

# The Sacred Phenomenology of Mount Kawi Cemetery in Malang: Examining Its Connection to the Manuscript *Serat Iman Sujana* Found at Gunung Kawi

Fatkur Rohman Nur Awalin<sup>a,\*</sup>, Mulyana<sup>b</sup> and Afendy Widayat<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a,b,c</sup>Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

\*corresponding author: [fatkurrohman.awalin@uny.ac.id](mailto:fatkurrohman.awalin@uny.ac.id)

Received: 14-09-2024; Revised: 07-11-2025; Accepted: 15-06-2025

DOI: 10.31291/hn.v14i1.770

## Abstract

The sacredness of Gunung Kawi Malang is deeply associated with the figures of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M Iman Sujana. This study examines the phenomenology of sacredness at Gunung Kawi Malang, focusing on its conceptual underpinnings and implications. Central to this inquiry is the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript, discovered at Gunung Kawi Malang, which provides key insights into the sacredness attributed to the site. Employing a phenomenological approach, this research interprets the layers of sacred meaning embedded in Gunung Kawi Malang, particularly in light of its historical role as a center for mystical practices, including *pesugihan* rituals. Additionally, a literature study of the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript was conducted to deepen the analysis. Findings reveal that the sacralization of Gunung Kawi Malang is significantly influenced by Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M Iman Sujana. The connection between these figures and the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript is reflected in the presence of Raden Iman Sujana as a key character, whereas Kiai Zakaria II is notably absent from the text. The manuscript portrays Iman Sujana as a *waliyullah* (Allah representative), tracing his lineage back to the apostle of Allah. If, as the Kekancingan letter suggests, Iman Sujana was the great-grandfather of Hamengkubuwana I, then the sanctification of Gunung Kawi Malang through these figures aligns with the broader tradition of Islamic scholarship. Additionally, oral traditions depict Iman Sujana not only as a

spiritual scholar but also as a soldier and mentor to Pangeran Diponegoro, further reinforcing his multifaceted role in both religious and historical narratives.

**Keywords:** Sacredness, Gunung Kawi Malang, Manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana*

### **Abstrak**

*Kesakralan Gunung Kawi Malang sangat erat kaitannya dengan sosok Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) dan R.M Iman Sujana. Penelitian ini mengkaji fenomenologi kesakralan di Gunung Kawi Malang, dengan fokus pada landasan konseptual dan implikasinya. Inti dari penelitian ini adalah naskah Serat Iman Sujana yang ditemukan di Gunung Kawi Malang, yang memberikan wawasan penting tentang kesakralan yang dikaitkan dengan situs tersebut. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologis, penelitian ini menafsirkan lapisan makna sakral yang tertanam di Gunung Kawi Malang, khususnya dalam terang peran historisnya sebagai pusat praktik mistik, termasuk ritual pesugihan. Selain itu, studi literatur naskah Serat Iman Sujana dilakukan untuk memperdalam analisis. Temuan penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa sakralisasi Gunung Kawi Malang secara signifikan dipengaruhi oleh Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) dan R.M Iman Sujana. Keterkaitan antara tokoh-tokoh ini dengan naskah Serat Iman Sujana tercermin dari kehadiran Raden Iman Sujana sebagai tokoh utama, sedangkan Kiai Zakaria II tidak muncul dalam naskah tersebut. Naskah tersebut menggambarkan Iman Sujana sebagai waliyullah (wakil Allah), yang garis keturunannya berasal dari rasul Allah. Jika, seperti yang tersirat dalam surat Kekancingan, Iman Sujana adalah buyut Hamengkubuwana I, maka penyucian Gunung Kawi Malang melalui tokoh-tokoh ini sejalan dengan tradisi keilmuan Islam yang lebih luas. Selain itu, tradisi lisan menggambarkan Iman Sujana tidak hanya sebagai seorang ulama spiritual tetapi juga sebagai seorang prajurit dan mentor bagi Pangeran Diponegoro, yang semakin memperkuat perannya yang beragam dalam narasi keagamaan dan sejarah.*

**Kata Kunci:** Kesakralan, Gunung Kawi Malang, Naskah Serat Iman Sujana

## **Introduction**

Gunung Kawi Malang, East Java, has long been regarded as a mystical mountain where pilgrims seek *pesugihan*, i.e., spiritual rituals aimed at material prosperity. Research by Tashadi (1994) identifies Mount Kawi Malang as both a pilgrimage site and a

destination for spiritual cultural tourism, offering seekers the opportunity to fulfill personal desires. Sulistyorini (2021) further characterizes it as a mystical mountain where visitors engage in *ngalab barokah*—the pursuit of divine blessings. Addressing these phenomena, Hariyanto (2017) argues that the efficacy of Mount Kawi Malang depends on the belief system of its pilgrims; faith in the site's mystical power is essential for their wishes to materialize. Pilgrims perceive Mount Kawi Malang as emanating a mystical-metaphysical aura, particularly relevant to those seeking *pesugihan* for financial gain or other specific purposes.

This perspective underscores that Gunung Kawi Malang is not merely a mystical mountain stereotypically associated with *pesugihan* but a site where tangible ritual activities reinforce its sacred status. Pilgrims adhering to this belief system participate in distinct ritual practices, including: circumambulating the cemetery of Gunung Kawi Malang in odd numbers after 12 p.m. Second, sitting beneath the Dewandaru tree, awaiting the descent of fallen leaves, fruit and branches. This is followed by *nyekar*<sup>1</sup>, or grave visiting and praying for the deceased, and the performance of *slametan*<sup>2</sup>, a ritual of thanksgiving. The ritualization is carried out on specific days, including the night of *Jumat Legi*, *Senin Pahing*, and the night of *Suro*<sup>3</sup>. These ritualizations are fluid and adaptable, varying

---

<sup>1</sup> *Nyekar* The word "sekar" is derived from the Javanese language and translates to "flower." In Javanese culture, the tradition of visiting the graves of ancestors or undertaking a pilgrimage is observed

<sup>2</sup> *Slametan* or *kenduri* A tradition observed by the Javanese people as a means of expressing gratitude to God. The objective is to attain a state of security, tranquility, and blessings in life.

<sup>3</sup> This is the initial month of the Javanese Islamic calendar system, with the corresponding Arabic term being 'asyura'.

according to individual beliefs and objectives, suggesting additional undocumented variations exist among practitioners.

The concept of *pesugihan* is often reduced to the pursuit of material wealth. In the framework of capitalist society, Karl Marx conceptualizes money as a source of alienation, while Émile Durkheim posits that money, despite its versatility, is not a universal solution. This dual representation of power suggests that while money enables human transactions, it may also dominate those who possess it. The practice of *pesugihan* reflects this paradox—pilgrims enter supernatural agreements through intermediaries such as shamans and sacrificial rituals, seeking rapid financial gain. However, as Daeli (2015) warns, money can be destructive, enslaving individuals in an endless cycle of dependency.

From a historical viewpoint, Boomgaard (1993) correlates *pesugihan* with the economic history of Java, tracing its origins to the colonial era and its persistence through periods of economic depression and capitalist expansion. This suggests that *pesugihan* is not merely a mystical practice but an adaptive response to shifting economic structures. A review of *pesugihan*-related literature consistently highlights its function as a means to acquire wealth, status, and popularity, exhibiting regional variations. For instance, Mount Kawi Malang (East Java) is a well-known site for *pesugihan* rituals. Mount Kemukus (Central Java) is known for its distinct forms of supernatural transactions, Sendang Pengilon in Bantul (Yogyakarta) is associated with Nyi Blorong, a legendary figure linked to mystical wealth accumulation. Beyond these sites, numerous additional *pesugihan* practices exist, each carrying

significant risks, including bartering one's life in exchange for supernatural favor (Hamirul, 2022).

The phenomenon of *pesugihan* is not exclusive to Java; it is also observed in other regions. This is pertinent to the research conducted by Australian anthropologist Michael Taussig, published in *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (2010). The research conducted by Michael Taussig focused on the experiences of farmers on the Columbia plantation. On the Columbia plantation, a myth emerged that the farmers could increase their agricultural yields by performing supernatural rituals. Failure to perform these rituals was believed to result in sudden death. Following an exhaustive examination, it was determined that the *pesugihan* practices observed among the Columbia farmers were not, in fact, genuine. The genesis of the *pesugihan* myth can be attributed to social envy between those who were and were not successful in agriculture. Those who were less successful in their agricultural endeavours accused their more successful counterparts of colluding with the supernatural. It can be concluded from Michael Taussig's research that the *pesugihan* phenomenon is a criticism of the increasingly widespread capitalist system. Consequently, the community is rendered powerless, thereby perpetuating the *pesugihan* narratives.

Consequently, there are disparate patterns of thought and perspectives on the concept of *pesugihan* in Colombia and in Java. The approach of foreign researchers is able to move from a focus on the mystical to a focus on the logical. The issue is that the methodological proficiency of foreign researchers must be replicated so that they are not constrained by mystical patterns of

thought. In Java, the mystical can be empirically investigated and found to be imbued with magical and mythical elements. From a psychological perspective, research conducted by Sofia (2009) indicates that *pesugihan* represents an alternative means of survival. Meanwhile, the concept of *pesugihan* in Islam is elucidated in the following manner, as referenced from the online source *tebuireng.online* and the book of *Fiqh 'ala Madzahib al Arba'ah*, juz 5, page 226.

ما يقع باستخدام الشياطين بضرب من التقرب إليهم والاتصال بهم وسأخدامهم  
وتسخيرهم في قضاء المصالح أو إقاع الضرر والأذى بالخلق أو الإتيان بأخبارهم الماضية  
عن طريق اتصاله بالقرين . وهذا أشد أنواع السحر وأخطره : قال تعالى : { ولكن  
الشياطين كفروا يعلمون الناس السحر { وكلما كان الساحر أكثر وأخبث وأشد معادة  
لله ولرسوله صلى الله عليه و سلم ولعباده المؤمنين كان سحره أقوى

This verse narrates that any actions undertaken with the assistance of malevolent entities, whether through direct interaction or indirect means, inevitably result in detrimental consequences. These actions not only inflict harm upon the individual but also have a detrimental impact on others, and often involve the communication of information pertaining to past events through the medium of the Qarin jinn. These practices constitute a subset of more serious forms of magic.

Moreover, the veracity of this assertion is buttressed by the words of the Prophet Muhammad as narrated by Imam Muslim in the following passage.

مَنْ أَتَى عَرَاةً فَسَأَلَهُ عَنْ شَيْءٍ لَمْ تَقْبَلْ صَلَاةً أَرْبَعِينَ لَيْلَةً

"Barang siapa mendatangi peramal lantas dia bertanya kepadanya tentang sesuatu, maka shalatnya selama 40 hari tidak akan diterima." (HR: Muslim)

In relation to above discussion on the practice of *pesugihan* from the perspective of Islam, it can be concluded that *pesugihan* a prohibited act, including the act of associating with Allah SWT, which is tantamount to *shirk*, which represents a significant theological threat. The Qur'an, however, categorizes it as a misguided error, the greatest of major sins and the greatest of crimes (Hamang, 2016) which Allah will not forgive . As elucidated in *Surah An-Nisa*, verse t 116, below:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَنْ يُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ

فَقَدْ ضَلَّ صَلَاةً بَعِيدًا ﴿١١٦﴾

innallâha lâ yaghfiru ay yusyiraka bihî wa yaghfiru mâ dûna dzâlîka limay yasyâ', wa may yusyirik billâhi fa qad dlalla dlalâlam ba'îdâ

Sesungguhnya Allah tidak akan mengampuni (dosa) karena mempersekutukan-Nya (syirik), tetapi Dia mengampuni apa (dosa) yang selain (syirik) itu bagi siapa yang Dia kehendaki. Siapa pun yang mempersekutukan Allah sungguh telah tersesat jauh.

The practice of *pesugihan*, when examined through the lens of Islamic teachings, is unequivocally regarded as *shirk*—the act of associating something as similar to Allah SWT. This is because it challenges the fundamental belief that Allah SWT is the sole provider of sustenance, as outlined in the Quranic concept of Ar-Razzaq. In contrast, within a cultural framework, *pesugihan* is understood as a ritualized process, involving shamanic mediation

### Heritage of Nusantara:

and supernatural entities, with the primary goal of obtaining material wealth, status, and popularity.

From an empirical perspective, *pesugihan* is deeply entwined with the capitalist economic system, contributing to the emergence of *pesugihan* myth narratives. In Java, the practice is often viewed through a mystical lens, emphasizing the ritualistic dimensions of wealth acquisition. This interpretation shapes perceptions of Gunung Kawi Malang, widely regarded as a mystical mountain where people seek *pesugihan*. As Ayu (2015) elucidates, ritualistic activities at Gunung Kawi Malang are embedded in magical-religious practices, conducted by pilgrims as sacred rites.

The socio-religious dynamics of Gunung Kawi Malang are further illustrated through its pilgrim typologies, which can be classified into three major groups: (1) Muslim Pilgrims, who approach the site from an Islamic spiritual perspective, (2) Kejawen Adherents, who integrate Javanese mystical traditions. (3) Tridharma Pilgrims (Chinese tradition), who participate in syncretic religious practices. Observations of ritual activities reveal that despite their diverse spiritual backgrounds, these groups engage in rituals at the same time and place, shaping a unique spatial religious narrative. As Sudardi (2021) notes, this coexistence manifests architecturally through sacred edifices, including: mosques for Islamic pilgrims, Pendapa-style traditional Javanese structures for Kejawen followers, and Chinese temples (*klenteng*) for Tridharma practitioners. The presence of these sacred architectural sites underscores Indonesia's multicultural and multi-religious identity. This is consistent with Fahriani's (2022) study, which highlights Gunung Kawi Malang as

a site of acculturation, blending influences from Islam, Kejawen, and Tridharma traditions.

The socio-religious community of Gunung Kawi Malang is characterised by a complex interplay between diverse religious and spiritual traditions, shaped by the influence of mysticism. Consequently, the religious and spiritual polarisation evident at Gunung Kawi Malang appears to be a form of syncretism. In order to adequately describe the issues pertaining to Gunung Kawi Malang, it is essential to delineate the boundaries between the various religious and spiritual traditions that coexist within this complex socio-religious community. The sanctity of Mount Kawi Malang is substantiated by the presence of two sacred tombs, which are regarded as a conduit for answered prayers. The sacred tombs have been identified from an anthropological perspective as Pasarean Gunung Kawi Malang. The sacred tombs at Gunung Kawi Malang are those of Kiai Zakaria II (Mbah Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana (Sudardi, 2021).

The cult of the holy tomb is not exclusive to Java or Islam; rather, it appears across various religious traditions worldwide. For instance, ancient Egyptian civilization engaged in similar practices, as evidenced by the discovery of mummies—a tradition that dates back approximately 4000 years. Chambert-Loir (2007) explains that the veneration of tombs is often intertwined with saint worship, suggesting that the cult of the tomb is a universal element of human civilization. This tradition transcends religious and national boundaries, emerging as a fundamental aspect of cultural development. The simplicity of the tomb cult at Gunung Kawi Malang reflects a community-driven respect for Kiai Zakaria II

(Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana, affirming the site's sacred significance.

The analysis presented above indicates that the narrative of the cult of the sacredness of the tomb, based on its history, has existed since 4000 BC. This can be seen as a way of how the community honours sacred figures. The sacredness of Mount Kawi Malang is part of a global civilization that is related to the cult of the sacredness of holy tombs. Several studies have explored the sacredness of Gunung Kawi Malang, offering insights into its spiritual, ethnographic, and cultural dimensions. Tashadi et al. (1995) conducted a study commissioned by Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture, focusing on the spiritual culture present at Mount Kawi Malang. Meanwhile, Rahmaniah (2015) contributed an ethnographic analysis of the local Mount Kawi community, examining its traditions and practices. Sulistyorini (2019) expanded this perspective by investigating spiritual and cultural tourism, particularly in relation to Pesarean Kawi Mountain and its associated cultural artifacts.

Despite these existing studies, no prior research has systematically examined the phenomenology of sacredness at Gunung Kawi Malang, leaving a gap that this study seeks to address. Drawing from Eliade's conceptualization of the sacred (Widyaputra, 2021), the phenomenology of sacredness is defined by the distinction between two realms: the everyday world—the profane, representing ordinary human experiences—and the sacred world, a supernatural realm containing extraordinary phenomena that remain deeply ingrained in collective memory and are often experienced instantaneously.

Eliade's explanation finds parallels in Durkheim's sociological perspective, particularly in the social function of sacredness. The

primary distinction between their approaches lies in how societies relate to the sacred and the evolving needs that shape these relationships. In the context of Java, Gunung Kawi Malang's tomb cult exemplifies this dynamic, demonstrating the interconnection between sacred sites and social structures. Eliade further argues that religion emerges from the sacred, making the tangible manifestations of sacred objects integral to spiritual continuity. Koentjaraningrat reinforces this perspective, asserting that sacredness is a core element of spirituality in religious practice.

Thus, the sanctity of Mount Kawi Malang, specifically Pasarean Gunung Kawi, remains inseparable from its material form, as sacred objects must be revered, respected, and ritually maintained (Muhammad, 2013).

This research investigated the phenomenon of sacredness at Mount Kawi Malang, focusing on the figures buried in Pesaren Gunung Kawi Malang, namely Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana. These two individuals hold a central position within the community, being revered as holy and legendary figures. Both served as soldiers and spiritual mentors to Pangeran Diponegoro, further embedding them in Javanese historical and mystical narratives. A comparative analysis was conducted between the sacred significance of these figures and the manuscript of Serat Iman Sujana, discovered at Gunung Kawi Malang. The Serat Iman Sujana manuscript chronicles the life story of Raden Iman Sujana, whose representation bears a striking resemblance to R.M. Iman Sujana, the key historical figure interred at the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery. Moreover, the character of Iman Sujana is referenced in other Javanese texts, including Serat Asmarasupi and Babad

Kroman Gresik. The hypogram of Serat Iman Sujana can further be traced to Serat Menak Amir Hamzah, reinforcing the manuscript's intertextuality within Javanese literary traditions. This study aims to counter existing narratives surrounding pesugihan practices at Gunung Kawi Malang, repositioning the cemetery and its figures within a normalized historical and cultural framework.

## **Methodology**

This study employed a phenomenological approach to analyze the sacredness of Mount Kawi Malang. Phenomenology, as a qualitative research method, allows for an in-depth examination and interpretation of lived experiences, whether of individuals, groups, or broader communities (Moleong, 2019). The core objective of this approach was to understand how individuals perceive and experience sacredness, as well as the meanings they attribute to those experiences. Therefore, this phenomenological research sought knowledge about reality by exploring subjective perspectives on specific phenomena.

Data was collected through interviews and field observations, ensuring direct engagement with lived religious and mystical practices. Once interview and observational data were gathered, narrative analysis was employed to identify patterns and interpret the phenomenon of sacredness at Mount Kawi Malang. In addition to empirical fieldwork, this study incorporated library research, particularly an analysis of the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript, housed at Gunung Kawi Malang. This manuscript offered valuable insight into how sacred figures were represented and legitimized within textual traditions, allowing for a comparative study of the narrative's

alignment with the historical identities of the cemetery's major figures.

The Serat Iman Sujana manuscript centers on the protagonist, Raden Iman Sujana, whose historical and spiritual presence is reflected in his burial at Gunung Kawi Malang. Through phenomenological inquiry, this study aims to deepen our understanding of the relationship between textual narratives, religious symbolism, and the lived sacredness associated with Gunung Kawi Malang.

## **Findings and Discussion**

### **Sacred figure of Pesaren Gunung Kawi Malang**

Study on the literature and the results of interviews depicted that grave of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana are correlated with the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery. Relevant to Hariyanto's (2017) argument that those buried in the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery are Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana. The two figures are central figures who are sacred at Gunung Kawi Malang. Sudardi (2021), explains the origin of the two figures as spiritual teachers or soldiers of Pangeran Diponegoro. According to history, Diponegoro fled from the Dutch after the war and hid in Mount Kawi Malang. So it is logical that the two figures are sacred and visited by many pilgrims for blessings. Below is the burial complex of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana.



Figure 1. The cemetery complex of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana in the Gunung Kawi area of Malang

Results from historical research suggest that the two figures arrived at Gunung Kawi Malang after the Diponegoro War or Java War in 1830. At that time, Pangeran Diponegoro was captured by the Dutch with a cunning tactic. With the capture of Pangeran Diponegoro, his followers fled from the pursuit of the Dutch and spread to various regions under the sign of *sawo kecil*. In the course of its development, oral stories about the followers of Pangeran Diponegoro spread to different regions. To this day, oral stories about the followers of Pangeran Diponegoro continue to be produced. A researcher's perspective on Babad Diponegoro (Carey, 2008) states that Pangeran Diponegoro's followers included 88 people with the title of *kiai*, 36 hajj, 11 sheikhs, 18 religious officials, 15 *kiai-guru* and 3 *nyai*. This data cannot be a definitive reference, there are most likely many more, and shows how large Prince Diponegoro's following was (Sudardi, 2021).

Among the followers of Pangeran Diponegoro were Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana. After the war, Diponegoro fled through Yogyakarta, Sleman, Nganjuk, Bojonegoro and reached Blitar, namely Kesamben subdistrict. Another source mentioned that

the route went through Pati, Begelen, Tuban, Kepanjen Malang and ended in Kesamben Blitar. The two versions of the route travelled both mention that the end of the journey was in Kesamben Blitar. This may have been a strategy to avoid being discovered by the Dutch because of his position as a soldier. Of course, a soldier's vow when losing a war must be what (Hamidi, 2018).

Arriving in Blitar, Diponegoro found himself unexpectedly close to the Dutch duchy. Seeing the unsafe conditions, he moved away from Blitar town to Kesamben sub-district and settled on the banks of the Brantas River in Sonan village. When asked about his origins and identity, he replied '*kulo niki sajugo*', meaning 'I am alone'. *Sajugo* is also interpreted as *nyawiji*, meaning united. He was then called Pak Sayugo or Pak Jugo. He is now known as Eyang Jugo or Mbah Jugo, and is buried at Gunung Kawi Malang. Some aliases of Kiai Zakaria II are Raden Mas Soerjokoesoemo alias Raden Mas Kromodirejo alias Eyang Djoego. While R.M. Iman Soedjana cleared the forest at Gununga Kawi with local people in 1871 (Tashadi, 1995).



Figure 2. *Pesanggrahan* Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) in Kesamben Blitar

Mbah Djoego's real name is Kiai Zakaria II, whose lineage goes back to Sampeyan Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Kanjeng Susuhunan Paku Buwana I (Pangeran Puger), who ruled the Mataram palace from 1705-1719. The son of Bendoro Pangeran Haryo (BPH) Diponegoro then had a son, Kanjeng Kyai Zakaria I, a great scholar of the Kartasura palace. His son was Raden Mas Soeryokoesoemo or Raden Mas Soeryodiatmodjo. Kanjeng Susuhunan Paku Buwana II, Raden Mas Soeryo Koesoemo changed his name according to 'Peparing Dalem Asmo' (name given by Susuhan), semi-subordinate of his father, to Kanjeng Kyai Zakaria II. Thus, Raden Mas Soeryo Koesoemo or Raden Mas Soeryodiatmodjo was Kanjeng Kyai Zakaria II (Hariyanto, 2017).

The genealogy of R.M. Iman Sujana is found in the letter of *kekancingan* from Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace number 4753, dated 23 June 1964. The letter belongs to Asni Nitirejo, the granddaughter of R.M. Iman Sujana. He is descended from Ngarso Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Inggang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, who ruled Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace from 1755 - 1792. As a child he was called Bendara Raden Mas Soedjono. His wife was Raden Ayu Doyo Amoro, son of Bendara Pangeran Aryo Kanjeng Raden Ayu Tumenggung Notodipo. R.M. Iman Sujana was the son of Kanjeng Raden Ayu Notodipo. Thus, the two figures buried at Gunung Kawi are descendants of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Surakarta Hadiningrat Sunanates. Both figures were nobles as well as scholars who were spiritual teachers of Pangeran Diponegoro and became the central figures of Gunung Kawi Malang (Tashadi, 1995). Below is the genealogical description of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M. Iman Sujana in front of the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery complex.



connection between Raden Iman Sujana and Kiai Zakaria II and Prince Diponegoro. Below is the manuscript of Serat Iman Sujana found at Gunung Kawi Malang.



Figure 4. Screenshot of the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript found at Gunung Kawi Malang

The end of the Java War on 28 March 1830 had various socio-cultural, economic and political consequences. Javanese cultural perspectives continued through oral tradition. The impact on Pangeran Diponegoro is told through oral tradition. The impact is that the followers of Pangeran Diponegoro are separated from each other and go to different places (Sudardi & Sulistyorini, 2021). Thus, the aftermath of the Diponegoro War gave rise to oral traditions, one of which is the legendary story of Pangeran Diponegoro's followers buried at Gunung Kawi Malang. The problem is that the oral stories of Pangeran Diponegoro's followers are still preserved in Javanese society today. Based on the results of the analysis, it is assumed that the figures buried at Gunung Kawi Malang, Raden Iman Sujana and Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego), represent an Islamic identity.

In the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript, the main character is Raden Iman Sujana. Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) is not mentioned in the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript. The figure of Raden Iman Sujana in the SIS manuscript is interpreted as a Waliyullah descendant of the Apostleullah from the country of Ngesam. His father was Sayyid Abdullah, the king of Ngesam, and his mother was Dewi Sari Wulan, the daughter of Baghdad. Raden Iman Sujana is constructed as an Islamic hero who conquered pagan lands. Other information related to the character of Raden Iman Sujana is also mentioned in the *Serat Asmarasupi* manuscript. *Serat Asmarasupi* tells the story of King Bandaralim's heroic journey to find medicine for Princess Purbaningsih of Ngesam.

During his travels, King Bandaralim used other names such as Raden Arya Jayengtilam, Jayengsari, Jayengperang, Raden Sunu, Raden Mantri, Raden Asmarabrangti, Raden Arya Kusuma, Imam Suwangsa or Iman Sujana. *Serat Asmarasupi* is a popular text in the tradition of copying Peisisir manuscripts along with other Islamic romance texts such as *Menak*, *Anbiya* and *Yusup*. Thus, the name Raden Iman Sujana is another name for the king of Bandaralim. In another statement, the manuscript coterminous with *Serat Asmarasupi* is called *Serat Iman Sujana*. On the other hand, the name Raden Iman Sujana is also mentioned in the manuscript *Wacan Sindujoyo Babad Kroman Gresik*, written in 1778 Saka or 1856 AD. The manuscript tells the story of Kiai Sindujoyo, who became close friends with Iman Sujana when he was a student of Sunan Prapen, the grandson of Sunan Giri.

Sunan Giri was a member of the Walisanga and the founder of Giri Kedaton in 1487 AD. Sunan Prapen, the successor of Sunan Giri, became king in 1548-1605 AD. After Sunan Prapen, his successor no longer used the title Sunan but the title Panembahan. Sunan is a title for the king who ruled in Giri Kedaton. The problem of not using the title Sunan was related to the political interference of the Pajang kingdom. The use of the title Panembahan diminished the existence of the authority of Giri Kedaton. Giri Kedaton played an important role in the process of spreading Islam in East Java during the time of Sunan Giri, and was very popular among Islamic intellectuals, so he had many santri throughout the archipelago.

One of Sunan Giri's works was the creation of a *Macapat* song, the *Asmaradana* song. *Tembang Asmaradana* became a characteristic and a sign or symbol referring to Sunan Giri. Some researchers call it the Sunan Giri genre or *Langgam*. The importance of Sunan Giri's position can also be seen in the articulation of wayang with the *othak-athik mathuk* approach. Wayang is *ringgit*, which means that Sunan Giri *sing nganggit*, which means that Sunan Giri made the puppets. Sunan Kalijaga, in constructing the puppet character, the leader of the gods, Bethara Guru, named it Sang Hyang Girinata. The intention is to refer to Sunan Giri who organised the correlation with Sunan Giri's leadership as king in Giri Kedaton. Bethara Guru is a symbol in Hinduism with the name Sang Hyang Girinata to change the position of Hinduism with Islam.

Its correlation with the Javanese Islamic literature of Sunan Giri, which is used to write manggala, occupies an important position. By placing the song asmaradana at the beginning of the first pupuh of a manuscript as a characteristic of the Sunan Giri school. *Tembang*

asmaradana is constructed as a macapat song with a special character, namely mahabbah or love. The meaning is true love, namely love for Allah, prophets and messengers, family and friends. In the Islamic texts, the majority of the first pupuhs praise God, prophets and messengers, family and friends. The first pupuh of *Sêrat Iman Sujâna* begins with the song Asmaradana. Like the Babad Demak Pesisiran, the generalisation is in the Sunan Giri school (Suripan, 1984). Thus, the name Iman Sujana, the character characterised, dates back to the time of Sunan Prapen 1548-1605.

Based on the above analysis, the existence of the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript found in Gunung Kawi Malang has similarities. The location of the similarity is in the main character with the one buried in the cemetery of Gunung Kawi Malang, namely Raden Iman Sujana. It is believed that the figure of Raden Iman Sujana is a legendary figure that has existed since the time of Sunan Prapen, the successor of Sunan Giri, a member of the Walisanga, as well as the king of Giri Kedaton. Raden Iman Sujana was thus an important figure in the spread of Islam in Java. Iman Sujana's name is also mentioned in the manuscripts *Serat Asmarasupi* and *Wacan Sindujoyo Babad Kroman Gresik*, written in 1778 Saka or 1856 AD. Meanwhile, the difference is that the genealogy of Raden Iman Sujana between the information in the manuscript is different from the information in reality as in Tashadi's research (1995). This indicates that there is a relationship between the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* and the tomb at Gunung Kawi Malang.

The above problems show that there is a relationship between the manuscript *Serat Iman Sujana* and the figures in the cemetery of Gunung Kawi Malang. The relationship is symbolic, based on

identification, reinforced by the phrases of the *Sabil* war and the *Kafir* language. As explained in the text of the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* pupuh 2 *tembang sinom* below:

*Lahta patih undangan/ sekehe kang para dipati/ payo padha  
mungsu ing yuda/ maring ing Tertos nagari/ **aprang sabil**  
kelawan **kafir**/ ki patih nembah wus mundur/ prapteng paseban  
jaba/ nembang tengara gong beri/ sampun kumpul para dipati  
lan satriya/*

Translation:

O patih invite as many dukes as possible, immediately fight the enemy on the battlefield, in the land of Tertos, sabil war with the kafirs, ki patih worship has retreated, already in the outer paseban, singing tengara gong beri, already gathered the dukes and satriya.

The phrase sabil war is taken from the phrase jihad fi sabilillah, which refers to war against enemies considered hostile to Islam. The terminology of jihad in Islam is not an order to kill or threaten the lives of others, namely non-Muslims. The articulation of jihad in Islam is an order to struggle and fight against infidels who insult and are hostile to Islam (Fatih, 2019). The articulation of jihad is not as articulated by jihadists or leftist Islamic groups, which leads to violence, threatens the lives of others, and gives rise to radicalism and theism. Thus, the concept of jihad is an Islamic concept articulated by the Javanese as sabil war. The purpose of sabil war is to fight the infidels, in this position the infidels are the Dutch in Javanese Walanda. Meanwhile, the term sabil is used for people who die fighting in the way of Allah in the Islamic context of martyrdom (Sudardi & Sulistyorini, 2021).

Historically, in Javanese history, the Sabil War refers to the war against the Kopar or infidels, namely the Dutch in the Diponegoro War of 1825-1830. The Diponegoro War was the biggest war in Java and its figure was Pangeran Diponegoro. The problem also happened to the people of Aceh during the war against the Dutch in 1873. The heroic story was written in a literary work in the form of a hikayat, the hikayat Perang Sabil (Abdullah, 2000). Thus, the jihad articulated in Perang Sabil in Java is a call to fight against infidels who harm Islam, the nation and the Indonesian state. At present, it is irrelevant because in a state of peace, no one is hostile and threatening to Islam.

### **Significance of Figures in *Serat Iman Sujana* Manuscript with Figures in Pesarean Gunung Kawi Malang**

The preceding analysis indicates a significant correlation between the characters depicted in the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* and those represented in the cemetery of Gunung Kawi Malang. The significance of the characters in the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* can be defined as a symbolic relationship and a relationship of mutual influence. These findings have implications for the research conducted by Bani Sudardi and Dwi Sulistyorini (2021), who examined *Babad Diponegoro* and the origins of the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery. His research established a correlation between the *Babad Diponegoro* and the adherents of Pangeran Diponegoro in the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery. The findings of his research demonstrated the significance of the relationship between *Babad Diponegoro* and the figures at Gunung Kawi Malang. In the research conducted by Bani Sudardi and Dwi Sulistyorini (2021), the figure of Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) is identified in *Babad*

*Diponegoro*. In the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana*, the author is identified as R.M. Iman Sujana. Both figures are interred in the Gunung Malang cemetery. Therefore, the text can be considered a contextual backdrop to the events that transpired at the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery, which featured characters involved in the Diponegoro War.

The research conducted by Bani Sudardi and Dwi Sulistyorini (2021) reveals a notable shift from written tradition to oral tradition. In its earliest form, the narrative of Pangeran Diponegoro was transmitted orally in the form of a babad, a type of historical text. Following the Diponegoro War in 1830, the tradition underwent a shift towards oral transmission. Consequently, the narrative of Pangeran Diponegoro and his supporters is still conveyed orally in the present day. The research of Bani Sudardi and Dwi Sulistyorini (2021) posits that the followers of Pangeran Diponegoro in Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery serve as emblematic figures of Islamic identity. The issue thus becomes one of establishing the veracity of the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* as evidence that the character Iman Sujana is an Islamic scholar. The historical figure is identified as a follower, soldier and even spiritual teacher of Pangeran Diponegoro.

In light of the aforementioned analysis, it can be posited that the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript and the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery bear witness to a symbolic relationship and mutual influence. The relationship between the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript and the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery is substantiated by the resemblance of the character Iman Sujana. In the manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana*, Raden Iman Sujana is depicted as the central

figure engaged in a battle with a pagan kingdom, resulting in the conquest of the pagan kingdom and the subsequent dissemination and preservation of Islam. The manuscript of *Serat Iman Sujana* serves as a symbol of the existence of Raden Iman Sujana as a figure who fought in the Java War. In the *Serat Iman Sujana* manuscript, Raden Iman Sujana is presented as a waliyullah, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.

*Pan turune nabi Muhammad kang sinelir/ turun waliyullah/  
putune sultan Ngabdul Qodir/ westane Iman Sujana/*

Translation:

He was the descendant of the esteemed prophet Muhammad (Allah), a direct descendant of Waliyullah, and the grandson of Sultan Qodir. He was named Iman Sujana.

The discrepancy between the Surat Kekancingan and the inscription at the Gunung Kawi Malang cemetery complex presents a significant challenge in determining the genealogy of Raden Iman Sujana. According to the inscription, Raden Iman Sujana is identified as the son of Kanjeng Raden Ayu Notodipo and the great-grandfather of Hamengkubuwana I. However, conflicting accounts have led to uncertainty regarding his historical identity, sparking debates among scholars about the true lineage of Iman Sujana. In response to these discrepancies, researchers turn to Javanese cultural symbolism, where the figure of Iman Sujana is elevated as a descendant of the Prophet, portrayed as a *waliyullah*—a revered spiritual figure. This issue highlights an authorial attempt to legitimize Raden Iman Sujana's character, reflecting genealogical politics within the context of Islamic legitimacy. The construction of his genealogy serves as an ideological tool, reinforcing historical

narratives that resonate with existing societal beliefs and expectations. As a result, the public is more inclined to accept historical interpretations that align with familiar religious and cultural frameworks, further shaping the discourse surrounding Gunung Kawi Malang's sacredness.

## **Conclusion**

This study findings suggest a new conceptual framework for understanding the sacredness of Mount Kawi Malang—one that moves beyond magical-mystical interpretations and embraces a more nuanced, empirically grounded perspective. Western researchers, for instance, have demonstrated the ability to substantiate claims often perceived as mystical with empirical evidence. To advance the empiricization of narratives surrounding pesugihan, it is essential to examine the broader role of mystical mountains like Mount Kawi Malang.

The sacred status of Mount Kawi Malang is upheld by two key historical figures: Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) and R.M Iman Sujana. From an anthropological perspective, these figures hold central significance, as they are deeply embedded within the identity of Gunung Kawi Malang. Oral tradition portrays them not only as sacred entities but also as soldiers and spiritual mentors to Pangeran Diponegoro. However, while the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript acknowledges R.M Iman Sujana, it notably omits Kiai Zakaria II (Eyang Djoego) despite his prominence in oral narratives.

The depiction of Kiai Zakaria II in the Babad Diponegoro manuscript, as analyzed by Bani Sudardi and Dwi Sulistyori (2021), offers additional historical insights. Meanwhile, the Serat Iman

Sujana manuscript presents R.M Iman Sujana as a waliyullah, tracing his lineage to the apostle of Allah. This figure is also referenced in the Serat Asmarasupi and Babad Kroman Gresik manuscripts.

Notably, an analysis of the Serat Iman Sujana manuscript reveals inconsistencies in genealogy when compared to the Serat Kekancingan. According to the Serat Kekancingan, R.M Iman Sujana was the son of Kanjeng Raden Ayu Notodipo and the great-grandson of Hamengkubuwana I. Given this discrepancy, it becomes evident that R.M Iman Sujana is largely a legendary figure, contributing to his sacralization at the Gunung Kawi temple in Malang. However, the assumed correlation between his historical identity and the sacredness of Gunung Kawi remains problematic and requires further scrutiny.

## References

- Abdullah, I. T. (2000). Ulama dan Hikayat Perang Sabil dalam Perang B Landa di Aceh. *Humaniora*, 12(3), 239-252. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.696>
- Ayu, D. (2015). Aktivitas Ritual Pembentuk Teritori Ruang pada Pesarean Gunung Kawi Kabupaten Malang. *NALARS*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.24853/nalars.14.1.%25p>
- Boomgaard, P. (1993). The development of colonial health care in Java; An exploratory introduction. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde*, (1ste Afl), 77-93.
- Carey, P. (2008). *The power of prophecy; Prince Dipanagara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785-1855* (p. 970). Brill.
- Chambert-Loir, H., & Guillot, C. (2007). *Ziarah dan wali di dunia Islam*. Penerbit Serambi.

- Daeli, O. O. (2015). Pesugihan: Hubungan Uang dan Mistik dalam Perspektif Antropologis. *Extension Course Filsafat (ECF)*, (1). <https://doi.org/10.26593/ecf.v0i1.1984.%25p>
- Fahriani, D. K., & Setyawan, B. W. (2022). Akulturasi Budaya Islam, Jawa dan Tionghoa di Pesarean Gunung Kawi Kabupaten Malang. *Sumbula: Jurnal Studi Keagamaan, Sosial dan Budaya*, 7(1), 180-188. <https://doi.org/10.32492/sumbula.v7i1.4878>
- Fatih, M. K. (2019). Menepis Wacana Jihad Masa Kini. *Alamtara: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Penyiaran Islam*, 3(1), 44-55.
- Hariyanto, B. (2017). Potret Keberagaman dan Kearifan Lokal di Gunung Kawi. *Thaqafiyat: Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban dan Informasi Islam*, 18(2), 172-185). DOI:[10.13140/RG.2.2.33794.12485](https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.33794.12485)
- Hamang, M. N. (2016). Sirik dan Wasilah dalam Al-qur'an sebuah Kajian Syar'iyah Berdasarkan Metode Tafsir Maudhu'i. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, 1(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.30984/as.v1i1.189>
- Hamidi, J., Subratayuda, M. G., & Falah, M. F. (2018). The role of cultural aspect of Pesarean on the regulation formation in Wonosari Village of Gunung Kawi. *Sociological Jurisprudence Journal*, 1(1), 14-18. <https://doi.org/10.22225/scj.1.1.427.14-18>
- Hamirul, H., Al Hidayat, N., Elsyra, N., Sunaryo, J., Permana, I., & Pratiwi, W. (2022). Pesugihan Ala Nyi Blorong Masa Kini (Studi Pada Group Telegram Dukun Pesugihan Tanpa Tumbal). *Jisos: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 1(8), 839-852.
- Maharani, R., & Jauhari, N. (2024). Relevansi Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Kirab Sesaji di Desa Wonosari Gunung Kawi pada Pembelajaran Sejarah Kurikulum merdeka. *Cetta: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, 7(1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.37329/cetta.v7i1.2972>
- Muhammad, N. (2013). Memahami konsep sakral dan profan dalam agama-agama. *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 15(2), 266-278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v15i2.4900>

- Moleong, L. J. (2019). Moleong,” Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Edisi Revisi”. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya. PT. Remaja Rosda Karya.
- Rahmaniah, A. (2015). Etnografi Masyarakat Gunung Kawi Kabupaten Malang. <https://doi.org/10.18860/jpips.v2i2.6846>
- Rohmah, N. B., & Rejo, U. (2024). Kajian Filologi dan Kearifan Budaya Lokal dalam Teks Manuskrip Keislaman Layang Iman Sujana Koleksi Anut Ekowiyono. *SEMIOTIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Sastra dan Linguistik*, 25(1), 165-186. <https://doi.org/10.19184/semiotika.v25i1.43815>
- Rohmah, N. B., Awalın, F. R. N., & Rejo, U. (2023). EXAMINING ISLAMIC TEXTS ON THE SLOPE OF MOUNT KAWI, MALANG, EAST JAVA. *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 11(1), 81-108. <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2023.11.1.81-108>
- Sofia, N. (2009). *Psikoetnografi pelaku pesugihan* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada).
- Sudardi, B., & Sulistyorini, D. (2021). Babad Diponegoro dan Asal-Usul Pasarean Gunung Kawi [The Chronicle of Diponegoro and the Origins of the Pasarean Gunung Kawi]. *Indonesian Language Education and Literature*, 6(2), 161-174. DOI: [10.24235/ileal.v6i2.7475](https://doi.org/10.24235/ileal.v6i2.7475)
- Suripan Sadi Hutomo, S. S. H., E Yono Hudiyono, E., Tontowi Djamaludin, T. D., & Hari Astuti, H. A. (1984). Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Babad Demak Pesisiran (1984).
- Sulistyorini, D. (2021). Mistisisme Islam-Jawa dalam ritual haul RM Iman Soedjono di pasarean Gunung Kawi. *Kejawen*, 1(1), 26-36. DOI: [10.21831/kejawen.v1i1.40113](https://doi.org/10.21831/kejawen.v1i1.40113)
- Sulistyorini, D., Yannuar, N., Anggriani, S. D., Widiati, U., & Wijayati, P. H. (2021, November). The Structure and Functions of Prayers during Ngalab Berkah Ritual at Pasarean Gunung Kawi. In *The Fifth International Conference on Language, Literature, Culture, and Education (ICOLLITE 2021)* (pp. 240-247). Atlantis Press.

The Sacred Phenomenology of Mount Kawi Cemetery.....

Tashadi, T., Murniatmo, G., & Sumantarsih, S. (1994). *Budaya Spiritual Dalam Situs Keramat Di Gunung Kawi Jawa Timur*.

Taussig, M. T. (2010). *The devil and commodity fetishism in South America*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Widyaputra, B. (2021). “Yang Sakral” dalam Pemikiran Mircea Eliade. *Dekonstruksi*, 2(01), 81-90.

### **Websites**

Karomi, Z. (2016). Bagaimana Islam Memandang Pesugihan?  
<https://tebuireng.online/bagaimana-islam-memandang-pesugihan/>

<https://quran.nu.or.id/an-nisa/116>