



**One House Two Temples:
The Ambivalence of Local Chinese Buddhism in Yogyakarta,
Indonesia**

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Abstract

The Chinese community in Yogyakarta is used to culturally divided into two groups: *peranakan* and *totok*. The *peranakan* were Chinese with local roots. This group was usually influenced by local Javanese culture. Their language also often used Javanese language elements. Most *totok* were Chinese immigrants and their immediate descendants who were less acculturated and more strongly oriented towards China. They spoke various Chinese dialects at home rather than speaking Indonesian. This paper observes these two Chinese communities in Yogyakarta, particularly with reference to the Gondomanan district, one of the largest areas with Chinese ethnic population. I emphasize here that Gondomanan *klenteng* is an ambivalence worship place. *Klenteng* and Buddha Prabhavihara are two temples that having different rituals and different religious teachings. The Gondomanan *klenteng* has been obligating *klenteng* members to pray to the ancestor, whereas the same members have also practiced Buddhism in the Buddha Prabhavihara, in the backside of the *klenteng*. The two temples represent two religions; *klenteng* indicates traditional religion that is practiced by their ancestors, while *vihara* is a worship place that implements some Buddhism obligations. This fact indicates an ambivalent worship place.

Keywords: *Chinese, Javanese culture, Buddha*

Introduction

For decades, the Chinese and their relations with indigenous society in Yogyakarta have been harmonious. Probably, the first Chinese arrived in Yogyakarta about two hundred and fifty years ago. The motive of Chinese to come to Yogyakarta is searching for new business opportunities in the *kraton* area because the Sultan allowed them to come. Gradually, a small Chinese community stayed in Ketandan, near city central market, to trade their marketable goods (Susanto 28-29). Beside business interest, the Chinese have been done their religious activities such as worship and establish the temple or—in Indonesia well-known as—*klenteng*. At the end of 1977, there were 13,526 Chinese residents in Yogyakarta, according to the statistic of the Chinese population in Java (BPS, Cina 23). Based on a provincial survey, in 2000, the Chinese population in Yogyakarta was approximately 14,000 people or 3.5 percent of the total population (BPS, Indonesia 45).

The Chinese community in Yogyakarta, culturally, was formerly divided into two groups: *peranakan* and *totok*. According to Skinner, *peranakan* were Chinese with local roots. This group usually influenced by local Javanese culture. Their language also, often, used Javanese language. Most *totok* were Chinese immigrants and their immediate descendants who were less acculturated and more strongly oriented towards China. They spoke various Chinese Dialects at home rather than speaking Indonesian (Skinner 103-108).

Liem pointed out that the larger proportion of the Chinese community in Yogyakarta, both *peranakan* and *totok*, embraced a variety of Chinese traditional religions (Liem Sio Siet). Various elements of beliefs and rituals were practices more consistently observed amongst *totok* than *peranakan*. It beliefs and rituals such as ancestor worship, the worship of household gods, and the offering of incense. *Peranakan* no longer understood the detailed Chinese rituals and ceremonies. In addition, there were about 2000 Christians among the *peranakan* as majority of Chinese religion in Yogyakarta. On the other word, the number of Buddhist,

Confucians and Muslims in Yogyakarta Chinese community are small. According to prominent Buddhists in Yogyakarta, many locally born Buddhists are affiliated with Tridharma, a religious association that combine the practice of three religious teachings: Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism (Willmott, Chinese 251-257). I should be note here that the majority of Buddhist in Yogyakarta usually students from Sumatera and Kalimantan who come to study at one of the city's universities (Budi). One of the well-known Chinese Buddhist temples in Yogyakarta is "Gondomanan temple or *klenteng*." This temple was built on August 5, 1900, which practiced Buddhism religion. In the same time and place, they were also prayed to the ancestor in lace that they called *klenteng*. As Buddhism practice, they have been praying to the Kwan Yin Goddess in Buddha Prabha vihara and, in the same place, they have been praying to the ancestor in *klenteng*. Based on historical perspective of Yogyakarta Chinese, the religious practices of Yogyakarta Chinese Buddhists in Gondomanan *klenteng* are ambivalence in which they have two worship places for praying to the Kwan Yin Goddess in Buddha Prabha vihara in the one side and praying to the ancestor in *klenteng* in the other side.

History of Yogyakarta Chinese

The existence of a separate Chinese minority group was not formed on the basis of race and religion, but as a result of the development of interrelated political, economic, historical, educational and psychological factors (Liem Sio Siet). However, the religious practice in their everyday life is still dominant factor. For instance, they pray to the ancestor, as an obligate tradition and to the God that they believe. It has been indicated by the worship building such as *klenteng* and/or vihara. The existence of worship building indicated religious activities in Yogyakarta Chinese religion. In the 1980, Hariyono's *Kultur Cina dan Jawa* conducted a sociological study on cultural assimilation between the *peranakan* Chinese and the Javanese in urban *kampung* (almost similar with village) of Yogyakarta. He found that there was increasing self determination in marriage and occupation, equal appreciation of son and daughters, less

traditional concern with the extended family, and the declining practice or observance of Chinese manners and ritual (e.g. rituals of worship). He argued that these changes have influenced in their acceptance for mixed ethnic marriage and/or ritual practices. In this sub title, I will explore the history of Yogyakarta Chinese to looking for the root of Chinese attitudes before explain the Chinese Buddhist practice and their temple in Yogyakarta.

During much of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were required by the Dutch authorities to live in the Chinese quarter. The Zoning system was applied in Yogyakarta from 1835 to 1918 when the regulation was abolished. The designated Chinese quarter in Yogyakarta was Ketandan, Malioboro, Ngabean, and Kranggan (Kwartanada, Kolaborasi 53). They could travel if they have travel passed. The difficult procedure and the high fee in obtaining a travel pass restricted the mobility of the Chinese. The pass system had been introduced in 1816 and was established in 1916. Zoning and pass systems confined the majority of Chinese to the Chinese quarter and prevented them for mixing with the indigenous community. In short, the colonial segregationist policy played a central role in setting the two communities apart and sharpening the differences in their interests (Wilmott, Chinese 11-13).

At the beginning twentieth century's, an emancipation movement emerged between the Chinese in the Indies. The movement nurtured their ethnic identity and pride of China and Chinese culture. Its political aim was to secure equal civil status with the Europeans. This movement was manifested in the established of Chinese schools, organizations and voluntary associations. There were about 33 of these organizations in Yogyakarta between 1900 and 1940. The larger ones included Siang Hwee, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, an education organization, which were established in Yogyakarta in 1905 and 1907 (Kwartanada, Kolaborasi 77-80). The national organizations claimed some success: the abolition of zoning and pass system and wider opportunities for education. However, these successes caused a further break between the Chinese, who had become more self conscious, and the indigenous society.

It is also worth noting that the relation between the Sultan and the Yogyakarta Chinese community were positive, as the Chinese community maintained their loyalty to the Sultan. They showed their respect to the court by presenting a marble plaque for the coronation of the Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX in 1940, and the Chinese associations, organized various festivities to celebrate the coronation. Due to the Sultan's role in maintaining the stability during the Japanese occupation and throughout the revolution, Chinese communities in the city of Yogyakarta lived in relative security during these years. Popular anger was vented towards the Dutch and the part Dutch population, rather than against the Chinese.

During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese army seized some houses owned by Chinese and prominent Yogyakarta Chinese were arrested and imprisoned. Many Yogyakarta Chinese suffered from the Japanese order to register themselves, which required the payment of a high fee. A pass system similar to the former Dutch one, which restricted Chinese to travel out the city, was reinstated. The attitude of the Japanese authority towards the Chinese softened after a number of prominent Chinese were willing to cooperate with them. The Japanese policy regarding Chinese culture encouraged the revival of a Chinese cultural identity, which fitted with the *totok* Chinese aspirations.

Following the defeat of the Japanese, during the struggle of independence, violence against the Chinese erupted in various parts of Indonesia (Kahin). After the proclamation of Independence in 1945, the Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX quickly controlled the situation in Yogyakarta. The Sultan entrusted various youth groups, including Chinese youth, with the maintenance of the stability and security of the area. The Sultan also declared a guarantee for the safety of foreigners in the region as long as respected Indonesia independence. To support the Sultan's declaration, the Chinese organization in Yogyakarta warned the Chinese community to avoid anything that could jeopardize their position (Kwartanada, Kolaborasi 483). However, many Yogyakarta Chinese *totok* refugee in the Dutch-controlled area went to Semarang.

During the 1950s, after the transfer of sovereignty, a new policy shaped the Indonesian government's treatment of the Chinese. While

the official policy insisted that the Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent should be completely assimilated into the indigenous majority, no major efforts were taken to press their compliance. However, various measures were taken to promote the development of indigenous businesses at the expense of the Chinese. Granting preferences in the allocation of credit and import licenses to indigenous entrepreneurs tended to discriminate against the Chinese entrepreneurs. One of the schemes was the *benteng* system, which granted monopolies to indigenous importers and exporters. This system had led to creation of the 'Ali-Baba firms': Ali, the indigenous front man who obtained the license, and Baba, the Chinese businessperson with the capital, who actually conducted the business (Thee 45; Mackie and Coppel, Preliminary 13). Moreover, to foster business assimilation, the Chinese businesspeople were urged to find an indigenous partner and employ indigenous managers.

Pressures against the dominant Chinese economic role increased and culminated in 1959, when Presidential Decree, generally known as PP 10, banned the participation of 'foreigners' in indigenous businesses outside the capitals of regencies, municipalities and provinces. 'Foreigners' had to decide whether to close, sell or transfer their businesses to Indonesian citizens or move them to the larger cities. In practice, the regulation was applied to all Chinese businesses, regardless the citizenship status of the owners (Mackie Anti 83-86). This regulation treated the Chinese-Indonesian businesspeople as second-class citizens.

Surprisingly, these discriminatory regulations sparked criticism not only from the Chinese press and Baperki (*Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*), but also from indigenous politicians of other parties (Willmott, Chinese 89). Baperki formed associations to support Chinese Indonesian entrepreneurs and petty traders, in dealing with government discrimination (Liem). Since the beginning of its existence, Baperki has constantly fought against discriminatory measures. They also established many schools throughout the country to accommodate Chinese students.

The Chinese response to this discrimination was generally divided into two groups: those who advocated assimilation and total emergence into the

indigenous society with cessation as a distinct ethnic group, and those who argued for integration, insisted that the Chinese should be treated equally as other Indonesian citizens and claimed the rights to retain their own culture. Intense debates held mainly on the national level among the Chinese elite. The integration faction won the allegiance of many Chinese primarily due to Baperki's strong stand on ethnic discrimination. In Yogyakarta, many *peranakan* Chinese became sympathizers of Baperki (Liem).

Generally, the repression of Chinese in Yogyakarta was relatively mild. The main factor preventing maltreatment may have been the leadership of the Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, who consistently opposed ethnic discrimination. Many influential leaders of indigenous social organizations, including prominent aristocrats, had close ties with Yogyakarta Chinese elite. This may have to some extent, contributed the less severe harassment of the Yogyakarta Chinese, however, it does not mean that they were exempted from institutional discrimination. In 1957, factories owned by a prominent Chinese entrepreneur were nationalized by the Indonesian government, not by the local government. In fact, according to senior business person; economic measures appeared to have had less effect on Chinese businesses in Yogyakarta. Most of the Chinese-owned businesses in Yogyakarta at that time were not affected by the import and export regulations. Prior to the regulation that banned Chinese from rural areas was enacted, Chinese, for the sake of security, had already moved to the city during the Japanese occupation and the struggle for independence (Hardjono, Komuniti 55-59). While the execution of the government measure in other areas of Java was associated with anti-Chinese outbreaks, this was not the case in Yogyakarta. As it had prior to the World War II, Yogyakarta experienced a flourishing of Chinese associations. Basically, the Chinese remained a distinct ethnic group culturally, economically, and religiously, as the majority of Chinese still embraced traditional Chinese religion. This did not generate serious ethnic tensions in the wider society of Yogyakarta. This relatively peaceful coexistence was probably the result of the fact that the Yogyakarta Chinese were indifferent towards their social environment. Although they retained their own culture, they always exhibited positive public spirit. Representatives of the Chinese community participated in inter-ethnic

activities and substantially supported the society during the years of hardship. Many of them also showed interest in the Javanese culture. Dr. Yap's Eye Hospital served many Indonesians. Most of the *peranakan* children transferred from Chinese schools to schools run by Protestant or Catholic organizations. Meanwhile, the mainstream Javanese community and the elite showed tolerance towards the Chinese as a distinct ethnic group, enabling them to develop a relationship based on mutual respect and reciprocity.

Following the military take-over in October 1965, there was a fierce attack on alleged members of the Communist party and their former allies. These hostilities affected the Chinese because the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* the Indonesia Communist Party, was closely linked to the People's Republic of China, and anti-communist sentiments easily spilled over into anti-Chinese actions. Anti-Chinese hostility welled up to the surface. It was a period of frightening insecurity for most of the Chinese in Indonesia. In those days, there was a constant sense of insecurity and vulnerability to harassment, against which there seemed little hope of protection. Many Chinese suffered considerable losses or total destruction of their property by mob attacks and ransacking (Coppel, Mapping 143-167; Mackie). The Chinese became easy targets of extortion demands by the military, the police, and criminal gangs, not only because they were perceived to be rich, but also because the authorities were unlikely to risk becoming unpopular by defending them.

The degree of pressure to assimilate to which Chinese people were subjected at this time, however, appears to have varied from one province to another. Local factors played an important part in shaping the course of events, but news of what was happening in other regions surely affected the Chinese throughout the country.

This time, the Chinese in Yogyakarta did not escape from the turbulence. However, according to the recollections of some informants, they seemed to have experienced less severe aggression than the Chinese in other parts of the country. They recalled a few cases of violence and minor incidents in the streets, in which Chinese men were physically abused. Only the buildings of PKI, and organizations affiliated to

the PKI and Baperki were destroyed. Later, the military took over some buildings of Chinese organizations and schools. Several Chinese businesspersons reported that they also suffered from intimidation, threats, and demands for extortion. This was a period of tension for the Chinese in Yogyakarta. They were very aware that suspicion of Communist affiliations amongst the Chinese could easily turn into violence.

The History of The Gondomanan klenteng

Gondomanan *klenteng* situated on jalan Brigjen Katamso, Gondomanan district, city of Yogyakarta. This temple was established on August 15, 1990. Standing at the land belonged to the Palace, it was given in the era of Sri Sultan Hamengku⁵⁰ Buwono VII in 1845 as a place for ritual religious to the Chinese (Budi). Gondomanan is the one of district that well-known as the Chinese quarters or *pecinan*. Chinese quarter became an integral part of the commercial center of Yogyakarta. A few shops open since the colonial period, including Toko Tan, Toko 63, Toko Djoen, Toko Asia, Toko Bah Gemuk, Toko Wina, Restaurant Tionsan, and several traditional Chinese drugstores, are still in business. Tionsan restaurant, as other shops with Chinese names, assumed an Indonesian name, Mahkota, as required by the government in 1967. Many formerly popular stores and well-known restaurants have vanished, including Toko Linggo, Toko Hien, Toko Obral, Toko Karunia, Restaurant Che Nam, and Toko Oen (Susanto, *Umbrella* 48-49). Pecinan, as the Chinese quarter of the early 1900s, lives only in the memories of the older generation. It is no longer a predominantly Chinese settlement. Although they are less visible now, the majority of Yogyakarta Chinese still live in these areas. As can be seen in Table below, two out of three Chinese live in the areas that were formerly the Chinese quarter, where they constitute between four to thirteen per cent of the total population. In other words, it is safe to say that the present settlement pattern of the Chinese is relatively unchanged: most Chinese prefer to live either in or near the commercial heart of the city. In this case, Gondomanan district is the one of the large percentage of the Chinese population in the city of Yogyakarta.

Table 1: The Chinese quarter population of the city of Yogyakarta in 1968 and 2000

Districts	1968		2000	
	Chinese	%	Chinese	%
Gedongan Tangen	4,029	26.89	2,538	17.55
Gondomanan	3,643	24.32	2,614	18.07
Jetis	2,285	15.25	2,253	15.58
Ngampilan	1,780	11.88	1,382	9.56
Danurejan	573	3.82	1,119	7.74
Total	12,310	3.82	1,119	7.74

Source: Data Monografi Yogyakarta, 2001.

From the table above, the differences of Gondomanan Chinese population between 1968 and 2000 was obvious. In 1968, the Gondomanan Chinese populations only 24.32 percent under the Gedongan Tangen. But in 2000, after Gondomanan *klenteng* was established in 1990, the Gondomanan Chinese populations were increasingly crowded. This data showed on how the Chinese Buddhists around the Gondomanan *klenteng* were increase.

Initially, the Gondomanan *kelenteng* was called Hok Tik Bio, a place of for devoting to Hok Tik Sin whom the Buddhists believed as the Gods of Earth. However, this *klenteng* also provides a devotion altar for Buddhists and Konghucu. In the era of New Order, it was changed into Buddha Prabha vihara (Ardhi). At that time, agama as authorized by the Indonesian state includes requirements that it 1) be an encompassing way of life with concrete regulations, 2) a teaching about the oneness of God 3) include a holy book, which codifies a message sent down to prophet(s) through a holy spirit; and 4) be led by prophet. That the state views all religions outside these limitations as ‘tribal’ beliefs, and are therefore ‘superstitious’, is the working framework of this discourse. With the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Menteri Dalam Negeri*) decree No. 477/74054 on November 18th 1978, the government explicitly states that the religions “acknowledge” in Indonesia are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism (Hidayah 5). Therefore, the Chinese population in Gondomanan emphasized Buddhism more.

The Gondomanan *klenteng* stands on 1150 m² area and surrounded by large yard. This building is divided into the main room in the middle, the south side room, the north side room, and the back room. On the center of the building, there is an open area. The main typical matter of this building is Ngang Shan type, where two of its top is bent into the updraft. Its top is decorated with two dragon sculptures facing to each other with vertical tails. On the center of the dragon, there was a fireball that symbolizes the moon pearl. In the Chinese tradition, the dragon represents protection and power, while the pearl represents purity (Ardhi). On the wall, pile and other part of the building, there are images and various Chinese woodcarvings. In the main room of the vihara, there are paying altars and sculptures. The altar in the middle is the worship altar for the Buddha Gautama, Dhyani Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, Prajnaparamita, and Maitreya. Besides that, there are also worship altar for Hok Tik Cing Sin, Day Yang Sing Kun, Day Ing Poo Sat, Kong Tik Coen Ong, and Thiang Sian Sing Bo, the personage of the Taoism.

On the left side, there is a worship altar for Hiang Thiang Siang Tee, while on the right side, there is worship altar for Kwan Tee Koen and Khong Hu Cu. On the backside, there is worship altar for the personages of Buddha that contains small sculptors that describe Buddha Gautama, Dhyani Buddha Amitabha, Bhaisajyaguru Buddha, Dhyani Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, and Maitreya. On the top room, which is the additional room, there is worship altar for Buddha Gautama, Dhyani Buddha Amitabha, Bhaisajyaguru Buddha, Ananda, and Sariputra.

The Gondomanan *klenteng* description above showed many God and/or Goddesses in one place (one house) that contains some beliefs and rituals. For example, behind the door, there was sacred place that called *klenteng* or ancestor worship place (see picture 1). Ancestor worship does serve a purpose to the Chinese. Although this idea might seem foreign to a Western civilization, it goes much deeper than simply holding an interest in their heritage. "The secular function of ancestor worship is to cultivate kinship values like filial piety, family loyalty, and continuity of the family lineage" (Yang, Chinese 278). This ancient practice truly binds a family together through numerous generations. On the other hand, there were

Buddhism God and/or Goddesses. In the place of Buddha Prabha vihara, placed on the backside of *klenteng*, there was Kwan Yin Goddess and Buddha Gautama (see picture 2). It place indicated Buddhism belief. Unlike the other worship places such as mosque in Islam, temple in Javanese Buddhism and church in Christianity, the Gondomanan *klenteng* described the ambivalence of worship place in which there was worship place for ancestor and vihara for Buddha Gautama and Kwan Yin.

Figure 1. Gondomanan *Klenteng*



Figure 2. Gondomanan (Buddha Prabha) Vihara



Ambivalence Religion?

Ambivalence is a state of having conflicting toward a person or thing. A common example of it term is the feeling of both love and hate for human being or person. It word derives from the Latin, *ambi*, meaning “both” and *valentia*, meaning “strength” (Brians, Common 11). In psychoanalysis, for instance, the concept of ambivalence (introduced by

Bleuler in 1911) refers to an underlying emotional attitude in which the co-existing contradictory impulses (usually love and hate) derive from a common source and are thus held to be interdependent. Moreover, when the term is used in this psychoanalytic sense, it would not usually be expected that the person embodying ambivalence would actually feel both of the two contradictory emotions as such (Bleuler). A new interest can be observed in the 1990s, the leading author being Zygmunt Bauman in writings related to postmodernism. Of importance, from a societal perspective, is the analysis of the ambivalent structure of the category of gender in contemporary feminist writings (Bauman). Sometimes, the scholars used of ambivalence in a social science perspective when dilemmas and polarisations of feelings, thoughts, actions and, furthermore, contradictions in social relations and social structures, which are relevant for personal and societal development, are interpreted as being basically irreconcilable.

Based on the theoretical meaning above, the word ambivalence here was applied to categorize contradictory worship place (temple) in Gondomanan *klenteng* case. *Klenteng* (Chinese temple for ancestor), and Buddha Prabha vihara (Chinese Buddhist temple for Buddha God) are two temples that having different ritual and different religious teaching. In Gondomanan *klenteng*, both of *klenteng* and vihara are one; in one house, even, one religion. The Gondomanan *klenteng* has been obligating *klenteng* members to pray to the ancestor. Along with the belief in the spirits of ancestors, the Chinese also believed in the "existence and power of a number of nature spirits" (Bary, Source 9). Through worship of their ancestors, the Chinese were able to keep a record of their ancestry and, in doing so, created strong family ties. Consequently, some ancestor rituals such as burn incense and pray to their family have been done. That practices could be categorize as one of religious practice. Whereas, the same member or the same person has been also practiced Buddhism in the Buddha Prabha vihara, backside of the *klenteng*. The Buddhism ritual and practices such as meditation, mantras, mudras, and prayer wheels have been practiced by the members which are intended to aid in the journey to enlightenment and bring blessings on oneself and others. The practice of meditation, for instance, is central to nearly all forms of Buddhism, and it

derives directly from the Buddha's experiences and teachings. Obviously, it rituals, in other side, is religious practice.

Two temples would be brought to the two religions, consequently. As I mentioned above, the *klenteng* and *vihara* are strength worship place. *Klenteng* indicates traditional religion that practiced by their forefather hereditary. On the other word, *vihara* also is a worship place that implemented some Buddhism obligations. "Both" of them are "strength" religious worship place. Further, the two strength things taken place in one place, one house, made a confused consequence. This fact indicates an ambivalent worship place.

This double worship places, although Chinese Buddhism have been claimed to the Indonesian government that *klenteng* is not religion worship place any more, have been different practice of religiosity. The reason why they practiced two different religious practices are: 1) they assumed that Buddhism and ancestor obligation ritual are same teaching 2) the Indonesian government decree No. 477/74054 on November 18th 1978 that the government explicitly states that the religions "acknowledge" in Indonesia are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. It reasons made Yogyakarta Chinese in Gondomanan choose one of the religion given by Indonesian government. Furthermore, they decided Buddhism as their religion legally and ancestor practice as their culture or tradition (Ardhi).

Conclusion

The Chinese community in Yogyakarta, culturally, was formerly divided into two groups: *peranakan* and *totok*. *Peranakan* were Chinese with local roots. This group usually influenced by local Javanese culture. Their language also, often, used Javanese language. Most *totok* were Chinese immigrants and their immediate descendants who were less acculturated and more strongly oriented towards China. They spoke various Chinese Dialects at home rather than speaking Indonesian (Skinner 103-108). Various elements of beliefs and rituals were practices more consistently observed amongst *totok* than *peranakan*. It beliefs and rituals such as

ancestor worship, the worship of household gods, and the offering of incense. One of the “Chinese” district that interested in Yogyakarta. Gondomanan district is the one of the large percentage of the Chinese population in the city of Yogyakarta. In 1968, the Gondomanan Chinese populations only 24.32 percent under the Gedongan Tangen. But in 2000, after Gondomanan *klenteng* was established in 1990, the Gondomanan Chinese populations were increasingly crowded. This data showed on how the Chinese Buddhists around the Gondomanan *klenteng* were increase.

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