doing so, the rice pests will no longer disturb the rice plants. Due to the “blessing power” of white pennants, it always flutters at the grave in every \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng}, said one rice specialist. Several years ago because of conflict between the Acèh freedom movement and the Indonesian government, the farmers in West Labuhan Haji were afraid and did not hold the \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng} ritual at the sacred graves but one of the village rice specialists held up the white pennants as a symbol to ask permission from the deceased Tgk. Ciraceu to start cultivating the rice fields. In addition, a day preceding the \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng}, the farmers also clear a place quite close to the grave for the imām and some teungku who will recite the Qur’ān, repetition of faith and prayer (Arabic \textit{du’ā’}) on the day of \textit{khanduri}.

On the day of the \textit{khanduri ulèe lhueng} ritual, all village rice specialists, the head of rice specialist, village elders, the head of several villages and all village leaders’ and imām and nearly all the farmers in Kemukiman Blangkeujèrèn come to this ritual. A buffalo is slaughtered by a teungku and its blood flows into the irrigation water and later on to the water fields. When I ask a question, why the buffalo’s blood should flow in the irrigation water? Some farmers say to feed “malevolent souls” so that they do not disturb the rice plants. Some say to feed “invisible creatures
or genie” in the water before the farmers “open the earth”. Others say to feed animals in the waters so that they do not disturb the rice plants. After slaughtering the buffalo, the head, four legs, heart, spleen and back bones are taken for the leader of the rice specialist. He then divides them with the village rice specialist in the district. This is a given right and responsibility. The village leader and the leader of several villages are given one portion and another portion is given to a man who takes care of the buffalo several days before it is slaughtered. Just the same as the slaughtering on two days preceding Ramadhan or on the meaugang day, a three-finger length of the slaughtered buffalo’s neck on the day of khanduri uièe lhueng is given to the teungku who slaughters the buffalo because he is considered close to Allāh. No parts of the slaughtered buffalo are given to the poor and orphans on that day. The meat is then heaped up and divided into many portions equals to the number of fields. Every heap of meat should have a part of the skin and the heart of the slaughtered buffalo as well as flesh.

For one nalèh of farm, a farmer must buy Rp. 100.000 of the slaughtered meat. If the farmers with farms do not buy the slaughtered meat at the khanduri uièe lhueng, they are not allowed to cultivate the farms although the farms belong to them. Their farms will be rented to other village farmers by the rice specialist. The farmers buy an amount of meat at the khanduri uièe lhueng in accordance with how many farms they have. On that day, all farmers have to buy the slaughtered meat as they are afraid that their farms will be taken by the rice specialist and rented to other village farmers.

The meat bought by the farmers at the khanduri uièe lhueng may be brought home and shared with their family. After many heaps of meats are sold to the village farmers, the head of rice specialist takes more than 40 kg meat to be cooked with jackfruit and eaten together at the place of the khanduri. In the past, about 10 kg of meat was placed by Keujruen Gadéng in the mouth of the cave of batèe meucanang situated about 200 meters from the grave of deceased Tgk. Ciraceu for the tiger. The term of address for a tiger is the owner of the place, the “oldest male of family clan”, “grandmother” and the king of forest. The farmers were afraid that if this is not done, the tigers would become vicious and descend to their village and kill their cattle. But now this is no longer practiced due to criticism by local modernists as well as the disapproval of the local “ulamā’ claiming that this practice is superfluous or wasteful.

While the meat is cooked by the committee members, the imām and some teungku recite Qur’ān together around the grave and then recite the repetition of the confession of faith “tahlīf” and prayer “du’ā’”. Before these recitations is done, incense is burned at the head of the grave some farmers say this is to call the soul “roh” of deceased Tgk. Ciraceu, but some others say it is to call angels to take part in the recitation and later bring the prayer up to Allāh. The aim of repeating the confession of faith and prayer recitations is to ask Allāh to protect the rice plants so that the farmers can get a good harvest and can fulfill their alms, says the imām. Keujruen Hasymi contends “Good harvest given by Allāh is one of His
mercies in our life. His mercy is sent down to human beings if the people ask him for something by reciting prayer together”. At the same time the farmers hope that through the keuramatxv of the deceased Tgk. Ciraceu, their rice planting is “blessed” and that they will have a good harvest and the farmers can safely cultivate their farms.xvi

In addition, many other farmers still continue working together to clean ditches/irrigation where the water flows. They stop and take a rest at 12 o’clock on that day, the same time as the teungku ends the repeated recitations of faith and prayer at the grave. The farmers were together with the committee and the riceters of the Qur’ān leave a half an hour later to eat together. While eating, one of the village rice specialist says that now all farmers are allowed to start plowing their farms but first plowing should be performed by a devout person or by the rice specialist himself by saying bismillāh (in the name of Allāh). After that other farmers are allowed to plow their farms either on that day or on the following days.

After eating, the head of rice specialist takes a turn to stand up to thank all attendants for their participation and announces some farming rules and taboo injunctions to the village farmers. They are not allowed to plow their rice fields on Friday. The following day which is not Friday is chosen for the first “ritual of hoeing”. All farmers are told to go to the mosque to pray together. In addition, for the farmers who do not buy “the ditch head meat and do not take part in cleaning or repairing the ditch either, the village rice ritual specialist will cut a bamboo tree and plant it in the middle of his farm meaning that his farm is not allowed to be cultivated this year. That farmer has to fill ranub batētxvii with an amount of money as well as to ask forgiveness from the village elders should he want the punishment undone. The ranub batē contains betel vine, betel nut, lime, gambier and tobacco together with money of Rp. 200,000. The schedule given by the village rice specialist must be obeyed by the farmers. The leader of the rice specialists then intones some rules of farming in the following Acèhnese aphorism.

Menyoe pageu blang meubeunteung limong If a farm’s fence has five knots
Jeuneurop teuglong leueng leueng sideupa Poles are planted; ditches are a cubit in depth
Peunoh syarat pageu, keubeuditamong Full requirements for a fence, a buffalo enters
Deunda peukeunong bak ureueng po hareuta Fines are given [by adat] for the possessor of wealth
Lampoh meu pageu, umong me ateueng Garden has fences, farm has boundaries
Pageu meubeunteung, ureueng meunama Fences have knots, people have names

This aphorism is a reminder for the adat of farming rituals regulating the relationships among farmers, between farmers and the rice specialists and between farmers and the environment. In addition, it also regulates the relationship between farmers and society, especially the farmers who have cattle such as buffalo, goat, sheep, chicken, duck etc, so that the
animals do not enter the plot. If the *adat* of farming is transgressed, a fine is given to the farmers. The head of the rice specialist gives examples; if farmers fight on the farm, a goat must be paid as a fine. If a buffalo enters the farm, 10 *naléh* of unhusked rice must be paid. If a goat enters the farm, 5 *naléh* of unhusked rice must be paid to the rice specialist. Moreover, the rice specialist regulates the water flow from one person’s farm to another, he regulates the *adat* fines for the farmers who fight on the farms which are under cultivation and regulates the *adat* for the farmers who have water on their farms to other neighbor farmers’ farms and also regulates fines for those who make other farmers’ farms dry because they lead the water to their farms. The regulation of the farm water is made in a joint decision. At the end of his speech, he explains that the regulations of the *adat* regarding pawning, selling, buying, the redemption of pawning and the dividing of the results of farm work and the requirements of renting and renting out the farms, buffalo, and the wages of work from planting until harvesting. After the speech, the cases which are related to farming activities are brought up and discussed among the farmers because they all attend on the day of *khanduri ulèe lhueng* except those farmers who do not utilize the irrigation water because it does not reach their farms. When this is over, the ritual of *khanduri ulèe lhueng* ends.

After the *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is over, there are two people left; the head of the rice specialist and a leader of several villages. I ask the head of the rice specialist, why the ritual of *khanduri ulèe lhueng* is held? He answers “it is an effort to bring back what our ancestors had performed many years ago. By holding this *khanduri*, there are many advantages, for example; sowing rice seeds and planting the young rice plants will be done at once”. But most importantly, according to Imuem Mukim Hukom, the *khanduri ulèe lhueng* can make the village farmers more cohesive and create togetherness so that it is easy for the head of the rice specialists to give advice regarding farming activities and for planting at the same time. Cultivating farms, sowing and planting rice at the same time are crucially important to avoid the rice plant pests. As a result, the farmers can get a good harvest. Finally the *imuem mukim* says “if there is rice, everything is ok” and continues with the following Acèhnese expression:

- *Menyo tapajoh padé tameugo*  If we eat rice from cultivated farming
- *Kulét ngon aso lagè bungong jeumpa jeumpa flowers*
- *Menyo tapajoh breuh yang tablo*  If we eat rice which is bought
- *Habeh pèng lampuro tanyo sengsara we are miserable*

Therefore, the success of harvest is really hoped for by all farmers, especially the farmers in the Kemukiman Blangkeujèrèn, West Labuhan Haji.
5. **THE ADAT WHEN THE RICE GROWS**

5.1. Sowing rice seeds

A female farmer usually first dries the rice seeds which have been mixed with the “mother seeds” for half an hour before sowing them in their seedbed. They are then bathed with water mixed with calamondin juice or lime juice to clean them before they are sown on their seedbed. This treatment is the same as that performed on an infant as it is bathed for the first time by the midwife after delivery. Soon after being bathed, they are soaked in a big container for a day till they swell. They are then dried on a floor layered with banana leaves; and water sometimes is sprinkled on them. They are then covered with a white cloth to avoid the shadow of human. The aim of covering with the white cloth is to be “blessed” and later prevents disturbances by pests. After their buds start showing, they are then smoked with incense to call their *seumangat* (spirit) as follows:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Allāhumma shali‘alā Muḥammad} & \quad \text{O Allāh please bless upon} \\
\text{Beuseulamat, beusejahtera, beubeurekat} & \quad \text{Please be safe, peaceful,} \\
\text{Hai Sinur Qadim Cinta Rahman} & \quad \text{Hai Sinur Qadim Cinta Rahman} \\
\text{Jino lon pinah gata lam keubon raya} & \quad \text{Now I move you in the big} \\
\text{Bèk seumanyut ngon teumakôt} & \quad \text{Do not be horrified and afraid!} \\
\text{Malaikat peut sajan gata} & \quad \text{Four angels [Gabriel, Mikail,} \\
\text{Israfil and Izrail] are with you} & \text{and flashes of lightening!} \\
\text{Geulanteu dengon kilat bèk katakôt} & \quad \text{Do not be afraid of thunderclap} \\
\text{Lamseupôt jet keuseulōh gata} & \quad \text{In the darkness they become} \\
\text{Gata ka lôn puduk siat lam keubōn raya} & \quad \text{I move you a moment in the big} \\
\text{Na Phota Allāh yang peulara} & \quad \text{There is Allāh who shields you} \\
\text{Krūe seumangat} & \quad \text{Krūe seumangat!} \\
\text{Beunadum seumangat gata bek na gundah} & \quad \text{All your *seumangat*,} \\
\text{please do not worry!} & \quad \text{please do not worry!} \\
\text{Ikōt bhan wasiat poma} & \quad \text{Please follow like a mother’s} \\
\text{bequeath} & \quad \text{bequeath} \\
\text{Allāhumma shallialā Muḥammad} & \quad \text{O Allāh please bless upon} \\
\text{Muḥammad} & \quad \text{Muḥammad} \\
\text{Beūselamat, beusejahtra, beubeureukat} & \quad \text{Please be safe, peaceful,} \\
\text{beureukat!} & \quad \text{beureukat!}
\end{align*}
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A handful of rice seeds are then taken in the right hand and blown slowly and placed on the spot just above her forehead and then moved down to her nose with a slow movement while saying *krūe seumangat*. When I ask her the reason why she speaks to the rice and calls its *seumangat*, she answers that it is to remember the origins of rice as well as to repeat the action of what the Prophet Adam “our grandfather”, performed before as he scattered his chopped daughter in his fields.
The rice seeds are then brought to their seedbed together with a coconut shell, incense, and a certain kind of small banana tree. The incense is burnt with a little charcoal in the coconut shell. The small banana tree is planted in the middle of the seedbed as a symbol of fertility because the banana tree always grows and has many “children” around its “mother tree” whenever it is planted. This is intended by those who sow his or her seeds so that they will grow well and have many “children” later like the banana tree. As smoke of the burning incense rises, a handful or rice seeds are smoked with it. The first handful of rice seeds are then sown following kiblat, in the direction of Mecca, by reciting bismillāh (“in the name of Allāh”). They are then scattered over the surface of the dry seedbed called tabu duek. One of the taboos to be avoided is talking improperly. Sowing rice must be performed with full concentration as if it is a big job needing full intention. In addition, rice is not allowed to be sown on Wednesday because it is considered an unlucky day, it is better on Friday as it is a day of humility. Some rice seeds that are left are then brought back home to feed the fowl so that they do not disturb the sown seeds.

The farmers wait for the rice seeds grow while continuing to cultivate their farms. They take 44 days to grow, and then the young rice plants are moved from their seedbed to the farm on day 44. The growth period of the seedlings and their transplantation into the rice land corresponds with that of the human body: after 44 days, a mother and her baby move from their “warming room” to another one and tombstones are erected 44 days after the corpse has been buried. This indicates that the rice growing practice is considered subject to the same process of growth and decay that also characterize the human body and its reproduction. Such an idea prevails in other Indonesian societies as well (Muslim as well as non-Muslim), it is clearly non-Islamic. At this time, the plowing is finished and the farmers clear all the remaining grasses. The young rice plants are moved to the farm to be planted.

5. 2. PLANTING RICE
After the young rice plants are taken from their seedbed, it is usually the female farmers who carry them with their leaves on their hips, often with the help of a cloth sling to their farms so that their stems do not get broken. Before they are planted in the rice field, the “cooling” ceremony is performed. The “ingredients” used for the “cooling” ceremony are the leaves of areca nut, the leaves of sambō together with its root, the leaves of cocor bèbèk which are green in color, and a stalk of the leaves of the manék manòe. Each leaf has different symbols and meanings. The leaves of the areca nut are a symbol to ward off the “red wind” (southern wind); the leaves of sambō grass together with its root symbolize a strong life. Its root is very strong and can grow in any kind of circumstances or weather. This grass symbolizes a full of unshakable commitment. It is also symbolized as a “nail of the world”. The leaves of cocor bèbèk symbolize a cold condition and the leaves of manék manòe are a symbol of fertility. These leaves are tied into a bundle that is then used to sprinkle the
“cooling” water over the surfaces of the farm. At first, the “cooling” is performed in the middle of farms then continued to their boarders. After performing this, the above bundle of leaves is planted in the middle of the farm. After finishing the “cooling” ceremony, the farmers start planting the young rice plants in the middle then moving to the edge of the farm and follow the wind direction. This ritual is known as peuphon pula padé (starting planting rice). Planting rice should be done at low tide so that as the rice is harvested, its rice is not broken and the person planting rice must have eaten plenty and be full so that the late rice is also full later. As the young rice plants are planted, one male farmer speaks to the rice as follows:

Hai Pho Kujamadah
[Name of rice plants]
Gata ku keubah dalam keubon raya
garden
Kilat geulanteu bèk katakôt
thunderclap and lightening flash
Lon seutot dilikôt gata
I am beside you
Bak meayak on meayôn
leaves cradle
Watée kuneng on lon jak tung gata
yellow I will pick you up
Krūe seumangat!

Hi Pho Kujamadah
I save you in a big garden
Do not be afraid of thunderclap and lightening flash
I am beside you
Stems shake and leaves cradle
As your leaves are yellow I will pick you up

Seven young rice plants are then taken to represent the seven days in a week. It is hoped that the rice plants are safe seven days a week. After planting rice plants, he does the following: first, he closes his eyes a moment and imagines that all rice plant pests cannot see his young plants. Second, he holds his breath as a symbol that there are no doors for the plant pests to enter his rice fields. Third, he holds up his tongue like someone who wants to pronounce the word Allāh meaning that everything he does is for the sake of Allāh. Another male farmer performs the ritual of planting rice differently. When he wants to plant rice, he takes the young rice plants with their stems encircling their rice seeds called “rice king” then he says them before they are planted in the following way:

Hai bijéh kiniko ambo panikahan angkau ngen bumi
Hi seeds now I will marry you to the earth
Jangèn takuik ngen hujèn, hangèt dan patuih
Please do not be afraid of rain, heat and thunderbolts
Jangen takuik ngen panyakik yang mangganggu angkau
Please do not be afraid of the plant’s pests bothering you
Bismillāh, Allāhumma shalla‘alā Muḥammad
In the name of Allāh, oh Allāh exalts Muḥammad

This “prayer” is seen as a “prayer” for planting rice. The next step is to look for the coolest part in the rice field. Soon after he finds it he places three stones as big as turtle eggs in a circle there. He plants “the rice king” in the middle then he makes an intention as the stones are heavy, so the
rice seeds must be also heavy [full] and not empty. The young rice plants are planted by following the wind direction so that they are planted sideways then they grow straight. It is important to note that if the day for planting young rice plants is the same day for the “planting” of the tombstone, the ritual of “planting” tombstone is postponed until the following day to avoid the dead affecting the rice plants.

5. 3. Khanduri kanji
The khanduri kanji (porridge khanduri) for rice is performed three weeks after the rice plants have been planted on the farm. At this moment, all grasses growing around their stems have been taken from the seedbed. One farmer in Kutaiboh says, “At this moment rice asks for kanji (porridge) because it is still small resembling a small human child, it can only “eat” porridge. Therefore, porridge, not rice, is served to the rice”. Below is the description of the porridge khanduri held in Kutaiboh on behalf of the village on “an island” in the middle of the farm on July 2nd, 2007. Unlike the ‘asyūrā porridge, the porridge khanduri for the rice only consists of the usual rice, coconut milk and water. This porridge is similar to the porridge for the khanduri of the tree blooms but it is cooked at every farmer’s house.

A week before it is held, the rice specialist in Kutaiboh tells each farmer to prepare the cooked porridge and Rp. 2000 of money on the khanduri day. This decision is made after being agreed by the head of the village and the imām of Kutaiboh village and the other village elders. The announcement of the porridge khanduri is announced after Jum’at prayers in which all the men in the village go to the mosque for Jum’at. In the morning of the khanduri day, the porridge is cooked at every farmer’s house. After it has been cooked, it is poured into two sets of stacked containers for transporting food called rantang. One rantang is left without sugar and salt, while sugar and salt are added to the other rantang. Both rantang are brought to the “island” in the middle of the farm and together with Rp. 2000, they are given to the assistant of rice specialist in Kutaiboh. There, all the sugarless and saltless porridge brought by each farmer is mixed and poured into a big lidless tin can and placed in front of those reciting the Qur’anic verses. The porridge with sugar and salt is also mixed in another tin can which is then closed but it is not placed in front of those reciting the Qur’anic verses.

Before reciting the Qur’anic verses, the invited Qur’anic reciters sit in a circle and the big tin can containing the porridge without sugar and salt is placed in the centre. The imām burns the incense to start the porridge khanduri for the rice. As the smoke of incense rises, he begins reciting the surah of Yā Sin (QS 36:1-183) and it is continued by the others taking it in turns. Reciting Qur’anic verses over the cooked porridge is meant to keep the rice plants from various diseases as the porridge is poured onto the farm. The idea of choosing the surah of Yā Sin is because this surah could make the rice pests especially caterpillars that attack the rice leaves “feel hot” and then move to other places.
After finishing reciting the sūrah of Yā Sīn, they continue reciting the “mother of the Qur’ān” that is the sūrah al-Fāṭiḥah (QS 1: 1-7) one time:

1) In the name of Allāh, the most Merciful, the Especially Merciful.
2) [All] praise is [due] to Allah, Lord of the worlds-
3) The most Merciful, the Especially Merciful,
4) Sovereign of the Day of Recompense.
5) It is You we worship and You we turn to for help.
6) Guide us to the straight path-
7) The path of those upon whom You have bestowed favour, not of those who have evoked [Your] anger or of those who have gone astray.

and the sūrah al- ḫikāh (QS 112:1-4) fifteen times:

1) Say, “He is Allah, [who] One,
2) Allah, the Eternal Refuge.
3) He neither begets nor is born,
4) Nor is there any equivalent to Him."

then continue reciting the profession of faith, lā ilāha illa Allāh “there is no deity but Allāh” fifty times. The villagers refer to these recitations as baca taḥlīl. The prayer is then invoked by the imām to end the porridge khanduri for the rice. The contents of prayer recited by the imām comprises of four parts:

Praising Allāh and prayers for the Prophet and his family.
Asking for a good place in this world and hereafter, beseeching that all disaster be avoided, and requesting Allāh’s perpetual blessing. Seeking Allāh’s forgiveness for their teachers, parents, grandparents, neighbors, and friends and all Muslims in the world those who are still alive and those who have passed away and requesting Allāh to listen and to answer his do’a.

At the end of every recited do’a, the Qur’anic reciters and all attendants intone āmīn (please approve o Allāh), and the do’a is concluded by reciting the sūrah al-Fāṭiḥah together.

After the do’a is invoked, the rice specialist delivers a short speech opening with the words praising Allāh and praying for the welfare of the Prophet. He then thanks the committee members and all attendants and talks about some rules of farming and taboos; he says that in planting rice, all cattle are not allowed to roam freely. They have to be guarded by their owners. If the rams or sheep enter the farm and eat the rice plants, they may be caught and the owners have to pay a fine of at least Rp 100,000. If the water buffalo enters the farm and eat the rice plants, the owners have to pay a fine of at least Rp 500,000. He then continues with several taboos that must be avoided by the farmers:

To avoid “the anger of rice” defecating in the junction of the water is definitely not allowed. Based on a very early story, the rice seeds were as big as coconuts, but because a child engaged in illicit sex and defecated in the junction of water on the farm, the rice then punished itself so that it became small.
Fishing traps and fishing nets are not allowed to be brought to the farm to avoid provoking rats to devour the rice plants. The owners of the rice are not allowed to eat and drink while walking to their farms. At the end he says that there are still many other taboos that we have to avoid but not when the rice plants are still small. They will be told later for the next khanduri apam and khanduri leumang for the rice.

Soon after the speech is over, the assistant of rice specialist pours the cooked porridge without sugar and salt into each farmer’s pail. After distributing it, the cooked porridge with salt and sugar is placed on plates and is first served to the invited imān and other Qur’ān reciters. Several minutes before finishing the porridge, he gives some money to all Qur’ānic reciters as alms. After eating the porridge, the farmers take their pails containing saltless and sugarless porridge and bring it to their respective farms in the afternoon. In the farm it is sprayed on the rice plants with a bundle of healing leaves like cooling a human child by uttering bismillāh “in the name of Allāh” to the rice plants. The healing leaves used are the leaves of a areca nut, a stalk of the leaves of manèk manoe, the leaves of coco robЛОт, a stalk of coarse grass with its roots, the leaves of bayam tuba, the medicinal leaves of sitawa and the leaves of henna. The leaves and these plants are tied in a bunch used as a whisk to spray the porridge on the rice plants to “cool” and “feed” the rice as well as removing caterpillars from the rice plants.

In addition, the porridge is also poured into the intersection of water flowing to the farmers’ plot. The farmers believe that the poured porridge containing a “blessing” can be sucked up by the roots of the growing rice plants. The water of the poured porridge goes from the roots through the stem up to the rice leaves and this is the main reason for pouring the porridge into the intersection of flowing water. It is believed that the porridge has a power and can save the rice plants from the caterpillars because verses of the Qur’ān and tahâlîl (repetition of faith) have been chanted. The farmers in Kutaiboh refer to this power as beurekat, a word from the Arabic bārakā, “blessing”. Another male farmer takes the same view. He says “the poured porridge can be a talisman for the rice plants so that the caterpillars no longer eat the rice leaves and they can grow well”. If there are still many caterpillars attacking the rice leaves after the porridge khanduri is held, the farmers perform the next rituals; one farmer takes seven caterpillars from his rice leaves and moves them to growing grasses and tells the caterpillars “here is the animal realm; the farms are the human realm, the realm of Allāh”. If the caterpillars eat the rice leaves, they may not be simply killed, like the rats that devour rice in the farm/ granary, ask them to go to their realm that is in the hill or mountain”. Another farmer acts differently when his rice leaves are eaten by caterpillars. He takes seven caterpillars and places them on the leaves of caladium then washes them away on the irrigation waters. He does this as the irrigation water flows, thus all caterpillars are moved to other places, far away from the farm. Another male farmer also acts differently when his rice leaves are attacked by caterpillars. He brings a son whose brother and
younger brother are dead called *aneuk diapék bangké* ("a child which is circled by carcasses") to circle his rice plot’s boundaries for one to three times. He says if it is Allāh’s will, the caterpillars will disappear. He adds that the modern pesticide called *ubat ulat* “the pesticide to get rid of caterpillars” is also used by spraying it on the rice leaves but after doing so, the caterpillars are only unconscious and still alive and can attack the rice leaves again after the pesticide smell goes away. They will then be more savage than usual. After the *khanduri kanji*, the *khanduri apam* is performed for the rice.

5.4. *Khanduri apam*

*Khanduri apam* for the rice plants is performed when the rice plants are “pregnant” or ready for germination in Blangporoh village. The rice specialist in Blangporoh says that when the rice plants are “pregnant”, they will ask for food, namely *apam* cakes because the swollen form of such a cake resembles that of a pregnant woman. He adds that when a woman is pregnant, a mother in law brings rice and side dishes to her daughter in law’s house to keep the unborn child from harm, likewise during the “pregnancy” of the rice plants *apam* cakes must be baked and brought to the rice field so that the rice plants are safe from various pests. A week before the *khanduri apam* is held, the rice specialist has already announced the schedule of the *khanduri apam* to the Blangporoh society after it is agreed on by the head of the village and the imām of Blangporoh and the other village elders. The announcement of the *khanduri apam* is also announced after *Jum’at* prayers.

The *apam* cakes are then baked in every house in Blangporoh with their broth or sauce and are brought to the *meunasah* near the village mosque.\textsuperscript{xxvi} Two parcels of rice wrapped in banana leaves in a pyramid form together with side dishes are also brought by every household head to the *meunasah*. Some cooked rice with side dishes is also placed in a *rantang* and brought to the *meunasah*. On this night the rice specialist’s assistant in Blangporoh collects Rp. 3000 from each household head for the *khanduri apam* for the rice. After the ‘night prayer’, the farmers come and bring the *apam* cakes with their broth and give them to the committee members at the *meunasah*. The rice ritual specialist then pours all the brought *apam* cakes and their broth into a big tin can. He then presses them into pieces and mixes them together in the broth with his hands. The tin can which has contained the smashed *apam* cakes with their broth is placed in front of the Qur’ānic reciters. In the mean time, the rice specialist’s assistant receives two wrapped rice parcels together with Rp. 3000 from each head of the household. The rice specialist’s assistant unify the wrapped rice given to him and places it at the right back corner of the *meunasah* which is close to the group of the Qur’ānic reciters. The imām burns white incense to start the *khanduri apam* for rice. I ask an old farmer sitting on my right side, “why is white incense burnt and not black?” He answers that burning white incense is to call the angels to participate with us all. Angels later take the recited prayer and bring it to Allāh; burning black incense is to call jinn or other bad spirits. As the billowing smoke of
the burnt incense rises, the imām starts to recite the Qur‘ānic verses from Gampōng Dalam. xxvii The reciting of Qur‘ānic verses is then continued by another reciter who sits beside the imām. They take turn in reciting the verses of sūrah Yūsuf (QS 10:1-111).xxviii The idea of choosing of this sūrah is that the Prophet Yūsuf (Joseph) was the most handsome man in history. They continue reciting together the sūrah of Yā Sīn (Sūrah 36:1-183). The idea behind this sūrah is that this sūrah could make the rice plants pests “hot”, so that they move and fly away. I observe that as the Qur‘ān reciters recite the verses which end with the word mubīnxxix (clear) in this sūrah, they lift up their faces and blow together on the pressed apam cakes with their broth in the big tin can in front of them. It is said that blowing in the can containing the apam water after reciting the word mubīn in the sūrah of Yā Sīn is very important to transfer the “blessing” so that all manner of pests are killed when a farmer pours it onto his or her fields. According to the rice specialist, however, blowing in the can is an external sign of the inner powers transferred to the smashed apam water and later to the rice plants. According to the rice specialist’s assistant, blowing in the can also bring “the cooling” elements so that the pests move and fly to other places.

After finishing reciting the sūrah of Yā Sīn, they continue reciting the “the mother of the Qur‘ān” that is the sūrah al-Fātiḥah (QS 1:1-7) one more time and the sūrah al-İkhlās (QS 112:1-4) twenty times, then continue reciting tahli, that is reciting the profession of faith, lā ilāha illa Allāh “there is no deity but Allāh” one hundred times. The prayer is then invoked by the imām and at the end the prayer is concluded by reciting the sūrah al-Fātiḥah together.

After the prayer is invoked, the rice specialist takes a turn to stand up in front of the farmers to deliver a short speech opening by praising Allāh and reciting the prayer for the Prophet Muhammad and giving thanks to the committee members and all participants attending that night. He then recites the following taboos to the attendants:

The owners of the farms are not allowed to bring dry coconut tree leaves burned as a torch to stop the leaves of rice plants fading.

The owners of the farm are not allowed to turn on the “bamboo cannons” because they are afraid that the fertility of rice will be disturbed.

A decayed straw hat called tuduang busuak is not allowed to leave in the farm, if one does so, the seumangat of the rice plants will be disturbed.

After giving this short speech, the rice specialist begins distributing the apam water to the village farmers. They jostle with their watering cans so close to the big can to wait for the apam water to be poured into their watering can. One of the farmers says “Now the apam water contains a “blessing” because the verses of the Qur‘ān, repetition of faith “tahli” and prayer have been recited by the imām and other Qur‘ānic reciters.”

Another farmer sitting on my left says that the religious merit of reciting Qur‘ān, repetition of faith “tahli” and prayer has permeated the apam water
so that it contains a “blessing”. He explains that the “blessing” here means the apam water has a power to get rid of pests such as mice, plagues caused by caterpillars, grasshoppers, birds and a kind of insect that releases a pungent smell and it also rids the rice plants of any malevolent spirits.

Soon after the apam water has been distributed, the assistant rice specialist distributes the wrapped rice with banana leaves called bu kulah with their side dishes to all attendants and all the Qur’anic reciters are served with cooked rice and their side dishes in a set of stacked containers. They eat together in the meunasah and about five minutes before they have finished eating, he gives some money to all Qur’anic reciters as alms. After eating, the rest of water where the Qur’anic reciters wash their hands is also mixed with the apam water. After this the khanduri apam is over.

On the following day, all village farmers who took the apam water at the meunasah go to their fields and spray the plants with the young betel leaves used as a whisk to ward off pests. Some of the apam water is poured into the water junction flowing to their farms so that the apam water will be brought to all corners of the farm. All rice plants are reached by the apam water so that the rice plants are not attacked by rice pests. The previous rice specialist in Blangporoh village, however, has another argument. He explains that the crushed apam water is distributed throughout the whole farm so that the fragrant smell of apam cakes is given to all rice plants so that they can “enjoy” the nourishment of the cakes. He emphases this by saying, “this is how food and drink is given as a gift from the owner to the rice plants because historically, the rice plants are from Adam’s sacrificed daughter who asked for food when her mother, Eve, visited her”. He adds further that the rice plants that are “pregnant” have a huge appetite, like a pregnant woman. There is thus a close analogy between the “feeding” of the deceased’s “soul”, that of the unborn child and that of the “pregnant” rice plants. After khanduri Apam, the khanduri leumang for the rice is performed.

5. 5. Khanduri leumang
Twenty days after the khanduri apam, the khanduri leumang is then held for the rice in Blangporoh village. As half blooms of the rice plants are still in their stems and other half are out of theirs, they are asking for food that is leumang as the shape of the head of leumang resembles the rice plants bearing their blossoms. The village farmers assume that the rice is now still ngidom (craving of pregnant woman for special foods). The rice specialist’s assistant says that unlike the khanduri apam held as the rice starts ngidom (start of “pregnancy”), the khanduri leumang is held as the rice ends its ngidom (starts blossoming). During this time the rice “asks for” leumang. Therefore, the khanduri leumang for the rice is held.

The khanduri blang is announced one week before it is held. In the morning of khanduri day, every farmer’s family bakes leumang. At midday, they prepare cooked rice and side dishes. After the night prayers, the farmers come to the meunasah and bring the leumang cakes, the cooked
rice with side dishes, and Rp. 3,000 and hand them to the committee members at the meunasah. The leumang cakes are collected and placed into big tin can (Indonesian ayan) containing water. They are then squeezed into pieces and mixed by hand. The can containing the crushed leumang is placed in front of the Qur'anic reciters after being mixed with a fruit like a squash called bôh kundo padè it is cut into small pieces. There is a belief that “malevolent jinn” and other “malevolent spirits” that disturb the blossoming rice plants are afraid of this fruit so the sick people are also often bathed with the juice of this fruit in the village in the hope of becoming well. In addition, some villagers also hang this fruit on their house door as a talisman for burong, another name for a “malevolent jinn” so they cannot enter the house. But one is not allowed to eat this fruit. If one does so, his or her do’a will be no longer efficacious. In addition, the healing leaves such as the black pudèng leaves, the cooling leaves are also added to the crushed leumang water in the big tin can that night.

The tin can containing the crushed leumang cakes water is then placed in front of the Qur'anic reciters. In the meantime, the vice rice ritual specialist receives two wrapped rice parcels together with Rp 3,000 from each head of the household. He then mixes the given wrapped rice and places it in the right back corner of the meunasah close to the group of the Qur'anic reciters. The imám burns the white incense to start the khanduri leumang for rice plants. Reciting the Qur'ân, repetition of faith “taḥlîl” and prayer over the crushed leumang water is the same as described in the previous ritual.

Like in the khanduri kanji and khanduri apam above, after the prayer is invoked by the imâm, the rice specialist stands up and opens his speech by praising Allâh and praying for the Prophet Muḥammad. He then thanks the committee members and all participants and delivers the following taboos that must be observed by the farmers when the rice is blooming:

- At night lamps are not allowed to be turned on in the farm, the farmers are afraid that insects with a strong sense of smell called geusong will go there and stop to suck the rice blossom and milk.
- A woman should go and see her rice plants without a head veil so that the rice plants will have long stalks and can bear their blossom freely.
- The villagers should not take pandan leaves from the sea to the farms or rattans from the mountains to the farms to stop the rice plants bearing white blossoms which are the same color of pandan leaves and rattans that have just been taken.

After giving the speech, the rice specialist starts distributing the crushed leumang water to the village farmers. The farmers with their watering jostle close to the big can to wait for the crushed leumang water to be poured into their watering cans. The farmers deem that the leumang water contains beurekat or “blessing” since the Qur'ân, repetition of faith “taḥlîl” and prayer have been recited. The beureukat here means the crushed leumang water has a power to expel pests and malevolent spirits.
Soon after the crushed leumang water has been distributed, the assistant rice specialist distributes the wrapped rice with side dishes to all attendants and all Qur’anic reciters are served with cooked rice and their side dishes in a set of stacked containers. They eat together in the meunasah and about five minutes before they have finished eating, the assistant rice specialist gives some money to all the Qur’anic reciters as alms. After eating, the rest of water where the Qur’anic reciters have washed their hands is also mixed into the crushed leumang water. After that the khanduri leumang for the blossoming rice plants is over.

The following day on September 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2007, the leumang is poured with the betel leaves\textsuperscript{xxxiv} on the farm and where the water flows to their farms to give off the smell of baked leumang to the rice as well reducing the pests. The farmers also bring the outer skin of leumang and plant them in dikes among rice fields and in each location where irrigation water enters the rice plot. One farmer later explains to me that the ritual of planting the baked leumang bamboo in dikes among rice fields is to imbue the water and rice plant leaves with the power to grow and nourish. The Blangporoh refers to this power also as beureukat “blessing”. In addition, planting kala trees is also performed. One end is planted and the other end is broken which resembles a mop to disperse its smell to the middle of the farm. Like the betel leaves, the farmers believe that the planted kala tree could be an antidote for the south wind or “red wind” blowing from the south which can cause the rice blossoms to perish.

If the above does not work and there are still many black insects which are like beetles called bana, the farmers will slaughter a sheep on the farm but not a goat because they are “hot”. The blood of the slaughtered sheep is poured in the water flowing to their farms and its skin after being cut is buried in many spots near the water junction. By doing so, the blood and smell of the slaughtered sheep can be brought by the farm water to the whole farm to chase the bana pests away. Meanwhile the sheep’s meat is cooked and eaten together. The bana attacking the rice grains are frightening enough. As well as sucking the rice blossoms, they also urinate there. Their urine turns the rice black and bitter.

5. 6. Visiting Rice

After planting the rice plants, they are often visited by their owners. There is a belief that the more the farmers visit the growing rice plants and greet them with good words, the better the rice plants grow. Visiting rice is done after middy when it “awakes”. It is not done in the morning as the farmers assume that the rice is still “sleeping”. The head of rice specialist says “rice is like a human child; it sleeps in the morning and gets up after midday”. Visiting will more often be done by the female owner as the rice plants start becoming fertile till harvesting. When visiting her rice, one female farmer speaks to her rice as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Yā Ilahi yā Rabbi
Phon lon neubri bhan lon pinta
Yang di langet ngon di bumo
\end{verbatim}

Yā Ilahi yā Lord
My Pho [Allāh] gives like I ask
which is in the sky and on earth
Reuseuki kamo hai Pho bak Gata [Allâh] with You
Hai Sinur Qadin Reuseki Rahman Hai Sinur Qadin Reuseki Rahman
Awaijih meunang nama padéku At the beginning like this the
name of my rice
Bak gata rampak misé naleueng sambô Your trunks are shady like
those of sambô grasses
On gata hijô misé rumbia Your leaves are green like those
of sago palms
Bak meaneuk bak meucucô Please have children and grand
children
Na misé keunibô di dalam paya which are like keunibô in the
swamp
Bak meuaneuk bak meuciding please have children and
meucidingxxx
Tan sibak trieng didalam paya there are no bamboo trees in the
swamp
Meuaneuk dilè meucucô dudô Having children at first then
having grandchildren
Hayak hayak drô hai putrô muda shaking yourselves hi young
princess
Bak meayak boh meayon Your stems shake and your
leaves cradle
Oh kunêng on lon jak tung gata At the time you have yellow
leaves I pick you up
Puwo u gampông peulop dalam krueng Bring you to the village enter the
granary,

teumpat senia a proper place for you
Ya Allâh pepeunoh limpah dalam payaku O Allâh, please be full in
my swamp

She repeatedly says this "prayer" while going around the boundaries of
farms from right to left as well as ensuring that the rice grains multiply on
the stalks and nourished. She visits her rice plants every other day. She
says that it is better if they are visited every day; "rice will be glad because
"its mother" comes. She adds “As I say this, I can see they are happy and
are shaking their stems, not because of the blowing wind but because of
the visit and praise”. In addition, one male farmer says “As you walk
through a field of mature rice plants, you can feel their ‘vital force’”. He
says further that that is why nobody is afraid to travel at night when the
field is full.

Another female farmer speaks to her rice as she visits her rice
plants as follow:
Hai Nurhayati reuseki Rahman Hai Nurhayati the livelihood of
Rahman [Allâh’s name]
Putri junjungan aneuk padéku The adored daughter of my rice
seeds
Having children first then having grandchildren
Shaking yourselves hi young princess
Shaking I shake cradle I cradle
At the time you have yellow leaves I pick you up
I pick you up and carry you on my hip
I place you in the granary, the proper place for you
Cold is like water cold like tin
Tuan Fatimah visits you
While saying this prayer she goes around the boundary from right to left on her farms several times. She bequeathes her rice after speaking to the rice plants as follows:
Please calm your mind
Mother will pick you all and bring you home
Mother will not bring you home because you are not old enough
Do not be afraid of wind flashes of lightning and thunderbolts!
Do not doubt! Mother will definitely bring you home
When she does not have time to visit her rice plants, her husband visits them. He bequeaths the same thing as she does when he visits their rice plants. Her husband says that rice can understand what a human says because it has the same origins as we do. He further says that the rice has a power to hear human speech and to nourish humans once it is harvested. Both the productivity and the nourishment of rice come from its inner productive power, its *berkat*, which derives from the sacrifice performed by Adam and Eve (or by their children) (Bowen 1993: 206). This sacrifice transformed a human vital force (*semangat*) into the nourishing power (also *semangat*) of the rice. When humans ingest rice they are nourished because rice is originally of human substance, yet it is distinct from humans by virtue of the sacrificial act.

6. The *Adat* When The Rice Is Harvested
When the nourishing power of the rice has matured, it is ready for harvest. Here the farmers must ensure that the rice’s power survives the physical cutting of the rice stalks. The female owner of the rice beautifies herself and ensures that she is not menstruating and then brings a sharp thin knife attached to dry thin light wood called *glém* to her farm to
separate their rice stalks from their stems. This thin knife is sharp enough to cut the rice stalks quickly so they do not crack or break. It is said that sometimes the same knife is used to cut the umbilical cord to separate the infant from its placenta. In addition, a medium sized stone is brought so that the rice grain does not easily break. It is also important to harvest at high tide, this ensures the farmers’ livelihood increases. Before cutting the seven stalks of rice, one female farmer speaks to the rice as followings:

Ashādu Allā ilāhaillāh  I bear witness that there is no
god except Allāh
Wa asyhaduanna Muḥammadarrasulullāh  I bear witness that
Muhammad is the apostle of Allāh
Haʻi Sinur Qadim Reuseuki Rahman  Hai Sinur Qadim Reuseuki
Rahman
Awaijeh meunang nama padēku  At the beginning like this the
name of my rice
Bak uroenyoe lon puwo gata u rumoh  On this day, I bring you home
Kaleuh mejanji bak watè phon dilè  We made a promise at the
beginning
Oh kunèng on lon jaktung gata  When you had yellow leaves I
picked you up
Jak keuh tanyo tawo kedeuh u gampōng  Let us go to the village
Sidēh dalam krong teumpat seunia  In the granary, the proper place
for you
Seumangat ngon roh mandum beutawo  Seumangat and roh “soul”
all go home
Aduen ngon adoe tawoe nong poma  Brother and younger sister go
home with mother
Bekna yang tinggai mandum beutawa  Please none of you live here, all
go home!
Keudeh u rumohdro teumpat seunia  There in our own house, the
proper place for you
Birahmatika ya ar- Arhamarrahiṁnī  With the mercy onto you ya “the
Merciful”, “the Compassionate”

A few moments before cutting the rice stalks, she says again, “now you can be harvested”, “today mother takes seven stalks from you and mother’s intention is that you all will be harvested because it is not possible to bring you all home at the same time. Please all your seumangat follow mother and follow the seven harvested rice stalks to go back home”. After speaking with the rice, the ritual of cutting seven rice stalks called mangatieh on the right side of the farm boundary is then performed. After harvesting the seven rice stalks, they are placed into cloths and carried in cloth slings on her waist to her house; just as she brought the young rice plants to the farm several months ago. It is taboo to greet the women bringing the seven harvested rice stalks in order to preserve the rice’s seumangat because they are not yet cooled, says one female farmer a day after she brings the seven rice stalks to her home. To avoid being greeted, the female farmer often brings
the seven harvested rice stalks home on a road that is seldom used. When I asked a question, why does a woman, not a man, harvest and bring the seven harvested rice stalks home? The assistant rice specialist answers that it is because seumangat of the rice certainly follows its mother since the mother is closer to her children and the mother is the one who can best love her children. The woman taking and bringing the seven harvested rice stalks is as if she were the rice’s mother picking them up and bringing them home.

Having arrived at her door, the female bringing the seven harvested rice stalks says assalāmuakum ("peace be upon you") and the people in her house offer safety to the harvested rice by answered walaikumsalam ("and peace be upon you too"). She then introduces her house and speaks to the rice as follows:

*Hai neuk nyo keh rumoh tanyo*  
Hi child this is our house

*Bèk wo u rumoh yang laen*  
Please do not go back to other houses

*Padup buleuen dilikot gata jak meranto*  
Several months ago you went merantau [in the farm]

*Jino gata mandum wo u rumoh nyo!*  
Now you all come back to this house!

The seven harvested rice stalks are then cooled for the welcoming ceremony held for the rice that has just come back from rantau [from the farm] in order to be close to the rice already in the granary, this is just the same as the cooling ceremony held for the child who just comes back from rantau (out of the village) in order to be close to his family again. After that they are smoked with incense. As the smoke of the burning incense rises, she summons their vital force by saying "krūe seumangat, please go back to this rice!", xxxix just the same way as calling back the seumangat of a child. They are united then wrapped with a piece of white cloth. Only half of their stalks are wrapped and the other half is left open then they are tied with a rope. A coconut shell with a hole is taken and placed over the wrapped seven rice stalks and the rope is pulled through the hole of the coconut shell. Now the seven wrapped rice stalks are under the coconut shell. They are then hung on the door and sheltered by the coconut shell as their umbrella. Only after this is done does the female owner of the rice bequeath to the rice as follows.

*Hai neuk preh ngon gata ino*  
Hi child please wait for your friends here!

*Awaknyan tengoh wo u rumoh dari rantau*  
Now they are on the way home from rantau [farm]

*Prèh bak pintonyo bèk hana meho diwo*  
Wait at this door so they do not get lost

*Nyankeh mak gantung gata bak babah pinto*  
That is why mother hangs you at the house entrance

*Supaya deuh dikalon lengon gata*  
In order that your friends [the rest of rice] can see you

*Singoh gata mandum mak peutamong lam krong*  
Later on mother places you all into the granary
The seven harvested rice stalks under the coconut shell are hung on the door to let them call the seumangat of the rest of the rice while waiting for the other rice stalks to be harvested on the farm.\textsuperscript{26} The rice is watched by one of the family members as if it were a small child that should be watched until the rest of the rice has been harvested. If it is stolen, the thief will be beaten as it is extremely valuable. The rest of the rice stalks can be harvested by other people. Usually the farmers do it themselves or by sharing the work. Sometimes they pay other farmers or pay the village widows for the harvesting.\textsuperscript{27} The seven rice stalks remain hanging on the door until all the harvesting on the farm is finished. After all harvested rice on the farm has been brought home; the seven rice stalks hanging on the house door may be removed.\textsuperscript{28}

As during the harvesting of the seven rice stalks, during the harvesting of the rest of the rice people may not call other people loudly. If one does so, the rice grain-eating spirit called langkèsoe will come and takes the seumangat of the rice causing the rice to lose its seumangat. Other farmers whom I discuss this with in the village said that if during the harvesting, the farmers act improperly; the seumangat of rice will leave the rice grains causing the owners finished eating their rice before the end of the year because there is no longer seumangat inside it and making it no longer beureukat. In addition, the head of the rice specialist says that if the rice has no longer beureukat, it is not safe and happy to live with its owner and having less nourishing power inside it as well as having fewer vital forces when it is consumed.\textsuperscript{29} The seumangat of the rice should, therefore, be well summoned when it is sown until it enters the granary so that its beureukat can be increased. Like in Gayo, Central Acéh (Bowen 1993:178), the farmers understand that the word beureukat is different from that of bārakā “blessing” in Arabic. Beureukat here is a function of the well-being of the rice grain itself, which humans can augment or diminish, rather than a direct “blessing” from Allāh.

7. THE ADAT AFTER HARVESTING

After harvesting, the rice is allowed to rest for several days before threshing starts so that it can take care of its seumangat and also to make it less afraid of threshing. One male farmer says that it is the seumangat of the rice that gives us beureukat and the beurekat will be less if the seumangat is afraid. The threshing is then done by the young men of the village working together at night without payment. One of the workers says “this week my rice is threshed together and next week my neighbors’ rice is threshed together”. Threshing through group action is easier and more enjoyable, admits another worker. When the workers take a rest during threshing a party takes place, the working men are served with coffee and other delicious foods such kolak or sènok,\textsuperscript{30} cylindrical sweets made from sago flour and other ingredients. One thing that is never forgotten is the serving of cigarettes to the workers. Neighbor’s girls also help the hostess serve the food to the workers. Besides serving them with food, they also disentangle the rice grains from dried rice stalks. Usually on this occasion, they already know each other and the talk is more intimate among the
young people. However, the owner of the rice, indirectly becomes a “safeguard police” so that the communication among them is restricted. Threshing party is enjoyed by young men and women in the village since it is one of the opportunities to look for a marriage partner (Nyak Pha 1989:12; Ahmad 1992:157).

After threshing, the rice is fanned with blowing wind. The full rice seeds will be separated from the empty ones. This job is usually done by the owners of rice and sometimes they pay the village widows to do this. The rice seeds are then pounded with a rice pounder. Again this job is usually done by the village widows; one naléh of unhusked rice is pounded, 8 bamboos of husked rice belong to the owner and the rest is for the workers, the village widows. There are farmers, however, who bring their newly unhusked rice to be “pounded” by a machine [rice factory].

Before consuming this “new rice”, a small khanduri is held individually. A teungku is invited to eat the newly husked rice together. This khanduri is called khanduri ulèe thon (the khanduri at the beginning of the year). Sometimes it is called khanduri padé baro (khanduri of the new rice). After eating, a bamboo of newly husked rice is placed in a sack made of colorful pandanus leaves called umpang gampét then given to the teungku that night. As the umpang gampét is given to the teungku, the rice owner says the following:

Teungku nyo padé lon
Kaleh lon puwo mandum u rumoh
Teungku do’akan supaya padelon beurekat

The umpang gampét is given, some alms money is also given to the teungku. This given rice is called breuh ulèe thon or “the husked rice at the beginning of year”. The newly husked rice is not allowed to be consumed before the khanduri of khanduri ulèe thon has been held or before giving it to teungku or orphans in the village so that the rice brought from the farms is beureukat to show thankfulness to Allâh. vi After the khanduri has been held, the owner may sell the rice. But selling rice is not allowed on the farm, if one does so, its seumangat will “fly”. vii In addition, there are also restrictions on the owner on eating the rice. The cooked rice is not allowed to be offered to guests; for example if the owner says “let us eat rice” because this would be like offering a small child to the guests. A small child is certainly afraid and even cries, if this is done the seumangat of rice will “fly”. But if guests come and take the cooked rice from your plate respectfully when you are eating, you may not forbid them and should not say anything. It is the same like a small child; a guest then comes and tries to talk to your child until it is no longer afraid. The rice eater in this case must be quiet. But offering rice to guests is on the whole prohibited. There is a case in Kutaiboh village in which one of the previous rice specialists taunted his son with vile language because his son offered the cooked rice to guests coming to his house in front of him. His son said to the guests “please wait for a moment to eat the cooked rice”. Another rice specialist in Kutaiboh also says that offering the cooked rice to guests is also prohibited but if the guests take it from someone’s plate as she or he is eating, they
are welcome to take as much as they want. That is no problem at all. He says “If we offer the cooked rice to the guests, the rice will be surprised and its seumangat will be “afraid”. Instead, the host can say to the guests “let us have midday in my house”, meaning “let us have lunch at my place”. Or the host can say “let us have sunset together my house”, meaning “let us have dinner at my place”. The host is prohibited to offer the cooked rice with the word “eating” to the guests or to others in order to preserve the seumangat of the rice. The rice specialist of Blangporoh village says “If you want to have a good harvest, the “knowledge of rice” should be understood and many taboos must be avoided to preserve its seumangat so that its beurekat [power to nourish] is always there”.

In addition, after harvesting all farms are treated as if they belong to all villagers. They become fields for all shepherds. Everyone may let their cattle graze on the farms, whereas during the time of sowing the rice seeds until harvesting, all cattle must to be kept far from the farming areas. If at this time, there are farmers who want to utilize their farms to plant palawija (short-age plants like corns, tomatoes, chilies, and the like), they must build fences around their farms to protect their plants from the cattle. If the fences are not made or the fences are not strong enough and are easily broken by the cattle, the financial lost must be born by the owners of the farm. If it is reported to the rice specialist or village adat leader, the report will not be processed and no help is given because adat law has been transgressed. If the cattle enter the farm or garden and eat the plants then they are physically beaten, the cattle owner has the right to charge the farm owner. Therefore, all animals especially goats in the village are given a wooden cross more than a half meter around their necks. If goats with a wooden cross are found eating the plants in a farm or garden, vice versa, if his or her plants are eaten by goats that do not have a wooden cross round their necks, the goat owners are fined.

8. BRINGING RICE TO THE GRANARY

Soon after threshing, the threshed rice is placed into a granary. Placing them in the granary should be done when the moon “waxes”, from the first until the fifteenth of the month and not when the moon “wanes”, from fifteen until the thirtieth. If the rice seeds are placed into the granary as the moon “wanes” the farmers believe that their rice seeds will quickly decrease in the granary. It should be done at night to avoid animals seeing it. As rice is placed into the granary, a prayer for the Prophet Muhammad and his companions are recited three times respectively. This is followed by burning incense to call the seumangat of the rice by saying krūe seumangat while taking a handful of newly harvested rice in the right hand and placing them from the spot just above the forehead down to the mouth with a slow movement then letting some of it fall onto the left hand, where some of the previous year’s rice was held. It is said that the time of placing the newly harvested rice is the last risky moment, that is why the seumangat of rice must once again be called to “marry” that rice remaining from the last harvest with the newly harvested rice to ensure the continuity
The head of rice specialist says this because the old rice has *seumangat*, while the new rice does not. The old rice has to be “married” to the new one so that eating the new rice will have the nourishment to fill the stomach. According to one male farmer in Kutaiboh, if the rice has *beurekat*, the owner receives “goodness”. Most importantly, when it is consumed, it gives nourishment from its inner productive power that stops those consuming it feeling hungry again very quickly. According to another male farmer, the nourishing power of rice exists because the origin of rice is the same as our own; Nurhayati was sacrificed by her father, the Prophet Adam to be our means of life.\(^1\) Bowen (1993:208) writes that the notion of the continuity of power takes account of the simple fact of self-sustaining agriculture. His informant says that because of last year seeds, this year’s crop grows. The practice of “marrying” the rice adds a historical and spiritual side: the inner power of the rice, born with the death of Adam and Eve’s daughter, is handed down from generation to generation of rice without interruption.

Before placing the rice into the granary, one female farmer places several articles in her granary:

- A stone is placed there because it is heavy and tough. This is done so that the newly harvested rice is hard to take out of the granary, meaning that other people (the neighbors) find it very difficult to tell the owner that they want to borrow that rice.
- A peace of iron is placed in the granary functioning as a friend of the rice because historically iron is from the coccyx of human beings.
- Water is placed in small container for the rice.
- Charcoal fire for burning incense in the coconut shell functions also to summon the rice’s *seumangat* as explained above; fire is also deemed as the rice’s “friend”.
- A kind of small fragrance tree trunk called *bak seupeung* is placed there to prevent the rice from disease. The fragrant smell is liked by the rice just like a human child like it. The longer this tree is placed in the granary, the more fragrant it will be.\(^{\text{II}}\) The granary should be big, not only for the rice seeds but also for air circulation.

When I ask the Imuem Mukim Hukom in Kutaiboh, “Why does a farmer place several articles in the granary?” He answers:

Those articles are “friends” of the newly harvested rice, and preserve its *seumangat* or rice itself remaining in the grain. But most importantly it is a symbol of the completeness of human [Adam] substance in the granary because rice itself is from the same origins as human beings. He further explained that humans are made of water, fire (that is burning incense), wind (that is the large granary), and earth (rice itself comes from earth). Anger is from the fire substance, willingness is from the wind substance, aspiration is from the water...
substance and patience is from the earth substance. If one of these substances is reduced, the human is incomplete.

As the newly harvested rice is placed in the granary, there are several taboos that should be observed as follows:

The owners are not allowed to be arrogant and should not make improper conversation when the rice enters the granary. There should be full concentration when this takes place. The owners of the rice take the newly harvested rice and place it in a sack, never sit on it and once it has been pounded later, never fart on it. If one does so, he or she is identified as a person having no morals and the rice will certainly be “angry”.

The rice is not allowed to be moved on a Wednesday because Wednesday is regarded as an unlucky day.

From sowing rice in the seedbed until placing it in the granary, there are many taboos to observe. Failing to do so, according to the farmers’ belief, will bring disasters such as the rice has no content or the rice is attacked by plant pests or all the rice plants die because of flooding, or the farmers are sick when they want to harvest their rice and the beureukat of rice will be lost and have less capacity to nourish and perhaps not gives any nourishment as it is cooked causing those who eat it feel hungry quickly later. Therefore, as the rice specialist in Blangporoh village and in Kutaiboh village talks about the taboos that must be avoided, all farmers listen carefully and pay serious attention since there is a belief that if one farmer transgresses one of the mentioned taboos, all farmers in that area will be affected. As said, if disasters do befall, the farmers hold a ritual to ward off calamities as one of the preventive measures available to the village imām or directly led by the rice specialist in the village.

9. CONCLUSION

The data above demonstrates that rice is seen as a metaphorical human child because the farmers believe that rice has the same origin as humans, that it comes from the myth of the sacrificed daughter of Adam and Eve which has become a divine template and an integral part of the culture of the Aneuk Jemee in Blangporoh village and the Acehnese in general. The farmers apply various adat to improve the harvest; to get rid of pests, and they observe taboos from the planting until the rice enters the granary, preserving its vital force so that stomachs can be filled with its nourishing power. This also portrays an ideal image of the communities.

The rice takes 44 days to grow then the young rice plants are moved from their seedbed to the farm on day forty-four. The growth period of the seedlings and their replanting to the rice land corresponds with the human body: after 44 days, a mother and her baby move from their initial room to another one and tombstones are erected 44 days after the corpse has been buried. This indicates that the rice growing practice is considered subject to the same process of “birth”, growth, “pregnancy” and “birth”. The seeds harvested replace the seeds sown, just as children (in particular the daughters) replace the mother. But in the case of the rice, the “birth” of the
former results in the “death” and the “rotting” of the latter (Platenkamp 1988:93). It represents a process of growth and decay that also characterize the human body and its reproduction.

There are three traditions for offering the rice: khanduri kanji, khanduri apam and khanduri leumang based on the above myths: khanduri kanji is offered when the rice is still small resembling a small child; it can only “eat” porridge. The porridge is sprayed on the rice plants with the healing leaves from the rice ritual specialist. It is also poured into the water flowing to the farmers’ plot. The poured porridge containing the “blessing” can be sucked up by the roots of the growing rice plants. The water of the poured porridge goes from the roots through the stem up to the rice leaves and this is the primary significance of pouring the porridge into the flowing water. The poured porridge has a power and can preserve the rice plants from caterpillars’ attacks because verses of the Qur’ān and tahlīl (repetition of faith) have been chanted. Khanduri apam is offered when the rice plants are “pregnant” because the swollen form of such a cake resembles that of a pregnant woman. The crushed apam water is brought and poured on the whole farm in order to give the fragrant smell and nourishment of the apam cakes to all rice. The rice plants that are “pregnant” have a huge appetite, like a pregnant woman. There is thus a close analogy between the “feeding” of the deceased’s/unborn “soul”, and that of the “pregnant” rice plants and khanduri leumang is offered when the rice is in blossom because the form of the leumang head resembles that of a rice plant bearing its blooms. The crushed leumang water is poured into the water flowing to their farms to give the smell of the baked leumang to the rice it also renders pests harmless. The outer skins of leumang are brought and “planted” in dikes among rice fields and in each location where irrigation water enters the rice plot. The ritual of planting the baked leumang bamboo in dikes among rice fields is to imbue the water and rice plant leaves with the power to grow and nourish.

Through these rituals, farmers pour kanji, apam and leumang water on the rice plants and at the junction where water runs into their fields so that these crushed cakes will carry their protective essence to the crops. The period from planting to harvesting the rice is one of uninterrupted growth for the rice plants, and little direct intervention by the farmer is needed. Farmers can speak to the rice plants when sowing, planting, harvesting, threshing, and storing. When humans eat the rice they are nourished because the rice is originally of human substance that has been transformed through sacrifice into the non-human. Its nourishing power can be increased to fill stomachs and thus reduce consumption. Rice is thus deemed not just as an ordinary food but as something spiritual. The farmers can suffer from a poor level of beurekat if its seumangat “fly” from them so that preserving its seumangat through rituals from rice sowing to rice storing is crucially important so that its inner power can satisfy hunger for a longer period.
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Short Autobiography
Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, M.Sc., MA., a social anthropology lecturer of Adab and Humanities Faculty of The State Islamic University (UIN) Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh-Indonesia. He finished his BA program in English language education at UIN Ar-Raniry in 1997, M.Sc program in educational and system design at Twente University, Enschede-Holland in 2001, MA program in Islamic Studies at Leiden University, Leiden-Holland in 2003, and Ph. D program in Ethnology at Münster University, Münster-Germany in 2010.