

GUNUNG KAWI SITE: AN INTERMEDIARY TO GET RICH

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Abstrak: Pilgrimage is one of the cultures inherent in Javanese society. Javanese people make pilgrimages to local sites with the aim of praying through "pious people" that their dreams will come true. Some sites are identical with a specific purpose, such as Ratu Ayu's tomb in Pasuruan which is popular for pilgrims who want to find a husband or wife. Nyai Ageng Bagelen Petilasan site for pilgrims who want to get children, and the Gunung Kawi site for pilgrims who want wealth. Pilgrims perform a ritual in front of the graves of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono with the aim that their wishes will be granted immediately. Some Gunung Kawi pilgrims also believe that the Dewandaru tree which is located in front of the tomb pavilion can bring good luck. The purpose of this study is to describe the activities and purposes of pilgrimage to the Gunung Kawi site, which is specifically an intermediary site for obtaining wealth. The result of this research is mostly, Gunung Kawi's pilgrims aim to get wealth with doing some rituals and praying through the saints namely Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono. Besides that, many pilgrims believe that the leaves of Dewandaru Tree can bring lucky to their lives. This research specifically emphasizes "wealth purpose" of pilgrims. The research method used is descriptive qualitative method with documentation technique for data collection. The instruments used in this research were observation and interview.

Keywords: Pilgrimage, Gunung Kawi Site, Wealth

INTRODUCTION

The ritual of visiting the graves of figures who are respected and considered sacred is a magical religious activity that has existed since the time when humans adhered to animism and dynamism beliefs. The activity of pilgrimage or visiting sacred tombs has become a community tradition until now (ayu et al: 2015). The tradition of grave pilgrimage is a tradition that has been carried out for generations by almost all Indonesian people. People in general will feel calmer when doing tradition or something that is considered right. Grave pilgrimage is closely related to a person's beliefs or beliefs about rituals or myths that become an integral part of the grave pilgrimage tradition. Belief in traditions, rituals, or myths has a high influence on people's decision to make a pilgrimage (yunikasari: no year).

Some pilgrimage sites are identified with a specific purpose. For example, the Nyi Ageng Bagelen site is located 60 kilometres west of Yogyakarta. This site is identified with the desire of pilgrims who want to have offspring (quinn, 2019:14). The tomb of Ratu Ayu or Syarifah Khadijah located in Pasuruan city, East Java, is also believed by pilgrims that Ratu Ayu has the power to bring mates closer. Therefore, many pilgrims from young people, both men and women, come to the tomb of Ratu Ayu in the hope of immediately getting a partner (ali: 2021). So is the Gunung Kawi site, where this site is identified with a place of worship to carry out spiritual activities to gain wealth (setiawan: 2022).

Gunung Kawi is one of the sacred places. The tombs located at the Gunung Kawi site are the tombs of Mbah Djoego and Mbah Kromoredjo which have existed since 1871. Mbah Djoego was one of Prince Diponegoro's commanders whose original name was Zakaria. Zakaria was the great-grandfather of Paku Buwana I (Kartasura Palace, west of Solo). When Prince

Diponegoro was arrested, Zakaria fled to Sanan Village, Kesamben District, Blitar. To lose track, he changed his name to Djoego. Then he was known as a powerful Kiai. Besides Mbah Djoego, there was another commander who also arrived in Sanan Village, named Iman Soejono. He was the great-grandfather of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I (Sultan of Islamic Mataram, Yogyakarta). There he also changed his name to Kromoredjo (Tempo, 2019:19-20). But the Chinese believe that Eyang Djoego came to Java from China, so many Chinese devotees come. Some are already rich and the others will surely become rich. Gunung Kawi, which does not consider differences in religion and ethnicity, nor differences in wealth, is increasingly famous and invites many pilgrims. According to the site guidebook, many foreigners make pilgrimages to Gunung Kawi including Singapore, Malaysia, China, Taiwan, India, the United States, the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Japan, Australia, Canada, Suriname, the Netherlands, Germany, Zanzibar, and several Middle Eastern countries (Quinn, 2019: 365-371).

Literature Review

Fahriani and Setyawan (2022) in their article “Akulturasi Budaya Islam, Jawa dan Tionghoa di Pesarean Gunung Kawi Kabupaten Malang”, describe acculturation between Islamic, Javanese, and Chinese cultures seen in buildings around tombs in Gunung Kawi site. There is combination among Java style, Islamic style, and Chinese style in building. This article also emphasized three different cultures that are approved and respected by pilgrims and villagers.

Sulistiyorini (2021) in her article “Mistisisme Islam-Jawa Dalam Ritual Haul R.M. Iman Soedjono Di Pesarean Gunung Kawi” attempts to show and describe mysticism especially in haul (celebrating the death of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono). Pilgrims will do some rituals in that activity which is considered as a part of ngalap berkah. Rituals done by pilgrims are believed to bring good luck in life and grant their wishes. This ritual is inseparable from the social and cultural functions that have been passed down by the ancestors, namely togetherness, mutual cooperation, mutual respect and tolerance among people. In this case, it reflects that ritual is a social phenomenon that influences, complements, and establishes a sense of unity in togetherness to achieve one goal.

Syafi'i (2018) in his article “Ritual Pesarean Gunung Kawi: Perspektif Fiqih Sosial dan Tasawuf”, wants to make comparison and reconcile between Gunung Kawi pilgrimage rituals and perspective of social law (fiqh) and sufism (tasawuf). The result of this research is that in the view of social Fiqh and Sufism regarding the phenomenon of the Gunung Kawi pilgrimage rituals, many of the ritual activities there have had a positive impact on the social and economic life of the community. Whereas in the eyes of Sufism the existing rituals are still in the corridor of worshipping Allah, even though there are various activities one must be careful in the intention must remain to serve Allah.

Sulistiyorini et al (2021) in their article “The Structure and Functions of Prayers during Ngalab Berkah Ritual at Pesarean Gunung Kawi” try to explain the ways of pilgrims in praying at Gunung Kawi site. Pilgrims will pray with ethics code and special sentences. There are three parts of prayer, opening prayer, core prayer, and closing prayer. Prayer activities will be accompanied by the caretaker, he also reads the wishes of the pilgrims. There are two functions of prayers in ngalap berkah namely individual function and social function. Individual function means that each pilgrim has his own wishes and by praying they will satisfy their instincts related to their personal life. After their wishes are granted, they will come back to the Gunung Kawi site to do selamatan. Selamatan means giving foods as a thanksgiving because of attainment in life through the two saints Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono. This selamatan will create togetherness and social interactions.

Based on previous works, there is no article focused on the popularity of Gunung Kawi Site as a favorite place of pilgrims who want to be rich.

METHOD

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative method. According to Siyoto and Sodik (2015: 28), the qualitative research method is also a research method that places more emphasis on the in-depth understanding of a problem rather than looking at problems for generalization research. This research method prefers to use in-depth analysis techniques, namely examining problems on a case-by-case basis because the qualitative methodology believes that the nature of one problem will be different from the nature of other problems. While descriptive statistics are analyzing data by describing or describing the data that has been collected.

Sources of data used in this study were written documents that were examined by researchers. As for data collection techniques, researchers use documentation techniques in which researchers search for data through notes, research results, books, and written news. The research instrument used in this research was the researcher himself, as well as observing the Gunung Kawi Site and conducting interviews with one of the caretaker families and the tour guide who is also a local resident. These activities were conducted on February 18, 2023. Observation is as focusing attention on an object by involving all the senses to get data. Interviews are a form of dialogue conducted by researchers to obtain information from respondents called interviews (Siyoto and Sodik, 2015: 80-81). There were two source persons interviewed by the author, the first one is Joko (pseudonym) as one of caretaker's family member, and Mr. Katin as local villager and tour guide.

Location Of Gunung Kawi Site

The site is located in Wonosari, Kebobang village, Ngajum sub-district, about 45 kilometres southwest of Malang. The Gunung Kawi cemetery is located 800 m above sea level. To reach it, pilgrims have to climb 750 m of stairs with a slope of about 450. The air in the tomb area is cold. The tomb area is about 10 ha (Tempo, 2019:15). Wonosari, the name of the location of the Gunung Kawi site comes from the words Wono which means forest, and Sari which means core. For local residents, Wonosari means the centre or place to bring sustenance (Rahmaniah: 2019). In 2002, Wonosari Village was given the nickname "Gunung Kawi Ritual Tourism Village". This nickname was given because of the development of Gunung Kawi ritual tourism accompanied by a variety of religious cultures. Because of the large number of pilgrims who come, the local population has gained new livelihoods in the form of entrepreneurship related to religious tourism. Generally, Wonosari villagers work as farmers. At the entrance gate of the village, several people guard the post and charge tourists who enter the village road Rp. 3000.

The community around Gunung Kawi sits is still thick with tradition and culture. Javanese people believe that tradition and culture can strengthen unity. Pesarean Gunung Kawi shows a beautiful cultural acculturation between Islam, Java and China. On top of the Gunung Kawi Pesarean complex, there are three buildings that symbolise each faith. There is a mosque, a temple, and a Javanese traditional house (Fahriani and Setyawan: 2022).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Pilgrimage Activities

Broadly speaking, pilgrims who come to Gunung Kawi are classified into 3 groups, namely Muslim, Kejawan, and Tridharma (Ayu et al: 2015). Generally, visitors who come for pilgrimage to Gunung Kawi are Muslims. But there are also visitors who come from other religions or beliefs such as the Chinese. For Chinese pilgrims, there is a temple in which there is a Siamsi that is used to predict the future. For Muslim pilgrims, praying to ancestors and saints is a must. They usually recite tahlil when making a pilgrimage to Mount Kawi. There are three main aspects that are done when praying at the tomb. The first is the opening which is

an activity to start the pilgrimage ritual, for example sending Al-Fatihah to the spirits of ancestors and saints. The second stage is the content, where pilgrims read prayers taken from the Qur'an such as Surat Yaasin. The last is closing, which is usually done by praying with the words or dzikir taught by teachers or kyai (Hariyanto: 2017).

Pilgrims who are from the Tridharma group can ask one of the caretakers to help them pray by stating their wishes. The prayers led by the caretaker are still done in an Islamic manner. The caretaker reads the prayer preceded by basmalah, hamdalah, then the prayer in Arabic. After that the caretaker will read the pilgrim's wish out loud. A Tridharma pilgrim met during observation had several wishes read by a Muslim caretaker. Among them are that their stationery store and office business be given smooth sustenance, pray for safety for family members who are in Australia, and that their children immediately get a mate.

First-time pilgrims can ask for help from local residents who usually offer themselves as tour guides. Pilgrims will first be escorted to the home of a caretaker to explain some of the procedures and provide items that must be brought to the tomb as offerings and amulets. The caretaker emphasizes that the rituals performed at the Gunung Kawi site are not related to black magic and do not violate religious rules. Pilgrims will be asked by the caretaker about what they want clearly without needing to be covered up and asked to write it down on a red paper which is then glued to a paper bundle containing incense to be carried when performing pilgrimage rituals. In addition to being given packets containing incense and flowers, pilgrims are given jerry cans to collect water from the well on the east side of the tomb room. According to Mr. Katin, this well water is believed to be able to cure people affected by illness.

After the pilgrims get an explanation and the items to be brought to the tomb, the pilgrims are invited to perform the pilgrimage ritual at the tomb according to their respective religions. Before starting the ritual, pilgrims give money glued in a bundle containing flowers to be donated to the caretaker who is on guard in front of the tomb. The amount of money donated is up to the pilgrim, but according to Mr. Katin, the minimum amount of money is Rp. 5000. Then the pilgrimage and prayer rituals are performed. After completing the ritual, pilgrims get back two bundles containing incense and flowers, and are escorted to the caretaker's house for payment. This payment is considered a dowry for the bundle of incense that serves as an amulet, as well as roses that can be mixed with water as medicinal water that is believed to cure diseases.

In addition to the activities carried out every regular pilgrimage, there are also routine events held at Pesarean Gunung Kawi, such as the commemoration of the night of one Suro, the commemoration of the Haul of Eyang Iman Soedjono, the anniversary of the death of Eyang Djoego, and selamatan. The commemoration of the night of Suro or the 1st of Muharram is the most crowded. Pesarean will be crowded with pilgrims from the night of 1 Muharram until the next day on 12 Muharram. In addition, the night of Friday Legi is also a time when many pilgrims come to the grave site. In addition to Muslim pilgrims, non-Muslim pilgrims also visit the grave site on certain days such as Christmas Eve, Chinese New Year, and weekends (Syafi'i: 2018).

The routine Malam 1 Suro event is held from the night of 1 Suro until the afternoon of 1 Suro. Suro is a Javanese from Muharram, the first month in hijriya calendar. This commemoration consists of several rituals performed by Muslim, Kejawan, and Tridharma groups. These rituals are performed in a special room. There are also rituals performed in the open such as shadow puppet shows held in the front yard of the hermitage, the opening of the carnival at the Wonosari Village terminal, and the burning of sangkala in the development area of the Gunung Kawi cemetery. Meanwhile, the regular Haul Iman Soedjono event is held on every 12th of Suro. The rituals performed on this date are dominated by the Kejawan group. Usually the activities carried out are the distribution of angpao, preparation, kirab departure, laying offerings, praying, pilgrimage, and added recitation if the Muslim group is doing it. The

distribution of angpao aims to share blessings and give alms (Sulistyorini: 2021). The commemoration of Eyang Djoego's death is done every Monday Pahing night in the Javanese calendar. The rituals include praying together, distribution of rice, procession, and honouring the spirits of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soedjono. In addition to the commemoration of the day of his death, there is also a commemoration of the day of Eyang Djoego's burial which is held every night of Friday Legi. However, there is no special ritual for this commemoration, so each pilgrim has their own ritual. The last one is the ritual of salvation performed by pilgrims who have a wish or vow. The time of the ritual is three times a day as determined by the management of the cemetery. Selamatan rituals can be held at the Great Hall and Padepokan Iman Soedjono depending on the pilgrims who have a wish (Ayu et al: 2015).

There are pilgrimage procedures set for pilgrims who come to the Gunung Kawi site, the first of which is that pilgrims must be clean physically and mentally. This means that visitors must wash their hair first and dress neatly and politely. In addition, pilgrims must be clean from bad intentions. The second adab is that pilgrims who enter the hall of the tomb of Eyang Djoego or Iman Soedjono must remove their footwear with the aim of keeping the tomb area clean. Third, pilgrims who need flowers to sprinkle on the tomb can buy them at several places around the tomb. Fourth, after the pilgrims enter the cemetery, they give the flowers to the caretaker of the tomb and are invited to pray (Syarifudin: 2011).

AIMS of Pilgrimage

According to George Quinn (2008: 66-67), visiting the graves of revered saints is an act of piety sanctioned by tradition and it is explicitly explained in the Qur'an that a Muslim should seek means to get closer to Allah. This is interpreted by allowing believers to seek tawasul, which is the intercession of the Prophet or saints who are close to Allah and stronger in faith. In addition to the Qur'anic verse, there is also a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that commands visiting graves, as this is an activity that can remind a person of death. For this reason, visiting graves is classified as recommended (mandub/mustahabb). In addition to remembering death, grave pilgrimages also aim to pray for the dead to be forgiven for their sins, as well as to seek blessings or ziyadah al-khair (Syarifudin: 2011).

It is mentioned that Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono were followers of Prince Diponegoro, but there is a contradiction between Prince Diponegoro and his two commanders. Prince Diponegoro was a Muslim who fought to establish an Islamic state and not for worldly affairs. Islam was used as the main symbol in his struggle. However, it is contrary to the pilgrimage to the graves of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono where the purpose of the pilgrimage is only for worldly affairs and personal interests. The Gunung Kawi site is not only pilgrimaged by Muslims, but also by the Chinese and Kejawen groups. This place is used to get inheritance (Sudardi and Sulistyorini: 2021).

According to research conducted by Syarifudin (2011), most people who come to the Gunung Kawi shrine aim to get safety for themselves and their families. In addition, it also aims to make their fortune smooth. Based on interviews conducted by researchers to the tour guide, Mr. Katin, the average pilgrim of the Gunung Kawi site has a trading business that wants success in its business. Some other pilgrims wish to be given offspring and perform rituals in front of the tomb. After they get what they want, they will return to the Gunung Kawi site to perform thanksgiving or selamatan as gratitude for the help of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soedjono.

During the observation, a couple of Muslim pilgrims came from Surabaya because they had an urgent need that they hoped would be realized soon. The pilgrims first consulted the caretaker at his house and then were given an explanation regarding the pilgrimage ritual. If they have a special wish like this, then usually the pilgrims will do alms or selamatan in the form of buying a chicken slaughter package.

Magical and mystical practices are part of Javanese culture. Some magical things are believed to help expedite business so as to get wealth quickly and briefly. This often happens in communities where they use supernatural media to expedite their business. In addition to using the help of *kuncen* or people who are believed to be shamans, some of them perform various *pesugihan* rituals with other creatures (Hamirul et al: 2022).

There is a mystical-historical story that the community believes is related to the Gunung Kawi cemetery. Eyang Djoego and Iman Soedjono planted a Dewandaru tree with the Latin name *Eugenia Uniflora L.*, which then has a long trail as a mythical tree in the realm of Javanese belief. Etymologically, Dewandaru means the bearer of God's grace. This tree is one of the plants considered sacred in the world of puppetry. The Dewandaru tree is closely related to the rituals performed at the Gunung Kawi site. If someone falls on a Dewandaru leaf at the Gunung Kawi site, it is a sign of good fortune for the seeker. Until now, pilgrims can be found visiting the tombs of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono in order to practice *pesugihan* (Mashuri: 2018).

According to Renjana (2020), Dewandaru comes from the word "Dewa Aru". This tree was planted by Eyang Djoego and still exists today. Pilgrims believe that this tree is a sacred tree that brings good luck. If a leaf falls, pilgrims will scramble to use it as an amulet. This tree is also considered a tree that can predict the future, for example a few days before the 2004 Aceh Tsunami, the Dewandaru tree on Mount Kawi was hit by strong winds.

This Dewandaru tree is on the north side of the entrance to the cemetery of Eyang Djoego and Iman Soedjono. The tree is only about 5 meters tall, not too big, and surrounded by a fence. The leaves are small. Pak Katin explained that if a pilgrim stays under the Dewandaru tree and the leaves fall, the pilgrim will be blessed with peace of mind. A pilgrim from the Tridharma group tries to pick up a fallen leaf in the area inside the fence using a stick. Pilgrims' belief in the magical power of the Gunung Kawi site is great.

Stories of Becoming Wealth from Pilgrims

One of the most famous stories is that of a Chinese businessman from Malang. He was named Ong Hok Liong. In 1930, he established a cigarette factory in Malang City. Ong regularly visited Gunung Kawi to ask Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono to make his business successful. On one visit in 1954, Ong dreamt of seeing some chunks of taro yam. After waking up from his dream, he asked the caretaker of the tomb about the meaning of his dream. The caretaker told him that the dream was a hint from Eyang Djoego that he should change the name of his factory from *Stootjes Fabriek Ong Hong Liong* to *Bentoel*. *Bentoel* is a local term for taro yam. After Ong Hok Liong changed the name of his factory, his sales increased and *Bentoel* cigarette brand became one of the leading cigarette brands in Indonesia. In an Indonesia where the male population was addicted to cigarettes, *Bentoel* brought enormous wealth to Ong Hok Liong. By the time he died in 1967, he was a multi-millionaire. *Bentoel* became the second largest manufacturer among Indonesian-owned cigarette factories. In 1987, *Bentoel* was listed on the Indonesia Stock Exchange, and in 2009, the majority of its shares were purchased by international conglomerate British American Tobacco (Quinn, 2019: 367-368).

In the last quarter of the 20th century, Gunung Kawi produced a new icon of commercial success who was far wealthier than Ong Hok Liong. A businessman named Sudono Salim was a traditional financier and passive partner in companies run by indigenous Indonesians. For many years he was a business associate and confidant of the second President of the Republic of Indonesia, Soeharto. Under the patronage of President Soeharto, Sudono Salim or commonly known as *Liem*, became the richest man in Indonesia and one of the richest men in Asia. In 1966, Sudono Salim's companies generated 22 billion US dollars. He owns Bank Centra Asia (BCA) which is the largest bank in Indonesia, the Indocement factory which is the largest cement producer in Indonesia, the Bogasari flour mill in Jakarta which is the largest flour mill in the world, and the Indofood company which has overtaken Japan's Nissin as the world's

leading instant noodle producer. In addition to owning giant factories, Liem also obtained a monopoly on the import of cloves, an essential ingredient in the production of kretek cigarettes, as a result of his co-operation with the Soeharto government. For many years, Sudono Salim made a regular pilgrimage to the Gunung Kawi site. He travelled three-four hours from Surabaya to Gunung Kawi, four to five times a year. It is also said that Sudono Salim always consulted a "fortune teller" at Gunung Kawi before making decisions (Quinn, 2019: 371-372).

Based on an interview with Mr. Katin, the Ciamsi at the Gunung Kawi site was built with the donation of Sudono Salim. The newer temple was donated by Sudono Salim's son, Anthony Salim. Until now, Sudono Salim's descendants still regularly visit the Gunung Kawi site and donate giant candles that are lit during Konguchu holidays.

Another story presented by George Quinn (2019: 379-380), is that of a businessman named Handoyo who ran a grocery and convection shop. He is from Singaraja, on the north coast of Bali. Since 2010, Handoyo has visited Gunung Kawi at least once a year. He does this as a way of thanking Eyang Djoego for his smooth-running business and harmonious household. In addition, his younger brother who was sick was also cured after he asked the guardian for help. Handoyo also has a friend who is also successful in his pharmacy business. The pharmacy was very quiet before, but after returning from Gunung Kawi with Handoyo, the pharmacy was flooded with customers.

CONCLUSION

Gunung Kawi is a pilgrimage site that is popular not only among Muslims, but also among Kejawen and Tridharma (Confucian) people. Gunung Kawi, where two sacred figures are buried, Eyang Djoego and Iman Soejono, is synonymous with pesugihan or becoming wealth where pilgrims come for both worldly and personal purposes. The Dewandaru tree in the site area is also believed to symbolize the morning fortune of the seeker. By acculturating and turning a blind eye to differences, the Gunung Kawi site has become popular and invites many pilgrims from both local and foreign pilgrims.

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