

Masculinity and Femininity Symbols in South China Buddhist Temples: Psycho-Anthropological Perspective

Simbol Maskulinitas dan Feminitas Kuil Buddha di Cina Selatan: Perspektif Psiko-Antropologis

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Abstrak

Studi maskulinitas dalam sepuluh tahun terakhir semakin meningkat seiring dengan kesadaran laki-laki terhadap dirinya. Studi tentang maskulinitas bertentangan dengan studi tentang feminitas. Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, penelitian ini bersinggungan dengan keduanya, yaitu studi tentang maskulinitas dan feminitas di kuil Quan Yin di China. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi simbol-simbol Quan Yin di Kelenteng Cina Selatan (Budha Mahayana). Kajian ini menggunakan perspektif psiko-antropologi. Penelitian dengan pendekatan kualitatif ini menggunakan data dari arsitektur Kuil Quan Yin. Teknik pengumpulan data mengacu pada studi etnografi yaitu (1) observasi, (2) fotografi, (3) perekaman, dan (4) wawancara. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa struktur yang tampak dalam simbolisme Quan Yin adalah struktur diadik yang terbagi atas pertentangan (i) candi dengan pagoda tanpa pagoda, (ii) maskulin-feminin, (iii) kuat-lembut, (iv) tertutup (introversi)-terbuka (ekstroversi), dan (v) anima-animus. Sementara itu, dalam hal fungsi mediasi kolektif simbolisme, terlihat bahwa Quan Yin memiliki simbolisme, yang menunjukkan bahwa Quan Yin memang yang tertinggi dan melampaui dewa atau dewi. Oleh karena itu, Quan Yin dapat bermanifestasi/menjadi apapun untuk membantu umat manusia di Bumi. Penelitian ini secara universal menunjukkan bahwa maskulinitas dan feminitas juga hadir dalam simbol-simbol agama. Baik maskulinitas maupun feminitas adalah nondualitas yang tidak dapat dipisahkan. Konsep ini hampir sama dengan yin dan yang dalam filosofi manusia China.

Kata kunci: antropologi; feminitas; maskulinitas; psiko-antropologi; Quan Yin

Abstract

Studies on masculinity in the last ten years have increased along with men's awareness of themselves. The study of masculinity is in opposition to the study of femininity. In this regard, this research intersects both of them, namely the study of masculinity and femininity in the Quan Yin temple in China. This research explores the Quan Yin symbols in the Southern Chinese (Mahayana Buddhist) Temples. This study uses a psycho-anthropological perspective. This research with a qualitative approach uses data from the architecture of the Quan Yin Temple. Data collection techniques refer to ethnographic studies, namely (1) observation, (2) photography, (3) recording, and (4) interviewing. The results of the study show that the structure that appears in Quan Yin symbolism is a dyadic structure that is divided into oppositions of (i) temples with pagodas without pagodas, (ii) masculine-feminine, (iii) strong-gentle, (iv) closed (introversion)-open (extroversion), and (v) anima-animus. Meanwhile, in terms of the collective mediation function of symbolism, it is shown that Quan Yin has symbolism, which shows that Quan Yin is indeed the highest and surpasses gods or goddesses. Therefore, Quan Yin can manifest/become anything to help mankind on Earth. This research universally shows that masculinity and femininity are also present in religious symbols. Both masculinity and femininity are nondualities that cannot be separated. This concept is almost the same as yin and yang in Chinese human philosophy.

Keywords: anthropology; femininity; masculinity; psycho-anthropology; Quan Yin

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1. Introduction

The study of religion is a study that has attracted the attention of various researchers. In the last ten years, research on religion has been carried out by researchers from both a philosophical perspective (Wang & Cordeiro-Rodrigues, 2022; Mamarasulovich, 2022; Lippiello, 2018), psychology (Cowden, Counted, & Ho, 2022; Vieten & Lukoff, 2022; Vetter, 2022), sociology (Horii, 2022), and anthropology (Sera-Shriar, 2022). The researcher shows that religion can be studied through various perspectives. In addition, research on interdisciplinary studies on religion is also widely discussed, for example, research conducted by Argentino (2023), discusses the hyper-reality of religion in a modern context. This research on religion and hyper-reality shows that religion cannot only be studied in the context of religion but in other fields that have contributed to the development of religious studies on a global scale.

About the study of religious contexts referring to Russel's conceptualization (2000; Morris, 2003b), philosophically it is not respecting or insulting a particular religion, but rather a critical attitude. This critical attitude shows the existence of a researcher's objectivity towards the object under study. Researchers in this context use corridors as researchers who have high 'intersubjectivity' to present results of interpretations and findings related to certain religious studies in local contexts or global contexts. In religious studies, one of the researchers who did this, for example, was Dundes as an anthropologist when researching elements of folklore about the Quran (Dundes, 2003) and folklore about the Bible (Dundes, 1999). Dundes as an anthropologist does not present a right or wrong conception, but a critical study of the two holy books. As a researcher and anthropologist, Dundes shows findings related to the data he studies. Thus, as a researcher, avoid conflicts of interest in terms of religious subjectivity. Although, sometimes this cannot be avoided by researchers when conducting studies on certain religions. Therefore, a researcher must be able to maintain objectivity in terms of research.

In religious research, researchers study and explore one of the figures that are exalted and mythologized, namely Quan Yin (Indonesian spelling) in China. In this context, the study is specified on the issue of the Quan Yin symbol of masculinity and femininity found in temples (Mahayana Buddhism), in South China. There are two versions regarding the existence of Quan Yin. First, the version which states that Quan Yin is related to Buddhism (Mahayana). Second, the version which states that Quan Yin is not related to Buddhism (Mahayana). The author agrees with the former because some of the practitioners who wrote Quan Yin associated Quan Yin with Buddha. So far, Quan Yin in Indonesia has been

legendary as a goddess. The story of Quan Yin appeared in Indonesia in the "Legend of the Monkey King" broadcast by ANTV around the 1990s. The film was then re-aired in a different version of Indosiar. In the legend, Quan Yin is described as a compassionate goddess who assists the Monkey King who is naughty and always does mischief on earth and in the (palace) of the sky. With that, the Profound Monkey wreaked havoc in the heavens and the earth. Quan Yin not only assisted the Profound Monkey, but he also provided a great deal of assistance to others who needed his assistance. In several segments of the film, Quan Yin is called a goddess. In the film, she appears as a goddess wearing a white dress and sitting on a lotus (a flower similar to a lotus, but the difference is that the lotus flower is round and irregular in shape).

Quan Yin as a goddess figure is a figure that is venerated and legendary (mythological) by her supporting community in a religious context. In this case, Quan Yin appears in the context of supporters of Buddhists. Not only that, Quan Yin also appears in the form of performances by its supporting community (Pen Chen, 1999), as a form of people's love for Quan Yin. It is hoped that through these performances the love for Quan Yin will strengthen within the supporting community. In addition, this exaltation makes Quan Yin mythologized as a goddess who is compassionate towards all her people. The exaltation and mythologizing of Quan Yin gave rise to different interpretations in its supporting community. Many studies show that Quan Yin manifests itself as a woman (goddess) and then transforms into a man (god) or vice versa. This shows that the figure of Quan Yin can transform into what he wants in a certain context or condition (Blofeld, 1978; Chün-Fangyü, 2001; Dudbridge, 2004; Bailey, 2009; Idema, 2008; Levine, 2013). For this reason, the Quan Yin symbol found in temples or the community's cognition system is a symbol of dualism, between masculinity and femininity. Quan Yin can represent a god and at the same time, Quan Yin can represent a goddess.

Quan Yin in Chinese temples in the context of this study is associated with the context of masculinity and femininity. Regarding the study of masculinity, Ahmadi (2017, 2022) researches Chinese literature and Indonesian literature. The research conducted by Ahmadi refers more to the psychological and sociological context associated with masculinity, Brown (2019) who examines Hemingway and his literary works, shows that the figure of masculinity in Hemingway appears about the trauma within the author; O'Connell (1996) who examines masculinity in the novel *Rabbit*; and Horlacher (2015) who examined masculinity in *Jude of Obscure*. The research shows the masculinity side in literature. Literary research from the perspective of masculinity is interesting because it elevates

masculinity in literature through psychological, sociological, and anthropological perspectives. Unfortunately, all of these studies have not linked masculinity and femininity as a single unit, nondualism. The study of masculinity and femininity in one configuration is interesting because researchers can show the nonduality of masculinity and femininity contained in literary works which so far have tended to focus on only one perspective. The study of masculinity and femininity in the Chinese context cannot be separated from the concept of yin and yang. In the view of the Chinese people, yin and yang are the dualisms of life that reinforce each other (Ahmadi, 2019) so that a balanced unity emerges.

Regarding the study of masculinity and femininity in this research, the study of Quan Yin in context is categorized into three segments, namely (1) Quan Yin in the context of religion (religion), (2) Quan Yin in the context of legends (legends) of Chinese society, and (3) Quan Yin in the context of arts. The combination of the two becomes very interesting to study from the structural-anthropological perspective of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Lévi-Strauss (himself) as an anthropologist has also researched the arts of Asian Americans. Lévi-Strauss' findings show that there is a split technique (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 245) in Asian-American art. The art of separation is found in architectural sculptures, paintings, and motifs. The separation technique found in art shows that art has a concept of nonduality that is contradictory to one another and is known as a binary opposition. From an anthropological perspective, this binary opposition is indeed a basic feature of art. Both are interrelated and mutually reinforcing to bring out aesthetics in art.

Starting from the explanation in this background, as far as researchers observe in the last three years, there has never been anyone who has examined Quan Yin from the perspective of symbols of masculinity and femininity associated with a psycho-anthropological context. In this regard, the formulation of the problem in this study, namely (1) how is the symbol of masculinity found in the Quan Yin Temple in South China; (2) how is the symbol of femininity contained in the Quan Yin Temple in South China; and (3) the meaning of symbols of masculinity and femininity in the Quan Yin Temple in South China for the collective mediation of the supporting community?. The research objectives are (1) to describe the symbols of masculinity found in the Quan Yin Temple in South China through a psycho-anthropological perspective; (2) to describe the symbol of femininity contained in the Quan Yin Temple in South China through a psycho-anthropological perspective; and (3) to describe the meaning of symbols of masculinity and femininity in the Quan Yin Temple in South China for the collective mediation of its supporting community.

Theoretical Framework

Art (arts) is part of the area of anthropological study that is in great demand by anthropologists, both ancient art and modern art. Therefore, art can be viewed from an anthropological perspective, one of which is structural-anthropological. The theory was developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. This theory is used by anthropologists to study culture as well as folklore/oral literature. As a theory, structural anthropology is seen and recognized as a holistic theory by some experts, for example, Geertz (2002) and Morris (2003) justify that structural anthropology can dismantle art that has high aesthetics. This holistic is due to the integration of the concepts of structure and anthropology. Thus, the method of approaching data is through a combination of the two. The approach to structure and anthropology results in the dismantling of symbols that so far have not been able to be dismantled by perspectives that use only one perspective, for example, structuralist.

Lévi-Strauss is of the view that structure is theoretical and explanatory. The theoretical structure has nothing to do with empirical reality. Indirect structure exists in these meanings and lies behind what we observe while producing. So, structure cannot be observed, but produces or causes observable. The relationship envisioned by Claude Lévi Strauss here is similar to that implied by Saussure between *langue* and *parole* (Strinati, 2007: 107). Because of that, Claude Lévi Strauss was able to dissect the aesthetic triadic relationship between myth and music, and poetry (Wiseman, 2007: 160–163) in-depth and aesthetically. That thought is what distinguishes Claude Lévi Strauss from his predecessors of anthropologists who relied more on anthropology. From the perspective of previous anthropologists, cultural studies can only be reviewed in depth from an astrological aspect without the help of other sciences.

Cultures that exist in society (especially local/typical/primitive communities) in various parts of the world have 'similarities' caused by the construction of the same mind (Strauss, 2001: 14; 2005: 278). Lévi-Strauss reveals that elements of universalization (universalization) and particularization (particularization) exist in culture, both art and mythology (Strauss, 1962: 161) to give birth to a binary opposition. The concept of binary opposition in culture is a universal mental reflection (Dundes, 2007: 123) as well as myth, and *kiritheme* so that structural-anthropological analysis becomes more robust. This binary opposition can be related to life-death, male-female, top-down, left-right, cooked-raw, and produce mediation (King & Wilder, 2012: 172) that functions for collective society. The functions contained in the community can be related to philosophical functions, psychological functions, anthropological functions, religious functions, or the function of

social sanctions for society. These functions will work well if the supporting community does carry out these functions and obeys the rules contained in society.

Legend/art which has homology with the socio-cultural context is a social mediation to overcome conflict (Barnauw 1982: 254; Letcovitz 1989: 62–63). The community is looking for solutions to overcome the conflicts that exist in their socio-culture by channeling them into stories. The distribution is carried out in the form of an anthropological unconscious. Because of that, the mediation they do is sometimes not realized. Thus, this unstructured story can give rise to mediations that have a function for the supporting community (Ahmadi, 2012: 7). In this context, mediation can appear through story logic hidden behind story/art structures.

In this context, Structural-Anthropological theory is linked with Jungian-Psychology (Jung, 1981; 1984), which is the area of study of psychoanalysis. In this context, Jungian psychology is used to understand the psychological aspects contained in psychological symbols. The psychological aspect is associated with the mediation function for the supporting community. This is done so that structural-anthropological analysis does not only stop at the cultural context but is also linked to psychology to make it more holistic. In Jung's view (2012), the human psyche is an archetype that is a basic characteristic so that over time it will still have permanent characteristics that change to different degrees. Because of that, archetypes that appear in various countries have similarities with certain countries. This is caused by the archetype.

Masculinity is the study of men and masculinity (Elliot, 2020; 2018) which is associated with various contexts in society, especially in terms of justice (between men and women). Masculinity as a study refers more to male studies related to health, strength, family, sex, (Connel, 1995), and socio-culture. Masculinity is rife along with resistance to femininity which is getting stronger. Currently, higher femininity has an impact on the birth of masculinity awareness. If in the past many women paid attention to personal health problems, while men did not pay much attention to personal health. Now, many men also pay attention to their health because they are already aware of their masculinity. The importance of health for oneself is one of the essences of masculinity that men must also pay attention to health.

This awareness of masculinity is not only due to the strengthening of femininity in modern society. However, the awareness of masculinity also strengthens along with men's understanding and philosophy about themselves. So far, men have somewhat neglected men compared to women. One of them is related to health. Men pay less attention to health

problems than women. Men also need to pay attention to health, just like women. Therefore, men and women must be balanced in paying attention to various aspects of life, be it psychological, sociological, or anthropological. This shows that men and women have a non-dual unity. Thus, masculinity is the opposition to femininity.

Psycho-anthropological studies are interdisciplinary studies between psychology and anthropology in interpreting texts/narratives related to psychology and anthropology. Initially, this term was raised by Kundu (1974) who justified that psycho-anthropology is a psychological study associated with anthropology. This study can be conducted to examine art, literature, language, or cultural symbols found in society. Meanwhile, Stein (1988, 1992) added that psycho-anthropology is closer to the study of psychoanalysis which is associated with the study of folklore. In this study, psycho-anthropology is a psychological study that is interconnected with anthropology to examine symbols contained in art, literature, or culture.

2. Method

In this study a descriptive-qualitative approach was used by presenting the data obtained by the authors from (a) research fields/locations, (b) references/texts, and (3) interviews with informants (Ahmadi, 2019, 2020). Referring to the view of Cresswell (2018), researchers in the context of this research are more dominant in using verbal data because this research is an anthropological category research. The research location is located in Fujian, South China. Data sources and data used by researchers are more focused on architecture related to Quan Yin in the two Kuam Im temples located in Xiamen, Fujian Province, South China. Architecture is related to images, visuals, sculptures, designs, or landscapes that are relevant to Quan Yin about masculinity and femininity.

The data collection technique for this research refers to the views of Spradley (1979), including the following steps (1) observation (using involved observation), researchers in this context go directly to the field, namely to the temples which are used as objects of study to obtain data regarding Quan Yin in South China, (2) shooting (using a Sony cyber shot camera) and a Samsung brand cell phone conducted by researchers directly, (3) recording (using a Huawei voice recorder) related to interviews, and (4) interviewing (using unstructured interviews with Quan Yin temple monks and Buddhists). The researcher used an unstructured interview technique with the rationalization that Buddhist monks and adherents feel more comfortable and familiar with because the technique is not formal. In addition, researchers can also be more flexible in extracting data from Buddhist monks and

adherents. The informants of this study were monks who met the following criteria (1) monks who understood the context of Buddhist temples in South China; (2) monks who understand the cultural conditions regarding Quan Yin; (3) monks aged 17 and over; and (4) monks who agreed to be interviewed related to the Quan Yin temple. In this regard, the informants in this study, namely Monk Wang Wei Li (50 years old), for example, Shu Hui (26 years), and Wang Li Cheng (25 years). They are monks who are in the South China Buddhist temple.

Data analysis techniques carried out by researchers, namely (1) identification, at this stage researchers identify research locations and research objects in South China; (2) classification, at this stage, the researcher classifies the results from the research location, interview results, and data collection at the research location; (3) analysis, at this stage the researcher analyzes the data using a psycho-anthropological perspective; (4) conclusion, at this stage the researcher concludes data based on the data analysis that has been done; and (5) verification, the last stage of the research, namely conducting verification related to the stages of analysis and research methods. If these stages have been fulfilled properly, the researcher conducts data presentation based on the results of the data verification that has been carried out.

3. Results

History of the Birth of Quan Yin (Guanyin) in China

Avalokiteśvara is widely known to the Chinese as Guanyin. Therefore, Chinese people are more familiar with Guanyin than Avalokiteśvara. The figure of Guanyin was born in the pure land where Sakyamuni Buddha was (Paul, 1979: 254). In Indonesia, he is known as Quan Yin/Kwan Im. She is considered the goddess of compassion and the Goddess of mercy. As a figure of the goddess of compassion, Kuan also vowed not to go to nirvana before her people were enlightened (Irons, 2008: 223). This shows that herself as a goddess is truly a goddess who is compassionate towards her people on Earth. As a goddess, Quan Yin is indeed the figure of the goddess best known by the Chinese people.

The cult of Quan Yin appears to have been introduced to China in the late first century AD. Around the 6th century AD, Quan Yin was worshiped throughout China. At that time, the form of Avalokiteśvara before the Sung dynasty (960–1126) was masculine. But after that period, the Bodhisattva was always worshiped in a feminine form. The change was not so sexual, but only symbolic for the Chinese, the feminine symbolizes yin (the homonym of the Chinese name). In other words, the manifestation of affection (karuna) is considered by

them as a feminine (maternal) form (Mahäthera, 2007: 22). This shows that Quan Yin is a goddess who can transform. However, Blofeld (1978: 40) justifies that the Bodhisattva (Quan Yin) originating from India is manifested in the form of a man, but (during his journey) in China, the Bodhisattva (Quan Yin) is manifested as a woman. This indeed gave rise to many interpretations of the appearance of Quan Yin as a goddess. There is also an interpretation that Quan Yin who is configured with a thousand arms (in China) is a manifestation of Lord Shiva in India. However, some practitioners say that this is not entirely true.

If we look at it historically, accounts are showing that from 1500 BC there was already a legend of Quan Yin found in China. At that time, the figure of Quan Yin as a goddess appeared under the nickname Miaoshan (who was the daughter of the king of Miao Zhuang). Miaoshan as a child of the king has two older brothers, Miaoyin and Miaoyuan. When he grew up, Miaoshan was asked by the king to marry his parents' choice. However, Miaoshan at that time did not want his parents' choice. In a fit of rage, the king ordered his men to lock Miaoshan up in the monastery. The king's anger peaked because Miaoshan still did not want to marry his choice. The king also ordered the royal troops to burn Miaoshan along with 500 nuns in the monastery. After the arson, the 500 nuns disappeared without a trace. Only Miaoshan was left sitting upright reading the sutras and the blazing fire could not burn him. Miaoshan's body is still intact as before. After that, Miaoshan was helped by the god of the earth. Furthermore, in the stage of enlightenment, Miaoshan visits hell (Dudbridge, 2004: 45–47) to see the human beings who are there. As a goddess, Miaoshan wants her people to get out of hell because she feels sorry for humanity in hell. He didn't want his people to be in pain. For that, Miaoshan wants to replace those in hell. Another version says that Miaoshan died and his soul was taken to hell. After visiting hell, Miaoshan was very sad because he saw so many people in trouble. He also helped her. However, there are always many people who have not been helped. Finally, Quan Yin fell and died. Later, Buddha Amitabha revived Miaoshan by having a thousand extra hands so he could help suffering people (Mahäthera, 2007). Later, Quan Yin returned to the mortal realm and helped mankind live in tribulation. He wants to help and assist humans on earth to be released from the suffering that has been shackled to humans.

People who are not familiar with Buddhist hagiology are often confused by the issue of Quan Yin gender (masculine and feminine) which is often manifested in white robes with long hair pulled up and crowned with a crown. The shape of the figure is decidedly feminine except that she has a masculine chest! This is as far as Quan Yin's humanity goes—man

must not forget that he is the embodiment of *karuṅā*, which transcends gender! To be in line with the philosophy of yin-yang balance, assume that Quan Yin is androgynous (Mahāthera, 2007: 23). Therefore, in a religious context, Quan Yin appears in masculine and feminine forms. On the one hand, Quan Yin appears in a masculine form. On the other hand, Quan Yin appears in a feminine form. In fact, in a way, Quan Yin appears in both forms because as a goddess she transcends both.



Figure 1: Quan Yin Pagoda Temple (Fujian, South China)
(Dokumentation: Anas Ahmadi)

This pagoda (eighth level) Quan Yin Temple is located on a mountainside. This temple is divided into three parts. First, on the outside, there is a statue (large size) of a sleeping Buddha, a guardian lion statue (which is a manifestation of the gods), stone-carved architecture that tells the story of Quan Yin's life, and a worship altar that uses dim lighting. Second, on the inside (place of worship) there is a statue (large size) of the Thousand-Handed Quan Yin which is located in the main hall. In that room, Quan Yin is described as having a thousand hands. Quan Yin's hands hold earthly objects. On the right side behind there are two statues of gods. On the inside, there is also some incense (located on the left and right of the statue of the god) which is lit so that it adds fragrance to the inside of the room.

The (Quan Yin) Temple (figure 1) is a temple that is said to have been built around the 1990s. The temple was built in a mountainous area because (Mahāthera, 2007: 23) in ancient Chinese philosophy, a mountain (considered a 'dragon') was a sacred place - an excellent place to erect a holy statue. Mahayana Buddhists tend to prefer tall temples in mountainous areas because they show their all-powerfulness. This custom is also a symbol

that Avalokita means 'looking down (from a height)' in the sense of loving observation of mankind. This is indeed a characteristic that Buddhist temples are indeed on the slopes of mountains and their position is higher than the others because it shows 'divinity' who has a higher throne than the others.



Figure 2: Quan Yin Temple without Pagoda
(Documentation: Anas Ahmadi)

The Quan Yin Temple is without a pagoda in the same way that a Quan Yin Temple with a pagoda is located on a mountainside. In this context, the mountain is indeed the choice for a place of worship. This temple is also divided into two parts. First, at the front, in this section, there is an altar of worship, a stone carving of a lotus flower (lotus) symbolizing Quan Yin. The inside, the shrine room. Inside, there is a statue (large size) of Quan Yin. In that room, Quan Yin is depicted as feminine, with long hair, carrying long leaves.

Quan Yin Temple (picture 2), according to Monk Wang Wei Li (50 years old), is a temple built in 1994. The age of the temple is still young. Because of that, at the back of the temple (right side), several buildings are still being built for worship facilities. When the researchers collected data at the research location, on the back (left side) they were still in the process of trimming the cliff land where the building was planned to be built as well.

Dyadic Structure

The first Quan Yin Temple (Thousand-Handed Quan Yin) had pagodas (which are levels from bottom to top). The symbolism of the pagoda is the visualization of the penis (phallic[phallus]), strength (strength), and isolation (Seaman, 2006: 221; Levis & Oliver,

2009: 332; Freud, 1955: 211) which shows the masculinity. The symbolism of towering, tall, and large pagoda is a symbol of masculinity, might, and strength. Not everyone agrees with the interpretation of this symbol because, in the context of the creator, they do it through their subconscious. Thus, the emergence of the creation of the pagoda is not a manifestation of the creator who represents the pagoda, but unconsciously the creator of the pagoda sublimates the symbol of masculinity in the form of a pagoda. In addition to the pagoda, in the Quan Yin temple, there is a Thousand Hands. Quan Yin with a Thousand Hands can help all the sufferings of mankind. In this context, the Thousand Hands is more masculine. The masculine reinforcement is strengthened by the pagoda.

As for the second Quan Yin temple, there is no pagoda. Around the temple area, there is a lotus (lotus) architecture in the fenced area and the inner area. Lotus is a visualization of happiness, romance, growth/development/blooming, and universal wisdom/tenderness/compassion (Seaman, 2006: 126; Watson, 1993: 53). The transformation of the lotus shows that Quan Yin is a goddess of compassion. Thus, Quan Yin represents femininity. The terms lotus and lotus are almost the same because both grow in water. However, the difference is that the lotus has round flowers and irregular leaves. As for the lotus, on the other hand, its leaves are sharp and regular.



Figure 3: One of the stone carvings depicting Quan Yin sitting on a lotus (Quan Yin Temple without Pagoda) (Fujian, South China)
(Dokumentasi: Anas Ahmadi)

In the view of Chinese society, the lotus which is categorized as a flower is more towards feminine elements than masculine. Flowers have always been a feminine rather than masculine symbol. Lotus is pure white and able to live in mud, even when the ground is dry, lotus can still survive. In addition to white, there is also a red lotus. This type of lotus is the

lotus that is loved by the Chinese people because the myth is that the red color contains good luck. However, for the lotus found in Quan Yin, the white lotus is retained.



Figure 4: The Lotus Symbol at the Quan Yin Temple without Pagoda (Fujian, South China) (Documentation: Anas Ahmadi)

When traced historically, the lotus symbol is not purely derived from the Buddha, Quan Yin. The lotus symbol appeared (D'Alviella, 2000:31 & 157) had emerged from the historical period of Ancient Egypt (around 3150 BC). As for Buddhism, which until now still exists among its supporters, it is suspected that it only emerged around the 2000s BC (Morris, 2006:2). Thus, the lotus symbol is very ancient in religious teachings or a cultural context. The lotus symbol is also used by Hindus in a slightly different form, namely the trident. In this context, the lotus appears earlier in Hinduism than in Buddhism. However, an element of resemblance to the lotus symbol is still there. The symbol undergoes migration and transformation along with users and the times.

Dyadic Structure

The first and second temples produce a dyadic structure as shown in the following figure. Pagoda temples—temples without pagodas Masculine-feminine Strong—gentle Closed (introversion)-open (extroversion) Anima-Animus.

The Quan Yin (Thousand-Handed) Temple with a pagoda and Quan Yin Temple without a pagoda is an absolute form of binary opposition because the pagoda is opposed to not pagoda. In this context, there is no term 'semi pagoda'. Therefore, the binary opposition that appears is in the form of a dyadic structure (two). The appearance of the masculine element in the first temple was caused by (1) a statue of Quan Yin (Thousand Hands) depicted/impressed as male. The Quan Yin (Thousand-Handed) statue is made of a mighty and strong model, but actually, the impression is more towards the masculine form; and (2) the pagoda which symbolizes the penis (phallus) and the power which is also symbolized by a thousand hands. The lotus symbolizes women, the feminine side in Quan Yin.

This structure is opposed to the feminine element in the second temple due to (1) a Quan Yin statue which is depicted as having a beautiful 'impression' face wearing white clothes, long hair, and holding a long leaf. The statue is more towards the feminine form, and (2) the architectural form of the lotus which symbolizes femininity. This femininity portrays Quan Yin as a goddess, not as a god. In contrast to the pagoda is strength (strength), in opposition to the lotus is tenderness (compassion). Furthermore, pagoda shrines symbolize the world of closure/isolation.

This shows that humans who surrender to Buddha must be able to calm themselves from worldly desires so that they can easily reach nirvana (heavenly world). This symbol is in contrast to the lotus which symbolizes openness. Humans must be open and help each other, not only focusing on isolation but also must be down-to-earth human beings (not only thinking about themselves). Both, both open and closed are dualisms in human life. As a human being, must be able to run both, namely open and closed. In the context of Jungian psychology, closedness is associated with introversion, and openness is associated with extroversion. Both, complement and match each other to bring out a balanced power (balance of power). In addition, the concepts of anima (female soul in a man's soul) and animus (male soul in a woman's soul), both are interconnected and mutually reinforcing (Jung, 1989: 144), intersect with each other and eventually give birth to that which is adequate in man. Thus, adequacy will bring out a very high and holy (sacred) power.

Collective Mediation Function

The collective mediation function is a function of the collective society that supports Quan Yin. In this collective mediation function, the researcher tries to dismantle the hidden meaning behind the structures of the Quan Yin Temple, namely that Quan Yin is neither a woman nor a man, but Quan Yin can be symbolized by women and can be symbolized by men. This is what is called transformational. The figure of Quan Yin can represent the masculine and at the same time can also represent the feminine. Both, both masculine and feminine, are inseparable from yin and yang in Chinese philosophical concepts. Therefore, referring to Quan Yin as the Lotus Goddess because Quan Yin is in the Lotus temple while referring to Quan Yin as the Thousand-Handed Deity is not a problem. This is because Quan Yin in the context of manifestation can 'Be' anything. Quan Yin is the One. If you follow Jungian's thinking (Jung, 1981: 355), the term is called a mandala of a complete circle that cannot be solved. There is a unified whole that cannot be broken. He is the 'There' who is in the 'Nothingness'. The term mandala used by Carl G. Jung a psychologist who believes in

and adheres to ancient and mystical philosophies, actually adapts it from Hinduism. He shows that mandalas cannot be separated from Hinduism or other contexts that are relevant to mandala symbols. However, long before that, it is suspected that the concept of the mandala appeared in the ancient Greek era. Because it is considered an archetype, mandala symbolism will appear in various forms that exist in the world and have universal similarities.

Adherents of Buddhism, for example, Shu Hui (26 years) or Wang Li Cheng (25 years) believe that Quan Yin has a different form in the sense of 'reforming'. For them, the existence of symbolism/figuration shows that Quan Yin is indeed the highest and surpasses gods or goddesses. Because of that, he can manifest/become anything to help humanity on Earth. If interpreted in depth, Kuin Yin is the highest representation because it can become a symbol and transform into whatever it wants. For this reason, in this context, Quan Yin is considered to be similar/similar to something, for example, a god or a goddess.

In addition, the appearance of Quan Yin who is masculinized symbolizes that men are strong and mighty. If it is culturally drawn, this is related to the culture of Chinese society which leads to a patriarchal culture. Chinese society in the past and in modern times still tends to favor men as someone who has power. In addition, men are also considered as leaders. That way, women seem marginalized, either directly or indirectly. This can be seen in everyday life that a husband and wife prefer their son to be born as a boy, not a girl. Based on the research results of Tsomo, et al (2004: 2) it shows that even within the Buddhist structure, nuns do not yet get a proper/high position when compared to (male) monks. Therefore, in this context, the appearance of Quan Yin which is feminized by the symbolism of the lotus which means gentle and compassionate represents that women can also become leaders, not just men. Thus, a leader is not only needed to have might but also gentleness within. If the two are intertwined into one, it will create a natural balance.

4. Conclusion

Based on the explanation presented in advance, this research can be concluded as follows. First, the structure that emerges in Quan Yin symbolism in the psycho-anthropological context, namely the dyadic structure which is divided into oppositions (i) pagoda temples–temples without pagodas, (ii) masculine–feminine, (iii) strong–soft, (iv) closed (introversion)–open (extroversion), and (v) anima–animus. The dyadic structure gives rise to representations of masculinity and femininity in South China Buddhist temples. Both

are dualisms of masculinity and femininity which mutually reinforce each other to bring about balance.

Second, the symbolism of Quan Yin has a collective mediating function for its supporting community. The collective mediation function of this symbolism is that Quan Yin has symbolism/figuration and this shows that Quan Yin is indeed the highest and surpasses gods or goddesses. Because of that, he can manifest/become anything to help humanity on Earth. In addition, the appearance of Quan Yin who is masculinized symbolizes that men are strong and mighty. This is related to the culture of Chinese society which leads to patriarchal culture. That way, women seem marginalized, either directly or indirectly. Therefore, the appearance of Quan Yin which is feminine with the symbolism of the lotus which means gentle and compassionate represents that women can also become leaders, not just men.

This research is universally expected to be able to contribute related to literary studies about psycho-anthropology. This research shows that the symbol of masculinity and femininity in the temple is a dualism that cannot be separated. This dualism produces balance in life. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are not much different from the concepts of yin and yang in Chinese society. The concept of yin and yang represents two different sides of life, but side by side so that they can produce natural balance and balance of life.

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