

KHANDURI APAM: THE REPRESENTATION OF THEOLOGICAL VALUES IN ACEH'S LOCAL CULINARY BANQUET TRADITIONS

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ABSTRACT

Khanduri Apam is one of the traditions or customs of banquets that has been passed down intergenerationally among the Acehnese, especially in the Pidie Regency. The banquet is carried out by consuming local Aceh culinary, namely *Apam Cake* (Serabi Cake in Bahasa) along with Aceh's typical *Kuab Tube*. As a society with thick Islamic values, *Khanduri Apam* is held to welcome the month of Rajab and commemorate the *Isra' Mi'raj* event of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. *Khanduri Apam* is routinely done every seventh month in the Aceh calendar system, also known as *Bulem Apam*, or equivalent to Rajab Month in the *Hijri* Calendar. This study aims to describe the representation of theological values of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition among the people of Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province. The research method used is a descriptive analytical-qualitative method with data collection techniques using observation, interviews, and documentation. The informants are determined using the purposive sampling technique. The results of the study show that *Khanduri Apam* represents 5 theological values, namely: 1) divine values (worship, alms); 2) social values (togetherness, cooperation, tolerance); 3) spiritual value (commemorating *Isra' Mi'raj*); 4) ritual values (remembering and praying for the spirits); and 5) intellectual values (preserving customs as well as local cuisine). In representing intellectual values, the Agency of Education and Culture of Pidie Regency also participated by instructing all schools in Pidie Regency, from kindergarten, elementary, to junior high education levels, to hold *Khanduri Apam* in the school environment as an effort to maintain the continuity of this tradition among the younger generations, so that they can recognize and maintain these traditions amid the onslaught of contemporary culinary. The *Khanduri Apam* tradition has a rooted relevance to Islamic values which are considered non contrary to Sharia Law. So that the dialectic of Islam with cultural realities will continue to be intertwined with the values of Islamic theology throughout its history.

Keywords: *Khanduri Apam*, representation, theological values, banquet traditions, local Aceh culinary.

1) INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has a diversity of ethnicities, languages, religions, cultures, and geographical features between regions separated by tens of thousands of islands. Culture is a set of values, knowledge, rituals, habits, lifestyles, attitudes, beliefs, folklore, rules, and customs that identify certain groups (Stajcic, 2013, p. 6). Culture is a work process or activity which is a process of human actions in

an effort to perfect their lives (Bakker, 2005, p. 142). Humans and culture are an inseparable relationship. Culture is formed by humans. With culture, humans shape their behaviour following existing values and norms (Anwar, 2014, p. 55).

The diversity of Indonesian cultures gives a crucial meaning that traditions or customs have been incarnated as the embodiment of local culture. Tradition as a habit, doctrine, transmission of knowledge, has become a value system that appears in the practice of social life and is passed down from generation to generation (Mandailing, 2012; Muchtar, 2009).

Aceh is one of the provinces located in the western part of Indonesia, occupying a strategic position as a gateway traffic commerce and culture that connects East and West since centuries ago. Aceh is often touted as a stopover for Chinese, European, Indian, and Arab traders, thus making the first entry of the Aceh culture and religion in the archipelago. In the 7th century, Indian traders introduced Hinduism and Buddhism. But, Aceh started to be recognized along with the entrance and development of Islam in this region, which was introduced by Gujarat traders from the ranks of Arab ahead of the 9th century. According to historical records, Aceh was the first entry point of Islam in Indonesia, where the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia emerged. Those kingdoms were called Peureulak and Pasai empires, were built by Sultan Ali Mughayatsyah with its capital in Bandar Aceh (currently Banda Aceh). The presence of this area grew strong with the formation of The Sultanate of Aceh, which united all the small kingdoms located in the area. The Sultanate of Aceh reached its peak at the beginning of the 17th century, during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. At that time, the influence of religion and Islamic culture was immense in the daily life of the Acehnese people, which caused this area to be called “*Serambi Mekkah*” (The Veranda of Mecca) (Katalog BPS, 2021).

History has shown that Aceh has a diversity of long-standing traditions and customs that are strongly associated with Islam. The majority of these traditions determine the practices of community life in Aceh. Traditions originated and constructed based on Islamic values and norms have made the existence of customs in Acehnese society a special position and recognized as a reinforcement of sharia law (Salam, 2004, p. 6). This is reflected in the *hadih maja* - which is something that can be interpreted as words, statements, proverbs, verbal expressions, that come from Aceh's ancestors, or the aphorisms of the elders (Bakar, 1985), which sounds,

"*Hukom ngon adat lage z̄at ngon sijent, tawiet han meulipat, tatarek han menjen 'euet, adat dengoen qanun lage kalam dengoen dawent, na j̄itron ujong rakam, tapandang di dalam kbeut, qanun dengoen reusam lage parang dengoen sadeup, dua-dua mata tajam, hana saban di dalam bue?*" (translation: laws and customs are like substances with Allah's attributes, do not break and do not bend, customs and *qanuns* are like pen and ink, written and can be seen through writing, *qanun* and *reusam* are like machetes and ani-ani, both sides are sharp, but not the same in terms of function).

Hadih Maja explains that there was cohesion and unity in the regulations of the Aceh kingdom in the past. The four regulations consisted of adat, law, *qanun*, and *reusam*, which were interconnected with each other. *Reusam* is a custom that consists of several things: 1) customs related to the cycle of human life. (eg: birth, marriage, education, and death); 2) customs related to cooperation such as *menseuraya* (such as cooperation) and *kbanduri* (banquets and meals together). All Acehnese customs in the form of *reusam* generally begin, intersperse, and end with a *kbanduri*.

Kbanduri is a popular term in Southeast Asia, characterized by a ritual that provides banquets of food on various occasions (Manan, 2012). Based on culture, the people of Aceh generally like to serve guests. Because based on the prevailing norms in Acehnese society, honoring guests (*pemulia jamee*) is an obligation. Every tradition carried out in Acehnese society will invite many guests. *Kbanduri* (meal together) later became a habit inherent in the personality of the Acehnese people as a practice of honoring guests. So that every tradition in the Acehnese society will generally be accompanied by a banquet or *kbanduri* (Imran, 2020, p. 192).

This fact is reinforced by the names of the months in the Aceh calendar system (Aceh Almanac) which is guided by the calculation of the *Hijri* Calendar. The Acehnese almanac has standardized the *khanduri* tradition as an effort to commemorate certain events or Islamic holidays. Each month contained in the Aceh Almanac will always be accompanied by different types of *khanduri*. As explained in the following table.

Table 1. Names of Months and Types of Banquets in Aceh (Thamrin, 2009)

No	Arabic Month Name (<i>Hijri</i> Calendar)	Aceh Month Name (Aceh Almanac)	Types of Banquets
1	<i>Muharram</i>	<i>Asan Usen</i>	<i>Khanduri Asyura</i>
2	<i>Safar</i>	<i>Tulak Bala</i>	<i>Khanduri Laot (Rabu Abeh)</i>
3	<i>Rabiul Awwal</i>	<i>Moklod Phon</i>	<i>Khanduri Maulid Nabi Muhammad Saw</i>
4	<i>Rabiul Akbir</i>	<i>Moklod Teungob</i>	<i>Khanduri Maulid Nabi Muhammad Saw</i>
5	<i>Jumadil Awal</i>	<i>Moklod Akhe</i>	<i>Khanduri Maulid Nabi Muhammad Saw</i>
6	<i>Jumadil Akbir</i>	<i>Bungong Kayee</i>	<i>Khanduri Bob Kayee (Fruit Banquet)</i>
7	<i>Rajab</i>	<i>Buleun Apam</i>	<i>Khanduri Apam (Isra' Mi'raj)</i>
8	<i>Sya'ban</i>	<i>Khanduri Bu</i>	<i>Khanduri Bu (Rice Banquet)</i>
9	<i>Ramadhan</i>	<i>Buleun Puasa</i>	<i>Khanduri Yatim ngon Gasin</i>
10	<i>Syawal</i>	<i>Buleun Uroe Raya</i>	<i>Khanduri Jame</i>
11	<i>Zulqaidah</i>	<i>Buleun Menapet</i>	<i>Khanduri Jak Haji</i>
12	<i>Zulbijah</i>	<i>Buleun Haji</i>	<i>Khanduri Wo Haji</i>

Acehnese makes *Rajab* a month to increase deeds and charity, one of which is through the *Khanduri Apam* tradition. Therefore, the month of *Rajab* is known as *Buleun Apam* in the *Aceh Almanac*. The *Khanduri Apam* tradition is classified as one of the traditions carried out by the Acehnese people to commemorate the event of the great journey of the Prophet Muhammad Saw to the 7th heaven to receive orders for five-time prayer a day and night from Allah Swt. The event occurred on the night of the 27th of *Rajab*, known as the *Isra' Mi'raj* event.

Khanduri Apam tradition has been carried out since the period of Aceh Darussalam Sultanate until today. *Khanduri Apam* in general is still practiced by almost all communities in Pidie Regency. However, there are also a number of Acehnese who no longer carries out the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, as happened to the people in Aceh Besar District.

The community of Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima Subdistrict, Pidie Regency is one of the communities in Aceh Province to preserve the *Khanduri Apam* tradition. They routinely conduct this tradition once a year in the month of *Rajab*. With the emergence of various challenges from modernization and globalization, the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition still exists and persists in Ulee Tutue Raya Village. They even still carry out the tradition despite the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* in Ulee Tutue Raya Village tends to be more lively than the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition held by other villages in Pidie Regency.

Based on the background mentioned above, this study aims to describe the representation of theological values contained in the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community, Delima District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province, where these values are allegedly a strong factor for the community of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya to carry out and maintain the *Khanduri Apam* tradition from generation to generation.

2) METHODS

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is a flexible, naturalistic data collection method and does not use formal instruments to record data. Qualitative data is often gathered in the form of words, pictures, or both (Marguerite, 2006, p. 116). Descriptive research asks questions about the nature of incidence or distribution of variables; it involves describing but

not manipulating variables (Ary et.al, 2010, p. 640). Descriptive research declares something naturally, so this study only measures what already exists. One of the distinguishing characteristics of qualitative research is the methods used to collect and analyze data. In qualitative studies, the human investigator is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data (Denzin, 2000, Ary et.al, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Miles, 2007; Sugiyono, 2009). In this research activity, we collected the data by conducting field research and combining it with the studied object. The qualitative research method in this study aims to collect primary data contained in the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community, Delima District, Pidie, Aceh Regency.

We followed three steps to collect the data: observation, interview, and documentation study. 1) Observation. Observation as a research tool requires training in both what to observe and how to record the observation results (Marguerite, 2006, p. 117). In this step, we observed how the procession of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition is carried out, who are the people involved in the tradition, and where is the location in which *Khanduri Apam* tradition is performed; 2) Interview. An interview involves a form on which the researcher records an answer guide, listens for answers or observes behavior, and records responses on the survey. An interview is a popular approach in qualitative research. A qualitative interview occurs when researchers ask one or more participants general, open-ended questions and record their answers (Creswell, 2012, p. 217). The type of interview conducted in this research is a structured interview. In doing a structured interview, we first prepared the material to be used during the interview (Idrus, 2009, p. 107). We designed interview questions based on the research problem. The process began with asking a few questions structurally to the informants. Then from the initial question, we asked follow-up questions to obtain deeper information. During the interview, the conversations sometime deviate from the core problems but we redirected the conversation to our initial topic (Arikunto, 2002, p. 201). 3) Documentation study. In the documentation study, data collection is done by collecting and analyzing documents, such as written texts, images, or electronic documents (Sukmadinata, 2007, p. 221; Bowen, 2009; O'Leary, 2014). In this step, we studied the documents related to *Khanduri* ritual through books, encyclopedias, papers, journals, and other writings related to the topic.

A purposive sampling technique was used in determining the informants. According to Arikunto (2002, p.127), a purposive sampling technique is one of the sampling techniques applied when time and findings are limited. This technique is a common procedure used in qualitative research that identifies key informants or people who have specific knowledge about the studied topic. In this research, the interview subjects were chosen according to the need and purpose of the research (Marguerite, et.al, 2006, p. 152). The key informants in this study consisted of the village chief (*Geuchik Gampong*), religious leaders (*Teungku*), a junior high school teacher at one of the junior high schools (SMP) in Delima District, and 2 community members. All informants are from Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province, Indonesia.

3) RESULTS

The Perspective of Religious Leaders and Community on the Origin of the Implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* Tradition and the History of The Naming *Buleun Apam*

The majority of *khanduri* traditions found in Aceh Province contain Islamic values and cultures. Each of these traditions cannot be separated from the strong influence of Iskandar Muda sultanate leadership during ancient times. The *khanduri* tradition at that time was used as a medium or an effective method for propagating Islam. According to the Islamic missionaries (*mubaligh*), the purpose of incorporating Islamic elements into traditions was to instil the love for Allah SWT among the society (Hakim, 2006, p. 210). Based on the opinion of several Islamic scholars (*ulama*), Islam does not forbid its followers to express their sense of beauty towards nature, whether it is in a written or oral form. Islam even encourages the love for traditions so that its people are closer to God, the creator of the universe.

It is unknown when the *Khanduri Apam* tradition first appeared. We could not find any literature sources, either manuscripts or other references indicating exactly when this tradition started. Some of the available literature does not explain the history of when and where the *Khanduri Apam* tradition originated.

According to Armiya (one of the religious leaders in Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya who holds the title *Teungku* – the Acehese term for an expert in religious knowledge), it is not known who was the person that first introduced *Khanduri Apam* tradition to the people of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya, District Delima, Pidie Regency. This tradition, however, has been carried out since ancient times and passed down intergenerationally.

"Even though there are no sources and archives related to the origin of the khanduri apam tradition, the tradition is still a cultural heritage that has been inherited by Aceh's ancestors so it must be carried out by the community from generation to generation, once a year on 27 Rajab". (The interview results with Tengku Armiya, 2021).

According to Mr. Azwir as a village chief (*Geuchik*) of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya, Delima District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province, the *Khanduri Apam* tradition began to be known along with the spread of Islam which was carried out hundreds of years ago. In ancient times *Khanduri Apam* was intended to commemorate the day of *Isra 'Mi'raj* as well as strengthen the relationship and establish a relationship of togetherness among fellow people so that they can gather with neighbors, relatives, and local residents at least once a year.

The naming of *Buleun Apam* has its own history from the perspective of the Acehese. The reason why the Acehese named the *Rajab* as *Buleun Apam*, according to Tengku Armiya, is associated with a story that happened to Prophet Muhammad Saw. in the month of *Rajab*. The Muslims were encouraged to fast to get rewards and blessings during this month. One time some of the prophet's companions who do physically demanding works came to meet him. They asked the prophet Saw,

"O Rasulullab, this is the month of Rajab which is full of glory, it is sunnah for every Muslim to fast in this month. But we work tough jobs, and we cannot afford to fast. Is there any other practice that if we do it, then we belong to the noble people in the month of Rajab?"

The Prophet Muhammad Saw replied,

"Those who are not able to fast can still get blessings by providing food such as bread, which can be distributed to the poor, orphans, and people who are fasting. If the bread is intended for alms, may Allah Swt forgive sins in the month of Rajab and be given the strength to face the month of Sha'ban and the month of Ramadhan".

The Acehese people use this story as a motivation for charity, by cooking local food in the form of *Apam*, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness from Allah Swt. According to Tengku Armiya, the word *Apam* comes from the Arabic word *'afwan*, which means sorry.

Another perspective related to the origin of the naming of *Buleun Apam* was also explained by one of the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community, that for the Acehese, the month of *Rajab* is considered as *buleun peugleh tubob* (the month to purify the soul), the month of *Sya'ban* is *buleun peugleh hate* (the month to cleanse the heart), and the month of *Ramadhan* is *buleun sunggoh-sunggob ibadat* (the month of zealous worship). These three months are highly respected by the Acehese. So in terms of purifying the soul, the early Acehese visited their neighbours' homes to apologize for the mistakes they had made, both in terms of words, actions, or attitudes, which accidentally appeared in the process of interacting with neighbours. When visiting, people bring food made from rice flour mixed with coconut milk, as a gift for their neighbours. Based on the habit that started with visiting and bringing food, then a designation for the food that was often brought during the visit was developed as *'afwan* cake (apology cake). But over time, the name *'afwan* cake

experienced a shift in pronunciation, so it turned into *Apam* cake. Meanwhile, the basis for implementing *Khanduri Apam* (the banquet tradition) stemmed from a punishment aimed at a young man who does not perform the Friday prayers three times in a row. As a fine, he was ordered to bring as many as 100 *Apam*, which were brought to the mosque to be consumed together as alms (Buletin Haba, 2014, p. 60).

***Khanduri Apam*: the Local Culinary Banquet Traditions in Ulee Tutue Raya Community**

Khanduri cannot be separated from the tradition of banquets, especially in the celebration of Islamic holidays. The dishes served in each *khanduri* are also different, depending on the type of *khanduri* that will be held. That is because every food served in each *khanduri* has different values or symbols.

Khanduri Apam is a type of banquet tradition that serves traditional Acehnese food and is only held once a year in the Month of *Rajab* to commemorate the *Isra 'Mi'raj* event of the Prophet Muhammad Saw According to the *Aceb Almanac*, it is known as *Buleun Apam*. According to Islam, the month of *Rajab* has various virtues. Thus, to obtain these virtues, Muslims are encouraged to do more worship such as fasting, giving alms, etc to be freed from all sins that they have done.

As an effort to follow the advice for obtaining the virtue of the month of *Rajab*, the people of Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima District, Pidie Regency held the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, by inviting relatives and neighbours to help cook *Apam* together. The *Apam* that has been cooked together is also distributed to orphans, poor people, and local residents, which is intended as a practice of alms to obtain the virtues of the month of *Rajab*.

Apam is a traditional Acehnese food in the form of cake, which is similar to *Kue Serabi* (Indonesian pancake), except that the size of *Apam* tends to be larger than *Kue Serabi*. The *Khanduri Apam* tradition is carried out by cooking *Apam* and *Kuab Tube* in groups at one of the resident's houses. After that, they held a banquet together while distributing *Apam* which has been served with *Kuab Tube* to the surrounding community, the poor, and orphans. *Khanduri Apam* can be held on any date, as long as it is not held outside the Month of *Rajab*. However, the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community generally carries out this tradition on the 27th day of the month of *Rajab*.

The Tradition of *Khanduri Apam* During the Covid-19 Pandemic

The implementation of *Khanduri Apam* during the Covid-19 pandemic gives a different experience for the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community. Based on a statement from the village chief (*Geuchik*) of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya, in 2021 the community is very enthusiastic about holding *Khanduri Apam*. Even though they are still trapped in the Covid-19 pandemic situation, the community agrees to continue *Khanduri Apam* tradition and accept all the worst consequences, including the possibility of being exposed to the Covid-19 virus. The community's determination to hold a *Khanduri Apam* is very strong, considering that in 2020, the *Khanduri Apam* was not held, due to the initiation of the *PSBB* (Large-Scale Social Restriction) policy from the government to reduce the number of active cases and death rates due to Covid-19 in Indonesia. The people of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya were worried that if *Khanduri Apam* is not carried out in 2021, the community will not be able to do it in the years to come, considering there is no certainty when the Covid-19 pandemic will end.

The enthusiasm of the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community to hold the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in the Covid-19 pandemic situation has paid off. The Regent of Pidie Regency issued a permit to perform *Khanduri Apam* for all communities in Pidie Regency so that in 2021 the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community will again carry out the *Khanduri Apam* tradition festively. The Regent of Pidie Regency also instructed the Agency of Education and Culture of Pidie to hold mass *Khanduri Apam* in schools throughout Pidie Regency.

The *Khanduri Apam* tradition is still carried out by people living in villages, especially in Delima District, Pidie Regency. Some people do it in groups by inviting neighbours and relatives to the house of one of the residents, there are also people who do it individually with family members in their homes. After carrying out the cooking procession starting at 08.00 WIB, the *Apam* were then distributed to neighbors, orphans, the poor, and the community around Ulee Tutue Raya Village.

In commemorating the *Isra' Mi'raj* of the Prophet Muhammad Saw, the *Khanduri Apam* tradition continued until the night. The village community invited one of the *Tengku* to give a religious lecture and prayer together which was held at Meunasah Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya. *Khanduri Apam* does not only preserve a tradition of banquets with traditional Acehnese culinary specialties, but also provides knowledge about Islamic history through lectures and accompanied by a collective prayer.

The Procession in the Khanduri Apam Tradition: Visit, Cooperation, and Alms

The people of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya have cohesiveness. The values of togetherness that exist in the community of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya are reflected in the division of tasks for each member of the community at each stage of the *Khanduri Apam* implementation. The procession of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community is carried out through the following stages.

1) Duek Pakat (Consensus)

Before holding the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, the entire community conduct a community meeting to determine the date and preparation for the implementation of *Khanduri Apam*. The meeting is led by *Geuchik* Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya accompanied by *Tengku*, *Imum Meunasah*, *Tuba Pent*, and *Tuba Lapan* (community leaders). During the meeting, they discuss a plan to invite a *Tengku* from outside the village, or from outside a different sub-district or a different district, to give a lecture on the night of 27 Rajab.

2) Preparation of Cooking Equipments and Ingredients

At this stage, the women prepare the ingredients used in the cooking process, including rice flour, coconut milk, grated coconut, water, and salt. The rice flour used is sourced from mashed rice using *Jeungki* (a traditional Acehnese tool made of wood used to grind rice). The rice used is a type of fluffier rice and must be pure white in colour, so that the *Apam* they produce looks bright.

Various utensils are used to cook *Apam*, such as *caprok tanoh* (a pot made of clay), a fire stove, *tapeh* (coconut fiber), and firewood as a substitute for dried coconut leaves. In ancient times, people used dried coconut leaves as the main fuel for cooking *Apam*. But today, some people use firewood and even gas stoves instead of dried coconut leaves because it is more practical and efficient. However, most of the people of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya are still cooking *Apam* using dried coconut leaves. According to them, the quality of *Apam* produced from the burning process using dried coconut leaves tends to produce *Apam* with a more delicious taste quality.

3) Apam Batter Processing

The stages of making *Apam* batter in Ulee Tutue Raya Village are quite special. Because it is processed in a group of women of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya, with a different mechanism for the division of tasks between each other. These women consist of mothers and teenage girls who are neighbors, family, and relatives



Figure 1. A group of women work together to make an *Apam* batter

There is a group of women whose task is to make the *Apam* batter. They mixed a rice flour in a large container and then sprinkled with salt. After that, the thick coconut milk is poured until it blends with the flour so that it becomes a thick, grainy dough and is not runny. Then another group of women had the task of kneading the dough with their hands. The dough is stirred for a long time, so that the shape of the *Apam* becomes fluffy and round when cooked. Then the dough is poured with hot water while stirring slowly until blended. *Apam* batter is ready to be cooked if it is not too thick and not too runny

4) *Toet Apam* (*Apam* Cooking Process)

At a different location, outside the house, there is a group of women in charge of preparing the *Apam* cooking process (*toet Apam*) by burning it on *caprok tanoh* (a container made of clay), which is placed on a fire stove. The fire stove is prepared outside the house as a place for traditional cooking. In addition, the group of women is also responsible for providing dried coconut leaves as the main fuel for the *toet Apam* process.

Dried coconut leaves are placed under a fire stove that has been prepared, then the leaves are burned until they turn into ashes. After that, a group of women who served in the *toet Apam* process heated the *caprok tanoh* on a fire stove. Then they sprinkle salt on the surface of the *caprok tanoh* and rub the salt using coconut fibers until evenly distributed. The use of rubbing the inner surface of the *caprok tanoh* with coconut fiber is to prevent the *Apam* dough from sticking in the *caprok tanoh* when it is ready.

When the *caprok tanoh* turns hot, the *Apam* batter is poured into it and baked on one side only, no need to turn it over. That burning process has a philosophy that the top of the *Apam* that is not burned will remain white and bright, so that a brighter future is expected for them (Interview with Tengku Armia, 2021). In addition, *Apam* which is considered good is the *Apam* which is round in shape and has small pores in the middle. The back of the *Apam* also should not be burnt until it turns black. Through this tradition of collaboration, the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community can produce hundreds of pieces of *Apam* in one day.



Figure 2. The form of *Apam* that is readily baked

5) *Cooking The Kuah Tuhe*

Another group of women works together to prepare the *Kuah Tuhe*, as the *Apam* sauce. *Kuah Tuhe* is made from coconut milk, water, pieces of plantain, jackfruits, pandan leaves, cassavas, and sweet potatoes. All the ingredients are mixed together in a large container, then cook until boiling. The *Kuah Tuhe* is also spiked with a little sugar and salt to have a savoury taste.

6) *Serving the Apam*

Apam is served in one plate with *Kuah Tuhe*. The form of presentation of *Apam* is different. Some people serve it on small plates that are placed on the living room floor of their house. Some others serve it in the form of a buffet dish on the dining table. *Apam* is placed in a large container as is the case with *Kuah Tuhe*, which is also put in another large container. For people who want to consume this dish, they can take the plate that has been provided beside the two dishes, then independently mix *Apam* and *Kuah Tuhe* into their plate.



Figure 3. *Apam* is served on the living room floor in one of the resident's houses

7) *Apam Sharing*

At this final stage, some of the *Apam* and *Kuah Tuhe* are also packed into plastic bags. Those packages are then distributed to neighbours, relatives, orphans, poor people, and the community of Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima District, Pidie Regency. The people of Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya who cannot participate in the *Apam* cooking process for some reason also receive the *Apam* from the people who are involved in the tradition.

***Khanduri Apam* as an Alms for The Spirits**

The Acehnese believe that *Apam* will have a positive influence on the fate of the spirits of relatives who have died. According to Maratun Salehah, one of the Ulee Tutue Raya Village people, the implementation of *Khanduri Apam* is also related to the tradition of remembering the spirits of relatives who have died. There is a story told by Snouck Hurgronje, who is known by the Acehnese as *Teungku Puteh*. In short, *Teungku Puteh* once said that in ancient times there was an Acehnese who wanted to know the fate of the spirits in the grave about the questions that would be asked by the guardian angels of the grave - Angels Munkar and Nakir - and the torments in the grave. Then he pretended to be dead and was buried alive. After being buried under the grave, he was examined by the Angels of Munkar and Nakir regarding his deeds. He was not able to answer the angels' questions due to the sins he had committed. Then the two angels hit him with an iron. But the iron could not hit him, because there was an object he could see dimly in the dark, it almost resembled the moon and it was as if it was protecting him from the iron belonging to the two angels. Somehow, he managed to rise out of his grave and immediately met his family who at that time was making *Apam* for his 'spirit'. So it was known that the one who helped him during his time in the grave was the *Apam* that his family was making.

Starting from that story, the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community believes that *Apam* can be used as a means to reward the dead and make the *Khanduri Apam* tradition one of the worship activities, namely alms to reward the dead. According to Teungku Armiya's statement, if people who carry out *Khanduri Apam* intend their *khanduri* as alms for the spirits of relatives who have died, then the reward from the *Khanduri Apam* alms will also flow to these spirits in the grave.

Teungku Armiya said that the spirits of the dead are eager to experience being alive again, so that they can give alms and charity. Because charity has many virtues, including for erasing the sins that have been committed by the spirits in their worldly life, and keep the spirit away from the punishment of the grave and protect them from the torment of hell fire. Families who already have relatives who have died can carry out the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in the month of *Rajab* at the same time by referring to *khanduri* as alms to the spirits of deceased relatives. *Khanduri Apam* which is intended as alms for the spirits aims to send rewards to the spirits of their relatives in the grave. So that *Khanduri Apam* can also be used as a momentum to send alms to the spirits of the deceased.

Implementation of Mass *Khanduri Apam* in Kindergarten to the Junior High School Students in Pidie Regency

Before the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world, Department of Culture, Tourism, Youth and Sports of Pidie Regency held an *Apam* cooking competition at the *Khanduri Apam* Fair on March 16, 2019. At that festival, as many as 23 sub-districts in Pidie Regency competed to cook the best *Apam* ever. However, during the Covid-19 pandemic the *Khanduri Apam* Fair event was temporarily suspended.

During the Covid-19 Pandemic the *Khanduri Apam* Fair was replaced with the appearance of the Mass *Khanduri Apam*. In 2021 the Regent of Pidie Regency through the Agency of Education and Culture popularized the *Khanduri Apam* tradition with a new method, which is through the implementation of *Khanduri Apam* activities in schools. So that 2021 are the first year for the implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in Pidie Regency schools, starting from Kindergarten (TK), Elementary (SD) to Junior High School (SMP).

The Head of the Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Pidie Regency instructed all school principals at the kindergarten, elementary to junior high school levels in Pidie Regency to hold mass *Khanduri Apam* in their respective schools to welcome the Month of *Rajab* in 1442 H. The mass *Khanduri Apam* is scheduled to be held simultaneously at these schools on February 23, 2021 starting at 08.00 WIB. The purpose is to familiarize the students, as the next generation who are

close to the currents of modernization, with *Khanduri Apam* tradition. Moreover, it was also to motivate the students to preserve the tradition as a cultural heritage of banquets that have been handed down by Aceh's ancestors from generation to generation. So that they become a generation that always upholds local cultural values.

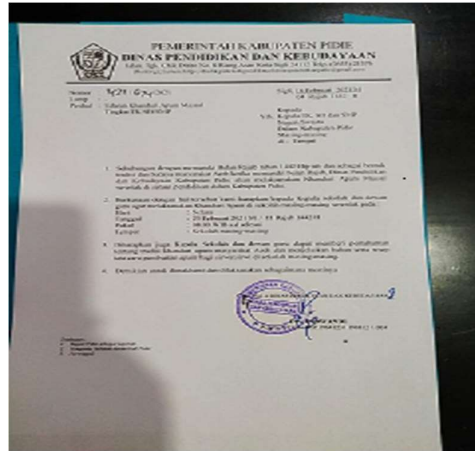


Figure 4. Circular letter from the Agency of Education and Culture of Pidie Regency to one of the Junior High Schools (*SMP*) in Delima Sub-district regarding the implementation of the mass *Khanduri Apam*

The mass *Khanduri Apam* tradition held in schools tends to be more creative, because teachers and students can create *Apam* freely in a variety of different colours and flavours.



Figure 5. *Apam's* creations from students at school

According to a junior high school teacher in Delima Subdistrict, Pidie Regency, such educational activities that encourage students' involvement in traditions is much needed, especially in the time of globalization. This program functions as a cultural introduction event for students as well as act as a medium for them to learn culinary skills, especially to introduce the local delights to a global market. In the future, some of these students will make *Apam* their culinary business commodity. In the hands of millennial generations, *Apam* can penetrate a wider market. Because with the creativity and innovation of this generation, local culinary delights such as *Apam* can be marketed globally through marketplaces or online buying and selling sites.



Figure 6. Junior high school students participating in the implementation of the Mass *Khanduri Apam* activities at school

4) DISCUSSION

The Representation of Theological Values in the *Khanduri Apam* Tradition

According to Stuart Hall, representation is one of the important practices in producing culture, one of which is related to "sharing experiences". A person is said to come from the same culture if they share the same experiences, the same cultural codes, speak the same language, and share the same concepts (Hall, 2003). Based on the data obtained from the results of this study, we found the forms of representation of theological values in the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, where overall these values are related to Islamic teachings originating from the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. *Khanduri Apam* represents 5 theological values, which are as follows.

1) *Divine Values*

The equivalence between the concept of local culture and religious theology for the Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya Community is the implementation of Islamic values which are manifested in the pattern found in *Khanduri Apam* tradition accompanied by worship to Allah Swt. The charity practice carried out by the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community by distributing *Apam* to the neighbours, the poor, the orphans, and the local community, is a form of representation of divine values in the *Khanduri Apam* tradition. The community has a common understanding, which comes from Islamic teachings, about the virtues of alms.

First, alms are proof of a servant's faith in Allah Swt. Charity is the noblest of deeds. People who give charity are people who believe in the word of Allah and can show their faith. As explained in a short hadith about alms as follows: "*And charity is proof*". (Hadith narrated by Muslim)". In this case, charity is proof of one's faith. People who like to give charity, either by distributing food or part of their wealth, are considered as the people with strong faith, and these people are classified as those who will receive great blessings and rewards from Allah Swt.

Second, alms is a practice that can erase sins. Humans are creatures who do not escape from mistakes and sins. Human imperfections in Islam can be covered with alms. According to Islam, the practice of giving alms such as distributing food such as *Apam* to orphans and the poor is something that can wash away sins. But most importantly is giving alms to relatives such as kin and family. This is reinforced by the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad which states, "*Alms to the poor is only alms, while alms to relatives will get two rewards, namely the reward of alms and the reward of friendship*." (Hadith narrated by Tirmidhi). In general, neighbours are considered as relatives and

families in the Acehnese community and the neighbours themselves are generally their own relatives. So that the virtue of alms to relatives has been practiced in the *Khanduri Apam* tradition by inviting neighbours to cook *Apam* together and entertain them.

Third, alms as a practice that can multiply the reward. Alms are like savings and have multiple benefits. The parable of the person who spends wealth in the way of Allah is like that of a seed that grows seven ears, each of which contains 100 seeds. Such is the virtue of alms according to the Qur'an, "*And Allah multiplies the reward for whomever he wills. And Allah is wide in bounty and all-knowing*" (Q.S. Al-Baqarah Verse 261).

2) Social Values

The practice of cooperative relations, friendship, and togetherness between communities in the *Khanduri Apam* tradition represents social values. Social values can be understood from the reality of society in an area, having a social environment and its people form a social life together, they help each other in goodness, and remind that happiness is also related to their relationship with each other. Social values are very closely related to a tradition that takes place in the community, if there is no community, then the tradition will not work, because the community is the actor who carries out the tradition.

In the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, social values are represented in the process of preparing the ingredients and the equipment for cooking *Apam* and continued with cooking *Apam* and *Kuab Tube* until the process of the banquet and sharing of *Apam* takes place. From this implementation, inter-community wisdom is created such as friendship and cooperation, which is done by visiting the neighbours and relatives who hold the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in their own homes. *Khanduri Apam* involves many people in its implementation process so that the community can meet each other and gather to work together in carrying out the *Khanduri Apam* tradition step by step.

In Islam, friendship has many virtues. First, the sustenance is expanded. Someone who maintains friendships with fellow Muslims, then Allah Swt will expand his sustenance. In addition, Allah Swt will also increase the age of people who connect in social relationships with others. As stated in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad Saw which means, "*Whoever wants to extend his life and increase his sustenance, let him continue the friendship.*" (Hadith Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).

Second, connect with Allah Swt. Maintaining friendship and treating humans well is also a form of practice that can be done as an effort to get closer to the Creator. Prophet Muhammad Saw said, "*Verily Allah Swt created creatures until when He finished from (creating) them, the womb stood up and said: This is the position of the person who takes refuge with You from deciding, be pleased if I connect those who connect you and cut off those who cut you off?*" He replied: *yes*. He said: "*That is for you*" (Hadith narrated by Abu Hurairah).

Third, be brought closer to heaven and kept away from hell. A person who establishes friendship on the Day of Resurrection will be close to Allah's heaven. Prophet Muhammad Saw said, "*You worship Allah Swt and do not associate anything with Him, establish prayer, pay zakat, and connect ties of friendship, if he sticks to what I command him, he will surely enter heaven*". (Hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).

Fourth, the consequences of faith in Allah Swt. Regarding this, the Prophet Muhammad Saw said, "*Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him honor his guest, and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him maintain a friendly relationship.*" (Hadith narrated by Abu Hurairah RA).

3) Spiritual Values

The form of spiritual value from the *Khanduri Apam* tradition is represented through the main goal of its implementation, which is to commemorate a historic event in Islam, namely *Isra 'Mi'raj* on the 27th of the month of *Rajab*. *Isra 'Mi'raj* is the event of the Prophet Muhammad's journey from the Grand Mosque (Mecca) to the Aqsa Mosque (Palestine), followed by *Sidratul Muntaba*.

The *Isra' Mi'raj* event is an important historical event for Muslims worldwide because at that time Allah Swt sent down orders for His servants to perform the five daily prayers. As the word of Allah Swt in the Qur'an Surah Al-Isra verse 1 which reads, "*Glory be to Him who has traveled His servant (Muhammad) at night from the Haram Mosque to the Aqsa Mosque which We have blessed around him so that We can show him some of it. Our (greatness) signs. Verily, He is All-Hearing, All-Seeing*" (Q.S. Al-Isra Verse 1).

As an effort to commemorate the *Isra' Mi'raj* of the Prophet Muhammad Saw, the *Khanduri Apam* tradition lasts until the evening, where the village community invites one of the *Tengku* to give a religious lecture (generally discussing the *Isra' Mi'raj* event) which is held at the Meunasah Gampong Ulee Tutue Raya or in mosques across Pidie Regency.

4) Ritual Values

The implementation of the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, which is intended to send rewards to the spirits of dead relatives, is a form of representation of the ritual value. Ritual is a form of organizing the relationship between humans and the unseen. So that ritual values are values that connect humans with things that are considered sacred. In the *Khanduri Apam* tradition, ritual values are represented through the practice of intending the *khanduri* as alms for the spirits of relatives who have died, so that the reward from the *Khanduri Apam* alms will flow to the spirits of their relatives in the grave.

5) Intellectual Values

The ancestral messages for the community contain intellectual value to maintain community customs and to remind humans to continue doing good deeds and leaving despicable actions for their safety in this world and the hereafter. Intellectual values for the implementation of *Khanduri Apam* tradition among the Ulee Tutue Raya Village Community are represented through the practice of Mass *Khanduri Apam* held in schools in Pidie District. This shows that the local government, in this case, the Agency of Education and Culture of Pidie Regency, has integrated religious values into the practice of science and total cultural development. These efforts are carried out in order to maintain and reconstruct pure and sacred local cultural values as an effort to introduce the traditional Acehese banquet and culinary traditions among the younger generation of Aceh.

Overall, we conclude that the *Khanduri Apam* tradition represents 5 values of Islamic theology which are all sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith. The Qur'an is the *kalamullah* (word of Allah Swt) written in the manuscripts, which was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad Saw, through the Angel Jibril with its pronunciation and meaning. The Qur'an occupies a position as the first source of all Islamic teachings and serves as guidance for humans to obtain happiness in this world and the hereafter. As for the *qiraah* (recitation of the Qur'an) written in Arabic manuscripts, in accordance with the word of Allah Swt, which reads, "*and verily this Qur'an was truly sent down by the Lord of the worlds, He was brought down by A-Ruh Al Amin (Jibril), to in your heart (Muhammad) that you may be among those who warn, in clear Arabic*". (Q.S. As-Syu'araa Verses 192-195). While the hadith are the materials that come from the Prophet Muhammad Saw, either in the form of words, deeds, or confessions. In its position, the hadith is the second source or proposition after the Qur'an and has the power to be obeyed by all Muslims. Hadith as an explanation and sometimes expand the law in the Qur'an, or set the law itself outside of what has been determined by Allah in the Qur'an (Mudasir, 1999).

The representation of five theological values that we have described above as a whole refers to the socio-cultural signs contained in the process of implementing the *Khanduri Apam* tradition in Ulee Tutue Raya Village, Delima District, Pidie Regency, Aceh Province. This research is limited to the representation of theological values only. Therefore, we see the need for further research based on the results of this study regarding the philosophical and axiological values

represented in the Khanduri Apam tradition, as well as various forms of deconstruction that occurred in *Kbanduri Apam* as part of the adjustment to the development of modernization and globalization in Aceh. In addition, we also suggest further research related to other *kbanduri* traditions, which are contained in the Aceh Almanac, and are still practiced in the lives of the Acehnese.

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