Visualization Development of Chinese Gods Statues in Jakarta’s Temples until 1949

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Abstract. Klenteng is religious building of Chinese Indonesian community, with variety of Gods worshipped inside. The decision to choose the primary Gods worshipped in Klenteng will reflect social dynamics of Chinese Indonesian culture. Since their arrival in Jakarta and surrounding areas around 17th Century, Chinese Indonesian community’s shift of situations and progress will have reflected on change of community’s composition, language dialects, occupation, etc. This research focused on literature and field study; combine quantitative and qualitative research.

1. Introduction

Klenteng is one of religious building for Chinese Indonesian (locally called Tionghua) that loosely believe in Chinese folk religion, called Hua religion. Klenteng were place for worshipping Chinese and local deities believed by them. According to Claudine Salmon, in Jakarta alone there were around 50 Klenteng built since 17th Century until 1949 (Salmon, 2003:107-110) (look at attachment Table 1). These building reflect Chinese Jakarta community development in term of quantity and quality of life. On attachment of Table 1, we can see there are 50 Klenteng in Jakarta when Claudine Salmon investigated at 1977, but at the time researchers checked, there only 30 building still intact and operated without major change; major characteristic that played important role to choose as research objects. Based on Table 1 list, researchers made Table 2 that shows various Main Deities worshipped at each Klenteng and their major social functions. Decision on choosing Main Deities usually done by community’s meetings and discussions; and also their communal needs at the time being. Existence of specific and special deities’ type, or popular and common deities’ type that worshipped more than one Klenteng at same area reveal substantial needs on specific social functions.

Visualization of different deities in form of 2D (paintings or drawings) or 3D (statues, carvings) usually shows specific values that represent in form of gestures, accessories, paraphernalia, expressions, or decorative patterns. These forms express conscious ideas and meanings that always attach to the same entity of deity and differentiate it with other deities (Goldamer, 2018). Chinese Indonesian deities also playing by the same rule; can be acknowledge and known to worshippers by its common characteristics. Sometimes several deities were visualised in different characteristics to force their special functions.

Durkheim saw religion as important element in society’ structure since religion is source for social norms, and inside it there are obligation to worship (Coleman, 2014). This research tries to compare data about Klenteng in Jakarta, especially main deity statue worshipped there, with its functions and Chinese Indonesian history. Research will show clear picture about the changes in composition, interest, and worship values on sacred entities in Chinese Indonesian community in Jakarta. This qualitative
research examine data about history of Chinese Indonesian in Jakarta and using direct observation at Klenteng chosen for research objects.

2. **Klenteng and Hua religion in Indonesia**

Klenteng is word that originated in Bahasa Indonesia. This word is describing sacred place for worship to Chinese regions, which commonly known as folk religion (*Hua* religion). In English, this worship building only translated generally as temple. At their original Chinese term, Klenteng has many names: *Bio / Miao, Kiong, Tong, Ting,* and *Si* (Moerthiko, 1980:96).

*Hua* religion is syncretic religion that merged many philosophies and teachings that spread out in China for thousand years. Each element can be identified separately conceptually, but they complement and support each other in practice. The major elements in this Hua religion are: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Monism, and several other folk traditions that can not weighted as religion, such as ancestor worship. Each element can apply separately and have their own formal institution, but at commoner level, they become one. Those philosophies and beliefs gave strong foundation to mold Chinese Indonesian characters and behaviors. They never argue and compare between different philosophies, they accept it all; so Chinese have ability to absorb positive foreign concepts without investigate its origin or original purpose (Susilo, 2006:37).

Worshipping place is sacred space that sacred entities dwelt. Klenteng is a sacred dwelling place for *Dewa* (male) and *Devi* (female) entities. *Hua* religion is functional oriented religion, where deities from many beliefs grouped together into one universal system and people will accepted their existence without significant conflict in society (Yang, 1967:25). Deities in Klenteng were worshipped to change people’s negative fate into positive one, and also to ask for protection and security (*ping an*) from life difficulties. Chinese deities function in its culture is to guide their helplessness against nature and fate (Susilo, 2006:37).

Claudine Salmon separate Klenteng into 2 types, based on their origin name in Chinese: the first one is focused on Buddhism (*miao, si, tang,* and sometimes *yuan*), the second is focused on Taoism (*guan, gong,* and *dian*) (Salmon, 1997:x).

3. **Klenteng types in Indonesia**

Many research and writing try to classify Klenteng into various types. Johannes Widodo said that Klenteng classified based on its deity’s entities that dwelt and worshipped inside. Klenteng for Earth Gods built to protect dwelling settlements. Klenteng for War Gods built to protect prosperity and business or market expansion. Klenteng for clan and family emerged, followed by community Klenteng (Widodo, 2004:39).

Claudine Salmon, researcher of Chinese Indonesian culture write that Klenteng was separated based on its functions: community and private Klenteng. Community Klenteng is commonly visit by all, but Private Klenteng is visited by specific groups; they are separated further into Market Klenteng, Organization Klenteng provided by different occupational group (wood crafters, medicine / physician, businessmen, metal crafters, seafarer group, etc.), Klenteng that provide death rituals and funeral homes, and klenteng that provide homage to ancestor existence (ancestral temple). Implicitly, Salmon also separate Klenteng other characteristics. First, she divided them by sub dialect groups that support its existence (Hakka, Hokkian, Kanton, Tio Ciu, etc.). Second, she divides them by degree of acculturation groups (totok and peranakan). Third, she divides them by region origins in China (Fujia, Guandong, Guangzhou, Hongkong, Nanjing, Quanzhou, Singapura, Xinhua, Zhangzhou, etc.). Last, she divides them by name clan (there are more than 100 Chinese clans around the world) (Salmon, 1977:51).

C.K. Yang classify Klenteng based on Main Deity worshipped inside. The more frequent their existence will indicate their growing importance nationally (Yang, 1967:8-14, 58-80) (Attachment 3).

4. **Image Visualization of Deities**

Sedyawati, in her dissertation said that sacred or deities’ statues have visualisation ordinance. The ordinance closely related with their worship concepts and can not change individually. When we
examine deity statues more closely, we will see that the ordinance has levels, from the most sacred ones that never change, until decorative levels; the ones that can adjust according to local needs and time frame, also to accommodate artist’s creativity (Sedyawati, 1985:15).

Richie (2014) examine that Asian statues highly symbolic and represent physical articulations for their religious ideals. The intentions of the artist is to enhance understanding of enlightenment for devotees, through viewing and contemplating the images. Murray (2018) has different viewpoints about visual culture in China. She said that image in statues and other visual cultures were projecting visual construction on society. It projects cultural values and associated meanings were created both by worshippers and its creators. There are different levels of characteristics that applied in China visual culture, from top level of imperial courts until lowest level of district and rural areas. She describes that the difference in levels are governed by social status and various affiliations between formal and informal institutions around the country.

5. **The Social Characteristic Change in Chinese Jakarta**

At 17th Century, there are 4 Klenteng built, and only 2 that still survive until 2015, because the oldest Klenteng in Jakarta (Jin De Yuan) was burnt at March 2nd 2015. The first Klenteng in Jakarta was devoted to Kwan Im Goddess of Mercy, that have Buddhist style. This Goddess of Mercy is the most popular deity in Hua religion world wide. The concept was common since people seek security and well-being to this Goddess. The second Klenteng in Jakarta presenting local entity from local legend. Sam Po Soei Su is a Chinese that follow Cheng He to Indonesia; he arrived at Jakarta and married to Indonesian girl, Ibu Sitiwati. The couple worshipped in Klenteng Ancol as local symbol of God and Goddess of Earth (Pak Kung Pak Pho). Ancol at that time was beyond community’s residential area and still full of swamps and beach forests. Klenteng like this is beyond Chinese community’ traditions. According to Heuken (1997) though Ancol was outside Batavia, it was area for villas and big parks, before abandoned because sanitation outbreak. Entities as pair of Earth Gods reflects Chinese Indonesian needs of acceptance in Indonesia (especially Java island) for their future generations. Local entities was adopted as Chinese Indonesian’s need of acceptance in their new homeland; the Gods different religion as a couple (the husband has Hua religion, the wife is Moslem) show Chinese Indonesian acceptance foreign elements into their belief system.

In 18th Century, there are 3 Klenteng that was still operating, and all of them built around 1750s until 1800s. Around 1740 there was very big chaotic riot befall to Chinese Jakarta community in form of ethnic massacre that kill around one third its population. All three Klenteng was built after the riot happened and reflected effects on that incident. Klenteng Feng Shan Miao and Chen Shi Zu Miao were built near to each other and sponsored by same group; Chen clan and Chinese community from Southern Fujian that have Hokkian sub dialect. Their main Gods is Cheng Goan Cheng Kun and Tan Seng Ong, Taoist Gods that protect a city as judge and guardian of afterlife. This arrangement was reaction to calamity thatbefell on Chinese community, and they hope by this new protector, the similar case will not happen in future. The third Klenteng devoted to Buddhist God protector of spirits, ruler of underworld and funeral rites. The Klenteng built next to the oldest Klenteng Jin De Yuan, to focus more on growing business and needs of bigger funeral service for Chinese community.

On the first half of 19th Century, there are 8 Klenteng that still operating; two have main gods from Taoist group Gods commonly known as 8 Deities (Ba Xian). Those gods were protector of craftsmanship, carpentry, and arts. Two other Klenteng have City cum Earth God as main deity, both of them reside in the middle of people’s market – one in Pasar Baru, and other in Pasar Pejagalan. The four gods reflect new enthusiasm on overall life and especially economy and business in Chinese community. One Klenteng devoted to Kwan Kong, a special god in Chinese belief that has multi function. He projected as God of War, God of Justice, God of Literature, and God of War calamities. This klenteng was built by Kapitan Tionghoa in Jakarta, to commemorate himself when he died, and projecting himself as city officer that firm, fair, honest, and charismatic. Klenteng for clans emerge first in this era, signify the growing importance of clan spirit in Chinese community. Clan Klenteng have several functions: to store clan name, organize clan meeting and social gatherings, and place to exchange any newest information,
even to open some business. The next Klenteng is devoted to Buddhist God protector of spirit, similar to the one at 18th Century. This time the Klenteng built in Jl. Lautze, next to new Chinese cemetery of Gunung Sahari. The last klenteng was devoted to 3 entities rulers of nature elements: sky, earth, and water. This Klenteng proved that Chinese community not only worship Gods that they need for ease in life, but also pray to nature Gods that govern continuity of universe.

On the second half of 19th Century, there are 9 Klenteng that still operating today. Three first klenteng were devoted to specific clans, and one Klenteng was used to entrusted ancestor board for all clans. This signifies growing interest and advantage of clan groups that help everyday life for Chinese community at Jakarta. Two Klenteng devoted to God of Carpentry and God of Medicine shows progress of new occupation and prosperity. One Klenteng devoted to Taoist God from Southern Fujian controlling geographical elements, especially waterworks – at Pecah Kulit market – where occasionally floods. One Klenteng devoted for one of four Heaven Emperor to encourage universe order for everyday life. Klenteng for special community of Caici (hua religion nuns served to master Chinese funeral ceremonies, especially Hakka dialects) arise and spread out around Jakarta; they all have Goddess of Mercy Kwan Im, as protector of household and fertility.

On first half of 20th Century, there are 8 Klenteng still operating, and 7 of them also Caici Klenteng. Chinese community now turn their focus from life and working into funeral ceremonies. Political change from Dutch occupation into National Independence, making life business as individual affairs. Chinese community leads more internal – enclosed life. The last Klenteng was devoted to God of Wealth, the one that deals with good fortune in economy.

6. Visual Development of Chinese Deities in Jakarta
The discussion will be focused on deities that appear more than one Klenteng. Analysis was taken in comparison method, comparing directly the same gods in each Klenteng. Based on Attachment 2, research will have focused on Goddess Kwan Im, Di Zang Wang Buddha, and Earth Gods (Pak Kung Pak Pho).

![Figure 1. Six of nine Goddess Kwan Im as main deities in Jakarta](image)

There are 9 Klenteng that have Goddess Kwan Im as their main deities. Only 2 Klenteng that do not have 3 Buddhas group of Tri Ratna to accompany the main god. The main god has various style; one painted red all over its body to represent bravery and justice. There are at least 3 altars that have
Thousand Hand Thousand Eyes Kwan Im to represent the god that know all and helping in every occasion. There are at least 2 style that can separate them; the older ones follow late Ming and Early Qing style – full of details and imported from China. The second style were grandeur on size but less detail and serene; to counter the lack of details, they painted the statues in gold. These statues were estimated made locally, since the time frame was similar to the establishment of Klenteng for craftmanship and carpentry.

There are 2 Klenteng that devoted to Di Zang Wang (Buddhist deity for Underworld). The first one made from clay, in Qing style and painted in Gold. The second one was bigger in size and made from clay, also painted in gold. The difference is similar to Goddess Kwan Im, the first one apparently imported from China and have more details than the second ones, which made locally and more serene.

![Figure 2. All Di Zang Wang deities in 2 Klenteng Tri Ratna Jakarta](image)

The last pair was Klenteng devoted to Earth Couple Deities (Pak Kung Pak Pho); although both have different legend of origins (one local and the other from China), but their visualisation was very similar to each other. They both made from clays and painted brown to represent wood-like statues.

![Figure 3. All pairs of Pak Kung Pak Pho deities in 2 Klenteng in Jakarta](image)

7. Result
From the analysis there are elements of statues that always used, like their robes; but in term of materials, hand position, face expressions, it was decided by outside considerations – like the changing of place it origins. Some statues that imported from China have profound similarities and completely different from the ones made locally. The ones that made locally also share same characteristics even at different kind of deities.

In term of the choosing the main god in each Klenteng, it has reciprocal relations with Chinese Jakarta’s conditions at the times. From the selections of gods, we can learn progress and changing needs of this community.
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## ATTACHMENT I

**LIST OF KLENTENG JAKARTA**

by Claudine Salmon

| Time division by Salmon | Numbering by Salmon | Common Name | Year built | Research Objects | Objects rationale |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 17th Cent.              | 01                  | Jin De Yuan (Vihara Dharma Bhakti) | ± 1650 | ✓ | Burnt in 2015 |
|                         | 02                  | Da-Bo-Gong / An-xu Miao (Vihara Bahtera Bakti) | ± 1650 | ✓ | |
|                         | 03                  | Bao-en Si | ± 1660 | | Destroyed |
|                         | 04                  | Dan-ron Xuan-tian shang-di miao | ± 1669 | | Destroyed |
| 18th Cent.              | 05                  | Feng-shan Miao / Da-shi Miao (Vihara Dharma Jaya) | ± 1751 | ✓ | |
|                         | 06                  | Chen Shi Zu Miao (Vihara Tanda Bakti) | 1757 | ✓ | Dutch style |
|                         | 07                  | Wan Jie Si (Vihara Buddhayana) | ± 1761 | | |
|                         | 08                  | Klinteng Petani | 1774 | | Destroyed |
|                         | 09                  | Tian-hou Gong (Vihara Dewi Samudera) | ± 1784 | | Not Allowed |
|                         | 10                  | Di-cang Yuan (Vihara Tri Ratna) | ± 1789 | ✓ | |
|                         | 11                  | Dan-ron Jia-yi da-bo-gong miao (Tanjung Kait) | ± 1792 | | Outside DKI Jakarta |
|                         | 12                  | Lu Ban Gong | ± 1794 | | Abandoned |
|                         | 13                  | Klinteng Cileungsi | Akhir abad 18 | | Outside DKI Jakarta |
| First half 19th Cent.   | 14                  | Li-te-guai (Vihara Budhidharma) | ± 1812 | ✓ | |
|                         | 15                  | You-mi-hang-hui Miao (Vihara Padi Lapa) | ± 1823 | ✓ | |
|                         | 16                  | Di-cang-wang Miao | ± 1824 | | Destroyed |
|                         | 17                  | Nan-jing Miao (Vihara Arya Marga) | ± 1824 | ✓ | |
|                         | 18                  | Xin-de Miao (Vihara Dharma Jaya) | ± 1825 | ✓ | |
|                         | 19                  | Lu-dong-bin Miao (Vihara Dharma Paramita) | ± 1826 | ✓ | |
|                         | 20                  | Chen Shi Zong Ci (Rumah Abu Marga Chen / Tan) | ± 1830 | ✓ | |
|                         | 21                  | Di-cang-wang Miao (Vihara Tri Ratna) | ± 1830 | ✓ | |
|                         | 22                  | San Yuan Gong | ± 1847 | | ✓ |
| Second half 19th Cent.  | 23                  | Lu Da Guo Dafu Miao (Vihara Dharma Karya Angsapura) | ± 1860 | ✓ | |
|                         | 24                  | Ba-cheng yi-ci (Rumah Abu Setia Dharma Marga) | ± 1865 | ✓ | |
|                         | 25                  | Hong-xi Miao (Vihara Dharma Teja) | ± 1869 | ✓ | |
|                         | 26                  | Liu Shi Zong Ci (Rumah Abu Marga Liaw / Liu) | ± 1879 | ✓ | |
|                         | 27                  | Vihara Dharma Jaya | ± 1885 | | Destroyed |
| No. | Klenteng | Status | Year | Notes |
|-----|----------|--------|------|-------|
| 28  | Zhang-shi zong-ci (Perkumpulan Thio / Zhang) | ± 1894 | ✓   |       |
| 29  | Liang-shi zong-ci (Rumah Abu Njoo/Liong) | 1898    | ✓   |       |
| 30  | Vihara Khema | Akhir abad 19 | ✓ |       |
| 31  | Guo Sheng Wang | Akhir abad 19 | Destroyed |       |
| 32  | Vihara Prajna Paramita | Akhir abad 19 | Not found |       |
| 33  | Fu-de gong (Vihara Amurva Bumi) | Akhir abad 19 | New Building |       |
| 34  | Guan yin Tang (Vihara Avalokitesvara) | Akhir abad 19 | ✓ |       |
| 35  | Guan yin Tang (Vihara Avalokitesvara) | Akhir abad 19 | New Building |       |
| 36  | Yao-wan gong (Vihara Jati Dharma) | Akhir abad 19 | ✓ |       |
| 37  | Kramat Ayam | Awal abad 20 | Destroyed |       |
| 38  | Kramat Kuda | Awal abad 20 | Destroyed |       |
| 39  | Tian-bao Tang (Vihara Buddhis Avalokitesvara) | ± 1904 | ✓ |       |
| 40  | Tong-shan Tang (Vihara Kusala Ratna) | ± 1925 | New Building |       |
| 41  | Yu-lian Tang | ± 1927 | Destroyed |       |
| 42  | Klenteng Tanah Abang (Vihara Avalokitesvara) | ± 1928 | ✓ |       |
| 43  | Shan-yuan tang (Vihara Sanata Dharma) | ± 1930 | ✓ |       |
| 44  | Jin-fu tang (Vihara Tjandra Sasana) | ± 1930 | ✓ |       |
| 45  | Xiang-qing tang (Vihara Buda Sasana) | ± 1935 | ✓ |       |
| 46  | Shan-fu tang (Vihara Sasana Diepa) | ± 1935 | ✓ |       |
| 47  | Nan-hua si (Vihara Nana Dassana) | ± 1935 | ✓ |       |
| 48  | Yu Qing Shan Tang | 1936 | Not found |       |
| 49  | Vihara Tunggal Dharma | ± 1938 | ✓ |       |
| 50  | Vihara Dharma Sakti | ± 1938 | ✓ |       |

Table 1. List Klenteng research by Claudine Salmon (Salmon: 2003, 107-110 and Salmon:1977, 325-327)
**ATTACHMENT II**

**LIST OF KLENTENG DAN TYPES OF CHINESE DEITIES IN JAKARTA**

According to Claudine Salmon

| No. Kleneng | Kleneng Name                  | Main Deities                      | Deities traits                                                                 | Deities types                  |
|-------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 01          | Jin De Yuan (Vihara Dharma Bhakti) | **Kwan Im, Tri Ratna**               | Compassion, Buddhist                                                            | Fertility deities, Communal     |
| 02          | Da-Bo-Gong / An-xu Miao (Vihara Bahtera Bakti) | Sam Po Soei Su, Ibu Sitiwati     | local, voyage commemoration, earth deities                                    | City deities, geographical elements, Communal     |
| 05          | Feng-shan Miao / Da-shi Miao (Vihara Dharma Jaya) | Chen Goan Cheng Kun               | Taoist, City protectors, Underworld                                           | Justice Deities, Private, Chen clan, Fujian / Hokkian, trading   |
| 06          | Chen Shi Zu Miao (Vihara Tanda Bakti) | Tan Seng Ong Ye                   | Taoist, city protectors, underworld                                           | Military persona Deities, Private, Chen clan, Fujian / Hokkian, trading   |
| 10          | Di-cang Yuan (Vihara Tri Ratna) | Di Zang Wang Pu Sa                | Buddhist, spirit protectors,                                                   | Underworld deities, Private, death rites and funeral homes   |
| 14          | Li-te-guai (Vihara Budhidharma) | Lie Tie Guai Xian Shi             | Taoist, 8 Gods group                                                          | Craftmanship and trading deities, Private, occupational   |
| 15          | You-mi-hang-hui Miao (Vihara Padi Lapa) | Pak Kung Pak Pho                  | Taoist, earth Gods,                                                           | City gods, Geographical elements, Communal   |
| 17          | Nan-jing Miao (Vihara Arya Marga) | **Kwan Seng Tee Koen, Kwan Ping Ceng Su, Chou Chang Ciong kun,** | Taoist, Buddhist, Confusian, protector of trade, literature, war              | Military persona deities, Private, market   |
| 18          | Xin-de Miao (Vihara Dharma Jaya) | Ho Tek Ceng Sin                   | Taoist, Fujian, city and civil deities                                        | Politics and civil persona deities, Communal, private, market |
| 19          | Lu-dong-bin Miao (Vihara Dharma Paramita) | Lu Dong Bin                       | Taoist, 8 Gods group,                                                         | Craftmanship and trading deities, Private, occupational   |
| 20          | Chen Shi Zong Ci (Rumah Abu Marga Chen / Tan) | Ancestor Boards                  | Ancestor worship                                                               | General welfare deities, Private, ancestral remains, clans |
| 21          | Di-cang-wang Miao (Vihara Tri Ratna) | Di Zang Wang Pu Sa                | Buddhist, spirit protectors,                                                   | Underworld deities, Private, death rites and funeral home   |
| 22          | San Yuan Gong                  | Sam Kwan Tay Tee                  | Taoist, protector of sky, earth, water                                        | Heaven deities, Communal   |
| 23          | Lu Da Guo Dafu Miao (Vihara Dharma Karya Angsapura) | Lu Ban                           | Taoist, carpentry (stone, wood)                                               | Craftmanship and trading deities, Private, occupational   |
|   | Name                               | Type                             | Function                           | Category                          |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 24| Ba-cheng yi-ci (Rumah Abu Setia Dharma Marga) | Papan Arwah Leluhur | Ancestor worship | General welfare deities, Private, ancestral remains, clans |
| 25| Hong-xi Miao (Vihara Dharma Teja) | hian thian siang tee | Taoist, one of Heaven Emperor | Heaven deities, Communal |
| 26| Liu Shi Zong Ci (Rumah Abu Marga Liaw / Liu) | Papan Arwah Leluhur | Ancestor worship | General welfare deities, Private, ancestral remains, clans |
| 28| Zhang-shi zong-ci (Perkumpulan Thio / /Zhang) | Papan Arwah Leluhur | Ancestor worship | General welfare deities, Private, ancestral remains, clans |
| 29| Liang-shi zong-ci (Rumah Abu Njoo/Liong) | Papan Arwah Leluhur | Ancestor worship | General welfare deities, Private, ancestral remains, clans |
| 30| Vihara Khema                        | Ching Sui Co Su                 | Taoist, ancestor form clearwater, Fujian | City gods, Geographical elements, Private, market |
| 34| Guan yin Tang (Vihara Avalokitesvara) | Kwan Im                         | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 36| Yao-wan gong (Vihara Jati Dharma)   | Yok Wang Tai Shi                | Taoist, medicine deities           | Health deities, Private, occupational |
| 39| Tian-bao Tang (Vihara Buddhis Avalokitesvara) | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 43| Shan-yuan tang (Vihara Sanata Dharma) | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 44| Jin-fu tang (Vihara Tjandra Sasana) | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 45| Xiang-qing tang (Vihara Buddha Sasana) | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 46| Shan-fu tang (Vihara Sasana Diepa) | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
| 47| Nan-hua si (Vihara Nana Dassana)    | Kwan Im, Tri Ratna           | Buddhist, compassion, protector caici community | Fertility Deities, Private, Death rites |
|   | Vihara Tunggal Dharma | Kwan Im | Buddhist, compassion, protector of the community | Fertility Deities | Private, Death rites |
|---|----------------------|--------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 49 |                      |        |                                               |                  |                     |
| 50 | Vihara Dharma Sakti | Han Tan Kong | Taoist, wealth deities                       | Economy, trading deities | Private, market |

Ket: the **bold** font at deity name indicate main god in main alter, if there are more than one gods appear.
ATTACHMENT 3. KLENTENG IN SOCIAL FUNCTIONS SCHEME (C.K. YANG)
ATTACHMENT IV

Images of Main Deities in Klenteng of Goddess Kwan Im

Images of Main Deities in Klenteng of Di Zang Wang

Images of Main Deities in Klenteng for Pak Kung Pak Pho