



History, Cultural Shifts, and Adaptation in Social Change: An Ethnographic Study in the Aboge Islamic Community

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Abstract: The Aboge Islamic community faces significant challenges in facing global changes in an increasingly dynamic lifestyle. This research aims to identify the history and primary teachings of Aboge Islam that are adhered to, analyze changes or shifts in values that occur in the Aboge Islamic community, and find adaptation strategies in preserving the values of the teachings during social change. The method used was qualitative, with an ethnographic approach as a research method. Ethnographic research was used to study the culture and society of the Aboge Islamic community. The results show that the Aboge Islamic community experienced changes in its belief system and rituals due to development, education, urbanization, and *da'wah*. This community adopts a specialized adaptation strategy consisting of conservative and resistance approaches to maintain their traditional religious and cultural practices. With great passion and determination, they maintain the values of their ancestral cultural heritage, demonstrating that their existence and religious practices are still relevant in today's modern era. This research is very important because it can contribute to helping the government in taking the right policy for the preservation of local religious values in other areas.

Keywords: aboge Islamic community, adaptation strategy, cultural shift, social change

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INTRODUCTION

In the sociological view, religion is not only seen as something that exceeds human life but is also considered as something ordinary in the social context that shapes it (Koentjaraningrat, 1989; Syahrin et al., 2016). Religion is a type of social system formed by its adherents and based on non-empirical forces believed to be used to achieve salvation for themselves and society (Sakirman, 2016). Religion has an important functional role in people's lives because it can form communities bound together by belief in the same ultimate truth (Sodli, 2017; Suprpto et al., 2020). In this case, various religious groups or different religious communities are formed based on their beliefs. In Indonesia, the religions recognized and embraced by the community are reflected in UU No. 5 1965. Through this stipulation, Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism are recognized as official religions the Indonesian population follows. Thus, religion has a spiritual dimension and an important social and political dimension in shaping and influencing people's lives.

Often, these religions are regarded as mere symbols that cannot serve as the basis of human life orientation, the source of ethics and morals, and the spirit of shaping culture (Staub et al., 2011). This is due to the lack of adequate appreciation and practice of religious values in people's lives. As a result, the function of religion cannot run as expected by all religious believers, including local religious believers who live and develop in society. The role of religion as a driver of morality and good values can form a positive value system in human life (Ho & Chen, 2020; Tsendsuren et al., 2021). Therefore, it is very important for religious believers to not only understand religious teachings but also practice them wholeheartedly in everyday life. That way, religion can function optimally in shaping the culture and morality of local communities.

In various parts of Indonesia, various forms of religious beliefs are based on the power of local spirituality that develops in Indonesian society. For example, there are local religions practiced by several groups of people in Indonesia, such as the local religion *Sunda Wiwitan* practiced by the Sundanese in Banten, the local religion *Wetu Telu* practiced by the Lombok people in West Nusa Tenggara province, the local religion *Kaharingan* practiced by the Dayak people in Central Kalimantan, and the local religion *Parmalim* practiced by the Batak people in North Sumatra. In addition, there are also local religions such as *Alok Todolo*, held by the Toraja people in South Sulawesi, and the local religion *Merapu*, held by the Sumba people in East Nusa Tenggara (Sulaiman, 2013). Although the Indonesian government has not officially recognized these local religions, the

local communities still maintain and preserve their existence and religious practices. This shows how important the role of religion is in shaping cultural identity and spiritual beliefs in Indonesia's diverse society (Suprpto et al., 2020).

One of the local religions that continues to develop today in the Central Java region is a local religion known as "Aboge Islam". The Aboge Islam community is still widespread in the Banyumas Regency area, such as in the Jatilawang, Ajibarang, and Wangon areas, and in Purbalingga Regency, such as Onje Village. The local religions in question are traditional beliefs that had existed and developed long before major religions entered the archipelago. As local beliefs, they are not included in the sects of belief or major religions but are local religions that have existed for a long time and still survive today, embraced by a group of people in the local area (Amin, 2017; Windarani et al., 2021). Although these local religions are not major religions, they continue to develop and try to maintain their existence in the community.

Various previous studies on the Aboge Islamic community have been conducted. In other countries, local communities and religions are a topic of interest (e.g., Ho & Chen, 2020; Krezhevskikh & Karataeva, 2022; Staub et al., 2011; Toleubekova & Zhumataeva, 2018; Tsendsuren et al., 2021). Some researchers discuss the legality and management of the Aboge Islamic community so that it continues to be sustainable (Ardiansyah et al., 2021; Diniyanto, 2021); there are also some researchers discussing the educational aspects of their children and their social interactions with people outside the community (Sodli, 2017; Suprpto et al., 2020). The belief system of the Aboge Islamic community has also been discussed in several previous studies (Amin, 2017; Falinda, 2012; Hudi, 2016; Izzuddin, 1970; Nisa & Nur, 2021). However, previous researchers have not specifically discussed adaptation to current social changes. This is important because local religious communities face the challenges of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 era, which brings changes in an increasingly dynamic and competitive lifestyle. The era of disruption that continues to grow as a manifestation of the development of capitalism has an impact on changes in values in society, including changes in life orientation based on traditional values (Darmalaksana, 2013; Yaqin, 2019; Rachmadhani, 2016). The previous literature review shows that there is still a gap in research on Aboge Islam, especially in terms of the development of teachings and adaptation strategies in preserving the values of the teachings during social change. Therefore, this research will fill the void as a novelty in this research.

The problem to be solved in this research is related to the changes or value shifts that occur in the community of followers of Aboge Islam in Banyumas and Purbalingga. The researchers examine the adaptation strategy in preserving the values of the teachings during social change. This is very important because it can contribute to helping the government in making the right policy to preserve local religious values in other areas. Therefore, this research aims to identify the history and main teachings of Aboge Islam, analyze the changes or value shifts that occur in the Aboge Islamic community, and suggest adaptation strategies to preserve the values of the teachings during social change. This research objective is an important point in the novelty offered in this article. Hopefully, this research can provide recommendations to the government in taking the right policy to preserve the values of the Aboge Islamic community in Central Java. In this way, policies taken by the government will be based on data and information obtained from the results of the research.

METHODS

This study used a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach as a research method. Ethnographic research was used to study the culture and society of the Aboge Islamic community (Hernández, 2013). Ethnographic research describes and understands the daily life, social practices, and cultural values in a particular society through participatory observation and interviews with key informants (Creswell et al., 2007). The data produced in ethnographic research is a detailed description of the culture and society under study and is interpreted by considering the social and cultural context (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The location of this research was in Banyumas Regency and Purbalingga Regency, Central Java, which consists of two areas, Pekuncen Village in Jatilwang Sub-district and Onje Village in Mrebet Sub-district. The research time occurred in 2019 in collaboration with several parties. Each region has different religious characteristics. In Pekuncen Village, most of the Aboge Islamic community follows Nyandi Islam and concentrates its religious activities on the grave of its ancestor called "punden", namely Eyang Bonokeling. Whereas in Onje Village, most of the Aboge Islamic community follows Nyantri Islam, where they have performed the five daily prayers, but still hold their local traditions strongly.

This research used several data sources: customary leaders, community leaders, and religious leaders in the Aboge Islamic community. To collect data, the data collection techniques used were interviews, observation, and document review (Adams et al., 2005). In the interview method, purposively selected informants have certain criteria that are expected to provide accurate and relevant information for this research. In addition, observations were made to directly observe local religious community activities, especially customs in daily life. Through observation, researchers could obtain information about the community's daily activities,

such as traditional ceremonies, religious rituals, and local traditions that are still carried out by the local community. A document review was conducted to obtain documented data, such as classical texts related to religious activities and customs in the research area (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Thus, data collection was comprehensive and diverse to ensure the accuracy and validity of the data generated in this research.

From all the data collected, the analysis process was carried out using the analysis technique from Miles et al. (2014), which consists of data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data condensation was the initial stage where the data that has been collected will be selected, focused, and abstracted so that it could become more organized and easy to understand. After that, data presentation was done so all the information collected was well arranged and structured to draw conclusions and make the right decisions. Finally, the conclusion-drawing stage was a process in which the analysis results were verified and evaluated continuously throughout the research process to ensure that the conclusions were accurate and reliable. This process aimed to ensure that the research results obtained can be interpreted correctly and validly (Miles et al., 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History and Beliefs of the Aboge Islamic Community

The Aboge Islamic community is distinctive in how they determine months and dates by using the Alif Rebo Wage calendar, abbreviated as Aboge. The concept of this calendar is based on a period of eight years or *windu*, starting from the year *alif*, *ha*, *early jim*, *za*, *dal*, *ba*, *wawu*, and *late jim*. In a year, Aboge consists of 12 months, each lasting 29-30 days. The Aboge calendar calculation is a combination of calculations in one *windu* with the number of days and market days based on Javanese calculations, namely Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi (Manis), and Pahing (Agustina et al., 2022; Ardiansyah et al., 2021; Syahrin et al., 2016). By using the Aboge calendar, the Aboge Islamic community has a unique way of determining months and dates that is different from the calendar used by Muslims in general. The main concept in the Aboge teachings is that the Aboge calendar becomes the basis of every aspect of the life and activities of the community. The Aboge calendar combines several calendar calculations in one *windu*, based on Javanese calculations such as Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi, and Pahing (Prabowo et al., 2019; Rachmadhani, 2016). According to the beliefs of Aboge Islam adherents, this calculation calendar has been used by the saints since the 14th century (Nisa & Nur, 2021). In this case, Aboge Islam maintains the traditions and beliefs inherited by its ancestors and continues to preserve its unique calendar system as an important part of its cultural identity.

Historically, the Aboge calendar system was created by the order of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma, who was the supreme leader of the Mataram Kingdom (Sulaiman, 2013). Over time, this calendar system underwent modifications and some adjustments so that there were slight differences from what was originally determined by Sultan Agung. The process of determining this calendar was based on the needs of Javanese Muslims for certainty in determining various celebrations such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and the beginning of Ramadhan. Once established, this calendar system spread to all areas of the Mataram Kingdom, including Banyumas, Purbalingga, and Cilacap at that time. Thus, the Aboge calendar system played an important role in the daily life of Muslim communities in Java in the past.

To further explain, in the Banyumas region, there are three centers of the Aboge Islamic community spread across three different sub-districts, namely Cikawong in the Pekuncen sub-district, Cikakak in the Wangon sub-district, Pekuncen in Jatilawang sub-district. While in Purbalingga, the center of the Aboge Islamic community is Onje Village. Although the meeting point is unknown, the four points are recognized as the 12th caretaker based on his position. However, when viewed from its religious characteristics, there are differences between these points. The Aboge Islamic community in Onje is more influenced by the teachings of *Santri Islam*, which already performs the five daily prayers. However, some adherents still use *kejawen* symbols such as *iket* and *tembang* (Javanese songs) in dhikr. Meanwhile, in Pekuncen, the Aboge Islamic community is dominated by *abangan* adherents, where the five daily prayers and other circumcised prayers are not performed.

The historical connection between the spread of Islam in Banyumas Karisedanan and Demak and Pajang is very close. These two kingdoms played an important role in spreading Islam in Java. At that time, several emissaries from both kingdoms were sent to travel to the regions, including Banyumas. One of the emissaries who spread Islam in Banyumas was Kyai Bonokeling, whose real name is unknown. Kyai Bonokeling was responsible for the southern part of Banyumas. Although they had spread the teachings of Islam, it seems that their work was not finished because there were still some pillars of Islam that had not been adhered to by the local people. Meanwhile, the spread in Purbalingga is also still related, although some cases are different. In Purbalingga, Kadipaten Onje, the forerunner of Purbalingga Regency, is said to be the first location where Islam entered Purbalingga. Adipate Onje I became the imam of the first Onje mosque and continued until now Kyai Maksudhi holds the caretaker. It is this line of descendants who preserve the teachings of Abage Islam.

The belief system within the Aboge Islamic community in Banyumas and Purbalingga has unique

characteristics. Almost all people in the region are Muslim, but local customs and traditions still influence their religion. This is reflected in their religious practices, both in Onje and Pekuncen. In Onje, Islam is more dominated by *Santri* practices, such as performing the five daily prayers, but most people still maintain local customs in their daily lives. Meanwhile, in Pekuncen Village, most people do not perform the five daily prayers, but they still believe in the existence of God Almighty, the holy book, and the last day/*kiyamat*. Therefore, the Islamic community in the research area can be divided into two groups, namely Nyantri Islam and Nyandi Islam. The Nyantri Islam group's religious practices are centered in the mosque or *musala/langgar*. Whereas for the Nyandi Islam group, their religious practices are more centered in temples or tombs. This difference shows that Islamic communities in the research area have diverse religions, and although there are differences in religious practices, they still uphold the values of belief in everyday life.

In this context, it can be said that the tombs highly respected by the Pakuncen community are Eyang Kyai Bonokeling and Adipate Onje in Onje. Both tombs are always crowded with people, indicating that they are both centers of ritual activity and figures that bind the indigenous community and even the general public in the area. The tombs are usually visited on every nyadran day, while the tomb of Adipate Onje is visited every Rajab month. This shows that both tombs have an important role in the spiritual and social life of the community, where people still maintain the beliefs and traditions of their ancestors. Sumitro, as the caretaker, explains the phenomenon that "if a person is alive if not *nyantri*, then *nyandi*". According to Sulaiman (2013), these two terms distinguish between groups of Muslims who perform the five pillars of Islam and those who only perform three pillars of Islam, namely shahada, fasting, and zakat, without performing the five daily prayers. Therefore, the term "nyantri" refers to the group that practices the five pillars of Islam, while the term "nyandi" is more related to the group that practices Islam without performing the five daily prayers. For them, belief in the Almighty God is at the center of everything in this world. This phenomenon shows the segregation of Muslim groups based on their worship practices and how they view religious and cultural diversity in the research area.

The Abgoe Islamic community has a strong belief in the existence of a God called "Gusti Allah", believes in the existence of the Prophet Muhammad, believes in the holy book of the Quran, and believes in the last day. However, those who follow Nyandi Islam are reluctant to practice the five daily prayers. In their understanding, "salat" and "prayer" are two different terms, where "prayer" is interpreted as a job that can be stopped and resumed again, such as working on a farm or trading. Meanwhile, "prayer" is seen as an action or behavior that must be carried out in daily life, such as respecting fellow humans, not hurting others, helping the weak, improving relationships between individuals, and the like. That is why, even though they do not perform the five daily prayers, they still hold the view that Islam is a religion that teaches good behaviour and actions in daily life (Sulaiman, 2013). Thus, Nyandi Muslims believe and practice the teachings following the pillars of faith, which require them to believe in God, the Prophet Muhammad, angels, the book of the Qur'an, and the hereafter. They also believe that this life is an opportunity to plant good deeds that will produce a harvest in the afterlife. This difference is an important factor that distinguishes between Nyandi Islam and Santri Islam. It can be seen that Nyandi Islam dominates *kejawan*, which is local culture, while Santri Islam emphasizes the authenticity of Islam itself, although it still carries out some ancestral traditions.

The ritual system performed by the Aboge Islamic community is very diverse and includes various kinds of religious activities carried out by the community in the Pekuncen and Onje areas. These rituals are usually in the form of salvation performed with joint prayers and are carried out in various cycles of life, ecology, and holy days. The activities performed by the community in these rituals are generally in the form of Muji or praise and are performed in a place called Bale Pasemuan, led by a *kyai*. Some rituals are quite famous among the Aboge Muslim community, such as the Sura and Ruwah rituals. In the Sura ritual, the sounds of *genjringan* and *klontangan* are usually heard as part of the ritual activities. While in the month of Ruwah, there is usually a *sadran* or *unggahan* movement which is attended by thousands of people from various regions. This activity is very important for the Aboge Muslim community because it is part of their efforts to preserve the cultural traditions inherited from their ancestors. In Onje, there is a very famous ritual tradition, which is a ritual held every Rajab month to visit the grave of Adipati Onje and his descendants.

The Shifting Teachings of Aboge Islam

In the current era of industrial revolution 4.0, there is a shift experienced by the Aboge Islamic community. Although the shifts that occur are not so significant, some changes have occurred in the ritual aspect. However, in matters of belief, community beliefs are still difficult to change. This can be caused by factors such as the rise of development, education, urbanization, and da'wah which are interrelated and influence each other. Changes in the teachings of Aboge Islam in the research area can be divided into three main aspects, namely, changes in the aspect of belief, changes in the aspect of rituals, and changes in the aspect of worship. In the belief aspect, although people's beliefs are difficult to change, some changes occur in the understanding of Islamic teachings and interpretations of the holy verses of the Koran. Meanwhile, in the ritual aspect, changes are seen in the addition of new elements in the rituals performed by the community. This

can be caused by the influence of changing times, where people become more open to outside cultures and traditions. Meanwhile, in the aspect of worship, there are changes in the form of the use of modern technology in religious activities, such as the use of sound systems and projectors in the implementation of religious activities in mosques. These changes show the adaptation of the Aboge Islamic community to the development of an increasingly modern era (Amin, 2017; Windarani et al., 2021). However, despite changes in several aspects, the Aboge Islamic community still maintains the values and religious traditions inherited from their ancestors as a form of cultural preservation and local wisdom.

In the nyantri Islamic group in Onje, the system of beliefs held by the nyantri Islamic group is evident through the six pillars of faith: belief in God, angels, messengers of God, books of God, good and bad destiny, and the last day, however, in contrast to the nyandi Islamic group in Pakuncen, the center of their belief in God and reverence for ancestral spirits, especially Eyang Panembahan Bonokeling. For them, the most important thing in Islam is to recite the "sadat" or *syahadat*. However, some of them have changed their beliefs and begun to adopt the santri understanding of Islam. In the Pekuncen area, the group of devout Muslims (santri) seems to have developed. Their religiosity can be divided into two groups, namely the Salafiyah group and the Nahdhiyah (NU) group. The Salafiyah group tends to be characterized by symbols such as *cingkrang* pants and long beards and extremely believes in heresy and *khurafat*. Muhammadiyah, Jamaah Tabligh, and Jamaah Salafi generally develop this group. Nevertheless, changes in the beliefs and understanding of Islam among the nyantri and nyandi groups continue to occur following the changing times.

The Aboge Islamic community in Onje village has a majority who follow Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), but some follow Muhammadiyah. This difference is reflected in the implementation of worship, where some people do not follow *tahlilan* and *yasinan*. In addition, among NU there are also two different understandings, namely the NU Asapon understanding and the NU Aboge understanding. However, the majority in Onje Village adheres to the NU Aboge school, which follows the teachings that have been passed down from generation to generation by their ancestors. The changes in the ritual aspect are not very significant, but only in the changes in participants and materials used. This aspect is seen in various ritual ceremonies such as *unggahan*, *khitanan*, *ijaban*, *sedekah bumi*, and *mlebon*. The community carries out the unggahan tradition to welcome the month of fasting or Ramadan, while the udunan tradition is a form of honor for the end of Ramadan. Some opinions state that the unggahan activity aims to prepare farmers for the rice planting season, while the udunan activity is used as a sign of gratitude for the harvest (Agustina et al., 2022; Sulaiman, 2013). In this context, there is a cultural dialogue between farmers and Islam, as the history of the origins of the ancestral figures who aimed to open agricultural land and spread Islam in the region. However, there are changes in the participants and materials used in the ritual ceremony.

The Aboge Islamic community in Pekuncen has two very important ritual traditions: uploading and derivative. These two traditions are considered the biggest rituals the Aboge Islamic community organized. Although this tradition is still carried out, the number of participants has gradually decreased. Nevertheless, these activities are still very important for the community and have high local wisdom values such as togetherness, harmony, and peace. This tradition works well because its value is almost the same as the value of *ziarah* to the graves of the saints. In addition, in the case of circumcision, in the past, children were always invited to the top (Bonokeling's grave) to ask for prayers for safety and healing, and then a celebration was held at the bedogol house. However, not all children are invited to the tomb, especially those with strong religious beliefs. However, those who have strong traditional beliefs will not be separated from this tradition. Similarly, when getting married, both prospective brides who are still single or virgins must be invited to the grave of Eyang Kyai Bonokeling (Rachmadhani, 2016). However, if one of them is already married, either as a widower or widow, they are not allowed to visit the grave of Eyang Bonokeling. Even so, some of them do not need to be invited to the tomb anymore due to a shift in beliefs or other factors that influence them.

The traditions of earth alms and mlebon are part of the traditions carried out by the people of Pekuncen, Jatilawang. Earth alms are held every Apit month on Tuesday Kliwon to express gratitude and keep villagers safe from various disasters or calamities that might occur. This tradition also aims to preserve regional cultural customs and maintain the sustainability of human life on this earth. In addition, there are significant changes in mlebon from time to time. In the past, mlebon was considered an obligation the community must do before marriage or still a *bujang/perawan*. However, nowadays, people are more free in determining when and if they will carry out the tradition. Parents can no longer force their children to follow the mlebon tradition because the decision must come from the child's awareness. Therefore, although the tradition of sedekah bumi and mlebon still takes place today, it has changed regarding implementation and followers (Sodli, 2017). Even so, the tradition still has a high value of local wisdom for the Pekuncen community.

In terms of worship, there have been shifts in prayer, zakat, and fasting. In prayer, there has been an increase in the number of people performing it, especially among school children. This phenomenon is clearly visible on Fridays when many children and some adults flock to the mosque to perform congregational prayers. Even in the daily prayers, although there are not many of them, some people still perform them in the

congregation. Meanwhile, in zakat worship, there is a tendency to perform zakat more precisely following the teachings of fiqh. This is especially evident in the implementation of zakat fitrah, where many people give zakat as much as 2.5 kg per Islamic teachings' provisions. The implementation of zakat is done by children, active followers of Islam, and Islamic students. Some of the zakat fitrah is handed over to the mosque caretaker, and some are handed over to the *kazim*. Furthermore, the proceeds from both types of zakat are channeled to the Village Hall to be distributed to the poor in the village. Therefore, there is a shift in the implementation of worship that reflects the community's adaptation to the developing religious values.

Adaptation Strategies in Social Change

Adaptation is an important effort to maintain living conditions in communities that face changes (Syahrin et al., 2016). The purpose of adaptation is for people to survive by adjusting to the environment or adjusting the environment to themselves (Prabowo et al., 2019). If they cannot adapt to changing conditions, they will most likely disappear. In the adaptation strategy, cultural reproduction or conservation and resistance to change are also possible for minority identities in general (Diniyanto, 2021). Therefore, the Aboge Islamic community carries out various adaptation strategies to survive: the family network system, the *tarekat* system, and the compliance system.

First, the family network system in this area is built through kin relationships between fellow community members. They have a network called "anak putu", which is spread in various regions. Every year, a gathering is held in ritual ceremonies such as uploading, derivative, suronan, and muludan. Eyang Kyai Bonokeling in Pekuncen, Jatilawang, is a central figure in various social-religious/community activities, and a bond for the anak putu. Bonokeling also developed the *kejawan* version of Islam. Danapada's descendants rely as caretakers at the tomb of Eyang Bonokeling, and the first caretaker was a woman named Ni Cakrapada (Sulaiman, 2013). In Onje, the descendants of Adipati Onje I are the central figures. In Pekuncen and Onje, the caretakers are the highest spiritual leaders in the community. They are chosen strictly through deliberation and drawn from family descendants from the male line. The inner caretaker can deliver directly to the tomb. In Onje, the caretaker is the most respected spiritual figure in the community. The lineage of each figure becomes a family bond that continues to be maintained.

Second, tarekat organizations have a "baiat" system to bind the relationship between teacher and student, i.e. a pledge of allegiance from the prospective student to the murshid teacher. The same system exists in the Aboge Islamic community, which can recruit members through a process of "mlebon" in Pekuncen and "pembaiatan" in Onje, which people from other areas follow. On this occasion, the caretaker gives advice related to mental development, such as sincerity and honesty. Therefore, through the allegiance or mlebon system, the Aboge community can form a strong network and build unity among followers so that this community can survive and develop until today. Evidence of the strength of this network can be seen in the sadranan ritual ceremony in Pekuncen and rajaban in Onje, which are attended by thousands of people from various regions, especially in Banyumas and Purbalingga regencies (Ardiansyah et al., 2021; Nashihin & Dewi, 2020; Rachmadhani, 2016). This may be related to the tradition of pilgrimage to their ancestors' graves, where they gather around Eyang Bonokeling and Adipati Onje I graves and other places. The communities have also increased the intensity of religious activities to maintain the continuity of religious traditions during changing times.

Third, the Aboge Islamic community has a very high level of obedience to its leaders (Nisa & Nur, 2021). This obedience is reflected in the implementation of annual ritual activities. Hundreds of adherents of Aboge Islam who still uphold the tradition attend this event, even by walking up tens of kilometers. They still obey the customary rules, even though there are many motorized vehicles in this modern era. In addition, they also contact the kasepuhan and ask for help in their personal and family matters, such as opening a trading business, traveling far, and finding a mate. This shows the community's fear of disobeying what the kasepuhan tells them, known as "ora ilok" or "pamali" (Hudi, 2016). This is asserted as a customary rule that adherents should not violate and, if violated, will cause disaster (Prawiro, 2014). Thus, the existing value system in daily life, including relationships with God, fellow humans, and the environment, should not be violated by the Aboge Islamic community because it can lead to bad consequences. This strengthens the community's belief in maintaining local wisdom through customs and traditions.

In the research, it turned out that in Pekuncen and Onje, there have been many changes to traditions and customs, especially among young people and children who have experienced formal education. Many have started interacting with the outside world and are educated in schools, such as kindergartens and primary schools (Suprpto et al., 2020). Therefore, their parents are also encouraged to teach them Islamic values, such as prayer and fasting. However, the caretakers and other elders have predicted these changes. For a long time, they have expressed concerns about the current generation paying less attention to traditional values (Amin, 2017). And in fact, this view is evident in today's life. Although the elders are concerned, they tend not to remind or force the children to follow the tradition. This approach differs from Aboge communities in places such as

Adiraja, Adipala, and Cilacap, where elders encourage and even force community members to follow the tradition (Yaqin, 2019; Prawiro, 2014; Sakirman, 2016). However, despite their fierce defense of tradition, Aboge elders tend to be more tolerant of societal changes.

To protect the kasepuhan group from external pressure or influence, anticipatory steps are taken in the form of internalization of the values that guide the group. As explained by Durkheim (1965), the concept of internalization refers to a process of appreciation and understanding of certain teachings, doctrines, or values that are reflected in the belief and awareness of the truth of these values, which are then reflected in individual attitudes and behavior. In this case, value internalization is intended to instill normative values that become a reference for the education system in the kasepuhan group. In the Aboge Islamic community, no specific method is used in teaching traditional values to children or adherents. However, these values are taught through the tradition of speech. This tradition refers to the advice given by parents to their children. Therefore, every time there is a traditional ritual activity, the elders always give directions to their children, grandchildren, and the general public so that traditional values can be maintained and passed on to the next generation. They are willing to collaborate with the government and local community organizations in various social and religious activities to gain support and protection from those who influence the community. By carrying out various appropriate adaptation strategies, the Aboge Islamic community in Banyumas and Purbalingga can maintain their traditions and cultural identity while still adapting to the changes around them.

CONCLUSION

The Aboge Islamic community can be divided into two groups: the Aboge Santri Islamic community in Onje Village and the Aboge Candi Islamic community in Pakuncen Village. The Aboge Santri Islamic community has the characteristics of having performed obligatory and supererogatory prayers, while the Aboge Candi Islamic community does not perform prayers. However, both still believe in Islam as their religion and believe in God, the Prophet Muhammad, and the afterlife. Both groups also perform the religious deeds of Ramadhan fasting and zakat fitrah. In this era of industrial revolution 4.0, both groups have experienced changes in the aspects of belief and ritual. To maintain the belief and ritual systems, the Aboge Islamic community uses conservation and resistance adaptation strategies to survive until now. The conservation adaptation strategy is carried out through the family network system, the tariqah system, and the compliance system. The Aboge Islamic community also utilizes the guidance system by the government through "Desa Adat" as a preservation of ancestral values. Meanwhile, the resistance adaptation strategy is carried out through value internalization and is tolerant of anything done by parties outside the community. The findings of this research imply that the Aboge Islamic community in Banyumas and Purbalingga has carried out various conservation and resistance adaptation strategies to maintain their belief system and rituals in the modern era. Therefore, the government and society should give attention and support to preserving ancestral values and belief systems carried out by the Aboge Islamic community. In addition, this research can also inspire other communities that face similar challenges in maintaining the sustainability of their traditional values during social and technological changes.

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