

## ***Nyalase as a Socio-Cultural Interface Between the Sacred and the Profane in Madura, East Java, Indonesia***

*Nyalase Sebagai Ruang Pertemuan Antara Dimensi Sakral dan Profan di Madura, Jawa Timur, Indonesia*

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The Nyalase practice, as a religious tradition of the Madurese community in East Java, Indonesia, is often regarded as a tradition of little value. Nyalase is a ritual that includes activities such as cleaning graves, planting ornamental plants on tombs, sharing a meal at the cemetery, and conducting communal prayers and tahlil. These activities reflect the encounter between two distinct dimensions: the sacred and the profane. To understand this dynamic, the research refers to the theory of Mircea Eliade, who asserts that human life always exists within a space where sacred and profane experiences intersect. In this study, the sacred refers to matters imbued with religious or holy significance, while the profane refers to the ordinary, everyday aspects of life that are not sacred. This research employs a literature review approach, gathering and analyzing relevant references such as books, academic articles, and other written sources to examine the subject matter in depth. The findings of this study indicate that the Nyalase tradition serves as a mediating medium between the sacred and the profane. Through this tradition, the Madurese community can experience profound spiritual moments, while also affirming that sacred elements can manifest within spaces and activities that are ordinarily profane. This highlights the cultural function of Nyalase as a collective transcendental experience.*

**Keywords:** Nyalase, Sakral-Profan, Madura.

### **ABSTRAK**

*Amalan Nyalase sebagai tradisi keagamaan masyarakat Madura, Jawa Timur, Indonesia sering dianggap sebagai tradisi yang tidak bernilai. Nyalase merupakan ritual yang mencakup kegiatan seperti membersihkan makam, menanam tanaman hias di atas kuburan, makan bersama di area pemakaman, serta melaksanakan doa dan tahlil secara berjamaah. Aktiviti tersebut mencerminkan berlakunya pertemuan antara dua dimensi yang saling berbeza, iaitu dimensi sakral dan dimensi dan profan. Untuk memahami dinamika ini, penelitian merujuk pada teori Mircea Eliade, yang menegaskan bahawa kehidupan manusia selalu berada dalam ruang yang mempertemukan pengalaman sakral dan profan secara bersamaan. Sakral dalam penelitian ini merujuk kepada perkara-perkara yang mengandung makna keagamaan atau kesucian, sedangkan profan merujuk pada aspek kehidupan sehari-hari yang biasa dan tidak sakral. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan studi pustaka, dengan cara mengumpulkan dan menganalisis referensi yang relevan seperti buku, artikel ilmiah, dan sumber tertulis lainnya untuk menelaah objek kajian secara mendalam. Hasil dari studi ini menunjukkan tradisi Nyalase berperan sebagai medium mediasi antara yang sakral dan yang profan. Melalui tradisi ini, masyarakat Madura dapat mengalami pengalaman spiritual yang mendalam, sekaligus menegaskan bahawa unsur sakral dapat hadir dalam ruang dan aktiviti yang bersifat profan. Hal ini memperlihatkan fungsi budaya Nyalase sebagai pengalaman transendental kolektif.*

**Kata kunci:** Nyalase, Sakral-Profan, Madura.

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## INTRODUCTION

The practice of *Nyalase* is a form of local wisdom within the Madurese community in East Java, Indonesia. It is often questioned by certain groups who consider it an activity devoid of practical value. The pilgrimage to graves, as a manifestation of *Nyalase* practices, is perceived as offering no tangible benefits, focusing solely on matters that are deemed unrealistic and irrational in daily life.<sup>4</sup> It is undeniable that certain groups perceive the practices within the *Nyalase* tradition as manifestations of irrational belief, heresy, or even a form of polytheism.<sup>5</sup> The perspective put forth by groups that reject the *Nyalase* tradition and all its associated practices can be considered to have a rational basis. They argue that graves are merely the resting places of the human body, and as such, they should not be given special treatment or excessive reverence. Nevertheless, the *Nyalase* tradition continues to thrive and is actively practiced by the Madurese community to this day.<sup>6</sup>

The Madurese community, in addition to being recognized as religious, is also known for possessing various deeply rooted religious traditions that are based on their social life. One such tradition is *Nyalase*, a distinctive religious ritual of Madura. In general, this practice is more commonly referred to in Indonesia as *ziarah kubur* (grave pilgrimage).<sup>7</sup> Although they may appear similar at first glance, the *Nyalase* tradition differs significantly from the general practice of *ziarah kubur*. In *Nyalase*, the Madurese community not only visits the graves but also engages in activities such as cleaning the cemetery area, planting ornamental plants on the graves, holding communal meals, and performing prayers and *tahlilan* collectively.<sup>8</sup> The *Nyalase* tradition alters the community's perspective on graves, which are no longer viewed as eerie or filled with a mystical aura. Instead, visits to the cemetery become a pleasant occasion, serving as both a means of alleviating life's burdens and a way to foster spiritual closeness.

Here lies the significant role of the *Nyalase* tradition as a meeting point between the sacred and the profane, in line with the concept explained by Mircea Eliade. Eliade's thinking on the sacred and the profane stems from various aspects of his life, including his family background, education, cross-cultural and interreligious interactions, as well as his strong religious character. For Eliade, human experience is not singular but consists of two distinct realms: the sacred and the profane. The sacred is understood as something holy, imbued with spiritual depth, while the profane refers to the everyday aspects of life, which are general in nature and do not directly embody religious values.<sup>9</sup> These two distinct dimensions serve as a crucial foundation in understanding human religious life, both on an individual and collective level. The concept of the sacred and

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<sup>4</sup> Lilly Suzana Shamsu dan Norsaleha Mohd Salleh. "Menelaah Konsep Living Hadis dan Kaitannya Dengan Ihyā'al-Sunnah: Satu Tinjauan" *Literatur. Hadis*, Vol. 11, No. 21. (Juni, 2021).

<sup>5</sup> Mukhamat Saini. "Penguatan Tradisi Aswaja An-Nahdliyah: Upaya Menangkal Gerakan Islam Transnasional." *TASAMUH: Jurnal Studi Islam*. Vol 14, No. 1, (September 2020).

<sup>6</sup> A. Latief Wiyata Muslim *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), hlm 41-42.

<sup>7</sup> Muh. Fajar Rizky, Fadhliah Mubakkirah, dan Ubay "Tradisi Ziarah Kubur Di Pulau Pajene kang Kabupaten Pangkep Perspektif Islam." *Comparativa: Jurnal Ilmiah Perbandingan Mazhab dan Hukum*, Vol. 5, No. 2. (Januari 2024).

<sup>8</sup> Hasil observasi peneliti di lapangan dan juga diakses dari <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/features/745852315/tradisi-ziarah-buju-saat-lebaran-ketupat-di-pamekasan-jadi-ajang-silaturahmi-menjaga-kebersamaan-dan-kerukunan?page=2> pada 16 April 2025.

<sup>9</sup> Iksan Fermana. *Agama Sebagai Realitas yang Sakral Menurut Pemikiran Mircea Eliade*. (Bandung: UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Press, 2019), hlm. 1.

the profane allows us to analyze human religious experiences based on their relationship with the objects they encounter, determining whether these objects possess sacred value or are mundane and ordinary (profane).

The sacred space is one that is imbued with divine values and sanctity, fundamentally distinct from the profane space, which is mundane and ordinary. Through the relationship or interrelation between the experience of the divine and the human experience, an individual is enabled to move or undergo a transition from the profane space to the sacred space, thereby bringing spiritual meaning into everyday life.<sup>10</sup>

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs an interpretive qualitative approach to gain a comprehensive understanding of the *Nyalase* phenomenon in Madura. The focus of this research is to uncover the meaning and symbolism embedded within the *Nyalase* practice, particularly how the Madurese community understands the dialectic between the sacred and the profane elements in this tradition. Data collection was conducted through a literature review, involving the exploration, reading, and analysis of various relevant texts. These sources include books that discuss the theory of the sacred and the profane, especially the ideas of Mircea Eliade, as well as journals and literature that address the cultural and religious traditions of the Madurese people. The data collection process began by identifying topics related to the concepts of the sacred, the profane, and *Nyalase*. Subsequently, the researcher sought primary and secondary sources in the form of academic texts and categorized them based on their level of relevance.<sup>11</sup> Each source is analyzed by examining the arguments and data directly related to the *Nyalase* practice in order to develop a profound understanding of the dynamics between the sacred and the profane within the context of Madurese culture.

The analysis technique in this study involves a process of filtering relevant data related to the *Nyalase* tradition, which is then categorized into three main themes: the sacred, the profane, and the dialectic between the two. Subsequently, the researcher interprets the symbolic meaning of the *Nyalase* practice with reference to Mircea Eliade's theory of the sacred and the profane. The reasoning framework in this study is structured deductively-inductively. Deductively, the research begins with a theoretical framework, namely Hegel's dialectical theory and Eliade's concept of the sacred and the profane. Inductively, these theories are then linked to empirical practices in the life of the Madurese community, particularly in the implementation of the *Nyalase* tradition. Through this approach, the study seeks to reveal how *Nyalase* functions as a dialectical space between sacred and profane values, while also serving as a cultural event that leads the community to a spiritual experience or the sublime. Therefore, this study has strong contextual relevance as it is directly connected to the current social and cultural reality of the Madurese community.

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<sup>10</sup> Mariasusai Dhavamony. *Fenomenologi Agama*. (Jakarta: Kanisius, 1995), hlm. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Ismail, M. T., & Mohd, N. S. "Penulisan Tafsir Nusantara: Cabaran dan Penyelesaiannya: Nusantara Tafsir Writing: Challenges and Solutions." *ALBASIRAH JOURNAL*, 14(2), (Desember 2024), 106–117. <https://doi.org/10.22452/basirah.vol14no2.7>

## RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### *Nyallase as a Religious Tradition of the Madurese Community*

Nyallase is a distinctive tradition of the Madurese community that holds unique characteristics, setting it apart from the more commonly encountered practice of *ziarah kubur* (grave pilgrimage) in Indonesia. Nyallase is not merely a visit to the grave, but rather a series of activities rich in religious and social significance. This tradition involves cleaning the cemetery area, planting ornamental plants on the graves, holding communal meals, and performing prayers and *tahlilan* in congregation. Each aspect of this ritual contains sacred symbols and aims to honor the deceased while strengthening the spiritual connection between the living and the departed. This practice reflects a religious tradition rooted in the belief in the importance of prayer and respect for ancestors.

In the nyallase tradition, the Madurese community not only performs rituals as a form of respect for the deceased but also views them as a means of strengthening their relationship with God. Each activity within this tradition is designed to align with the values of Islam, which is the predominant religion of the Madurese people. The grave pilgrimage in nyallase holds a deeper meaning than a mere physical visit; it is considered a part of worship that serves as a reminder of the transience of life and the Day of Judgment. In Islam, visiting graves is recommended by the Prophet Muhammad as a way to remind the faithful of death and the afterlife.

The nyallase tradition is a practice of Islamic teachings that has been adapted to the culture of the Madurese community. They believe that the deceased require prayers from the living. Islam teaches that the faithful should pray for the deceased so that their good deeds are accepted by Allah SWT and their sins forgiven. Furthermore, Muslims are reminded to always reflect on death in order to avoid being swayed by the fleeting nature of worldly life. This principle forms the foundation of the nyallase tradition, which serves not only as a form of respect for the departed but also as a reminder of the true essence of life-life after death.

There are three main reasons why the nyallase tradition is of great importance to the Madurese community. *First*, this tradition serves as a manifestation of the practice of Islamic teachings, particularly those related to the grave pilgrimage, which functions as a reminder of death.<sup>12</sup> In nyallase, the grave pilgrimage is performed simultaneously by families or community groups with the aim of strengthening social bonds while fostering a sense of devotion and humility in each individual. Thus, the grave pilgrimage is not merely a visit to the graves of the deceased but also serves as a means to deepen one's spiritual closeness to Allah.

*Second*, Nyallase serves as a reminder to each individual that death is inevitable and certain. Through this tradition, the Madurese community is encouraged to reflect on the transience of life and not become overly focused on worldly matters that are temporary. The nyallase activities act as a powerful reminder that worldly life is fleeting, while the life after death is the ultimate goal. The moments of the grave pilgrimage, along with the communal prayers and *tahlilan* rituals, function as opportunities to contemplate the meaning of life and death and to prepare oneself for the afterlife.

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<sup>12</sup> Ahmad Ahda Sabila dan Gusti Rian Saputra. "Hermeneutika Hadis Sebagai Solusi Penyelesaian Hadis Mukhtalif tentang Larangan Wanita Ziarah Kubur." *MAQASID*. Vol 13, No. 1, (Mei 2024).

*Third*, the nyallase tradition aims to purify the soul. The community is taught that all actions should be performed solely for the sake of Allah SWT. *Nyallase* is not just a physical ritual, but also serves as a medium for spiritual purification. Cleaning the graves, planting ornamental plants, and engaging in communal prayers are acts of worship directed toward Allah, with the hope of drawing the soul closer to Him and erasing sins. This tradition provides an opportunity for the community to understand the meaning of devotion with sincere intentions toward Allah.

The rituals in the nyallase tradition, which involve activities such as cleaning the cemetery area and planting ornamental plants, carry rich symbolism and profound significance.<sup>13</sup> Cleaning the graves in the nyallase tradition is not merely about maintaining the final resting place but also symbolizes the purification of the soul from all sins and shortcomings before meeting the Creator. The planting of ornamental plants on the graves represents the continuity of life, signifying that although the physical body has passed, the prayers and good deeds of the deceased remain alive in the memories of family and community.

Furthermore, the communal meal after the pilgrimage not only strengthens social bonds but also becomes a spiritual moment that fosters a sense of togetherness and solidarity among community members. It serves as a symbol of unity in facing both life and death together. The *tahlilan* ritual, performed collectively at the cemetery or in the homes of the community, is an expression of gratitude and a prayer for the acceptance of the deceased's deeds by Allah SWT, as well as a prayer for guidance and blessings for the living. This tradition encourages each participant to reflect on the meaning of life, death, and their relationship with God.

The Madurese community that practices the nyallase tradition seeks to preserve the values of Islamic teachings through this ritual. The prayers and *tahlilan* performed with deep devotion serve as a means to strengthen spiritual closeness to Allah and reinforce faith. Through this tradition, the Madurese community strives to live the religious teachings earnestly, both on a personal and social level. This demonstrates that nyallase is not merely a cultural practice, but a ritual with a strong religious dimension.

The nyallase tradition serves as an important reminder of the meaning of life and death for the Madurese community. Furthermore, this tradition strengthens social bonds and fosters a sense of devotion to Allah SWT. Although its practices are simple, nyallase carries profound meaning regarding life, death, and the afterlife. Each act within nyallase, from the communal prayers, *tahlilan*, and shared meals, to the planting of ornamental plants, aims to purify the soul, draw closer to God, and strengthen social ties among Muslims in Madura. Therefore, nyallase is not merely a grave pilgrimage ritual, but a religious tradition rich in spiritual and social values.

However, it is important to remember that within religious social life, there are differing views on what is considered sacred and what is profane. For example, Hindus revere and regard the cow as a sacred being, while Muslims honor the Black Stone (*Hajar Aswad*) in Mecca. On the other hand, Christians sanctify the cross placed on the altar, and primitive societies perform rituals by burning their totem animals as a form of respect.<sup>14</sup> The shared experiences within the faith of a religious community demonstrate that the relationship between group members and sacred matters is often

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<sup>13</sup> Diakses dari <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/features/745852315/tradisi-ziarah-buju-saat-lebaran-ketupat-di-pamekasan-jadi-ajang-silaturahmi-menjaga-kebersamaan-dan-kerukunan?page=2> pada 16 April 2025.

<sup>14</sup> Zakiyah Darajat. *Perbandingan Agama*. (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1985) hlm. 167-168.

closely intertwined with the moral values upheld by that group.<sup>15</sup> It is important to understand that the Prophet Muhammad's (SAW) prohibition against grave visitation was initially intended to safeguard the beliefs of the early Muslim community and to strengthen their faith. At that time, the Muslims were still heavily influenced by the pre-Islamic (Jahiliyyah) culture.

However, as faith matured and religious understanding deepened, grave visitation became permitted under the condition that the belief remained that prayers were not directed toward the soul of the deceased, but solely to Allah SWT.<sup>16</sup> In Eliade's view, nyallase serves as a medium for the meeting of the sacred and the profane. Therefore, the Madurese community regards the nyallase tradition not merely as an ordinary sensory experience, but also as a supernatural one. This aligns with Eliade's concept that anything mundane or profane in everyday life can, at certain moments, be transformed into the sacred.<sup>17</sup> The tradition conveys meaning through its ritual process, and it is here that the flow of the supernatural into the natural occurs.<sup>18</sup>

### **Exploring the Encounter Between the Sacred and the Profane in *Nyalase***

For the Madurese community, nyallase is part of the cultural heritage of their ancestors, rich with meaning. However, it cannot be denied that this tradition often receives negative views, particularly because it includes elements that are seen as contradictory, such as the practice of communal meals and dhikr (remembrance) in the cemetery. Yet, when examined more deeply, nyallase actually contains unity in aspects that appear to be contradictory. It is here that the dialectic between the sacred everything that holds spiritual significance and the profane things considered ordinary or devoid of spiritual value takes place.

In his work *The Sacred and the Profane*, Mircea Eliade emphasizes the fundamental distinction between the sacred and the profane. He explains that the sacred is closely associated with the Divine and evokes experiences that are real, eternal, and unchanging, in contrast to the profane world, which is transient and constantly changing. Eliade highlights how humans, particularly homo religiosus (the traditional religious human), strive to revive noble values through sacred spaces and times. In other words, when sacred elements enter a profane space, as in the nyallase tradition, a transformation of meaning occurs. Space and time, initially ordinary, become a medium for encountering the eternal and the transcendent.

According to Eliade, humans are able to recognize the sacred because it manifests itself in a way that is distinct and deeper compared to the visible, superficial profane world.<sup>19</sup> The supernatural values, or the sacred, can be understood as a force or reality that transcends the physical world. Although symbols or objects considered sacred may change depending on the context of time and culture, the essence of the Sacred itself remains constant. This means that an object or action can be sacred at one time but lose its sacredness at another, replaced by a different symbol. Nevertheless, the Sacred never changes, as it represents the Divine, which is eternal, imperishable,

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<sup>15</sup> Nurdinah Muhammad. "Memahami Konsep Sakral dan Profan dalam Agama-Agama," *Substantia*, Vol. 15, No 2, (Oktober 2023).

<sup>16</sup> Safinah, "Tradisi Ziarah Kubur Dalam Pendekatan Sejarah," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Islam*. Vol .1, No. 1, (Januari-Maret 2020).

<sup>17</sup> Daniel L. Pals. *Dekonstruksi Kebenaran*. (Jogjakarta: IRCiSOD, 2011). hlm. 269.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Pals (2011). hlm. 89-90.

<sup>19</sup> Mircea Eliade. *Sakral dan Profan*, Nurwato (Terj.). (Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka Baru, 2002. hlm. 18-30.

and unshakable. The Sacred is not a part of the ordinary world; it originates from another dimension that is entirely distinct from the profane. Therefore, the Sacred cannot be equated with worldly, transient, and ever-changing things. This distinction forms the core of Mircea Eliade's thinking the Sacred always presents itself as something transcendent, offering profound meaning to humanity in navigating its life.<sup>20</sup>

A space or place becomes sacred through a hierophany, which is the moment when the Sacred manifests itself in that space. This manifestation makes the space special, distinct, and set apart from other spaces that are ordinary or profane. In this context, hierophany functions as a moment of disruption against spatial uniformity (homogeneity) because the presence of the Sacred marks the revelation of absolute reality amidst a world full of uncertainty and non-reality. According to Mircea Eliade's thinking, the presence of the Sacred through hierophany provides an ontological foundation for the world, giving it a center or spiritual orientation. In a space that previously lacked direction or specific meaning, hierophany creates an axis, an absolute focal point of existence, allowing humans to organize their lives based on transcendent values. Thus, a place that becomes sacred is not only physically different but also imbued with a depth of spiritual meaning that is not found in other profane spaces. Hierophany becomes the fundamental principle in the formation of sacred spaces and human religious consciousness.<sup>21</sup>

The phenomenon of the sacralization of space through hierophany is clearly reflected in the nyallase tradition, which is still preserved by the Madurese community, particularly in the village of Sana Laok, Waru District, Pamekasan Regency. In this village, the nyallase tradition is carried out as a form of encounter with the Sacred, expressed through a series of symbols and rituals as follows:

*First*, the activity of cleaning the cemetery area. On the surface, this activity may appear as an ordinary routine without any spiritual elements. However, for those who practice nyallase, cleaning the graves is believed to be a form of respect for the ancestors who have passed away. Some even consider that the comfort of the final resting place should be maintained, much like the homes of the living. In this context, the cemetery is understood not only as a place where the body rests but also as a space that must be cared for spiritually. *Second*, the practice of planting ornamental plants on the graves. These plants do not grow naturally but are intentionally planted during the nyallase ritual. For the Madurese community, this action is not merely visual aesthetics; it is believed to serve as a means of bringing coolness to the souls of the departed. This planting symbolizes life and hope and serves as an expression of affection for those who have gone before.

*Third*, the communal prayers and tahlil performed at the cemetery create a profoundly spiritual atmosphere. According to the testimonies of those who practice the tradition, this activity often results in deeply moving religious experiences. Some participants report feeling inner peace and even experiencing phenomena that transcend the physical realm, such as the spiritual presence of deceased family members. This reflects the belief that the connection between the living and the dead is not entirely severed, but remains linked through prayer and spiritual contemplation. *Fourth*, the communal meal at the cemetery. After the series of prayers and tahlil is completed, the community typically holds a shared meal, with dishes contributed voluntarily by the residents, especially those whose family members are buried at the site. Although this

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<sup>20</sup> Beatrice Soumeru, *Kajian Sosio Budaya Tentang Sakralnya Pusat pulau dalam pemahaman orang Abuba di pulau Nusa Laut*. (Salatatiga: Satya Wacana Press, 2012), hlm. 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel L. Pals. *Dekonstruksi Kebenaran*. (Jogjakarta: IRCiSOD, 2011). hlm. 238.

may appear as a social, profane activity, the communal meal holds religious significance. The food is not intended for the deceased to enjoy, but rather, the act of giving is believed to serve as a form of charity that benefits the souls of the departed. This belief illustrates the understanding within the community that the good deeds of the living can provide spiritual benefits to the souls of the deceased, particularly in the form of relief in the afterlife.

## CONCLUSION

The *Nyalase* tradition is one of the religious expressions of the Madurese community, combining both spiritual and social aspects. This practice demonstrates how activities that appear ordinary (profane) actually carry deep religious meaning (sacred), making *Nyalase* a dialectical space between the worldly and the transcendent. *First*, the activity of cleaning the cemetery area, which may initially seem like a physical routine, is actually viewed as a form of spiritual respect. For those practicing *Nyalase*, cleaning the graves is not merely about tidying the surroundings; it is a way to provide peace and comfort for the souls of the deceased. This activity shows how physical actions can have profound spiritual significance, reflecting a strong religious awareness of the afterlife. *Second*, the planting of ornamental plants on the graves carries deep symbolism. Although it may appear to be an effort to beautify the cemetery, these plants are believed to provide coolness and tranquility to the souls resting there. The ornamental plants symbolize the continuity of life and serve as a form of spiritual respect, reflecting the connection between the material and spiritual realms. *Third*, the practice of communal prayers and tahlilan is the most sacred aspect of this tradition. Practitioners of *Nyalase* often report experiencing the inner presence of their ancestors during these rituals, sometimes even feeling that they can spiritually interact with the departed. This transcendental experience illustrates how profane space and time can be transformed into sacred space through intense religious events.

*Fourth*, the communal meal held after the tahlilan is not just a social gathering. The food shared comes from voluntary donations from the families of the deceased, and it is believed that the reward of this charity reaches the souls of the departed. The communal meal serves as both a means of strengthening social bonds and a form of collective spirituality, bringing together the living and the dead in a spirit of togetherness and prayer. Thus, *Nyalase* is not merely a traditional ritual, but a complex religious expression, where profane elements are imbued with sacred meaning through symbolic interpretation and spiritual practices of the Madurese community. This tradition emphasizes that, in the religious consciousness of traditional societies, the sacred can manifest in the simplest forms of everyday life.

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