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MANIFESTATION OF THE STATUES OF DEITIES IN THE LI TIE GUAI TEMPLE IN WEST JAKARTA: A LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the embodiment of the statues of the gods and goddesses at the Li Tie Guai Temple in West Jakarta. The embodiment of the statues in this temple is discussed using a life course perspective. The data used are all the statues of the gods in the temple, totaling thirty statues. The method used is study of literature and field data, followed by data processing which is done by classifying the statues into age, adult, teenager, and children as well as the shape of men, women, and others. The next stage is data interpretation. The results showed that there were more statues depicted in the forms of adults and old people compared to the forms of teenagers and children. This shows that from a life course perspective, a person during his or her lifetime becomes a god more when he or she is mature and old because the process of becoming a god requires special abilities and a purified soul that can be acquired over a long time. Then the embodiment of male statues is more numerous than the embodiment of female statues and others. This shows that in the past, especially in China, men had greater domination than women and others.

KEYWORDS: embodiment, statues, gods and goddess, life course

INTRODUCTION

The life course perspective is a concept that discusses one's life journey. As a concept, life course is defined as a sequence of events and roles performed by a person from time to time (Giele and Elder, 1998: 22). This approach places the course of human life in social measures of time related to gender as well as time and memory (Gilchrist, 2007: 156). A person's life can be seen from the history of events or the sequence of important events, experiences, and transitions in his or her life. In the life course perspective, there are five basic elements, namely cohort, transition,

trajectory, life event, and turning point. Cohort is a group of people born at the same time and experiencing socio-cultural changes in the same order and age. Transition is a change in one's role and status from the previous one. Trajectory shows changes in the long term. Life events are significant events that make a difference. Turning points are life events and transitions that produce shifts in the trajectory (Hutchison, 2010). Based on the five elements of the life course, it can be said that everyone in one trajectory of life experiences various life events. The event is a transition that affects their role and status.

Chinese society is known as a society that worships many gods. Every god that is worshiped has certain abilities so that they can fulfill the expectations of their devotees. The gods worshiped by the Chinese people are personifications of natural forces so that these gods have control over certain natural forces (Roberts, 2004: 3). In addition, the gods worshiped in the past were also ordinary people. In fact, most of the gods worshiped by Chinese society before were ordinary people. An ordinary human being could become a god because of his good deeds, the purity of his soul, and his ability in something or field (Herwiranto, 2007). All gods have their own journey of life until they are considered gods and worshiped by the Chinese people. In its development, the belief system of the Chinese people has spread to several regions in Southeast Asia, one of which is Indonesia.

In Chinese history it is stated that the Chinese entered Indonesia during the late Tang dynasty (Depdiknas, 2000: 6). Purcell (1997) divided Chinese migration into Indonesian territory into three stages. The first stage was of the kingdom that aimed to trade. The second stage of migration coincided with Europeans in the 16th century. This stage was still driven by the goal of trade, but the number of immigrants grew rapidly allowing them to stay longer. The third stage was during the Dutch colonial period marked by the number of Chinese settlements in several areas such as West Kalimantan, the east coast of Sumatra, and along the north coast of Java.

During the Dutch occupation in Indonesia, especially in the Batavia area, the Dutch government brought in many Chinese people to Batavia to be used mainly as workers to rebuild Batavia. Gradually along the development of Batavia, the division of settlements was formed within the fortified city which was bisected by the Ciliwung river. The Chinese settlement or Chinatown was west of the Ciliwung river with the Portuguese and Foreign East. While the Europeans were east of the Ciliwung river (Depdiknas, 2000: 11). Over time, the population of the Chinese people increased rapidly and made the Dutch government worried, so they reduced the Chinese population by sending some Chinese by ship to Sri Lanka and South Africa. This policy had bad results because news emerged that Chinese people were being killed in the middle of the sea. Because of this, a rebellion by the Chinese community arose in Batavia but was successfully crushed by the Dutch through mass massacres which resulted in thousands of Chinese being killed in 1740. In the end, the Chinese settlement inside the city fortress was driven out to the south of the fortress wall, now known as Glodok (Blusse, 1988: 145).

With the arrival of the Chinese people in Indonesia, they also brought their culture of origin to Indonesia, including the traditions of belief that are continuously maintained. The teachings that they brought to Indonesia were the teachings of *San Jiao* or better known as the *Tri Dharma* which is a mixture of three teachings namely Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Taoism teaches the path to eternal life through an understanding of natural processes, the balance of *yin* and *yang*, and harmony between man and nature. In general, the characteristic of the teachings of Taoism is the search for worldly happiness by worshiping many gods, each of whom provides certain assistance. They worship gods, their ancestors, and animate and inanimate objects. Then the teachings of

Confucianism are based on the idea of *ren* which means humanity, virtue and perfect goodness and *shu* means tolerance and reciprocity. They also believe in the five virtues of modesty, generosity, good faith, diligence and kindness (Lip, 1980). While the teachings of Buddhism originated from India which entered China around the 3rd century AD during the reign of the Han dynasty. The essence of the teachings of Buddhism is to prevent humans from suffering that comes from evil (Hariyono, 1994: 20). These three teachings have the same views and need one another so that the three teachings are combined into one (Depdiknas, 2000: 15).

In the teachings of Tri Dharma, the gods are classified into three main categories, namely the Gods who rule the Sky, the Gods who rule the Earth, and the Gods who rule humans and professions. The Gods Ruler of the Sky have power in the sky with the supreme god, namely Yu Huang Da Di who runs the wheel of the universe assisted by other gods such as the star god, the god of thunder, and others. The Gods Ruler of the Sky or also known as the god of the universe have the task of controlling everything in the sky, such as the weather, the circulation of the stars, and other natural phenomena. The Earth God has dominion over the earth. Although actually these gods are also heavenly angels, they have a duty on earth. Their power relates to people and the world. They master the five elements or the so-called *Wu-Xing*, meaning wood (the god of the forest, the god of the poles, etc.), fire (the god of fire, the god of the kitchen), metal (the god of wealth in the earth), water (the god of the well, the god of the rivers), sea god, rain god, and so on), and land (earth god, mountain god, lord of the afterlife, city protector god, and so on). Every human activity from birth to death, such as birth, death, old age, illness, fortune, position and so on, is taken care of by the gods who rule humans. While the god of professions has the duty to protect certain professions such as the god of learning, the god of medicine, the god of shops, the god of animal husbandry, and so on. Besides that, there are also regional gods or local gods who protect people who come from the same area. Apart from the three main groups, there is a group of Buddhist deities that came from India. Buddhist deities are worshiped on equal footing with other deities and assumed the form of Chinese deities (Setiawan, 1990: 17-18).

Chinese people who came to Indonesia in carrying out their life activities needed places of worship as a means of carrying out religious rituals. In the Batavia region, the construction of places of worship for the Chinese began in the 17th century. Denys Lombard (2003) put the construction of Chinese places of worship in Jakarta into categories based on the 17th, 18th, 19th centuries, the first half of the 20th century AD, and after independence. One of the places of worship built in the 19th century AD or around 1812 is the Li Tie Guai Temple which is located on Jalan Perniagaan Selatan, West Jakarta. This temple was originally built by the association of medicine experts. The name of this temple is dedicated to the main deity it worships, one of the eight gods or Ba Xian, namely Li Tie Guai as the protector of trade partners (Lombard, 2003: 28-29).

The temple is a sacred building for the Chinese community to carry out prayers to God, prophets, and the spirits of their ancestors related to the teachings of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, known as the Tri Dharma (Depdiknas, 2000:22). Initially the term to refer to places of worship for the Chinese community was *bio* or *miao* which means a place of homage to the prophet Confucianism. Another term is *kiong* which means palace and *Tong* or *Ting* which is a small sacred building. While the term *kelenteng* is an original Indonesian term that comes from the sound of the bell at the sacred building when it is holding a prayer ceremony which reads *klonteng-klonteng*.

The Chinese community in carrying out their worship uses statues as a means of worshipping the gods. The statue is an object of worship as a medium for humans to communicate

with the god they worship (BP3 Jawa Tengah, 2009: 6-7). Therefore, the figure of the god is depicted in the form of a statue as a medium of worship in the religious rituals of the Chinese community. Each statue represents the identity of a certain divine figure which has its own characteristics. The identity of the god statues can be identified through the components they have with certain characteristics such as the clothes used, the position of the hands, and the objects carried in the hands. The components on the statue reflect the identity of the worshiped god figure. Statues as a form of depiction of divine figures who have certain characteristics can be identified through iconographic studies.

This research was conducted at one of the old temples in Jakarta, namely the Li Tie Guai Temple by studying the statues of gods in the temple with a life course perspective. Each god has his own journey of life in becoming a god until he is worshiped as a certain class of gods. Then these gods are depicted in the embodiment of statues of children, adolescents, adults, or even old people and are depicted in gender, either male, female or others. The embodiment of the statue is the result of a depiction of the life journey of the divine figures who in one particular event (life event) in the trajectory of their life become a god. Therefore, the god figure embodied in the statue is in accordance with the form of his appearance when he is made or becomes a god in his life journey. Based on this, the formulation of the problem in this study is to examine the journey of the life of the god figures contained in the Li Tie Guai Temple in becoming a god. After that, it can be seen how the embodiment of the statues of elderly, adult, youth, and children is different from one to another and how the embodiment of the male, female, and other gender statues can be compared, as well as what the cause of the differences is in the number of each group of appearances and their gender.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this study refers to the method of Sharer dan Ashmore (2003) which divides the archaeological research method into several stages, namely data collection, data processing, and data interpretation. In this case the data used were the statues of the gods found in the Li Tie Guai Temple.

The data collection stage began with searching library sources and continued with collecting field data. Verbal data were collected in the form of scientific writings and pictorial data in the form of photographs, floor plans and maps of the Li Tie Guai Temple and the statues in it. The literature collected was in the form of books, journals, and research reports which contain iconographic studies, old temples in Jakarta, Chinese people's beliefs, temple gods. In addition, data regarding the Li Tie Guai Temple in the form of maps, floor plans and photos were also collected. After searching library sources, data in the field were then collected. Field observations were carried out directly at the Li Tie Guai Temple. The observation was carried out by observing artifactual data in the form of statues of gods in the temple and making both verbal recordings of the descriptions of the components and attributes of the statues, and visual recordings in the form of photos or pictures. Then interviews with temple administrators for supporting data were conducted.

The next stage is data processing. This process was carried out by clarifying the information obtained from the previous data observations. The sources of data regarding the statues of gods in the Li Tie Guai Temple are described based on iconographic studies. The source of the data is described to produce the shape of the iconography of the statue. Then the data that

has been described were analyzed. The analysis was carried out by classifying the components contained in the statue. Classification is the process of arranging objects into groups based on the same characteristics (Sharer and Ashmore, 2003: 26). These characteristics are called attributes. Then identification of the divine figures was carried out based on the characteristics of the statues and their classification as well as their life journey to becoming a god.

The next or final stage is the interpretation of the processed data on the statues of the gods at the Li Tie Guai Temple. At this stage, the attributes of the statues that have been classified and the identification of the statues are placed in the life course concept. Apart from that, the mythological stories of the gods can provide a clearer understanding of the life journey of the gods who are enshrined in the temple. Based on the stages of this research, it is hoped that conclusions can be drawn to answer research problems.

DISCUSSION

1. Li Tie Guai Temple

Li Tie Guai Temple is one of the oldest temples in Jakarta. This temple is located at Jalan Perniagaan Selatan Number 69, Tambora Village, Tambora District, West Jakarta City, DKI Jakarta Province. Li Tie Guai Temple or currently called Vihara Budhidharma was built around 1812 by the Toa Pe Kong Li Tiat Kway association. This one-storey temple faces north with the northern boundary, namely the main road and shops, the west bordered by rivers, and the east bordered by shops (Depdiknas, 2000: 73). The floor plan of this building is made to extend backwards. Some of the changes in this building are only the walls and floors that have been tiled and raised.

1.1 God's Altar at Li Tie Guai Temple

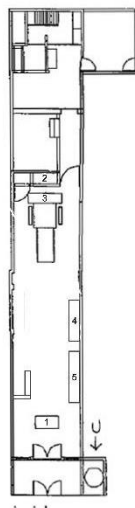


Figure 1 Floor plan of the Li Tie Guai Temple
Source: Junus, 2006

Inside Li Tie Guai Temple are 5 rectangular altars with one altar of Tian (1st altar) and 4 altars of gods (2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th altars) all of which are in one main room. The main altar is altar 2 which faces directly to the main door, which is to the north. Altar 3 is under the main altar which also faces the main door. Then altar 4 parallel to altar 5 is on the west side of the main room

facing east. There are 30 statues in the Li Tie Guai Temple which are the embodiments of 16 divine figures. The pattern of placing the statues of deities in the Li Tie Guai Temple adapts to the supporting space, which is the only one main worship space. The statue of the god who is the host of the temple is placed on the main altar while the statues of other gods are placed on the secondary altar.

2. Identification of the Figures of the Statues

Each god figure is depicted in the form of a statue which has special characteristics. The special characteristics attached to the divine figures depicted in the form of statues are closely related to the depiction of the divine figures contained in the mythological stories. At this stage, the identification of the figures of the statues is carried out based on the components which are contained in the statues of the gods and their mythology so that it can be known who the god figures are in the Li Tie Guai Te Temple.

2.1 He Xian Gu

He Xian Gu is the only female of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). According to her mythology, she was a girl born in Guangdong Province, Zengcheng County, who lived by a small river called Yun Mu Xi (Mika River). At the age of fourteen, He Xian Gu swallowed mica powder on an order from a spirit that suddenly appeared. After swallowing the powder, her body became light and she could fly from one peak to another. Gradually she felt the changes in her body. She did not need to eat anymore, until her supernatural powers made a female emperor named Wu Ze Tian summon her to the palace. On her way to the palace, she suddenly disappeared from the sight of commoners and became a goddess. He Xian Gu is depicted as a beautiful woman holding a lotus flower (Setiawan, 1990: 254-255).

2.2 Zhang Guo Lao

Zhang Guo Lao is one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). He lived during the Tang Dynasty as a hermit in the mountains of Zhong Tiao Shan, Shanxi. At one time he left his hermitage to fulfill the call of empress Wu Ze Tian (684-705 M). However, on the way to the palace, Zhang Guo Lao died and his body rotted and was eaten by worms. It turned out that after his death, he reappeared in the mountains near Hengzhou riding a donkey that could cover long distances in one day. The donkey could be folded like paper and stored in his pocket (Setiawan, 1990: 252).

Later in the 23rd year of the Tang Dynasty, Emperor Xuan Zong summoned Zhang Guo Lao to the palace to be given honorary titles. After that the emperor wondered who Zhang Guo Lao really was. Then the emperor asked a Taoist priest who worked in the palace named Ye Fa Shan. Ye Fa Shan said he would tell the emperor who Zhang Guo Lao really was but after that he would die at the feet of the emperor. Then Ye Fa Shan would ask the emperor to come to Zhang Guo Lao and apologize barefoot and without a crown so that Ye Fa Shan could live again. Finally, Ye Fa Shan told him that Zhang Guo Lao was a white bat demon from thousands of years ago. Ye Fa Shan then fell and died. Then Emperor Xuan Zong came to Zhang Guo Lao to apologize while carrying Ye Fa Shan's corpse. Zhang Guo Lao splashed water on Ye Fa Shan's face and suddenly he came back to life. After that Zhang Guo Lao returned to his hermitage in Hengzhou mountain

and died in 746 AD. His body disappeared and his grave was empty when a disciple opened his grave. Zhang Guo Lao is depicted riding a donkey with his face turned backwards. He is holding a musical instrument called *yu-gu*, an instrument that has the shape of a bamboo tube with two drummers (Setiawan 1990: 252-253).

2.3 Lii Dong Bin

Lii Dong Bin is one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*) who was born during the Tang Dynasty. There are many versions of the story about the maturity of the character Lii Dong Bin. One version says that Lii Dong Bin is the "God Master of the Lii family". One time at a tavern Lii met Han Zhong Li. Han Zhong Li was heating wine while talking to Lii but Lii unwittingly fell asleep and dreamed of being appointed a high-ranking official. In the dream his life was filled with abundant wealth. But fifty years later he made a big mistake and had to undergo exile and his family was separated. After a long dream, Lii woke up and found that he had only slept for a while, and even the wine that was being heated by Han Zhong Li had not warmed up yet. From then on Lii Dong Bin followed Han Zhong Li to study divinity and swordsmanship until he became a god (Setiawan 1990: 244-245).

2.4 Han Zhong Li

Han Zhong Li was born in Xian City near Shanxi Province during the Han Dynasty. He is one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). At one time Han Zhong Li was made a general in the army of the Han Dynasty. In a war, Han Zhong Li was defeated and fled to Zhong Nan Shan Mountain. On the mountain he met Li Tie Guai and learned divine knowledge from him. After that Han Zhong Li came down to travel and practice his divine knowledge such as helping people from annoying tiger demons and being able to turn copper into gold and silver and distribute it to the poor. Han Zhong Li also taught his divine knowledge to Lii Dong Bin. Han Zhong Li is described as a fat man with a friendly face and a beard. He wears a robe that always shows his belly and holds a fan made of feathers (Setiawan 1990: 251).

2.5 Li Tie Guai

In one version, Li Tie Guai is said to have learned divine knowledge from Thai Shang Lao Jun, who is a supreme god of Taoism. Li received an invitation from Thai Lao Jun to go to Mount Hua Shan but had to leave his physical body for seven days. Then Li asked one of his students to take care of his body and said that if within seven days Li did not get up, then his body had to be burned. On the sixth day, the disciple had to burn Li's body because he had to go home to take care of his mother who was very ill. Li Tie Guai's spirit searched for his body on the seventh day and could not find it. Finally, Li's spirit entered the body of a crippled beggar who had just died. Li's body changed into that of a hunchbacked and lame beggar who was assisted with an iron rod when walking. Li traveled around teaching Taoism and helping treat sick people. He also managed to treat the mother of his student who was negligent on Li's orders and then disappeared with the wind. Li Tie Guai is one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). He is considered a god who protects medicine makers and beggars. Li Tie Guai is described as a beggar with his clothes in rags. He walks with

a limp with the help of an iron stick which he held while carrying a red jug (Setiawan, 1990: 249-250).

2.6 Cao Guo Jiu

Cao Guo Jiu is one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). He was a younger brother of the emperor's consort during the Song Dynasty, Emperor Ren Zong. He had a brother who was also a high ranking official. His brother often acted arbitrarily towards the people, causing disappointment and embarrassment for Cao Guo Jiu. Therefore, he distributed his wealth to the poor and went to the mountains to study Taoism. In his hermitage, Cao Guo Jiu was assisted by Han Zhong Li and Lii Dong Bin in walking the path to divinity. Cao Guo Jiu is often considered the patron god of music. He is described as an official of the Song Dynasty wearing a hat with long ears and holding a musical accompaniment like a castanet (Setiawan, 1990: 253-254).

2.7 Han Xiang Zi

Han Xiang Zi was a writer who lived during the Tang Dynasty. One version tells the story of Han Xiang Zi as a student of Lii Dong Bin. One day Lii Dong Bin took Han Xiang Zi to climb the top of a magic peach tree. While climbing the tree, Han Xiang Zi fell, slipped, and instantly became a god. He is described as carrying a flute and has a handsome face. His clothes are like those of an educated man. Han Xiang Zi is considered the god who protects diviners and is also one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*) (Setiawan 1990: 253).

2.8 Lan Cai He

Lan Cai He is also one of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*) who are considered gods who protect flower merchants. One version of the tale says that Lan Cai He is a god from heaven who committed an offense. Then he was descended to earth as punishment. While serving his sentence, Lan Cai He met Li Tie Guai and taught him the science of divinity and became one of the gods out of the eight gods (*Ba Xian*). Lan Cai He is depicted as transvestite and carrying a flower basket (Setiawan, 1990: 254).

2.9 Fu De Zheng Shen

Fu De Zheng Shen is the God of the Earth or commonly known as Tu Di Gong. He is one of the oldest gods, and therefore is often referred to as Hou Tu. Tu Di Gong is someone who once lived during the reign of Emperor Zhou Wu Wang of the Zhou Dynasty named Zhang Fu De. He held the position of minister in charge of dynasty taxes. Zhang Fu De had a wise nature that was loved by the people. But after he died at the age of 102 years, Zhang Fu De's position was replaced by Wei Chao. He was greedy and cruel. Many people suffered from Wei Chao's atrocities so many left their villages and began to hope for wisdom like Zhang Fu De who had died. Therefore, the worship of Zhang Fu De (Thio Hok Tek) began to appear to ask for protection. From his name Zhang Fu De then comes the title Fu De Zheng Shen which is the God of the Earth. Fu De Zheng Shen is usually described as an old man with white hair and beard and a friendly face. His clothes

are patterned like a rich man wearing a hat. Then his hand is depicted holding a gold coin (Setiawan, 1990:110).

2.10 Yao Shi Fo (Bhaisjya Guru Buddha)

Bhaisjya Guru or Yao Shi Fo is a Buddha who has expertise in curing diseases. Besides that, Yao Shi Fo is also worshiped as a god who can avert disaster and bestow prosperity. Yao Shi Fo is usually depicted holding a medicine bowl and a pagoda. When Yao Shi Fo was still at the Bodhisattva level, he once made a promise known as the "12 Great Promises". Seven of his promises are aimed at freeing people from physical ailments and eliminating confusion for those lacking in spiritual paths (Setiawan, 1990: 326).

2.11 O Mi Tuo Fo (Amitabha)

It is told in Mahayana Buddhism that O Mi Tuo Fo or Amitabha Buddha was a king who left his throne and became a monk with the name "Dharmakarsa" which means "Son of Dharma". He was inspired by the discourse of the Buddha Lokeshvaraja, which is the path to enlightenment. Dharmakarsa then uttered 48 vows to save miserable beings. After going through five periods, he finally attained perfect enlightenment and became Amithaba Buddha (Setiawan, 1990: 324).

2.12 Mi Le Fo (Maitreya)

Mi Le Fo or Maitreya is one of the gods of Buddhism. Mi Le Fo is often depicted in a lying position with a laughing face and an open belly. The origin of Mi Le Fo's appearance as the laughing Buddha dates back to the late Tang Dynasty and the early Five Dynasties (907-1060 AD). At that time there was a monk who was often called by the name Bu Dai, which means a cloth bag. The naming is because the monk often carries a pouch when traveling. He taught the Dharma and begged alms to his students. He often behaves strangely. However, people believed that his every action was a prophecy. Bu Dai died sitting in meditation in the hall of the temple leaving a poem that reads "Maitreya is the real Maitreya and can change forms into various forms, he always incarnates in front of living beings who cannot recognize him". Based on the verse, people believe that Bu Dai is the incarnation of Mi Le Fo. Therefore, his depiction is made identical to Bu Dai. Mi Le Fo or Maitreya is generally worshiped to get happiness and wealth and to be able to give offspring (Setiawan, 1990: 330-331).

2.13 Tai Shang Lao Jun

Tai Shang Lao Jun is the supreme god and founder of Taoism. He is commonly known as Lao Tze. He authored a book entitled *Tao-te Cing* as the holy book of Taoism. When he became a god he was called Tai Shang Lao Jun and became the supreme god of the Trimurti or the three gods. Besides Tai Shang Lao Jun, two other figures of the Trimurti are Yuan Shi Tian Zun and Ling Bao Tian Zun. The main task of Tai Shang Lao Jun is to oversee the government in heaven. In carrying out his work, Tai Shang Lao Jun delegated it to Zhang Tian Shi. Lao Jun himself preferred to relax, study mysticism and make divine pills (Setiawan 1990: 80). At the Li Tie Guai Temple the statue of Tai Shang Lao Jun is not accompanied by two other Trimurti figures.

2.14 Guan Yin Pu Sa (Gwan Im)

Gwan Yin Pu Sa or Gwan Im is Avalokitesvara Bodhisatva who is popular and much worshiped by the people. She is the Goddess of Compassion which symbolizes a loving heart. Around the time of the Han Dynasty, Buddhist teachings that entered China introduced Avalokitesvara as a male. Then during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and the Five Dynasties (907-960 AD), Gwan Yin Pu Sa was depicted as a woman. According to Setiawan (1990) this change in form was influenced by the teachings of Confucianism which considered that it is inappropriate for women to ask for offspring from a male god. In addition, for adherents, the change in Goddess Gwan Yin Pu Sa's form is her own will.

Goddess Gwan Yin Pu Sa is manifested in various forms. In the Buddhist scriptures it is mentioned that there are 16 forms of manifestation of the Goddess Gwan Yin. After being translated into Chinese, it was changed into 33 forms because the number 33 was considered sacred to Chinese scholars. One of the manifestations of Goddess Gwan Yin Pu Sa is her form wearing white clothes. It symbolizes purity without sin like Mary in Catholicism (Setiawan 1990: 333). At the Li Tie Guai Temple, the five statues of the Goddess Gwan Yin Pu Sa are depicted wearing white clothes.

There are many stories about the Goddess Gwan Yin Pu Sa. One of them is the Chinese version which tells of a princess named Miao Shan who later became Gwan Yin Pu Sa. Miao Shan was the third daughter of a king named Po Qie from Xing-lin country who refused to choose a mate and decided to become a nun at Bai Que Si Temple. She was given heavy work in the temple kitchen by the head monk who was also ordered by his father King Po Qie so that Miao Shan would not feel at home. But Miao Shan had help from the Kitchen God Zao Jun, so the other gods also helped and Miao Shan did not find it difficult. Until one day King Po Qie was angry and decided to arrest Miao Shan and sentenced her to death. After the execution, Miao Shan's spirit was returned to her body in the Pine Forest. Then she was ordered to go to Xiang Shan at Pu Tuo Shan mountains to attain Consummation. Nine years later King Po Qie fell ill. Nothing could cure his illness. Then Miao Shan came to heal his sick father so that he recovered. Upon learning of his daughter's devotion, King Po Qie resigned from his throne and went to Xiang Shan to beg forgiveness and study Buddhism. In the end the Buddha gave the title to Miao Shan with the name Qian Shou Qian Yan Jiu Ku Jiu Nan Wu Shang Shi Guan Shi Yin Pu Sa which means Guan Shi Yin Pu Sa helper of hardships and tribulations who has eyes and a thousand hands and is incomparable (Setiawan, 1990: 345-347).

2.15 Ji Gong Huo Fo

Ji Gong Huo Fo is the incarnation of Xiang Long Zun Zhe who is one of the 18 Lohans. Ji Gong Huo Fo is highly skilled at all Buddhist disciplines. For him, all the teachings are primarily in the heart. Procedures are only pseudo. His characteristic is that he always carries an old fan and a pair of shoes that are damaged and his clothes are shabby. He likes to help people from trouble and punish bad people. Among Buddhists, Ji Gong Huo Fo is a Buddha who does not abstain from food, but his heart remains pure (Setiawan 1990: 206).

2.16 Guan Di

Guan Di or commonly known as Guan Gong is a warlord who lived during the San Guo period (221-269 AD). His real name is Guan Yu. Guan Di is revered for his loyalty and honesty. He is the symbol of a true hero who always keeps his oaths and promises. Guan Di is worshiped as the god who protects the calamities of war. In addition, he is also a god who protects trade and literature. The long story of Guan Di is fully explained in the novel San Guo. Guan Di is depicted wearing full armor. He is also depicted reading a book (Setiawan, 1990). This depiction is the same as that found on the three statues of Guan Di in the Li Tie Guai Temple but without his adopted son.

God Figure	Number of Statues	Percentage
He Xian Gu	2	6.7%
Zhang Guo Lao	1	3.3%
Lii Dong Bin	1	3.3%
Han Zhong Li	1	3.3%
Li Tie Guai	4	13.4%
Cao Guo Jiu	1	3.3%
Han Xiang Zi	1	3.3%
Lan Cai He	1	3.3%
Fu De Zheng Shen	4	13.4%
Yao Shi Fo	1	3.3%
O Mi Tuo Fo	1	3.3%
Mi Le Fo	1	3.3%
Tai Shang Lao Jun	2	6.7%
Gwan Yin Pu Sa	5	16.8%
Ji Gong Huo Fo	1	3.3%
Guan Di	3	10%

3. Embodiment of Deity Statues

The embodiment of the statues at Li Tie Guai Temple is divided based on gender identity that appears on the statue and is supported by written sources. In addition, the embodiment of the statues is also divided based on the appearance seen on the statues which are classified into three, namely children, adults, and old people.

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	22	73.3%
Female	7	23.4%
Transvestite	1	3.3%

At the Li Tie Guai Temple, 73.3% of the statues are male and 23.4% are female. Interestingly in this temple there is one statue or 3.3% who is a transvestite. The statue of a god who is a transvestite is Lan Cai He. He is the patron god of flower traders. At Li Tie Guai Temple, the statue of Lan Cai He is depicted as a transvestite teenager wearing a pink robe and her hair was in two pigtailed while carrying a flower basket. Then the statues of a woman in the Li Tie Guai Temple are He Xian Gu and Guan Yin Pu Sa. He Xian Gu is the only female god out of the eight

gods or *Ba Xian*. Guan Yin Pu Sa is the goddess of compassion who is the god of Buddhism. Then the male god statues are Zhang Guo Lao, Han Zhong Li, Lii Dong Bin, Li Tie Guai, Cao Guo Jiu, Han Xiang Zi, Fu De Zheng Shen, Yao Shi Fo, O Mi Tuo Fo, Mi Le Fo , Tai Shang Lao Jun, Ji Gong Huo Fo, and Guan Di.



Figure 2

The statue of the god Lan Cai He depicted as a transvestite

Source: Zaqi, 2022

At the Li Tie Guai Temple, there are 53.4% or sixteen god statues that have the appearance of adult statues. The statues that have an old appearance are eleven of the thirty statues or 36.6%. Then there are two or 6.7% statues that have the appearance of children and one teenager statue or 3.3%.

Appearance	Number	Percentage
Children	2	6.7%
Teenager	3	10%
Adult	14	46.7%
Old	11	36.6%

God statues at the Li Tie Guai Temple are mostly depicted as adults. The god figures depicted as adults are He Xian Gu, Lii Dong Bin, Han Zhong Li, Cao Guo Jio, Han Xiang Zi, and Lan Cai He. They are the six of the eight gods or *Ba Xian*. Apart from that, the Buddhist deities in the Li Tie Guai Temple, namely Yao Shi Fo, O Mi Tuo Fo, Mi Le Fo, and three of the five statue of Guan Yin Pu Sa are also depicted as adults. The statue of a god who also has an adult appearance is Guan Di who is the patron god of war. Adult-looking statues are generally characterized by attributes of medium body shape and adult male statues have black mustaches and beards.

The ancient god statues are Zhang Guo Lao, Li Tie Guai, Fu De Zheng Shen, Tai Shang Lao Jun, and Ji Gong Huo Fo. Zhang Guo Lao and Li Tie Guai are two of the eight gods or *Ba Xian*. Then Fu De Zheng Shen is the god of the earth who once lived during the Zhou Dynasty. Tai Shang Lao Jun is the founder and supreme god of Taoism. Ji Gong Huo Fo is a Buddhist priest from the Tiantai sect who is the patron deity of civil service. Old-looking statues are generally described as having a long white beard and mustache and a wrinkled face as well as attributes of a very fat and thin body so that the bones stick out. At Li Tie Guai Temple, there is also a statue that has the appearance of a child. The statues that appear as children are two of the five statues of Guan Yin Pu Sa which are accompanying statues.



Figure 3
Appearance of statues of children, youth, adults and old
Source: Zaqi, 2022

The embodiment of the statues at the Li Tie Guai Temple is mostly described as an adult and old appearance compared to the appearance of a teenager and a child. Based on this, from a life course perspective, it can be shown that there were more divine figures experience a transitional process in becoming a god in adulthood and old age than when they were children.

A character can become a god because of his good deeds, the purity of his soul, and his ability in a certain field. It certainly takes a long time before they are considered holy or have certain skills and eventually become a god.

It can also be seen that the number of male gods is bigger than that of female or other gods. Referring to the traditional culture of Chinese society which adheres to a patrilineal system, men have a large role in the social life of traditional Chinese society. Meanwhile, women do not have an important role in the social system. They do not have autonomous rights over themselves (Meij, 2009). However, this does not rule out the possibility that women or others do not have certain roles or expertise. In the scope of the maturity of Chinese society, there are gods who are women or even transvestites, although the number is small. This shows that in ancient China there was already a division of gender not only between men and women, but also with other genders, such as transvestites; even one of the gods worshiped by the Chinese community is a transvestite.

Embodiment of statue		Number	Percentage
Male	Adult	11	36.6%
	Elderly	11	36.6%
Female	Children	2	6.7%
	Teenager	2	6.7%
	Adult	3	10%
Transvestite	Teenager	1	3.4%

CONCLUSION

In the life course perspective, there are five elements that describe the life journey of divine figures, namely cohort, transition, trajectory, life event, and turning point (Hutchison, 2010). Some of the divine figures in the Li Tie Guai Temple are of the same cohort and in their life trajectories, they experience concurrent events with other divine figures. In the transition process of a character

to become a god in one life trajectory, the physical form of the god figure in that process is manifested in the form of a statue of worship in the temple.

Based on the analysis of the statues of deities at the Li Tie Guai Temple, it can be seen that there are 30 statues belonging to one main altar and three to secondary altars. Then, supported by written sources regarding the journey of life and the depiction of divine figures, it shows that there are 16 divine figures from 30 existing statues, namely He Xian Gu, Zhang Guo Lao, Han Zhong Li, Lii Dong Bin, Li Tie Guai, Cao Guo Jiu, Han Xiang Zi, Lan Cai He, Fu De Zheng Shen, Yao Shi Fo (Bhaisjya Guru Buddha), O Mi Tuo Fo (Amitabha), Mi Le Fo (Maitreya), Tai Shang Lao Jun, Gwan Yin Pu Sa, Ji Gong Huo Fo, and Guan Di.

From the description above, it can be seen that in the Li Tie Guai Temple there are statues of various deity figures. The gods can be classified into four groups based on their roles and areas of authority, namely 1 god who rules the sky, 10 gods who rule humans and professions, 1 god who rules the earth, and 4 gods of Buddhism. This shows that each divine figure has its own role and power so that the expectations of god worship for adherents of the Tri Dharma teachings vary.

The embodiment of the statues of gods is a representation of the life journey of characters in becoming gods. At the Li Tie Guai Temple, there are figures depicted with the appearance of children, teenagers, adults and old people. Most of the divine figures are depicted in male forms and a small portion are depicted as women and one divine figure is depicted as a transvestite. This shows that in ancient Chinese society, there was already a gender division; a transvestite even became one of the gods. Ancient Chinese society had a patriarchal system in which the role of men was greater than that of women. This is indicated by the fact that there are more gods who are represented as men but there are still few gods who are represented as women.

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