

The Mysticism of Cultural Education in Indonesia: Phenomenological Review of *Nyabis* in Madura

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Abstract

Almost all Madurese practice *Nyabis* culture with various statuses and social stratifications ranging from the lower to the upper classes; interestingly, their arrival is massive in a certain period and routine every month, twice a month, every week and even twice a day. This paper aimed to describe the *Nyabis* culture holistically. This paper used a phenomenologically qualitative method, with data collection methods of semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation. Data analysis uses the interactive model of Miles Huberman and Saldana. The results found that the culture of *Nyabis* continues to be maintained and carried out from the historical side of the famous sacred figures, pious and other advantages that occur from generation to generation; the next side is due to unusual, illogical, and mystical intermediaries. The irrational, mystical phenomenon and social reality of *Nyabis* cultural actors have succeeded in creating fanaticism within the community. This fanaticism stems from knowledge gained from social interactions in the form of conversations or stories that arouse curiosity and are then reinforced by concrete evidence of the perpetrators of this culture so that the *Kiai* continues and is increasingly believed to have advantages to solve various problems and needs of the community.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the local elites in Madurese society is the *Kiai*, who have significant influence and dominance. Genealogically *Kiai* in *Nyabis* culture is characterized because of its expertise in religious science, in practice the figure of *Kiai* in this culture becomes a place to complain about many problems ranging from religious affairs, the acquisition of wealth, agriculture, career, politics, social problems, soul mates and other issues (Kosim, 2007). People still believe that certain *Kiai* is beyond the limits of human abilities in general because they are considered capable of reading the future, treating diseases in alternative ways and having the magic of martial arts (Kuntowijoyo, 2017).

In this case, almost all circles in Madura, ranging from elites such as regional heads and legislators, the upper middle class consisting of village heads, civil servants, bank employees and business people to ordinary people from various regions still make *Nyabis* culture a very sacred ritual and cannot be abandoned. *Nyabis* is the custom of visiting a *Kiai* (*soan*) with a specific purpose (Fausi, 2015). The phenomenon authors found in the field is that *Nyabis* culture is not merely a habit, but it has become a mandatory ritual. This phenomenon is evidenced by the community's enthusiasm for visiting *Kiai's* house, which is believed to be able to provide for the community's needs (Rahman, 2019). People flock to *Kiai's* house in a certain period of routine, every month, one month twice, every week, and even every time facing problems and difficulties come to *Kiai*, even in a very short period (Juniarta et al., 2013).

As Karl Marx (1818-1883) argued, "religion is opium" and serves to glue socially; religion has become a tool to be able to reduce mental conditions that are troubled, unsettled and far from peace (Adnan, 2020). Similarly, the reality inherent in the culture of *Nyabis* where in this case it is very attached to religious rituals because the main character in the culture is a figure who is

characterized because of one of his expertise in religious science, every solution to problems, complaints and needs of the community given is religious values and teachings that lead to the path of salvation (Fauzan et al., 2023). Of course, in this case, the community makes *Nyabis* culture an essential element in the order of life. It is not spared from social problems and solutions, whether personal problems or social relations to economic affairs, so that they flock, routinely and as if addicted to come and come back to a *Kiai* with various problems and needs.

As the results of previous research, Javanese society has been very thick and close to culture for a long time; even culture has become a mandatory ritual that binds and integrates into society, which also dramatically affects changes in society (Setiyawan, 2020). Moreover, a culture that is identical to the religious core, then the culture will become a solution (way of life) that is rooted and continues to spread in the structure of social life (Sri Astuti A. Samad, 2017). As Madurese ethnicity is very distinctive, with a submissive and obedient nature to figures in religion, *Nyabis* culture is one of the extreme elements in encouraging social change. The fame of the figure of *Kiai*, who can help many people with various needs and problems, has attracted other communities to make the figure the focus of public complaints on various community problems. The solution or teachings given by *Kiai* so that one can solve many problems and needs are the core of Islamic teachings themselves, such as purification of a creed which is related to complete surrender to Allah '*tawakkal*', optimizing worship '*ubudiyah*' behaviour and maintaining relationships between fellow humans and God '*akhlāqul karīmah*' (Wardi & Tohir, 2021). Other research results concluded that the *Nyabis* Tradition must exist as long as the *Kiai* still demonstrates the *Kiai*'s ethics of care. This tradition will continue to be carried out because *Kiai* plays its role in social capital that maintains relationships or relationships between individuals with the level of trust that occurs between them, either as a director, leader or formulator of a *pesantren* value and culture. The *Nyabis* tradition is carried out not only because of the pragmatic motivation of the community to succeed in worldly endeavours but also as a spiritual effort to get the blessing of the *Kiai* (Rahman, 2019). Another study states that many fishermen in Situbondo perform *Nyabis* to get good luck in all activities, including fishing, buying, and selling fish (Ibad, 2017). The history of *Nyabis* culture can also be interpreted from previous studies that found that many local Madurese cultures and traditions continue to take root and develop among the community without understanding Buddhism or tradition itself. The distinctive character of Madurese society that respect '*ta'dzim*' and makes the figure of *Kiai* as the local elite of Madura also dramatically encourages the development of culture and tradition itself (Hasan, 2011).

Indeed, there is a strong relationship between some of these studies and their predecessors because they both study local traditions that mushroomed among the community and continue to exist because of the work of the *Kiai* figure, but significantly, this research study will focus on the work of *Kiai* in the *Nyabis* culture which on the way many mystical things were encountered, captured the attention of the community and became the dominant factor that encourages the continuity of *Nyabis* culture to this day.

METHODS

Research on the *Nyabis* culture of the Madurese community uses a qualitative approach and is a phenomenological study; departing from an emic perspective, authors want to explore information about individual experiences with figures in *Nyabis* culture (*Kiai*), authors want to explore the essence of the culture and how the culture grows and continues to develop among the community, while this research was conducted in Ganding District, Sumenep Regency. Some methods used to obtain accurate and objective cultural and religious education data are semi-structured interviews with several parties as informants, such as figures in *Nyabis* culture (*Kiai*), community perpetrators, community leaders and culturalists. Observing the types of participants and non-participants is done because, at one particular time, authors must see directly how the *Nyabis* culture is processed. In contrast, authors can make observations at other times without being involved in the last documentation. After the data is collected, it will be processed with interactive model data analysis

techniques Miles, Huberman and Saldana, which include the stages of data condensation, which is the process of selection, shrinking, summarizing and simplifying. Then, proceed with the stage of presenting data, which is a collection of arranged information so that thus authors can carry out the next stage, namely drawing conclusions (Alexandro et al., 2020). Then, for the validity of the data, authors use several stages, namely by extending observations and re-interviewing sources or informants who have been met or are new; it is hoped that this process creates a closer and more open relationship. Increase persistence by observing more carefully and continuously in the hope that authors can ascertain the exact data and sequence of events. Furthermore, triangulation is by triangulation of sources, techniques and time.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Analysis of *Nyabis* as Cultural Education

From the data obtained in the field, both from observation, interviews, and documentation, authors found that several phenomena and factors trigger the occurrence of *Nyabis culture* in the community. The culture continues to be maintained and carried out by many people. This first phenomenon and factor can be seen from its historical side, where the *Nyabis* culture among the community is known to be very sacred because it is identical to the pious *Kiai* and has advantages over normal humans in general, and this phenomenon occurs from generation to generation to grandchildren or even great-grandchildren; the community believes that every generation or successor of a particular *Kiai* has the same ability.

Evidence of the allegiance and superiority of the *Kiai* figure in the *Nyabis* culture has been confirmed by many informants that the figure portrayed in this culture has advantages over normal humans, in general, such as being able to read one's heart, knowing the difficulties faced by someone, and read someone's behaviour correctly which is well known and believed by many people. The advantages of the *Kiai* figure above have spread widely to areas both internally and across districts and continue to be told from generation to generation. Because the inherent advantages of the *Kiai* figure continue to be widely told from one place to another, from one generation to the next, *Nyabis* culture is a distinctive ritual that can help people get out of difficulties and realize the needs of diverse communities.

The next factor that makes *Nyabis* culture continue to be thick and urgent among the community is that it can be seen from the mythological side. In addition to the advantages and magic of the figure behind *the Nyabis* culture, this culture continues to spread and take root among the community through mystical and illogical paths. Many people come because they experience strange things and spark curiosity, such as meeting and being directed to come to *Kiai* by a mysterious figure and not being found or getting clues (*lamat*) that come through dreams (Maulidi et al., 2021).

Nyabis culture, which in practice is an activity to visit or come to a religious figure of *Kiai*, is commonplace. Because as a figure who becomes a figure or as a guide in the needs of many things, he will be visited often or expected to arrive amid society (Lavín & Goodman, 2023). However, in the course and development of this culture, a fascinating social construction was found; this can be seen from several aspects, including the growing needs and needs of the people who come or can also be seen from the side of the perpetrators who come from various regions, both between districts to across provinces (Wardi & Tohir, 2021)

Some unique phenomena that have naturally become the attraction and trigger of the continued development of this culture can be seen from the following two aspects:

Extraordinary Abilities that Continue to be Inherited

Internally, this uniqueness is seen in the *Kiai*, who are figures in the *Nyabis* culture itself, where they are known as figures (elite) of society with advantages over ordinary people in general, both in terms of religious science, alternative medicine, solving social problems to improving economic levels.

The community believes this status will remain attached to the next generations. In other words, the inherent abilities of the elders to solve the various problems and needs of the people who come will also be carried out by the successors or heirs of the elders (Touati-Tliba, 2024). Because of this phenomenon, this *Nyabis* culture will continue to be carried out by the community as a form of effort to solve various social problems and their biological needs.

Likewise, among the community, stories about the advantages of the *Kiai* figure in the *Nyabis* culture will continue to be told to the broader community. This phenomenon has become a very effective attraction (*marketing*) among Madurese people, who respect '*ta'dzim*' and are obedient to the figure of *Kiai* as a local elite among Madurese.

Mystical Emotional Connectivity between Kiai and the Community

On the other hand, an unusual, mystical, and illogical phenomenon experienced by society becomes an intermediary or cause of an emotional and spiritual connection between individuals or groups with a *Kiai*, which is characterized in this *Nyabis* culture. As with real experience, many informants get clues from an unknown figure or through dreams. Of course, these phenomena are attractive to the local community, which is still very thick with mythology, so, unsurprisingly, this culture continues to be carried out and maintained until now.

The figure of *Kiai*, the central figure in *Nyabis* culture here, is figured, respected, and obeyed because this figure is the owner of the highest caste in religion and ritual. There are so many religious rituals and practices among the community that must be led directly by a *Kiai*, and often found, a ritual or event that is identical to religion cannot be started or carried out without the presence of the figure (Wardi & Tohir, 2021).

Likewise, religious humans still have the status they hold as human beings who are not free from mistakes, social problems, and biological needs. We will always need a figure who is an expert in the field of religion and can help society out of its social problems as well as being able to meet or provide solutions to human biological needs that are so diverse and never end, of course, in a way that is by religious values or norms alone.

The sustainability of *Nyabis* culture has proven successful in helping many people out of difficulties and realize desires and spiritual and biological needs. Therefore, it is not surprising that the figure of *Kiai* in this culture has always been the focus of many people; *Nyabis* culture remains thick and robust in the social order because through this culture, a human being as a social creature can achieve and realize his biological desires and nature (Utama et al., 2022).

Weber stated that religion is the way to salvation, and there is stratification in the relationship between man and his God (religious stratification). It is because people's religiosity level is different, and that level can become prestige. In this regard, Weber made the first two classifications of religiosity: Elite religiosity, which consists of people with high religious knowledge and charisma, or they are also called *Elite religion*, who spend more time practicing religion than dealing with profane world affairs, while the other classification is those who are the opposite (Weber, 2002)

Weber's theory is very relevant to the reality of the implementation of *Nyabis* culture among Madurese. The figure of *Kiai*, a local elite figure, especially in the religious field, strongly reflects the type of *elite religion* conveyed by Weber. At the same time, the people who come to *Kiai* have one purpose and objective: to seek salvation in many aspects of life (Maulidi et al., 2021). Weber further said that in religion, there is a belief in something supernatural that affects people's lives (Putra, 2020). The phenomenon authors found in the reality of *Nyabis* culture is also mystical as the experience of informants who get clues through dreams or mysterious figures whose existence is difficult to find.

Historically and in reality, the figure of *Kiai* is characterized because of its superiority in religious science and other advantages that are above humans in general; in social and cultural structures, the figure of *Kiai* occupies the highest position (Djarmiko, 2019) *Nyabis* culture has historically been a concrete manifestation of the social construction of human nature as a social

creature in meeting their needs, facing problems and difficulties and realizing dreams and hopes by making the figure of *Kiai* as a guide (way of life).

The obedience and position of *Kiai* as an elite figure among Madurese certainly cannot be separated from the history of the process of Islamization of Madurese island society in the 7th to 15th centuries which developed through trade routes, the struggle of the guardians, *Kiai*, *buju'* and royal rulers so that a typical attitude and treatment of Madurese society towards this one figure was formed (Zahid, 2020). On the other hand, this phenomenon appears and is deeply rooted among the community because it is a Madurese culture or local wisdom that has the philosophy of *Bhepa' Bhebu' Guru Ratoh* which means that there are three groups that cannot be resisted, respecting and obeying the three groups is an obligation, on the contrary, not heeding, especially against the three groups above is an Abstinence which if done can cause harm or plague (Maulidi et al., 2021).

As a local elite figure among the Madurese *Kiai* himself has several types that also affect how much influence and followers, some of which are *Kiai nasab* and *Kiai non nasab* and *Kiai pesantren* and non *pesantren*. *Kiai pesantren* in history is a figure of piety and has deep religious knowledge so that it attracts people to come to study and then develop into a *pesantren* 'Islamic boarding school' (Sholichin, 2007). Coming to the *Kiai (Nyabis)* is to gain religious knowledge 'ngaji'. Even though their motivation is based on a problem, the expected solution is a path based on Islamic norms and values. Of course, this *Nyabis* reality powerfully illustrates the perspective of Islam Talal Asad, which is a discursive tradition that always seeks the legitimacy of their religious practices in the primary reference, namely al-Qur'an and Hadith (authoritative) (Ridoi, 2023).

The history of *Nyabis* culture illustrates how intense the relationship between *Kiai* and society from time to time has been able to construct a cultural religious ritual until now as Talal Asad argues, discursive tradition is a tradition derived from the discourse of a religious practitioner which is a collaboration between textual orthodoxy and the reality of a field that is dynamic or changeable. Community discourse that refers to several elements such as authoritative texts, narratives, and practices that have been running among the community is a process of transmission (Sakinah, 2022). In addition to referring to the authority of the text and the past, the Islamic tradition can also change and develop according to the demands and responses to the needs of the present, neither atavism nor regression that resists change, the Islamic tradition is able to transform and adapt to the demands of the times without losing its authenticity and continuity with the past (Ridoi, 2023).

Society Fanaticism

The stories and phenomena occur vary in unusual, occur metaphysically or maybe even very irrationally that continue to be told and believed by many circles, this factor triggers a response or reciprocity from society (Ji et al., 2023). Of course, many of them want to prove and experience these phenomena for themselves. Without realizing it, this is what is the spirit and trigger of this *Nyabis* culture continues to be carried out and preserved by people from various circles and many regions, this is where a strong process of fanaticism occurs.

Basically, fanaticism is about a belief and understanding that is manifested in a relationship, loyalty, love and devotion created by the interaction of individuals or groups with a culture. Some indicators of fanatics are being less rational in acting and making decisions, and tend to prioritize emotions (Lesmana & Syafiq, 2022).

Likewise, what is found in many *Nyabis* cultural actors in the form of personal experiences both internally and through external factors in the process of interaction between communities and the figure of *Kiai* in the sustainability of this culture which then makes most cultural actors fanatical *Nyabis*, some of which are:

Irrational and Mystical Phenomena

The reality of this cultural journey proves that mystical and irrational phenomena are not just fabricated stories among the public because many of the people who practice *Nyabis* have proven these absurd events themselves (Sielaff et al., 2022).

Some of the things that authors have encountered from the real experiences of informants are the existence of pointers or suggestions to come to *Kiai* in an unusual way as shown by a mysterious person after being searched and investigated, the figure has never been found or an intermediary who came through dreams (Cristofori et al., 2016). Or another incident confirmed by another informant is the excess of the *Kiai* figure who is able to read the contents of a person's heart and mind.

The Social Reality of The Nyabis Perpetrator

Another interesting fact that authors get from observations is the condition of the community of *Nyabis* perpetrator seen from their status and social stratification. Many people who come from outside the area, both internally Sumenep Regency and other districts across provinces with various frequency of visits as well, Starting from coming every month or twice a month or every week, even the most intense can be done more than once in the same day.

When viewed from the stratification, the condition of the community of *Nyabis* is very diverse and complex, ranging from the lower class to the upper class which is very heterogeneous. Several times authors made observations, participation, found and saw unusual things, namely that many of the perpetrators consisted of elements with high social status and economic level that could be known from vehicles and appearances that little by little, this increasingly attracted the attention of the public to participate in doing (van Brakel et al., 2023).

Historically and in reality, there is a unique fact attached to the figure of the *Kiai* or the main figure in this *Nyabis* culture, such as their advantages in religious science, having kanuragan science, alternative medicine, and even being able to know phenomena that have not occurred (Maulidi et al., 2021).

This unique fact has been widespread among the community for a long time, in addition to the unique facts inherent in the figure of *Kiai* do occur for generations across generations, on the other hand this unique fact has also become a story that continues to be spread for generations also among the community (Yang et al., 2023). These two factors have naturally become the main attraction that continues to encourage the interest and spirit of the community to continue to carry out and maintain this *Nyabis* culture as a form of effort to seek safety and improve the standard of life for the better. Of course, the unique fact attached to the figure of *Kiai* as mentioned above is not only a story spread by word of mouth but many of the people who do *Nyabis* have proven and experienced the phenomenon themselves.

The fanaticism experienced by society in this case is created through two directions, first from internal factors which include community experiences related to the advantages of *Kiai* which are often absurd and mystical, second from external factors which include interactions between individuals with other individuals or with the main characters in the culture (Zulkarnain & Haq, 2020).

Another factor that causes and encourages people's fanatical sense of this culture is derived from the condition of the *Nyabis* community itself, which is seen in terms of social stratification of the people who come are not only ordinary people but very diverse and from many groups ranging from members or who are running for legislative or executive office, civil servants, academics, other employees such as *BUMN*, and entrepreneurs. Come from various regions ranging from internal districts to other districts across provinces with varying visit intensities ranging from every month, every half month, every week and even twice a day if in urgent conditions (Adnan, 2020).

Fanatics is equivalent to *ta'asub* which has a strong character towards understanding and world view of a phenomenon or a teaching which one of the factors causing the emergence of fanaticism in a person is because of the existence of a charismatic figure or figure (Misbah & Jubaedah, 2021). This theory has been well implemented in the course of this *Nyabis* culture because the fanaticism of the community adherents of *Nyabis* culture starts from a knowledge obtained from social interaction in the form of talks or stories that are continuously found widely so that a strong curiosity (curiosity) arises because in addition to the stories that are spread there is also

real evidence from the cultural actors, So that the figure of *Kiai* continues and is increasingly believed by many people from various circles to really have advantages that can solve various problems and various needs of society.

Along the way, a *Nyabis* cultural actor has known and witnessed firsthand how the figure of *Kiai* in this culture overcomes various problems and social needs both individually and in groups so that a belief is created. This is in line with the theory that says that fanaticism in a person can grow and develop through an actual life experience (Misbah & Jubaedah, 2021).

People develop a sense of devotion, admiration, and respect for *Kiai* due to intimacy and confidence in their figure. This leads to obedience, submission, and reluctance to disobey their commands. This phenomenon is a real picture of a theory that explains that fanaticism is an extraordinary devotion to an object that arises because of intimacy, passion and dedication that leads to a figure or figure (Lesmana & Syafiq, 2022).

CONCLUSION

Historically, figures in this culture are *Kiai*, known as figures (elite) of society with advantages above ordinary people in terms of religious science, alternative medicine, solving social problems and improving economic levels. The community is believed to continue to be attached to its successors for generations. This *Nyabis* culture is carried out as a form of effort to solve various social problems and biological needs of the community. The advantages of the *Kiai* figure in this culture continue to be told among the public at large and naturally become an attraction (marketing) that effectively attracts the attention of the Madurese people, who are very respectful 'ta'dzim' and obedient to the figure of *Kiai* as the local elite among Madurese. On the other hand, there is an illogical and mystical phenomenon experienced by society as an intermediary or the cause of an emotional and spiritual connection between an individual or group and a *Kiai* who is portrayed in this culture. As for fanaticism growing and developing in cultural and religious education due to the first few factors, the many irrational and mystical phenomena experienced by these cultural actors, both in history and reality. Both social realities of cultural actors are heterogeneous, coming from many circles with different social statuses and stratifications, intensity of visits, and sound economic levels. Fanaticism in religious education is created at least internally through the first two directions, which include community experiences regarding the advantages of the next *Kiai* due to external factors that include interactions between individuals or groups with the main characters in this culture. Authors see that the *Nyabis* culture among Madurese people is such a thick and deep-rooted interaction with *Kiai* that the community cannot leave behind to determine many problems and needs of the community; research must be developed to dig deeper, especially in terms of social change seeing the significant role and influence that the figure of *Kiai* gives to society.

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