



THE EXISTENCE OF WIHARA II DHARMA AMURVA BHUMI (KRAMAT AYAM SENEN) AFTER REORGANIZATION OF THE SEGITIGA SENEN AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1967

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Abstract

The existence of Pasar Senen cannot be separated from Kramat Ayam which known build in early 20th century until 1921 on Jl. Kali Lio, because a stone with Chinese script was found loose from a Chinese grave and was considered sacred (Kramat), then moved to Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III (formerly Gg. Tjap Pek Keng 十八間) became Wihara I in 1921 until it was closed on November 18, 1968 due to the impact of the reorganization of Segitiga Senen area and its surroundings known as the 'Proyek Senen' project in the era of Governor Ali Sadikin, since then its existence has not been heard again in literature sources. Apparently through field research it is known that this temple still exists under the name 'Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen)' Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Blok G3 No.362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta, so that the research questions arise: (1) Why did the temple move to its current location? (2) How is the existence of religious activities in this temple since moving to a new location until now? And (3) What are challenges faced by the temple in maintaining its existence, now and future? This study uses a Qualitative Case Study approach with library data collection, activity observations, and informant interviews. The data analysis technique uses Milles, Hubberman, and Saldana (2014). Results of the study provide new explanations about (1) Kaleidoscope of the existence of Kramat Ayam from its inception until now, (2) Sacred figures (3) Prayer activities and congregational services at this temple, and (4) Challenges to the existence of the temple in regeneration of congregation and sustainability of management.

Keywords Kramat Ayam Temple; Urban Reorganization; Religious Continuity

INTRODUCTION

Senen was originally one of the old villages in the former Batavia area (now: Senen District, Central Jakarta Municipality). Initially, the Senen area was still a swamp and scrubland. Along with the development of the economy and the abundance of plantation products, Justinus Vinck had the intention in 1733 to establish a market on Grote Zuiderweg (now: the southern end of Jl. Gunung Sahari). The market was then known as Vinckpusser (Vinck Market, Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005b: 117). On August 30, 1735, after receiving permission from the Dutch East Indies government through Governor Abraham Petrus, Justinus Vinck was able to build a market which was later known as Pasar Senen, he also connected Tanah Abang Market and Pasar Senen with a highway (now Jl. Prapatan and Jl.

Wahid Hasyim, Kampung Lima) until in 1743 Justinus Vinck sold the market to Governor General Jacob Mossel. (Heuken, 2000: 232; Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005b: 117). Around Pasar Senen, a canal called 'Kali Lio' was built, namely a river (Kali) that flows air from the Ciliwung River to the west above Jl. Gunung Sahari, initially in the form of a canal made by Jacob Mossel around Pasar Senen with the aim of avoiding flooding and making it easier for small boats to transport market necessities. (Heuken, 2000: 232; Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005a: 80-81).

After Jacob Mossel died, the management was taken over by Governor Van der Paraa, initially the market was only open on Mondays, which was then known as Pasar Senen, then added Fridays, then considering the increasingly busy market, since 1766 it was opened on other days. In the Senen area, besides the market, a military complex was also built along Jl. Kenanga, Kwini to Waterlooplein Field (Now Lapangan Banteng; Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005b: 117-118). In the past, the Dutch people called this market Pasar Snees (Dutch), derived from the word snezen which literally means 'receiver of stolen goods' (Islam, 1989: 8), while Chinese people call Senen Market as 'Jishizhen 結石珍' (Blussé & Dening, 2018: 159) which when pronounced in Hokkien becomes 'Kat Sek Tin' and loosely translates as 'Precious Stone'. In this area, Dutch officers' housing and a cinema owned by the landlord were also built. Then on Jl. Gunung Sahari along the banks of the Ciliwung River, many resting places were built for Dutch officials until in the 18th century the area became an elite area. Many Chinese traders were attracted to the Senen area. Several alleys used names with Chinese pronunciations, such as Tjop Go Keng alley 十五間 (Lit: 15 rooms). The society of Kampung Senen at that time was quite inclusive and diverse, consisting of various ethnic groups, such as Betawi, Chinese, Indian, in fact, it could be said that almost all ethnic groups in Indonesia were present here. (Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005b: 117-118).



(a)



(b)

Figure 1. (a). "Het Gezicht van de passer senen van de rowectaftezien in'tver schiet de kerk en weltevreedeleggende 4 Pale Buy Ten Batavia" (View of Senen Market seen from behind the church and 4 Mansions in the Weltevreden area, Batavia) by J. Rach in the late 18th century; (b). Senen Triangle in a 1980. (Source: Heuken, 2000: 234).

There is evidence of paintings that depict how advanced and busy the Senen Triangle area is, in the Figure 1 (Figure 1a) depicts the horse-drawn carriage of the Governor General entering Kenanga Alley (Now Jl. Senen Raya III, Senen Triangle area) heading towards a large Mansion in Weltevreden (In Heuken, 2000: 234). Another view of the Senen Triangle in a 1980 black and white monograph photo with the same photo angle (Figure 1b) shows

that this area has become an elite area with many buildings with Chinese architectural style. Unfortunately, between 1989-1991 the Senen Triangle area was completely evicted because it was considered to look too Chinese (Heuken, 2000: 235). These two images illustrate that the Pasar Senen area, specifically the Senen Triangle, was a center of economic activity and a modern city, and many Chinese people sought their fortunes there at that time. This area is renowned for its diverse population, which has led to sociocultural and religious diversity, even coining the term INATAB (Islam, Christianity, Chinese, Buddhism). In addition to embracing these religions, some people also worship sacred sites. One such site is a tomb on Jl. Pasar Senen called "Kramat Ayam." (Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2005b: 117-118).

Kramat Ayam itself before 1942 was located next to Jalan Pasar Senen No. 150, directly across the street from the shop front "Gouw Kian Pek" (Tobacco Merchant Shop) in the neighborhood called Senen Kebon Kelapa, there is a sacred Chinese grave there, and known to the community as Kramat Ayam. In the middle of the grave is a stone shaped like a mold measuring 35 cm long x 25 cm wide, with Chinese characters written on it. The form of the grave uses stones surrounded by a wooden fence and a tiled roof. To the north of the grave is a public pump well, and the south side of the grave is lined with tamarind trees. The identity of the figure buried there is unclear, but the grave is always crowded with pilgrims to pray (Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Dinas Museum dan Sejarah, 1993: 42; S & Moechtar, 1969: 29). There is a custom among pilgrims to slaughter chickens there, so the place is nicknamed Kramat Ayam or in Van Ophuijsen's spelling it is written 'Kramat Ajam' (Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Dinas Museum dan Sejarah, 1993:14). Another version according to S & Moechtar (1969: 29) said that many people who come on pilgrimage follow their interests, such as making an oath, asking for blessings, asking to win the game, and so on. Everyone who wants to come there is accompanied by releasing chickens. That is why it is known as 'Kramat Ayam'.

Kramat ayam according to Salmond & Lombard, (2003: 39, 109) Established in the early 20th century on Jl. Kali Lio, as a result of the assimilation of the beliefs of the Chinese peranakan with the native Muslim population, they described the sacred chicken at that time as part of a rather old Chinese tomb. It is known that the Dutch Colonial Government wanted to move this tomb many times, the reason being that the Dutch Government intended to widen the road, but the relocation efforts always failed. The Dutch government handed it over to Majoor der Chinezen Kouw Kim An 玛腰 许金安 (In office 1910 – died on February 13, 1945), he was the chairman of the Chinese Council association named Kong Kwan 公館 (Chinese Raad) which was authorized as the Representative Body of the Chinese Group in Greater Jakarta, he tried to find someone who could move the Kramat, which at that time in general people did not dare. With perseverance, finally there was a man named the late Mr. Musanip who lived in Gang Sentiong Mesjid Jakarta, who agreed to the request of Major Khouw Kim An for the relocation of the Kramat Ayam. Finally, Kramat Ayam moved to Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III (formerly called Gg. Tjap Pek Keng 十八間 Lit: 18 Kamar) in 1921 safely, this new place was provided by the Dutch Government specifically for Kramat in the form of a small house (Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Dinas Museum dan Sejarah, 1993: 14; S & Moechtar, 1969: 25, 29). Due to the relocation of Kramat Ayam, Gang Sentiong and the Kramat Dalam area became one sub-district (Kecamatan),

which is now called Kramat Sub-district. (Alviani Harara, 2017: 42). However, this action did not reach the Kong Kwan 公館 (Chinese Council/Raad Tjina/Chineesche Raad) archives, based on the Kong Kwan Batavia archives from 1909-1964 which were collected Hoogervorst & Erkelens, (2025a, 2025b) There was no discussion about Mayor Khouw Kim An's actions in ordering the relocation of this sacred temple. It is highly likely that the Mayor chose to resolve it himself rather than bringing this issue to the Kongkoan council meeting (*Vergadering*).



(a)



(b)

Figure 2. (a). Old photograph of Wihara I (Kelenteng Kramat Ajam) in middle of Senen Vegetable market; (b). Interior view of Wihara I (Kelenteng Kramat Ajam). (Source: S & Moechtar, 1969: 39, 51).

In the old photo of the Kramat Ayam temple obtained from the book 'Senen 200 Tahun', pages 39 and 51 on Figure 2 (a and b), a photograph of a stone being moved from Kramat Ayam to the altar was taken. The stone was identified as having the inscription Fu Shen/Hok Sin (福神), which refers to the earth deity who guards a tomb (The Hokkien term for tomb is Bong 墓 or Sentiong 聖塚, in *MkDict Taiwanese-English Dictionary*, n.d.). Because many people make pilgrimages there and many leave/submit small objects that may be their beliefs, the Chinese community built an additional building next to the Kramat with a table for praying. The objects were collected and arranged on the table, then used as a place of prayer, and since then the name Kramat Ayam is no longer mentioned, people now know it better as 'Kelenteng'. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia does not allow two streams of belief (Kramat and Kelenteng/Toapekong) in one place and were asked to choose one. The Chinese community of Senen chose Toapekong. Until November 18, 1968, the Kramat was closed and the stone that was in the Kramat was removed, then placed on a table in the middle between the other objects (S & Moechtar, 1969: 29). At least from a daily newspaper called *Minggu Djaja* (1967) there was an announcement from a medical graduate student who provided private tutoring services for elementary/middle/high school students, he gave the address as 'Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III No. 33 A (Behind the Kelenteng) Djakarta', this announcement confirmed that the Kramat Ayam Temple still existed at that time (*Mingguan Djaja - Google Books*, 1967: 4). But unfortunately the story of this historic temple was lost because it was destroyed in 1985 along with the eviction of the Senen Triangle (Salmond & Lombard, 2003: 39, 109).

Apparently this temple still exists today and is known to use the name of 'Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi / Hok Tek Tjeng Sin 福德正神 (Kramat Ayam Senen)', Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No. 362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560, researchers learned about the existence of this temple from Mr. Herdianto Lesmana via Instagram. After making

a visit on June 3, 2025 to find out the truth regarding the existence of this temple, three research questions emerged: (1) Why did the temple move to its current location on Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No. 362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560? (2) How has the existence of religious activities at this temple been since moving to a new location until now? And (3) What challenges does the temple face in maintaining its existence both now and in the future?

Research related to the history and existence of monasteries and temples in Indonesia has often been carried out, such as by Farinuddin & Pradjoko, (2024) in his article entitled 'Tek Seng Bio Temple As A Symbol Of History And Locality Of The Chinese Indonesian Community In Cikarang' examines the existence, evolution, and adaptation of the Tek Seng Bio Temple in North Cikarang with a historical research approach to provide a picture of the local historiography of the Tek Seng Bio Temple and North Cikarang, as well as providing new meaning to the complex interaction between religious practices, government regulations, and the cultural identity of Chinese Indonesians in the temple. The next research is entitled 'The Existence of Confucianism in Majalengka Regency (Case Study of the Hok Tek Tjeng Sin Temple and Confucian Adherents)' by Firdausi (2017) with a Case Study approach supported by library research explains how the dynamics of the existence of the development of the Hok Tek Tjeng Sin Majalengka Temple from the organizational side, religious activities and key figures who make this temple able to continue to survive and get its own place among the temple's congregation. This research offers novelty in the form of a related research gap that has never been researched regarding the existence of the II Dharma Amurva Bhumi Kramat Ayam Senen Temple since its story disappeared in the 1970s. In order to answer the research questions and fill the existing research gap, this research was initiated.

METHODS

This research uses a Qualitative Case Study approach, namely a field research method that focuses on the analysis of a unique event in a place, in order to obtain primarily exploratory and explanatory knowledge, as well as descriptive knowledge (Ilhami et al., 2024). This approach was chosen because the researchers considered the research problems at this temple to be different from those at other locations, due to the limited historical data written after 1985 and data on religious activities at the temple. Data collection was conducted in three stages:

(1) Searching for library data related to this temple in order to build a historiographic analysis of the existence of this temple from its first establishment to the latest data recorded in historical literature. Data collection was carried out by visiting 3 libraries, namely the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia on Jl. Medan Merdeka Sel. No. 11 Central Jakarta on June 12, 2025, the South Jakarta Library on Jl. Gandaria Tengah V No. 3 South Jakarta, and the Central Jakarta Library of HB. Jassin Literary Documents at Taman Ismail Marzuki Jl. Cikini Raya No. 738 Central Jakarta on June 13, 2025. In addition, data collection was carried out by searching for credible data sources on the Internet such as Google Books and Google Scholar, as well as contacting a Chinese history activist, namely Mr. Nilsen Kwa 柯义臣 to obtain data in the book *Senen 200 Years* which is no longer available in the three large libraries above;

(2) Visiting observations of activities at the II Dharma Amurvabhumi Temple (Kramat Ayam Senen), Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No.362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560 twice on Sunday, June 15 2025 at 08.00-11.00 WIB and on Tuesday, June 24 2025 at 18.00-20.00 WIB in order to find out the dynamics of religious activities at this temple;

(3) Interviewing key informants to obtain oral history data and data related to the existence of the temple since its move to its current location in the 1970s until today. Informants were selected using snowball sampling and three names were identified as knowledgeable about the temple: Mrs. Edi (mother of the temple's head, Mr. Nicholas Adi Lesmana), Mrs. Lusi (daily administrator of the temple), and Ko Jimmy (elder and Kitong/medium for the Hok Tek Ceng Sin god at the temple).

The collected data and narratives were then analyzed using the analysis model of Milles, Hubberman, and Saldana (2014). This model begins with initial data collection, condensation of all collected data, and displaying the data by taking observation notes, transcribing interviews, and creating a research journal. The data obtained was then used to verify information and draw conclusions through data triangulation. (Miles et al., 2014: 31-33). All these processes are carried out continuously and vice-versa until saturated data is obtained and is able to answer the questions in this study.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Kaleidoscope of the Existence of Kramat Ayam

From time to time, since the time it was still on Jl. Kali Lio in the early 20th century (Salmond & Lombard, 2003: 39, 109) Until now, Kramat Ayam has experienced at least 3 relocations, namely from the Pre-Wihara era, namely the early 20th century until in 1921 it was moved to Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III (formerly called Gg. Tjap Pek Keng 十八間) by the late Musanip on the orders of Major Khouw Kim An 瑪腰 許金安 (Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Dinas Museum dan Sejarah, 1993: 14; S & Moechtar, 1969: 25, 29). After 1921 to 1968 was the era of Wihara I, the existence of Wihara I was closed on November 18, 1968, Kramat Ayam was closed and the stone that was in the Kramat was removed, then placed on a table in the middle between other objects (S & Moechtar, 1969: 29). This means there was a transition period during which, during the relocation process, it was stated that the temple and its sacred stone were evacuated to an unknown location. The story of Kramat Ayam's existence in historical literature stops with the statement of Salmond & Lombard, (2003: 39, 109) because it was destroyed in 1985 along with the eviction of the Senen Triangle.

In order to investigate the early existence of Wihara II, researchers interviewed sources who were considered to know the history and activities of the Kramat Ayam Wihara. Based on the data presented by the sources, they currently can only remember and know the location of this Kramat after it was established as a Wihara in Pasar Senen Dalam III (Dalam Pasar Sayur, known as Wihara I), not when it was first discovered on Jl. Kali Lio. The sources recounted the history of the establishment of Wihara I on Jalan Pasar Senen Dalam III, that there was a Toapekong house in the form of a hut that was sacred to local residents. According to sources Ibu Edi and Ko Jimmy, the location is in a market area that sells many commodities, vegetables, fish, poultry (a type of slaughterhouse/poultry market), and there is a collection of chicken droppings that has become quite large and has formed into a mound. Ko Jimmy revealed in the interview that in that place many people

pray and make vows, if for example they lose an exotic chicken like an expensive Bangkok Chicken, looking for it there will definitely find it. Then many people also pray there are suitable and successful. Then the place is known by the people as Kramat Ayam.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 3. (a) Present terrace view of Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen); (b) Present interior view; (c) Present main altar view. Source: Observation data conducted on Sunday, June 15, 2025, at 08.00-11.00.

Meanwhile, the relocation from Wihara I to Wihara II at the current location of Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No. 362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560 Ko Jimmy and Ibu Edi both stated that it was due to the eviction of the Pasar Senen area in III to be used as the Senen Terminal around 1970-1978. Literature sources mention that there was a reorganization of the Pasar Senen area and its surroundings from 1967 to 1990 (the term at that time was 'Senen Project') by Governor Ali Sadikin through the PPLS (Senen Environmental Development Developer) agency, including building the Senen Terminal and it is known that the terminal has been operating since 1978 even though the new terminal officially operated on April 13, 1980. As a result, many residents were relocated, one of which was to the Kramat Sentiong area (Ferissa, 2018; Putra, 2025). This shows that Wihara I was closed on November 18, 1968 (S & Moechtar, 1969: 29) It does make sense and the current location is indeed the result of the Senen Project relocation (Proyek Senen). Ko Jimmy and Ibu Edi both stated that initially as a result of the eviction they did not receive compensation for the land (they were simply evicted) but because Ibu Edi's father-in-law (the late Mr. Sugiarto Lesmana, formerly a RW in Senen) and Ko Jimmy's father (whose name was not mentioned) knew one of the Chinese officials in the Senen area named Mr. Ong who had relations with DKI Jakarta government officials at that time, so through diplomatic assistance with Mr. Ong they were able to obtain compensation in the form of an empty plot of land in the current location. After that, the congregation who liked to pray compromised and worked together to rebuild this temple after the relocation from Pasar Senen.

“Well, this place can stand here because it was moved from Kramat Ayam Senen, which is now the place that used to be a bus terminal. Well, that was the beginning, initially my in-laws were the ones who took care of the one in Senen, my in-laws... Around 1970 it was demolished, after that they only got the land from here. This is also actually a rule that you can't get a replacement, because my in-laws whose name is Sugiarto Lesmana have an acquaintance named Engko Ong, who was a top person back then, so he has acquaintances from Jakarta and all... back then, his RW was Senen, so back then there were a lot of people, in the 70s and above. So basically asked for replacement land from Kramat Ayam Senen, which is now a terminal.

They got it here but it was just land, well, when there were some bigbosses from Senen, they compromised on how to process this so that it could become a temple again. Well, after that, to build this, the residents who like to pray in Senen, some gave cement, some chipped in, some gave sand to build this, someone knows who donated the ladder and then donated anything else” (Interview with Mrs. Edi, Sunday, June 15, 2025).

So from here you can get a timeline that is made in the following kaleidoscope table:

Table 1.

Kaleidoscope of Wihara Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen)

Wihara Era	Years	Location and Reasons	Sources
Pra Wihara (Still a sacred place/Kramat)	Early 20th century to 1921	Jl. Kali Lio, because a stone with Chinese characters was found loose from the grave and is considered sacred by local people.	Salmond & Lombard, (2003: 39, 109)
Wihara I	1921 to 18 November 1968	Moved to Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III (formerly called Gg. Tjap Pek Keng 十八間) by the late Mr. Musanip on the orders of Major Khouw Kim An玛腰 許金安 because the Dutch East Indies government at that time wanted to widen the road.	Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Dinas Museum dan Sejarah, (1993: 14); S & Moechtar, (1969: 25, 29).
Transition from Wihara I ke Wihara II (Gods statue temporarily evacuated)	18 November 1968 to 1970-1978	Not mentioned	S & Moechtar, (1969: 29)
Wihara II	Among 1970-1978 until now	Moved to Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No. 362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560. Because in the 1970s the Senen Terminal was built on the site of Wihara I by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government.	Oral history interview with Ibu Edi and Ko Jimmy

Sacred Figures

Based on information obtained from Ko Jimmy, initially the sacred stone was the stone with the inscription Fu Shen 福神 which refers to the earth god Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 (written on the large glass above the altar), or his nickname Pakung 伯公, this stone came from a Chinese tomb, only whose tomb it is not known. The stone with the inscription Hok Sin 福神 in the current photo is also identical to the one in the photo published in the book *Senen 200 Years* (S & Moechtar, 1969: 51) In Chinese traditional religion, Hok Tek Ceng Sin/Toa Pekong can refer to 4 things: (1) The Earth itself; (2) A figure who has served the community before he died, such as in the history of Hok Tek Ceng Sin, a minister named Zhang Fu De 張福德; (3) An unclear person or entity (e.g., bones whose identity is unknown) and is identical to a supernatural event; (4) The personality of a local legendary figure (Han, 2022). Then Ko Jimmy and Mrs. Edi explained about the presence of chicken droppings, because in the area of Wihara I many chickens roamed around until they formed a mound of chicken droppings, then the mound was also sacred with the name Mbah Kramat Ayam, which was then given a statue of a male and female rooster and a stone inscription that read 'Mbah Kramat Ajam' as a symbol of respect for the entity 'Mbah' who inhabited the sacred area. Mbah Kramat Ayam itself, based on an interview with Ko Jimmy, actually came from a collective belief (Social faith) in the entity 'Mbah' that existed when Wihara I was founded, where there was a mound of chicken droppings which was then given a symbol of the Legomena object (Object of respect) in the form of a statue of a male and female rooster and a stone inscription that read 'Mbah Kramat Ajam'. In Taoism, there is a Chicken God (Ji Shen 鸡神) who is a follower of the god Dong Yue Da Di 东岳大帝 (Skinner, 2017: 208), However, based on an interview with Ko Jimmy, it was confirmed that the figure of Mbah Kramat Ajam is different from Ji Shen 鸡神.



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. (a) Present view of main deity Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 (God of earth, Amurvabhumi Bodhisatva) altar's with the stone inscription 'Fu Shen/Hok Sin 福神' in the current photo on on Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen, this stone is also identical to the one in the photo published in the book *Senen 200 Tahun* on Figure 2b; (b) Present view of Mbah Kramat Ayam and *Karuhuns* altar's; Source: Observation data conducted on Sunday, June 15, 2025, at 08.00-11.00.


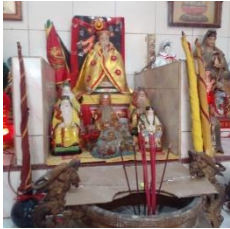
The phenomenon of people worshipping the earth god with the 'Fu Shen/Hok Sin 福神' stone which comes from someone's grave (unusual for a temple) and the worship of Mbah Kramat Ayam Ayam can be explained by the approach of 2 religious theories, namely E.G. Tylor's Animism Theory (Explains that what is worshipped is not the statue or stone





but rather worshipping Anima (Spirit) which is the belief in a living entity and has the power that is behind everything, and according to him this is still categorized as religion because according to him religion is a belief in something spiritual) and J.G. Frazer's Theory of Worship of the Gods states that worship of the gods in the early days of human culture was to explain the world, control the power of nature, utilize nature and avoid its ferocity (In Pals, 2012: 41-44, 60-69).




Meanwhile, Ibu Sri is Dewi Sri (Goddess of Rice/Nyai Pohaci Sanghyang Asri) who is considered to be able to bring good fortune to the community. Meanwhile, the sources refused to reveal the identity of Mbah Bisu because they were afraid that if he were present, his habit would possess him while chewing and swallowing a light bulb. All the figures who are worshipped and respected in this temple, when viewed holistically, they all become an inherent, inseparable whole, and indirectly also sacred by the congregation and the community in this temple from time to time, as the story of Ibu Lusi who stated in her prayer that she asked for the smooth handling of her letters to all the holy deities in this temple one by one (Interview with Ibu Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025) and as the order of prayer where the congregation usually prays at all the altars here without missing any. Based on observation data conducted on Sunday, June 15, 2025, at 08.00-11.00 WIB at Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi Kramat Ayam Senen, it is known that there are altars with the following arrangement:





Table 2.

Altars of Sacred Figures on Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen)

No	Altars	Character Explanation	Photographs
Main Hall Area			
1 & 2	Thian Kong 天公 (Outside and Inside Hiolo/Incense Burner)	The term Thian Kong (Lit: Heavenly Father) refers to Giok Hong Siang Tee 玉皇上帝 or known as the Jade Emperor who is believed to be the highest leader of the gods in Heaven, only in Chinese wisdom, worship of Thian is a representation of the vertical relationship between heaven (God) and humans (Hay, 2013: 51-53).	
3	Host of the temple Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 / Thay Pakung, Toapekong 大伯公 God of Earth on the altar there is a stone with an inscription Fu	Hok Tek Ceng Sin is earth god (Hay, 2013: 109), The title Hok Tek Ceng Sin/Toa Pekong can refer to 4 things: (1) The Earth itself; (2) A figure who has served the community before he died, such as in the history of Hok Tek Ceng Sin, a minister named Zhang Fu De 張福德; (3) An unclear person or entity (for example, bones whose identity is unknown) and is identical to a supernatural event; (4) The personality of a local	

	Shen/Hok Sin 福神	legendary figure (Han, 2022). Meanwhile, the stone with the inscription Fu Shen/Hok Sin 福神 is a stone that comes from the altar of the earth god belonging to a Chinese tomb which is commonly found in Indonesia (Perkumpulan Ahli Epigrafi Indonesia, 2023).	
4	Goddess Kwan Im 觀音	Avalokitesvara Bodhisatva, known as the Goddess of Mercy (Hay, 2013: 332).	
5	Buddha Siddharta,	Siddharta Gautama, known as Buddha Gautama, Buddha Sakyamuni (Hay, 2013: 323).	
	Mi Lek Hud 弥勒佛	Known as Maitreya Bodhisatva (Hay, 2013: 330).	
	Thay siang lao cin 太上老君,	Referring to one of the 3 tripures of Taoism, namely Taiqing 太清, believed to have incarnated many times into the world, one of which was as Lao Zi 老子, the founder of Taoism (Hay, 2013: 80-81).	
	Tee Cong Ong Pho Sat 地藏王菩薩.	Ksitigarbha Bodhisatva, The symbol of greatness in the oath to help and releasing miserable spirits (Hay, 2013: 362).	
6	Kwan Seng Tee Koen 關聖帝君,	God of war, also god of protection and trade, symbol of loyalty (Hay, 2013: 208-209).	
7	Pat Sien 八仙,	Eight gods in Taoist mythology that symbolize the 8 Conditions of life, they are He Xianggu 何仙姑 (Symbol of women), Cao Guojiu 曹國舅 (Symbol of nobility), Li Tiegua 李鐵拐 (Symbol of poverty), Lan Caihe 藍采和 (Symbol of commoners), Lu Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Symbol of men), Han Xiangzi 韓湘子 (Symbol of young people), Zhang Guolao 張果老 (Symbol of elderly), and Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 (Symbol of wealth), eight elements of society that when all united will produce unmatched power (Garudeyamantra, n.d.; Hay, 2013: 175-184).	

	Han Tan Kong 玄坛公,	God of military fortune (Hay, 2013: 175-178).	
	Chi Kung 济公,	A monk named Dao Ji who lived during the Song Dynasty (960 - 1279 AD), was fond of helping people selflessly even though he himself often ate meat, drank alcohol, and wandered around in disarray, he did not care about etiquette, appearance, or superficial procedures but his heart was pure, embarrassing monks who had bad hearts even though they appeared to obey the rules, he was a symbol of non-hypocritical sincerity (Hay, 2013: 205-208).	
	Chay Sen 财神,	The word Chay Sen refers to all the gods of fortune (Hay, 2013: 178-171), but by observing the statue it can be seen that this is a civil god of fortune.	
	Hian Tian Siang Tee 玄天上帝.	The emperor of the northern sky who eradicates black magic (Hay, 2013: 56-59) In the Kongkoan archives, it was often referred to by Chinese people in Batavia in the past as Siang Tee Ya/Sang Te Ja 上帝爺 (Hoogervorst & Erkelens, 2025b: 962).	
8	Tiger God Beng Ciong Kun 明将军	Tiger god, he is the bodyguard of the earth god who assists him in guarding the local area and expelling evil spirits (Hay, 2013: 110-111)	
9	Fu Lu Shou 福禄寿	3 The star symbolizes blessings/Fu 福, rank/Lu 禄 and longevity/Shou 寿 (Hay, 2013: 182, 195)	
Kramat Area			
10	Founders Wihara II Locu Senen	The late founders and Locu 炉主 (Head of the Temple) of Wihara II	

11	Mbah Kramat Ajam,	The main figure who is sacred here (Interview with Ibu Lusi). Mbah Kramat Ajam actually comes from a collective belief (Social faith) in the entity 'Mbah' that existed when the first monastery was established, where there was a mound of chicken dung which was then given a symbol of reverence in the form of a statue of a male and female rooster and a stone inscription that reads 'Mbah Kramat Ajam' (Interview with Ko Jimmy).	
12	Ibu Sri	Ibu Sri is Dewi Sri (Dewi Padi/Nyai Pohaci Sanghyang Asri) who is considered to be able to bring good luck to the community (Interview with Ko Jimmy).	
13	Mbah Bisu (With photo of Wali Songo),	Ko Jimmy didn't want to reveal who is Mbah Bisu, because he was afraid of his presence. If he were present, he would develop a habit of chewing and swallowing light bulbs.	
14	Mbah Raden Suryakencana,	Raden Surya Kencana Winata Mangkubumi, who was given the title "Embah Raden Suryakencana," was the son of Prince Aria Wiratanudatar. He was a prominent figure in spreading Islam in West Java (Farinuddin & Pradjoko, 2024: 11). The connection between the worship of Muslim figures and the ancestors of the archipelago has existed at this temple for a long time. Salmon and Lombard (2003: 45-47) state that Kramat Ayam is one of the special Kramat (interfaith contact) temples that once existed in Jakarta, along with Kramat Kuda, which also existed near the Wan Kiap Sie Temple.	
15	Mbah Thay Jie Lo Su 大二老师 (With lot of Keris).	They are the elders of Mount Kawi 嘉威山, Thay Lo Su 大老师 is Eyang Djugo/ Raden Mas Soerjokoesoemo while Dji Lo Su 二老师 is Raden Mas Imam Sudjono (Farinuddin & Pradjoko, 2024: 11).	

Ritual and Community Service Activities

Wihara II is currently only open on Ce It and Cap Go nights on the lunar calendar from 5:00 PM to 9:00 PM WIB; and Ce It and Cap Go on the lunar calendar in the morning from 6:00 AM to 10:00 AM WIB. Outside of these hours, the temple is closed unless you call ahead to make an appointment with Ibu Edi (Interview with Ibu Edi & Ibu Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025). The congregation and administrators here make offerings such as tea and water at each Kongco altar in the Outer Area. On the tiger god altar, in addition to water, there are also eggs. On the sacred altar of Eggs, black coffee, tea, water, lisong and cigarettes. On figure 4b, there is a large mirror given by the people of the past with the words 'MBAH KRAMAT AJAM PINDAHAN DARI PASAR SENEN DARI TOKO WAHAB' (Mbah Kramat Ajam Moved From Pasar Senen, From Toko Wahab) and several brownish egg-shaped objects next to a pair of statues of roosters and hens. On normal days, fruit is only found on the altar if a devotee comes specifically to bring it. Also, all the hiolo (incense sticks) in the outer sacred area (the section for the gods and goddesses) are partially covered with cardboard because many cats live in this sacred area, while the hiolo inside the sacred area are not covered with cardboard (Field observation notes, Sunday, June 15, 2025).



(a)



(b)

Figure 5. (a) Ce It night offering ritual on Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen); (b) Lokthung 落童 (shamanism Meditation) service with Ko Jimmy as Kitong 乩童 (Medium) from the god Hok tek ceng sin.; Source: Observation data on Tuesday, June 24, 2025.

Meanwhile, on the night of Ce It Cap Go, all the hiolo are opened full of incense from the worshippers. The offerings at each altar in the outer Kongco area are more varied, such as typical Chinese noodles, packaged snacks, and fruits such as mango plantains, apples, and oranges. Meanwhile, at the tiger god altar, besides fruits, there are also eggs. At Kramat, there are offerings of chicken satay, plantains, 7 kinds of flowers, tea and white water, fruits and packaged snacks, plantains, betel nuts, incense burners, and lisong. The worshippers who come to pray here immediately take the incense packages provided by the caretakers and burn them (Thiam Hio 点香) while reciting prayers personally, then stick them 3 sticks in each Hiolo. The worshippers all take Peng An Water (平安水) (Water that has been blessed by Kongco) at the Kongco Hok Tek Ceng Sin altar, the water is mineral water in 220ml glass bottles.

There are also those who perform Ciamsi 筮诗 (Asking for guidance from the gods through bamboo divination), Poa Pwee 跋具 (Asking the gods with the media of 2 semicircular pieces of wood to get a Yes or No answer) at the Hok Tek Ceng Sin altar, and

perform Thiam yiu 点油 (Pouring yellow lamp oil, using cooking oil) which has also been provided by the administrator. (Field observation notes, Tuesday, June 24, 2025). Ciamsi at this temple consists of 100 different variables of verses, the verses are in ancient language, often using Peranakan or Van Ophuijsen terms which for some people today are somewhat difficult to grasp the meaning, as in the ciamsi verse no. 92 (on Figure 5a above) the term 'Siu Cai 修财' which is interpreted as seeking wealth (*Search - MkDict Taiwanese-English Dictionary*, n.d.) and 'sonder' (exactly 'zonder') is Dutch which means 'without' (Hoogervorst & Erkelens, 2025b: 977) and after finishing praying, people burn Thi Kong Kim 天公金 paper (Paper provided in the prayer incenses package) in the paper kiln pagoda as an offering to the Gods.

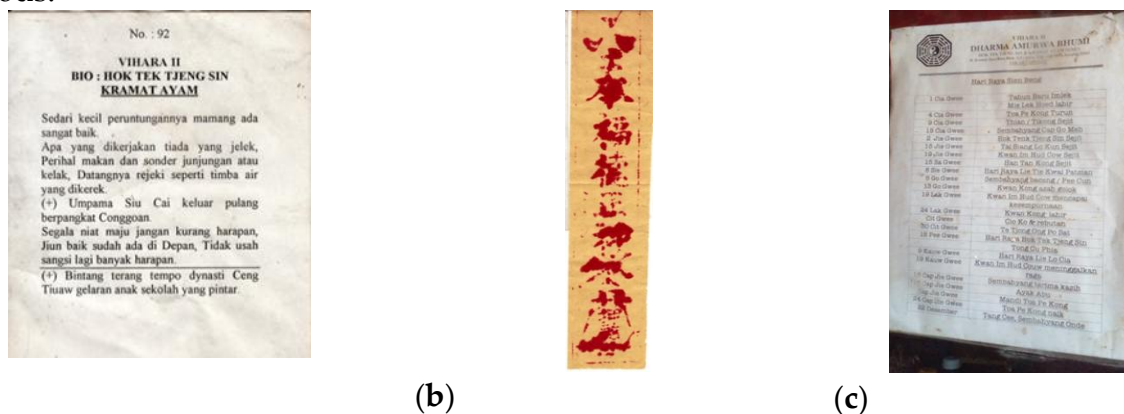


Figure 5. (a) Ciamsi poetry verse No.92 issued by Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen); (b) Printed Fu/Hu符 (Talisman Paper) of Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 God issued by Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen) with inscript 奉福德正神敕令押然 (Presenting with deep respect Hok Tek Ceng Sin god, give an imperial command to keep area's save and secure) but Mrs. Edi say this talisman for sales booster purpose; (c) Prayer calendar issued by Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi (Kramat Ayam Senen); Source: Observation data on Sunday, June 15, 2025, and Tuesday, June 24, 2025.

As a form of service to the monastery's congregation, in addition to providing communication facilities for seeking guidance in the form of Ciamsi and Poa Pwee. There is also a Lokthung落童 service (Chinese shamanism mediation) with Ko Jimmy as Kitong 乩童 (Medium) from the god Hok tek ceng sin. During the mediumship, he can issue Hu符 (Talisman paper) written with Pit笔 (Calligraphy brush), make Peng An 平安水 water (Blessed holy water), and so on. Then, in addition to the results of the mediumship, there are also printed Hu (As in the photo on figure 5b) for fortune and protection although to obtain it is limited, permission from Ko Jimmy is required first (Interview with Mrs. Lusi and Mrs. Edi, Sunday, June 15, 2025). The Lokthung ritual is not always performed in front of the Hok Tek Ceng Sin altar, but often on benches and tables near the Thian Kong table because the location is more spacious as in the photo, during the mediumship usually the god Hok Tek Ceng Sin gives supernatural instructions such as giving very rich white wine to wash the face, wash the hair, and drink, writing Hu by slicing a little finger to get blood to write Hu, praying and giving mantra to awakening power of Incense sticks (Xiang/Hio香), and serving question and answer consultations with the congregation (Field observation on Tuesday, June 24, 2025).

Wihara II also has a prayer calendar posted in the guest table area (on figure 5c). The prayer calendar contains the date of the god's birthday celebration and annual prayer activities that are usually routinely celebrated. The temple often holds large prayers such as Cioko 抢孤 (Prayer for the common spirits), Chinese New Year prayers, Sejit Kongco 生日公祖 (God's Birthday), the celebration is led by Ko Jimmy, only there is no Paritta/Liam keng 念经 reading during big events, only ordinary prayers for each person to communicate with the saints (Interview with Mrs. Edi & Mrs. Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025; Interview with Ko Jimmy, Tuesday, June 24, 2025).

Sustainability Challenges

Currently, the number of people who actively worship regularly on the night of Ce It Cap Go 初一十五 (Night of the 1st and 15th of the lunar calendar) is around 20 people, but if there is a big event it can reach 50 people, and of the 50 people, around 20 are young people in their 20s. Most of the people who actively worship come from people from Khun Tian 坤甸 (Pontianak), then there are also people from Bangka and some people from Java, while there are only a handful of people from the surrounding area because many have converted from Buddhism/Confucianism to Christianity and Catholicism. The temple currently also stands independently. There is no foundation/council that oversees it, it is only managed individually headed by a Locu 炉主 (Head of the Temple) named Nicholas Adi Lesmana, so the management has difficulty when they want to carry out formal affairs with the government. The current administrators and owners are willing to receive coaching assistance from the foundation/council as a guardian, but in principle, they do not want their sovereignty to lead and maintain the temple's sustainability to be taken over by the council/foundation (Interview with Mrs. Edi & Mrs. Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025; Interview with Ko Jimmy, Tuesday, June 24, 2025; Field observation, Tuesday, June 24, 2025).

The next challenge is the impact of the declining congregational regeneration on material and non-material support for the temple's survival. Previously, for large prayer events, the administrators would open a donation box to solicit donations from attendees. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, attendance has decreased significantly, so the costs of holding large events are borne by Mrs. Edi's family and all the administrators themselves. The 1980s were the temple's heyday. At that time, there were puja bakti (Paritta recitation services) for children, and a Barongsai (Lion Dance) group was invited to the opening of the BCA Cempaka Putih Bank. However, many young people who married converted to Christianity or Catholicism, so that currently the devotional worship and lion dance groups no longer exist. Many young people and temple congregations also converted to Christianity/Catholicism, so that this temple began to experience a crisis of existence of the congregation. Meanwhile, the administrators still adhere to the principle that this temple is social in nature, so they do not force anyone to help them. They prefer to let people take their own initiative to help the sustainability of this temple (Interview with Mrs. Edi & Mrs. Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025; Interview with Ko Jimmy, Tuesday, June 24, 2025).

This Wihara itself still holds a special place in the hearts of its faithful, thanks to testimonials of miraculous events. There are many accounts of miracles. During a field observation, Ko Jimmy went into a trance and created a chinese talisman (Hu/Fu 符) by slicing his finger with a box cutter. Then there's the story of Ibu Edi's husband's brother-in-

law (a Christian) who once came to Kramat Ayam to pray and seek guidance. After following this advice, his life gradually improved. Two of his children became lawyers, went to college, and bought a house in Australia. One of her children even married an Englishman. Ibu Lusi also once said that when she had paperwork, she often faced difficulties. After asking the gods in the sacred place, everything went smoothly. There was also a time when someone stayed overnight in the sacred room seeking lottery numbers, but the person left in fear and ran away around 1-2 a.m. Mrs. Edi herself said that there are still many unknown stories because people who experience miracles usually do not state or reveal them to the administrators (Because it concerns privacy) so that sympathizers who believe continue to come to this wihara (Interview with Mrs. Edi & Mrs. Lusi, Sunday, June 15, 2025; Interview with Ko Jimmy Tuesday, June 24, 2025, Field observation Tuesday, June 24, 2025). However, of course we cannot always hope for miracles, so it is very important for Buddhists and related parties to support each other for the existence and sustainability of this Wihara.

CONCLUSION

Kramat Ayam Senen, later known as Wihara I on Jl. Pasar Senen Dalam III (formerly known as Gg. Tjap Pek Keng 十八間) was officially closed on November 18, 1968 as a result of the Senen Project, namely the reorganization of the Senen Triangle area and its surroundings which was started in 1967 by Governor Ali Sadikin through the PPLS (Senen Environmental Development Developer) agency. The land where Wihara I used to be has now become the Senen Terminal. Just like most residents who were relocated at that time to the Kramat Sentiong area, the Wihara received compensation in the form of a plot of land on Jl. Kramat Jaya Baru Block G3 No. 362a, Johar Baru, Kramat, Central Jakarta 10560. After it was closed on November 18, 1968, the story about Kramat was no longer heard in any literature sources, but apparently the existence of Wihara I still continued, the Wihara was relocated and rebuilt between 1970-1978 which was initiated by the late. Mr. Sugiarto Lesmana. After the new temple building was completed, it was known as the Wihara II Dharma Amurva Bhumi as we know it today.

The existence of religious activities at Wihara II since moving to a new location experienced its golden age in the 80s, at that time there was a puja bakti (Paritta reading service) for children and there was a Barongsai art group that was once invited to the opening of the BCA Cempaka Putih Bank. Currently, Wihara II is only open on Ce It nights and Cap Go nights of the lunar calendar at 5:00 PM to 9:00 PM WIB; As well as Ce It and Cap Go lunar calendar in the morning at 6:00 AM to 10:00 AM WIB. Outside of these hours the temple is closed, unless the visiting congregation calls in advance to make an appointment with Mrs. Edi. On the nights of Ce It and Cap Go there are prayer activities with a number of congregations of around 20 people, both young and old, most of whom are Khun Tian 坤甸 (Pontianak), then there are also Bangka people and some people from Java, while there are only a handful of people from the surrounding area. Ce It Cap Go prayer activities are filled with various independent prayers by the congregation such as Thiam Hio 点香 (Burning Incense and praying) while reciting prayers personally, performing Thiam yiu 点油 (Pouring yellow lamp oil) (made from cooking oil), performing Ciamsi 签诗 (Asking for guidance from the gods through bamboo divination), performing

Poa Pwee 跋貝 (Asking the gods with the media of 2 semicircular pieces of wood to get a Yes or No answer) especially at the altar of Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 (God of the Earth) and Mbah Kramat Ayam.

As a form of service to the congregation of the temple, on the night of Ce It and Cap Go, a Lokthung 落童 (Shamanism Mediation) service ritual is also held with Ko Jimmy as Kitong 乩童 (Medium) of the god Hok tek ceng sin. During the mediumship, he could produce Hu 符 (Amulet Paper) written with Pit 笔 (Calligraphy Brush), make Peng An water 平安水 (Blessed Water), and so on. Then, besides the results of the mediumship, there is also Hu that has been printed for the purposes of fortune and protection, although to obtain it is limited, permission must be given to Ko Jimmy first. Peng An water can also be obtained independently by taking it at the Hok Tek Ceng Sin Altar. In addition, the temple often holds large prayers such as Cioko 抢孤 (Rampage ritual ceremony for the general spirits), Chinese New Year prayers, Sejit Kongco 生日公祖 (God's Birthday), and so on. The celebration is led by Ko Jimmy, only there is no Paritta/Liam keng 念经 reading during big events, only ordinary private prayers to communicate with the saints.

Part of the old temple and shrine that still exists and is considered sacred today is a stone with the inscription Fu Shen/Hok Sin 福神 which refers to the earth god Hok Tek Ceng Sin 福德正神 which is identical to the stone in the photo of the altar of Wihara I in the book Senen 200 years, this stone comes from a Chinese tomb, only whose tomb is unknown. The title Hok Tek Ceng Sin/Toa Pekong can refer to 4 things: (1) The earth itself; (2) A figure who has served the community before he died as in the history of Hok Tek Ceng Sin is a minister named Zhang Fu De 張福德; (3) An unclear person or entity (e.g. bones whose identity is unknown) and is identical to a supernatural event; (4) The personality of a local legendary figure. Meanwhile, Mbah Kramat Ayam originates from the collective belief (social faith) in the entity 'Mbah' which existed when the first monastery was established, where there was a mound of chicken droppings which was then given the symbolism of the Legomena object (object of respect) in the form of a statue of a male and female rooster and a stone inscription that reads 'Mbah Kramat Ajam'.

Currently, Wihara II is managed independently. There is no foundation/council that oversees it, only managed individually by administrators headed by a Locu 炉主 (Head of the Wihara) named Nicholas Adi Lesmana, so the administrators have difficulty when they want to conduct formal affairs with the government. This certainly presents a challenge for the existence of Wihara II in the future. The current administrators and owners are willing to be assisted by the foundation/council as a guidance for development, but in principle do not want their sovereignty to lead and maintain the continuity of this temple to be taken over by the council/foundation. The next challenge is the impact of the increasingly declining regeneration of the congregation on material and immaterial support for the existence of the temple, where many of the congregation of this temple have converted to Christianity/Catholicism. The temple still exists because of the faithful faith of the congregation in the miracles of the gods in this temple. However, of course, we cannot always hope for miracles, so it is very important for Buddhists and related parties to support each other for the existence and sustainability of this Wihara.

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