

# JAVANESE ISLAM AND GLOBALIZATION: A STUDY ON THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE ABOGE ISLAM COMMUNITY IN INDONESIA

## **M Ali Sofyan**

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Salatiga  
Email: alisofyan@iainsalatiga.ac.id

## **Tri Wahyuni**

Universitas Negeri Semarang (UNNES)  
Email: triwahyuniketiga@gmail.com

## **Win Listyaningrum Arifin**

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Salatiga  
Email: arifinwiwin@gmail.com

### **Abstract**

*The indigenous religion of Java has a longer historical existence compared to the currently recognized state religions. Similarly, Javanese Islam has evolved through religious syncretism with Javanese culture. Javanese Islam has served as a means to reconcile the two opposing poles of this entity, as well as a way to attract followers. Aboge Islam in Purbalingga, Central Java is one form of Javanese Islam. The existence of Aboge Islam is facing increasing threats, particularly in the era of globalization. This article will provide an overview of the current reality, obstacles, and threats faced by the Aboge Islamic community, and discuss their future. This research is conducted using the qualitative ethnographic method. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with members of the Aboge Muslim community, as well as observations and document studies. The findings revealed that the Aboge Muslim community has undertaken various adaptation processes as a survival strategy to maintain its existence amidst the challenges posed by globalization. This form of adaptation is the inheritance of community values by passing down their traditional values to the younger generation, which includes 'ngormati leluhur' (the practices of ancestor worship), "melu gawe" (a Javanese term for working together), and "Turki" (Tuturan Kaki, oral transmission of knowledge and advice from parents or elders). Through this process, they hope their community will survive in the future.*

**Keywords:** Javanese Islam; Aboge Islam; Globalization; Adaptation

### **Abstrak**

*Religi lokal di Jawa memiliki usia lebih tua dari agama yang sekarang diakui oleh negara. Begitu juga Islam Jawa yang merupakan hasil sinkretisme religi dengan kultur Jawa. Islam Jawa menjadi jalan untuk mendamaikan dua kutub ekstrim entitas ini, sekaligus sebagai 'jalan' untuk mendapatkan pengikut. Islam Aboge di Purbalingga Jawa Tengah merupakan salah satu bentuk dari Islam Jawa tersebut. Keberadaan slam Aboge semakin hari kian terancam terutama di era globalisasi. Tulisan ini akan menguraikan keberadaan komunitas Islam Aboge di masa depan, dengan melihat realitas, hambatan dan ancaman yang terjadi sekarang. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif etnografi. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap pemeluk Islam Aboge, observasi, dan studi dokumen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa untuk menjaga eksistensi komunitasnya di tengah pusaran globalisasi, mereka telah melakukan sejumlah proses adaptasi sebagai pilihan untuk bertahan. Bentuk adaptasi tersebut adalah pewarisan nilai-nilai komunitas melalui pengajaran kepada anak-anak mereka, seperti ngormati leluhur, melu gawe, dan Turki (tuturan kaki/menghafal tanpa menulis/nasehat orangtua). Melalui proses ini mereka berharap komunitas mereka akan tetap bertahan di masa depan.*

**Kata kunci:** Islam Jawa; Islam Aboge; Globalisasi; Adaptasi

## **A. INTRODUCTION**

The seven elements of culture (social organization, language, customs and traditions, religion, arts, forms of government, and economic systems) often become perspectives, "entry points" and basic materials in Anthropological research including religion. In this sense, religion is a belief system in society that becomes the basis of behavior and connects humans with supernatural powers (Koentjaraningrat 2009). This stems from the belief system as a human concept of the supernatural. So that in the human mindset, there are concepts of gods, subtle beings, holy, and magic power (Pratiwi 2017). In the concept of religion, belief in supernatural powers can determine people's behavior. Religion also builds knowledge about natural and social phenomena that, there is something that controls.

For social scientists like Durkheim, religion is divided into sacred and profane. The sacred is what is considered supernatural, sanctified and taboo, while the profane is something beyond the sacred and the ordinary. Both meet in religious rituals (Zainal 2014). These two big concepts are still being applied today. For most people, the concept of God or Gods and places of worship is sacred because of its holiness. While other religious knowledge and practices such as mutual respect, and maintaining brotherhood are profane because they are outside of the sacred.

Religion in this sense is not limited to the government's (Indonesian) version of religion. There are only 6 religions recognized by the government, although textually, it has not been found in the constitution or other laws and regulations. Whereas outside of that religion in a broad sense, there are more. The existence of religious development has become very diverse in Indonesia. Since the decision of the Constitutional Court Number 97/PUU- XIV/2016 on

the flow of beliefs recognized in Indonesia. Historically, the flow of belief originated from animism and dynamism. Animism is a belief in spirits and spirits such as every object has a soul that must be respected. Not much different, dynamism also believes in spirits. The difference is that dynamism sees more spirits from ancestors and settles in certain places. The spirits of ancestors are often asked for help to help their interests (Afandi 2016). Such beliefs are still widely practiced, by the traditional Indonesians as local religions.

One of them live in harmony with these people as way of life, the form of animism and dynamism eventually merged into religious syncretism is Javanese Islam. Geertz classified religion in Java with the concept of *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*. The results of his research produce a large concept that can map religion in Java historically and culturally (Geertz 2014). His research in Mojokuto, prevailed that there is a religious classification in Javanese society, where *santri*, *abangan*, *priyayi* have different religious knowledge and behavior.

According to Geertz, Islam's existence in Indonesia is not to build civilization but to seize civilization. In contrast to Islam in Morocco there this builds civilization. As a result of religious syncretism, some people still consider Javanese Islam to be included in the flow of (local) beliefs (Sumbulah 2012). Javanese Islam is a syncretism with local religion which in reality spreads into becomes several groups such as Sapto Darmo, True Science, Pangestu, and others.

Data from the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2019 states that there are 190 indigenous faith groups in Indonesia with 985 branches and 185 active groups (Sukmono 2019). This data shows that the number of local religious groups is not small. These local religious groups are part of other religions that have finally

been recognized, so constitutionally they obtain their religious rights. Of the 6 major religions in Indonesia, it also has various forms such as Javanese Christianity, Batak Christianity, Kaharingan, Ahmadiyah, etc.

In Islam, one of the results of syncretism that still exists today is Islam Aboge (*Alif Rebo Wage*). Islam Aboge is a sect in Islam that bases all its activities on the calculation of the *Alif Rebo Wage* or Aboge calendar. Islam Aboge in Purbalingga is found in Onje Village, Mrebet District. Based on the manuscripts of *Babad Purbalingga* and *Serat Sejarah Rupi Onje*, Islam Aboge in Onje is the forerunner of Purbalingga Regency (Wisnandari 2007). It is clearly started that, the Islam Aboge community also becomes the forerunner of Purbalingga. This means that Aboge is not a foreign and new religious community in the Islamic space, although many others people do not notice its presence.

Islam Aboge was taught by Raden Rasid Sayid Kuning. This Islamic sect uses the calculations used by the saints since the 14th century AD which was disseminated by Raden Rasid Sayid Kuning from Pajang (Benyamin and Koswara 2016). As a Javanese Islamic group, Aboge prefers not to disseminate its "teachings" other than to the family. This choice is taken as an effort to compromise with the current Islamic reality that sometimes considers them "out" of the Islamic standard. They prefer to keep the teachings within the small scope of the village.

The results of initial observations, the Aboge community has differences in calculating the Islamic calendar (*Hijriyah*). This is the most distinguishing difference with Islam in general, as well as other differences in rituals. Aboge is a calculation method in which the first day of every first Hijri year is Wednesday Wage. With their formula, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha are often different from the government's decision. Usually, there is a difference of 1-2 days with

the government which uses the *ru'yatul hilal* method (looking at the moon). Thus, it has an impact on the celebration of the holiday and the first day of Ramadan is different from others.

The brief explanation of Islam Aboge shows the difference with Islam that is considered common. In addition, the brief history and dynamics of Islam Aboge also create a boundary space in religious behavior. This space has the potential to become a restriction in social ties, systems and processes. Culturally, so far there has been almost no conflict on the basis of religion that occurs in the Islam Aboge group. For the Aboge community, they are making a "cover" when interacting with other people.

Of the several groups of Islam Aboge, the one that is promising, in regard with its future, is Aboge in Purbalingga. Although it cannot represent all Aboge groups, at least this Aboge can be one of the realities in observing the current condition of Javanese Islam. Most of the successor generations of Islam Aboge have left the traditions. They have experienced challenges and obstacles from public (religious) understanding. Islam, as the majority religion, is finally more widely understood and practiced by followers of Islam Aboge. There is actually no significant difference, but Islam Aboge has characteristics that eventually forced (back) to follow the teachings of Islam.

The common understanding of Islam is obtained by Islam Aboge from various media, such as schools and gadgets. Information and knowledge are increasingly easy to obtain and cannot be rejected. The reality is that amongst of all followers of Islam Aboge, there is only one who still masters the Aboge calculation method. He is the leader of Purbalingga Islam Aboge.

Children of Islam Aboge adherents who pursue formal education outside the village are "forced" to adjust Islamic religious

customs while at school. When there is a celebration of Eid al-Adha using national calculations, they prefer not to impose the calculations applied in the family. For children, they are forced to have two religious identities. This is due to the "different" perspectives given by the community.

This is also the case for followers of Islam Aboge who work outside the region. Rituals and religious traditions with Aboge calculations outside the area are often not performed due to the environment. On a large scale and long term, this can threaten the existence of Islam Aboge in Purbalingga. The reality of Islam Aboge tends to get less religious, political and power space. Referring to this reality, research on the future of Islam Aboge will be described.

## **B. METHODOLOGY**

This study used a qualitative approach to explore the indigenous people in the research site, their life relationship, and to obtain their view of the world (Spradley 2007). So, this research uses a qualitative approach with the ethnography as the main method on the basis that participatory observation and in-depth interviews are more effective for obtaining data. The routine and meaning of life of the Islam Aboge group can be felt and explored.

Observation becomes the initial basis to see the activities and activities of the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village, especially in some rituals and the way the Aboge calendar is calculated. Some objects that can be observed include the relics of Raden Sayyid Kuning and Adipati Onje. In addition, there are also ritual places and graves of Aboge elders. The data-deepening process was conducted for almost one month in Onje Village.

The interview method in ethnography requires an *in-depth interview*. An informant does not always realize and know if he is being asked using research questions. The key informants in this

research are Maksudi (leader of Islam Aboge), Suniah and Kasmiarjo (followers of Islam Aboge), Alal Rizki (village official) and Setyawati (child of Aboge Islam followers).

## **C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **1. Onje Village and Social Reality**

Onje Village is located in Mrebet Sub-district of Purbalingga Regency. According to the observation results, Onje Village has a strategic location because it is not far from the main Purbalingga-Pekalongan road. The road is a national road that is commonly used by public transportation, including AKAP buses (buses from province to province). The distance from the main road to Onje Village is no more than 2 km. Despite being located near the main road, Onje Village still has quite an interesting panoramic view. When the direction of view is towards the west and the weather is clear, you can see Mount Slamet rising and the beautiful expanse of the mountains. The village atmosphere is further enhanced by the farming activities that take place every morning.

After entering from the main Purbalingga-Bobotsari road, the road to this village is a pleasant one. Before meeting the village boundary gate, you will first Selaganggeng Village. The expanse of green agricultural land stretches since before entering Onje Village. Then, as you enter the village boundary gate, it becomes clear that many people in Onje Village are farmers. The initial encounter before meeting the Aboge people has been greeted by the coolness of the rice fields. If you face west, you will see another cool atmosphere with the beautiful hills. This cool condition and atmosphere are relatively similar to the location of local religious communities elsewhere. In addition, as a place that is quite far from the crowd, according to information, Onje Village was once the center of

Purbalingga's government. The following map of Onje Village was obtained from the village government.

**Figure 1.**  
**Map of Onje Village**



Source: Onje Village Government 2021

Administratively, Onje Village is passed by several rivers including Soso River, Klawing River, Paingen River, Tlahab River and Tahunan River. Then the village is divided into 4 hamlets, 18 RTs and 8 RWs. Three hamlets are located in the center of the village, surrounded by Soso River, Paingen River, Klawing River, Tlahab River and Tahunan River. One dusun is located east of the Klawing River. There is a different term to refer to sections or blocks here, namely *columns*. The people of Onje Village are divided into two



*columns*, namely Banowati and Kuthabangsa *columns*. Banowati column is located in the south of Paingen river in which borders Karangturi Village. The Kuthabangsa *column* is located north of the Soso River and borders Tangksusan and Kradenan villages. Based on data from the village profile, the total population of Onje Village in 2021 was 5,634 people. Of the total population, all are Muslims and only 2 families are Christians.

## **2. Islam Aboge: History and Calendar Calculation**

In the process of spreading Islam, Purbalingga became one of the destination areas, starting from Onje Village. From the results of the study data in Onje village, there is a lot of information that *Sunan Kalijaga*, *Sunan Bonang*, *Sunan Kudus* and *Sunan Gunungjati* once visited Onje village.

Sunan was addressed to 9 biggest Islamic leaders who had spread Islam in Indonesia. At that time, *Sunan Kalijaga* in particular taught the Aboge (Alif Rebo Wage) calculation method. One of them was conveyed by *Kyai Maksudi*.

Back then, when the Onje Mosque was still simple, the Guardians such as *Sunan Kalijogo*, *Sunan Gunungjati*, *Sunan Bonang*, *Sunan Kudus* came to Onje. Back then, the mosque still used fern trunk supports, and because the Guardians saw that the Onje Mosque was still simple, it was rehabilitated by the four Guardians. The fern stems were replaced with teak wood. (*Kyai Maksudi*, July 27, 2021).

The arrival of the guardians was the beginning of the development of Islam in Purbalingga by looking at the condition of the mosque, which is still not perfect, as a leader of the spread of Islam, an initiative emerged to develop a mosque that would later

become a place of worship as well as the spread of Islam. Not much different from *Kyai Maksudi*, Kasmiarjo also said that

In the past, the Walisongo came to Plataran Jojok Telu. They discussed whether they wanted to teach Islam here. After that, they went to the intersection in front of the Onje Mosque before the Mosque was built, they prayed around it. After that, Walisongo built a mosque there. Even earlier, there was a messenger from Arabia named Sheikh Samsudin who came, still in the forest. Sheikh Samsudin came first, he intended to spread Islam here. The place where the *Wali* wanted to build the mosque, there was a stone underneath that the Sheikh used to pray here. Now the stone is still there, under the mosque. (Kasmiarjo, July 30, 2021).

Before the period of the wali's arrival, a traveler named Sheikh Samsudin came to this area. He was an envoy of the king from the Arab country to come to Java, which at that time was still afflicted by the *pageblug* (plague). While traveling, Sheikh Samsudin stopped at a place that is now called Onje. At that time, Samsudin took a break to pray on a rock, which became the forerunner of the establishment of a mosque in Onje village. The stone is now stored under the ceramic floor, precisely under the pulpit of the *Raden Sayyid Kuning Mosque*. Most people believe that the event took place in the 14th century.

The mosque in question was built at the time of the arrival of the saints. At the time of their arrival, the saints intended to spread the teachings of Islam. At that time, the saints also prayed on a large rock, which was also previously used by *Sheikh Samsudin*. After the simple mosque was built, the saints used the mosque to teach Islam. At that time, repairs were made to replace the mosque's support using teak wood which previously used fern stems. The mosque was then known as the Onje Mosque after the name Onje became a

recognized name to refer to the area. Previously, Onje Village was still a wilderness. The name Onje means the flower of the *Burus* tree.

*Onje used to be just a forest. Actually, Onje has the meaning of a flower blossom. The tree used to be the meeting place of Ki Tepus Rumput and Ki Onje Bukut. They were the ones who cleared the base of Onje. (Kyai Maksudi July 27, 2021).*

Information from *Kyai* Maksudi is also the same and reinforced in the book *Babad Onje*. When *Ki* Tepus Rumput, an adventurer from the western region, reached the east of Mount Slamet, he stopped by the region. during his stopover, *Ki* Tepus Rumput found a hermitage inhabited by *Ki* Onje Bukut. Around the hermitage were many *Burus* trees. In addition to meeting *Ki* Onje Bukut, he also met *Ki* Kantharaga who gave him the first meeting point east of Mount Slamet. The meeting point of the three was overgrown with *Burus* trees, so the place was named Onje (*Burus* tree flower).

After the name Onje became known as a village, the process of spreading and teaching Islam, which was previously carried out by *Sheikh* Samsudin and the saints, was continued by *Ki* Tepus Rumput, who remained centered in the Onje Mosque. Onje Mosque was then well managed when Onje was still a duchy. For generations, it was managed by *Ki* Tepus Rumput or *Adipati* Onje I, Anyakrapati or *Adipati* Onje II, then *Raden Sayyid* Kuning as well as the first Imam of Onje Mosque at that time. In 1940, Onje Mosque was rehabilitated by the Onje Village government. In 1983, Onje Mosque was renamed *Raden Sayyid* Kuning Mosque. The name was suggested by Habib Lutfi bin Yahya, one of the scholars from Pekalongan.

In simple terms, the emergence of Islam Aboge and its relationship with *Kadipaten* Onje, which eventually became Purbalingga Regency, can be seen in the following table:

**Table 1.**  
**Period Sequence in Onje**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Figure</b>	<b>Period Time</b>	<b>Significant events</b>
1.	<i>Sheikh</i> Syamsudin	Around the 14th century	Coming from Arabiato Onje (not yet named Onje) because there is a plague
2.	<i>Sunan</i> Kalijaga and the saints	Unknown	Deliberation and prayed on a large rock. Started teaching calculations Aboge calendar
3.	<i>Ki</i> Tepus Grass/ <i>Adipati</i> Onje I	Since around 1570	Start given the name Onje which meaning burus tree flowers
4.	<i>Raden</i> Anyakrapati/ <i>Adipati</i> Onje II	Around the 16th century	Duchy Onje further expanded its territory its power.
5.	<i>Raden Sayyid</i> Kuning	Around the 16th century	Teaches Islam as well as Aboge calculation. Has descendants up to now

Source: Results of research data processing

Since the appearance of *Raden Sayyid* Kuning who led the spread of religion in Onje, the development of Islam including Aboge has become more widespread. Since then, the existence of Onje Mosque has also been recognized by many people, including those from outside Onje. This section will provide a brief profile of the Islam Aboge community and its calculation method. All explanations are the result of observations, interviews and literature. Not all interview results are written down, some interview results are presented by having been processed first.

The Islam Aboge community is located in Onje village, Mrebet sub-district, Purbalingga district. They are not an official organization, but an Islamic community group that numbers more than about 500 people. Islam Aboge uses a calculation system based on Aboge to determine the beginning of the *Qamariyah* month.

Aboge is not an organization. Aboge is a community that believes in the Aboge calculation. The number of people is a lot, about 500 more, or even now at most 1000. (Kasmiarjo, August 5, 2021).

This number has been widely known by the people of Onje Village. Likewise, the village government as the holder of village data, said that there are about 30% of Onje villagers are followers of the Islam Aboge community. The Aboge community in Onje Village, Purbalingga is not organizationally related to the Aboge community in other parts of Indonesia. Until now, the Aboge community has not been led by a chief. However, they have a high priest who is a reference, *Raden Sayyid Kuning*. *Raden Sayyid Kuning* is the reference for the Aboge community to determine the beginning of Ramadan, the 1st of Shawwal and the Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha holidays accompanied by Aboge elders.

When determining the day and market on the 1st of Sura in each year, there is a definite formula, which is as follows:

**Table 2.**  
**The Formula for Determining the Day and Market of Sura  
1 in Every Year, Aboge**

Year To-	Name Year	Day Sequence	Order Market	Formula Abbreviations
1.	<i>Alif</i>	Wednesday (1)	<i>Wage</i> (1)	<i>Aboge</i>
2.	<i>Ha</i>	Sunday (5)	<i>Pon</i> (5)	<i>Hahadpon</i>
3.	<i>Jim Awal</i>	Friday (3)	<i>Pon</i> (5)	<i>Jangahpon</i>

4.	<i>Za</i>	Tuesday (7)	<i>Pahing</i> (4)	<i>Zasahing</i>
5.	<i>Dal</i>	Saturday (4)	<i>Legi</i> (3)	<i>Daltugi</i>
6.	<i>Ba</i>	Thursday (2)	<i>Legi</i> (3)	<i>Bamisgi</i>
7.	<i>Wal</i>	Monday (6)	<i>Kliwon</i> (2)	<i>Walinemwon</i>

Source: *Babad Onje* Book

### **3. Relationships, Solidarity and Consensus of Contemporary Aboge Muslims**

In a religious community, creating relationships is important for self-preservation. From the relationships created, there will be a strengthening of social solidarity. In this case, one of the things that can be done is social interaction. For rural communities including Aboge Muslims, interactions are more likely to create social order. In addition, Aboge Muslims also interact with non-Aboge people in Onje Village.

The interaction between the Aboge community and the surrounding community needs to be discussed so that it can be seen how the community relates to the Aboge community with the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village. According to the Aboge people in Onje Village, one form of interaction in terms of cooperation that is often carried out with the surrounding community is during the implementation of the Republic of Indonesia Anniversary celebration every August 17.

During the *Tujuh Belasan* event, Indonesian Independence Day, commemorative events such as competitions, it is not only Aboge who participate. Other residents who are not Aboge also participate. Even if there is cleaning around the *Raden Sayyid Kuning* Mosque, people who are not Aboge also help. (Rusiah, September 3, 2021).

Apart from the Indonesian Independence Day activities, forms of interaction that are mutually cooperative It is also done when there are gotong royong activities at the RT level, *Yasinan*, and celebrations. When one of the residents holds a celebration such as

a wedding, Aboge and non-Aboge people help each other. Even those who are unable to help materially, they will help with labor. This form of cooperation does not even need to be requested in advance.

Almost all non-Aboge residents in Onje Village say they know there is an Islam Aboge community. They consider the Islam Aboge community to be the same as the rest of society, so they do not make differences a problem in their interactions. Those who are not Aboge, they do not understand the Aboge teachings. They just think that Aboge is an Islam that uses the Javanese calendar and is said to be *Kejawen* Islam.

Aboge people are the same as everyone else. The only difference is the Eid. The people here who are not Aboge have never even had a problem with the difference in Eid. We live in harmony here. Even those who are not Aboge sometimes join the recitation at the Aboge recitation. Aboge is actually just *Kejawen* if you ask me, *Kejawen* Islam. Which usually uses the Javanese calendar as its benchmark. (Setyawati, September 5, 2021)

This statement is in line with Alal Rizki's statement as a village official. According to him, there has never been any conflict between the Aboge and non-Aboge communities in Onje Village based on differences in religion, such as differences in holidays. Instead, they live in harmony and help each other. For example, when there are Aboge people who do *slametan*, non-Aboge people also help, for example, the women help cook in the kitchen while the men help prepare carpets or chairs for the *slametan*. Usually, the young people who are not Aboge also help. Until now, residents who are not Aboge have never disputed the differences that exist such as determining the beginning of Ramadan or when determining Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. According to the youth in Onje village, the atmosphere of Eid is more crowded when the Aboge people have Eid.

They also said that if they have Eid while the Aboge people have just had Eid, they will respect the Aboge people who have just had Eid such as participating in the gathering (*halal bihalal*) of the Aboge people.

Here, during Eid Aboge, it is crowded. Many TV journalists come. During the Eid prayer, there are also many police officers on guard. When they finish praying, they are in *halal bihalal*, greeting and shaking hands with each other, I also often participate in greeting and shaking hands and visiting the houses of Aboge residents. (Setyawati, September 5, 2021).

In addition, the youth also said that if the Aboge community held religious activities, even non-Aboge residents were also allowed to participate, such as youth recitation held by the Aboge community, non- Aboge teenagers were also allowed to participate.

Here on Sunday nights there is often a youth recitation. I also I often participate with other friends. It's not bad for deepening religion. The one who gives the lecture is from Aboge, but my friends and I are allowed to join too. (Setyawati, September 6, 2021)

Although the followers of Islam Aboge in Onje Village have differences, they are still recognized by the surrounding community who are not Aboge and tend to have minimal conflict. However, the surrounding community never disputes it. The social interaction that exists between the Aboge Muslim community and the surrounding community itself is a form of cooperation and mutual assistance relationship like the usual community environment that has various diversities. Social interaction that occurs in Onje Village can create social order with high solidarity.

Solidarity is created because there is a collective consciousness in the Aboge community that has been embedded in the soul and mind. Every *Muludan* Month the Aboge people in Onje Village hold recitation and *shalawatan*. All Aboge people both from



within and outside the region will come to Onje Village, even without an invitation. This is because the Aboge soul has been embedded in the hearts and minds of each of them. During the event, people other than the Aboge community also gather together.

All of these dynamics occur within Onje Village. With all the mobility that occurs for migrants, they will see a reality that has never been experienced before. In terms of Aboge routines, migrants from outside Onje Village will usually adjust in line with the customs in Onje Village. As a relatively small number of migrants, they will usually not question or disturb the routine of the Aboge community.

When interacting with Aboge followers, people who are not native to Onje Village also relatively never experience conflict. Almost the same as the indigenous people of Onje, the newcomers also eventually adapt by often interacting in cooperation. They also cooperate in several activities such as celebrations, *slametan* and other festivals.

In addition, there is also the reality that many Aboge followers of Onje Village are forced to leave the village. They have their own needs such as education and work. When outside Onje Village, which is outside the Aboge environment, they interact with the outside environment. If there is ever a conflict, it is not based on the understanding of Islam Aboge. This means that with Aboge identity, it is not a significant problem for people outside Onje Village.

However, something different happens especially during the Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha holidays. This is most often felt by Aboge people who migrate to work or study.

Yes. When I used to migrate to Jakarta, I was not always at home on Eid al-Adha or Eid al-Fitr, for example on the day of Eid. Yes, in terms of belief, I still hold the Aboge teachings and calculations. But

to respect the environment, I finally had to respect Eid. (Kasmiarjo August 18, 2021).

This was also the case with some other followers, who had to go outside the region to work. Likewise, those who go to school or college, while in educational institutions, they adjust to national regulations. Later when they return to Onje Village, they will repeat the celebration again, it is considered a "real" celebration.

In the context of the Muslims of the Kotagede Mataram Gede Mosque, the resistance to worship with a reactive attitude is often influenced by the conservative views of the congregation. For the Muslims of the Kotagede Mataram Gede Mosque, the doctrines, rules, and worship practices recommended by the authorities are considered contrary to their collective knowledge and experience. This context is dominantly a factor influencing the emergence of reactive resistance in the Muslims of the Gede Mataram Kotagede Mosque during the Covid-19 pandemic. In line with that, the resistance shown by individuals or society in Weill (2020), is not least triggered by policies that make worship activities the object of the established rules. In addition to being influenced by conservative views, the reactive resistance carried out by the Muslims of the Gede Mataram Kotagede Mosque was also influenced by the objectification of worship activities during the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, reactive resistance is resistance to social praxis based on ideological awareness.

#### **4. *Aboge Calendar and Rituals: Syncretism and Symbols of Javanese Islam***

The rituals performed by the Islam Aboge community are in accordance with what was conveyed by *Kyai* Maksudi as the leader (*kuncen*). As explained in the previous section, some of these rituals are performed based on Aboge beliefs and calculations. However, not

many followers of Islam Aboge understand the calculations that are always used.

The Aboge calculation method has long been introduced and taught directly by the saints including *Sunan Kalijaga*. The result of this method is a form of syncretism in the form of a calendar that becomes a reference for followers of Islam Aboge. The calendar will be related to human civilization, because it can determine the time of hunting, immigration, worship and other celebrations (Ilyas 1997). For the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village, the role of the calendar is very important in determining many activities and events.

Apart from Onje village, Aboge is also widely developed in several areas such as Banyumas, Banjarnegara and Lampung. This is due to the journey of the saints including *Sunan Kalijaga* in spreading Islam. Before arriving in Onje, the preparation of the Aboge calendar system was based on the order of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma as the ruler of the Mataram kingdom (Purwadi 2004). Although there is no confirmed historical study, it can be seen from this that there is a tendency of connection between Aboge communities in many places. One of them is that the Aboge calculation teachings were given by the saints. So, the arrival of the guardians in many places who teach Aboge calculations can build a historical relationship about the Islam Aboge community network.

The calculation method has actually been done by many Javanese people. In his study, Geertz also found that there was a calculation method in performing *slametan*. For the Javanese, every day has a number (*neptu*). For example, when in *Naga Wulan* in the months *Sawal*, *Sela* and *Besar*, people must walk north or travel for important business (Geertz 2014). This means that the calculation method by the Aboge people is already commonly practiced by

Javanese people. Its presence is not a new thing in Onje in the context of Islam Aboge.

As the main characteristic of the Islam Aboge community, calendar calculations eventually become a reference in carrying out various religious activities. In addition to determining important days, the calculation method can also be used to predict the future, for example when Eid will be in 2035. This ability is possessed by Aboge followers who understand the method. This means that if this is used, it can be useful in several things such as agriculture, education and government. Religious activities by the Islam Aboge community that are now carried out do not seem to be able to stop only with Geertz's analysis. Criticism of Geertz's study also appears in other perspectives.

Javanese Islam has experienced social changes such as from the *poyok-poyokan* era to the *rukun* era. The *poyok-poyokan* era occurred before the new order period, namely before 1965. The era of harmony began since the new order until now. Previously, parties were allowed to have administrators down to the village level (Pranowo 2009). With this concept, it means that Javanese Islam (Aboge) in Onje Village is included in the era of harmony. During this period, there was no major conflict between communities on the basis of differences in religious beliefs. This condition is different from the previous period, where conflicts over religion still occurred, including the mixing of political affairs.

In Bambang Pranowo's view, Geertz's theory is not fully proven today. Nevertheless, according to him, Geertz provided a valid theory in the 1950s and is local. Calculations by Aboge people are also used to determine *slametan*, for example, related to the right time. As a religious activity, *slametan* can create a cultural space. According to Geertz, *slametan* is a ritual performed by the abangan. *Slametan* has a meaning of social class equality and mystification. During

*slametan* everyone sits together without any boundaries. At the same time, the spirits enjoy the food from its smell (Geertz 2014). Although not quite to the point of subtle spirits, *slametan* for Aboge people is an attempt to equalize all people, even including those who are not Aboge. The belief in spirits applies to the predecessors of Islam Aboge in Onje village. But unlike Geertz's analysis, the spirits of predecessors such as *Raden Sayyid Kuning* are not believed to be "rulers" with all their requests.

The concept of subtle spirits (mysticism) for Aboge people is almost the same as the perspective of structuralism. Levi Strauss in his study sees the relationship between shamans and magic. However, the healing method is based on three elements: the shaman, the patient and the believer who all trust each other (Levi-Strauss 1997). This structuralist perspective understands reality where the senses and the intellect are integrated. Aboge people do not recognize shamans, but the existence of *kuncen* has a considerable role, one of which is when leading *padusan*. Although it is not healing, this ritual has a certain purpose where eventually everyone trusts each other. Likewise, in *slametan*, the mystical element is that people believe their wishes can be granted by praying during *slametan*.

However, once again what happens is that the meaning of *slametan* has been undergo changes. For some Aboge people, *slametan* can also mean social class or political interests. In contrast, Woodward sees that *slametan* is not part of animism and not part of Islam. *Slametan* is a spiritual symbol in Islam to achieve blessings (Nurish 2019). Of course, *slametan* will always exist in every Javanese society (not only Islam). Especially in the context of Javanese Islam such as Islam Aboge. *Slametan* in Islam Aboge ultimately means as a way of spirituality and social bonding. The

symbol of Aboge people's *slametan* has not led to the profane space as Durkheim said. Aboge and Onje Muslims in general mostly consider *slametan* not for self-actualization.

In the general view of Javanese society, *Slametan* is a symbol of the confluence of animism, *kejawen*, normative Islam and Hinduism. Yellow rice and *apem* are the usual menu at *slametan*. These two foods are eaten together after a prayer is read by the elders. The prayer begins with *sholawat* to the Prophet and then prayers are offered to the village *danyang* and ancestors (Hefner 2014). The symbol of the meeting of beliefs and food comes as an interpretation of integration and combination in a ritual. *Slametan* will apparently bring a group to the perception of togetherness. Symbols are also seen in the Aboge *slametan* ritual with *penggel* rice and other dishes. They make it as a syncretism of animism, *kejawen* and Islam.

By using the concept of *slametan* in all Aboge rituals, it can lead them to the important role of *slametan*. The introduction of Islam by giving a new color to *slametan*, changed the old customs that were not in accordance with Islamic teachings. The ritual methods taught in Islam can be accepted by interpreting them in the local context and economic, historical and religious factors. These factors influence texts, rituals and ideas in the Muslim world. Ultimately, it also leads to debates about whether or not the culture is heretical, and whether or not it is Islamic (Woodward 2011). The fusion of Islam with Javanese culture is acceptable to the Onje people and Islam Aboge, so that both can be united.

Geertz's interpretation is continued with a different perspective by Woodward. The question to be answered is why the success of Islam was so complete in Java. Islam has a dominant force on the rites and beliefs of people in Central Java. In addition, social interaction and life are also shaped by Islam. According to

him, Hindu and Buddhist symbols are included in Javanese Islam like Islam in the Middle East. The existence of religious and cultural traditions is not isolated. The most important thing.

It is not the influx of foreign culture, but the interpretation of each element in the tradition. For the Javanese the conversion and synthesis of culture in religion occurs perfectly. It is as if the original culture is fundamentally changed (Woodward 2004). This assimilation is often found in local religions that blur the lines between indigenous and imported cultures. The effect is that something original is now undergoing a massive transformation. With the presence of Aboge and its rituals in Onje, they have their own rituals that have become their identity. The original Javanese culture was neither isolated nor eliminated. Likewise, the Islam that is present is not rejected. What happens is that the conversion and synthesis of Javanese culture in Islam Aboge has approached perfection.

Although not quite in agreement with Geertz, Woodward sees that Javanese Islam can be accepted as a religious concept that is able to transform Javanese culture so that it can appear in an Islamic frame (Woodward 2004). The Aboge method taught by the wali is an effort to transform with Javanese culture about market days, so that with the recognition of the Aboge calendar, people see the presence of Islam in Javanese culture.

In many of its rituals Aboge also tends to use a mystical approach. Javanese Islam with its teachings and experiences, emphasizes the esoteric side (mysticism) rather than the exoteric (normative piety). This can be seen in the teachings of Islam within the Yogyakarta palace and the people. However, the emphasis on the esoteric does not mean that it opposes sharia (Woodward 2004).

With the Aboge calculation method and the rituals carried out can be a support for this concept.

Geertz and Woodward's version of Javanese Islam is an outline in viewing Islam culturally in Java. Both outline the fact that Javanese people have a distinctive religious behavior and eventually reach the point of syncretism. One form of variation is Islam Aboge which is spread in many places in Java. With different calculation methods, Islam Aboge is a part of Javanese Islam that is quite unique. This is further strengthened by rituals and traditions like Javanese Islam.

Finally, analytically, the existence of Islam Aboge can be seen as a local religion (part of Javanese Islam). Islam Aboge which is included in Javanese Islam is one of the variants that survives until now with all its dynamics. All rituals including the methods used are still running until now. Efforts by believing and running it aim to preserve its existence. With mystical approach, Islam Aboge uses more rituals in order to unite with the environment and the universe.

##### **5. "Melebur" as an Effort to Adapt to Globalization**

In starting this section, looking at the inheritance of Islam Aboge teachings is also very important as a defensive effort in the globalization space. This is one of the things that can be used to see the future of the existence of the Islam Aboge community. Providing knowledge of the Aboge calendar system is passed down in the family of Aboge elders who are given through stories. The inheritance of Aboge teachings or traditions other than Aboge calculations such as *slametan*, *grave pilgrimage*, *sadranan*, *suronan*, is taught since the child is still young because by inviting to participate.

In general, there are three methods of passing on the teachings. First, *ngormati leluhur* or honoring ancestors or ancestors. With this belief, the Aboge community believes that it can



make the community preserve the traditions or teachings of the Aboge heritage. One form of respect is by performing *nyadran* rituals to *Sayyid Kuning* and *Adipati Onje*. In addition, pilgrimages are also made to the graves of deceased relatives.

In this concept, death becomes the limit for Aboge followers to perform rituals as well as the ritual itself to maintain the continuity of the community. Javanese people revere ancestors who are often mentioned in *slametan*. They can count the descendant relationships up to several generations and above with certain terms. In addition, respect for deceased parents is given with sincerity (Geertz 2014). Thus, conceptually in Javanese, it is only natural for Aboge people in Onje to do so.

Second, by *melu gawe* or participating in helping or participating in the event. This is a way of maintaining the traditions of the Aboge community by bringing children to participate in the tradition. That way there has been a transfer of knowledge. Third, regarding the tradition and how it is carried out can pass the tradition down from generation to generation. In other words, they memorize without writing. This tradition is known as "*Turkish*" or foot-talk (advice/stories of parents).

These three defense efforts are carried out by Aboge followers in Onje, the majority of whom are farmers. Erick Wolf argues that farmers tend to apply their religion to life problems that contain magical elements. In addition, farmers also do not contain ethical rationalization and meaning from a higher level (Nurish 2019). Farmers who are followers of Aboge here have a religious social life as something imaginary and there is an element of collectivity between humans and nature.

In interacting with fellow Aboge and non-Aboge followers, they fuse as an adaptation effort, especially in globalization. Their

implementation is social interaction. Social interaction can be interpreted as dynamic social relationships. Social relations can be in the form of relationships between individuals and other individuals, between groups and other groups, or between groups and individuals (Soekanto 2001). One form is assimilation with a form of accommodation (cooperation).

The social relations built from interactions in Onje Village are mostly in an associative form, in which there is cooperation. Cooperation here is intended as a joint effort between individuals or human groups to achieve one or several common goals. They carry out this cooperation with various activities such as *slametan* and other rituals.

The followers of Islam Aboge also build social solidarity between members of the Islam Aboge community. With social solidarity from Emile Durkheim's concept, it can be seen how the group ties in the members of the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village. The social bond of group members is also an indicator of how the existence and future of the Islam Aboge community can survive until now.

According to the concept of social solidarity proposed by Emile Durkheim, he divides two types of social solidarity, namely mechanical social solidarity and organic social solidarity. Societies characterized by mechanical solidarity become cohesive because all people are generalists or general. In addition, mechanical social solidarity is formed from social facts that exist in society and do not recognize the division of labor. Bonding in such a society occurs because they are involved in the same activities and have the same responsibilities. In contrast, societies characterized by organic solidarity hold together precisely with the differences that exist within them, with the fact that everyone has different jobs and

responsibilities. Organic social solidarity is formed due to the division of labor (Ritzer and Goodman 2010).

The explanation of the concept of social solidarity has led to an understanding that interactions between people will accelerate the bond of togetherness. In the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village, that interactions are intertwined among fellow Aboge people often occur. As in holding traditional ceremonies Aboge people usually carry out together. This is one way to foster collective consciousness. This collective awareness is what makes the solidarity of fellow Aboge people quite solid.

The second form of solidarity revealed by Emile Durkheim is a social fact caused by population dynamics. This second form is called organic solidarity. Durkheim argues that the more complex the division of labor. The effect of a complex and differentiated (specialized) division of labor is that the existence of busyness will be able to lead to the disintegration of solidarity, but Durkheim did not argue so. He argued that in societies with organic solidarity, less competition and high differentiation allow people to cooperate and be sustained by common resources. Therefore, differentiation creates closer ties than similarity (Ritzer and Goodman 2010).

Durkheim's opinion on this second form of solidarity is not suitable for analyzing the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village. This incompatibility is due to the difference in dimensions. What is proposed by Durkheim (organic solidarity form) occurs when it is differentiated and already recognizes division. Whereas in the Aboge community in Onje Village, they have not recognized the division of labor because their living environment is in a rural area with an average job as a farmer.

Based on the explanation of social solidarity in the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village, it can be concluded that they are

fully aware of the importance of togetherness and brotherhood. The moral teachings and beliefs in Islam Aboge have made the Aboge community in Onje Village a fairly solid group. The solidity of the Aboge community can also be seen from similar experiences, such as the experience of being called *wong bada ker*i (last Eid), which makes the collective consciousness even stronger.

*Wong bada ker*i is a term that is juxtaposed with Aboge followers. In Connection with this, there are two assumptions attached to the Islam Aboge community. First, people tend to see the religious activities of the Islam Aboge community with a negative point of view and secondly a positive point of view. On the one hand, the society recognizes the Aboge School as a strange group because the religious rituals performed are considered out of the general Islamic creed and normal human habits. In addition, the status that labeled as "*wong bada ker*i" has existed for a long time because the determination of Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha is always different from the determination of the government. However, on the other hand, some people recognize the existence of the Islam Aboge community in Onje Village as an act of Javanese religious spiritual tradition.

So that sometimes they are nicknamed as "*Wong Aboge*". These two different perspectives are addressed to the Islam Aboge Community by some people who live around the Aboge people. Everything that is done can be seen in a conceptual framework. By interacting, solidarity and maintaining existing social ties, it is an effort by followers of Islam Aboge to maintain all of its ritual teachings. Building relationships with others means producing a relationship to "melt" in a wider social space. The fusion process on the one hand can be a defense strategy for the Islam Aboge community. On the other hand, in the long run this can be a threat as well as an obstacle in the sustainability of the Islam Aboge

community in the future. Merging and becoming one in a broader context makes them sometimes hide his identity.

#### **D. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Based on the explanation above, globalization have affected the existence of Aboge Islam community in Java, Indonesia. However, this community makes preventive social actions to counteract this influence. These preventive efforts are carried out through adaptation and socialization processes through family and community institutions. This is done to protect their local knowledge and at the same time keep their generations to continue their beliefs and traditions. The adaptation process includes inheriting the Aboge Islamic calendar and teaching Aboge Islamic values to their generation. For example, through the activities of '*melu gawe*' (participating in certain event in their community), '*Tuturan Kaki*' (*Turki*/parental advice)', and '*ngormati leluhur*' (respecting ancestors).

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Afandi, Ahmad. 2016. "Kepercayaan Animisme-Dinamisme Serta Adaptasi Kebudayaan Hindu-Budha Dengan Kebudayaan Asli Di Pulau Lombok-NTB." *Jurnal Historis* 1(1):1-9.
- Benyamin, Pramono and Iwan Koswara. 2016. "Komunikasi Dan Kearifan Lokal: Studi Fenomenologi Tentang Penganut Aliran Islam Aboge (Alif Rebo Wage) Di Desa Sidareja Banjarnegara Jawa Tengah." Pp. 344-51 in *Prosiding Komunikasi*. Bandar Lampung: Universitas Lampung.
- Geertz, Clifford. 2014. *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*. 2nd ed. Yogyakarta: Komunitas Bambu.

- Hefner, Robert W. 2014. "Mengelola Keragaman Dan Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia: Sejarah, Teori Dan Advokasi." Pp. 23–46 in *Negara Mengelola Keragaman: Kajian mengenai Kebebasan Beragama di Indonesia*, edited by Z. A. Bagir. Yogyakarta: CRCS Program Studi Agama dan Lintas Budaya UGM.
- Ilyas, Mohammad. 1997. *Astronomy of Islamic Calendar*. Malaysia: A. S. Nordee.
- Koentjaraningrat. 2009. *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1997. *Mitos, Dukun & Sihir*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Nurish, Amanah. 2019. *Agama Jawa: Setengah Abad Pasca Clifford Geertz*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Pranowo, Bambang. 2009. *Memahami Islam Jawa*. 1st ed. edited by A. F. Kuniawan. Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet.
- Pratiwi, Citra Ayu. 2017. "Harai: Telaah Konsep Religi Koentjaraningrat." *Japanology* 5(2):173–85.
- Purwadi. 2004. *Sejarah Sultan Agung: Harmoni Antara Agama Dengan Negara*. Yogyakarta: Media Abadi.
- Ritzer, George and Douglas J. Goodman. 2010. *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Soekanto, Soerjono. 2001. *Penelitian Hukum Normatif (Suatu Tinjauan Singkat)*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Spradley, James P. 2007. *Metode Etnografi*. 2nd ed. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Sukmono, Nugroho. 2019. "Kelompok Penghayat Kepercayaan Terbanyak Ada Di Jawa Tengah." *Gatra.Com*, June 26, 1.
- Sumbulah, Umi. 2012. "Islam Jawa Dan Akulturasi Budaya: Karakteristik, Variasi Dan Ketaatan Ekspresif." *El Harakah* 14(1):51–68.

Woodward, Mark. 2011. *Java, Indonesia and Islam*. New York: Springer.

Zainal, Asliah. 2014. "Sakral Dan Profan Dalam Ritual Life Cycle :  
Memperbincangkan Fungsionalisme Emile Durkheim." *Al-Izzah* 9(1):61-71.

