

The Spatial Grouping of Protestant Javanese Residence in Urban Yogyakarta during Colonial Java¹

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This paper elaborates spatial grouping of Protestant Javanese in urban Yogyakarta: What are causal factors behind the spatial grouping? Most of Protestant Javanese experienced social mobility which escort them to better professions especially provided by *zending*. In a way, religion (Protestantism) became the ultimate foundation of the formation of spatial grouping of Protestant Javanese residence in urban Yogyakarta. In another way, *zending* fields in urban Yogyakarta not only did facilitate means of social ladder, but also equip with career. This paper intends to see the intertwine between primordial and advance features in the formation of spatial grouping.

Keywords: spatial grouping, urban Yogyakarta, Protestant Javanese

Introduction

The focus of this paper is the ways in which primordial and advance or modern features were influential in the making of spatial grouping of residence among Protestant Javanese believers. Primordial feature suggests every “given” aspects which are embedded to everyone, such as ethnicity, birthplace, mother-tongue, and religion. Meanwhile, the advance or modern feature implies any achievements which transform one to hold new characteristics, for instance, education, occupation, income, and the like.

Spatial grouping is not a new issue in Javanese society. Clifford Geertz, for example, reveals pattern of community settlement in urban Mojokuto were clustered in an overlapping categories between ethnicity, occupation, and religion. He illustrates the Chinese settlement was located along the main road, the bureaucrats and businessmen inhabited along other roads which connected to the local government’s office, the other and richer (Muslim) businessmen would have rather settled along the road close to the local market or mosque. While a group of Dutch and Javanese (high rank) officers dwelled in certain areas around their workplaces. Other Dutch and Javanese who worked

in health services such as nurses, pharmacists, midwives and the like, who were mostly Christians, lived around the hospital (Geertz 1986, pp. 84-5).

Spatiality in urban colonial Java is usually believed as a result of racial segregation in which divided communities into three racial groups, namely the European, the Foreign Asiatics (Chinese, Arabs), and the indigenous. Surabaya, for instance, was divided into two ethnic spatial residences in 1843 through the quarter system regulation (*wijkenstelsel*). The division line was the Red Bridge, where the European residences were located in the West side of the bridge, and the Foreign Asiatics were located in the eastern side. The indigenous lived spreadly nearby or in the Chinese and Arab residences (Husain 2010, pp. 19-20).

Sartono Kartodirdjo argues that the economic development of the late nineteenth century of the Indies of which supported by and effected to the infrastructural development in particular in Java, such as communication, transportation, education and bureaucracy stimulated urbanisation (Kartodirdjo 1999, pp. 72-3). As urban areas became centers for economic, bureaucratic and other services, urban areas also grew to be residential places for newcomers who came from other areas including rural areas. The different socio-economic and cultural background of urban dwellers created different spatial pattern and residential style of urban communities. Kartodirdjo draws urban residencies reflected plurality and social structure of urban dwellers. The Europeans and indigenous elites lived in bricked-house which had spacious yard, the Chinese lived in a densed-building of Chinese areas (*pecinan*), and the indigenous commoners lived in kampongs which usually contrasted to other resident areas in terms of building quality and sanitation. The patterns of dwelling indicated segregational configuration of urban dwellers.

Freek Colombijn clearly affirms Kartodirdjo's explanation on spatial pattern which in fact influenced by socio-economic and cultural

background. He disagrees with a view that spatial segregation in colonial Indies, particularly in Java, was simply a kind of racial segregation, rather income. He further draws that ethnic ('racial') divisions were mirrored in the residential pattern. His main thesis is 'from-race-to-class-segregation' for which he put it in the decolonisation context. The assumption is under the impact of decolonisation, changes in the social status system were reflected in a changing residential pattern. Income differences had impact on spatial division which actually started in the process of decolonisation which had started before the Japanese arrived in Java (Colombijn 2010, pp. 73-4).

Hence, income as a representation of social mobility created consciousness on the identity of each groups to spatially locate their residences.² However, income represents occupation. Considering these urban spatial patterns, the Protestant Javanese in other urban areas might articulate their social bonds among their Protestant Javanese brothers and also between them and other socio-religious groups which represent in spatial pattern.

Regarding to the studies above, this paper will only focus to the Protestant Javanese community in urban Yogyakarta, that is those who became members of Javanese Christian Church (GKD) Gondokusuman. The selection of this Protestant Javanese because since the beginning or since the zending period, the church and other church-based institutions became points of attraction for especially Javanese to be closer to the church and insititutions.

Inspiring from those explanation, I am interested to know further about the consequences of embracing Protestant faith to their spatial grouping. This paper intends to further examine the impacts on particularly spatial grouping of their residences as a consequence of their social climbing. To what extent did the Protestant Javanese construct their spatial grouping of residence? What were the motivation behind the spatial grouping of Protestant Javanese residence?

The Emergence of Protestant Javanese

The works on Indonesian (Javanese) Christianity believe that Christianity in South Central Java, including Yogyakarta, started in urban area (Wolterbeek 1995, p. 182, Purnomo and Sastrosupono 1986, p. 104; Krüger 1966, p. 182). The argument is developed on the basis that the presence of *zending's* works supported by Dutch Reformed Churches (GKN) in urban Java which was marked by the establishment of Christian Javanese churches in Purworejo (1900), Kebumen (1911), Yogyakarta (1913), Surakarta (1916), and Purbalingga (1919) (Purnomo and Sastrosupono 1986, p. 39). They ignored the works had done by previous Dutch Reformed Mission Union (NGZV), and simultaneously disregarded the established Christian Javanese communities in rural Java developed by particularly a prominent Christian Javanese leader, Kyai Sadrach Suropranoto, particularly in Karangjoso Kutoarjo. The presence of GKN-supported *zending* (ZGKN) works in urban South Central Java occurred no later than 1892, when the Dutch Reformed Christian society was conscious that mission works ought to be the church responsibility, not Christian society. They decided to establish their churches to be *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (GKN) (1892). The foundation of the GKN also meant the transfer of Christian mission works from the NGZV to the mission of GKN, *Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (ZGKN) (Wolterbeek, p. 90; Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, p. 167)

The GKN's works in urban Yogyakarta was initiated in health field by sending Dr. Scheurer to be a *zending* doctor in 1897, and the foundation of Petronella Hospital (currently, Bethesda Hospital) in 1900. The first Protestant Dutch minister sent to urban Yogyakarta was Rev. Cornelius Zwaan who arrived in Yogyakarta on 11 July 1901 (Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 32). Dr. Scheurer, supported by his Javanese assistance and evangelist, Elyada, and Rev. Zwaan worked hand in hand to provide health services and evangelisation to Javanese. As a consequence, they won Javanese to be Protestant adherents. On 22

December 1901 Rev. Zwaan baptised 25 people who consisted of 22 Javanese, and 3 Chinese (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, Yogyakarta 1988, p. 29). Up until 1 January 1913, there were 413 Protestant Javanese in urban Yogyakarta (Wolterbeek 1995, pp. 189, 194).³

Apart from the growth of Protestant Javanese since the presence of ZGKN in urban Yogyakarta, there already existed Christian Javanese who more or less became embryonic growth of the subsequent Protestant Javanese. The first Christian Javanese of Yogyakarta was Kassian Céphas, who was baptised in Purworejo in 1860. More than one decade later, a captain of Pakualaman court, R.M. Suryahasmara Natataruna was baptised in Purworejo in 1887 (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, p. 674). Josaphat Darmohatmodjo mentions that Natataroena was actually baptised along with his three children in Karangjoso (Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 32).

Céphas previously worked as one of servants of a couple Christina Petronella Stevens and Johannes Carolus Philips at an indigo plantation in Purworejo.⁴ The Philips taught Christianity to their servants, so that two male and three female servants of theirs were being baptised by Minister Braams at the Protestant church in Purworejo in 1860. Céphas, who was skillful in photography, once worked for a German engineer and amateur archaeologist, Jan Willem Ijzerman. Céphas' seminal works were relief pictures of Borobudur (1890) and Prambanan (1893) temples. He then became an official photographer of the sultanate whose primary job was taking pictures of the Sultan and his family (Guillot 1985, pp. 26-7; Mrázek 2002, pp. 304; Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 29).

Unlike Céphas who was introduced to Christianity by his master, Natataruna most probably knew Christianity from his servant, Elijah, who came from Selong, a rural area of the border between Bagĕlèn and Yogyakarta. Being mediated by Elijah, once in while, Sadrach visited Natataruna in urban Yogyakarta. Natataruna was baptised in 1886 by

Rev. Jacob Wilhelm,⁵ and took Joseph as his baptismal name (Wolterbeek 1995, p. 81; Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, p. 674; Guillot 1985, p. 143; Reenders 2001, p. 895). Darmohatmodjo asserts that Natataruna presumably was introduced to Christianity by Céphas (Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 30). Darmohatmodjo's assumption might be right with regard to Céphas' profession as Sultanate photographer might also built relationships to nobility in Pakualaman. However, a face-to-face relationship most probably occurred more frequent between Natataruna and Elijah, rather than between Natataruna and Céphas. Furthermore, Natataruna developed direct relationships to Sadrach. Claude Guillot argues that Sadrach successfully built good relationships to members of Pakualaman court. At least three princess, one of them was Natataruna, were sympathetic or even became Sadrach's followers. Therefore, meetings and gatherings were often held in one of their houses (Guillot 1983, p. 253).

In addition, before the Dutch colonial government issued permission for mission works in the Sultanate territory, Natataruna made his house available for conducting evangelisation and services to Javanese in urban Yogyakarta (Wolterbeek 1995, pp. 81-3). Services delivered by Eliada and Samuel Wasman in turn, or an evangelist from Purworejo, Sitimurti; while baptismal activities conducted by Rev. Wilhelm (Efrajim 1953, p. 23). Between March 1889 and May 1891, Wilhelm baptised more than 200 Javanese in Natataruna's house. However, Wilhelm's first baptismal activity undertook in Natataruna's house was on 24 July 1888, but unfortunately detail information was unavailable. The subsequent detail of baptismal services are as listed below.

Table 3.1.
Wilhelm's Baptismal Service in Urban Yogyakarta

Date	Number of people being baptised
26 March 1889	16

4 June 1889	27
9 July 1889	60
13 August 1889	61
15 February 1891	53
6 May 1891	14

Source: Suhatno. 2008. "Ponidi Sopater: profil seorang pendeta Gereja Kristen Jawa", in *Patrawidya*, vol. 9, no. 4, p. 807.

Regarding to the works of Christian Javanese of the followers of Sadrach, and who originated from rural Yogyakarta, the growth of Protestant Javanese cannot be regarded as a purely *zending's* urban works. In addition, the works of *zending* also initiated by previous works of Christian Reformed society, NGZV, in rural Central Java, and particularly Sadrach and his followers. Darmohatmodjo asserts that Christian indigenous in all over Yogyakarta were united to Karangjoso (Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 32). Thus, Christianity in urban Yogyakarta was also a result of rural-originated works.

Permission for evangelisation in Yogyakarta was issued not until 21 January 1891 during the reign of Governor General C. Pijnacker Hordijk (1888-1893). Priorities of Dutch Reformed Churches Mission (ZGKN) in Central Java were health and educational Fields. They sent Dr. Scheurer as the first *zending* doctor in urban Yogyakarta in 1897, and Rev. Cornelius Zwaan in 1900. The doctor started to give his health along with evangelisation in Bintaran for free. He soon popularly called as "Doctor Help" (*doktēr tulung*). Being impressive to services of Scheurer, the Sultan of Yogyakarta Hamēngku Buwono VII, provided a 28.400 meter square land in Gondokusuman for building a hospital (Soekotjo and Widhartono 2013, pp. 22-3). the financial support of f 10.000 was initially given by Rev. Van Coevorden Adriani, for that reason the hospital was name after his deceased wives's name, Petronella (Wolterbeek 1995, p. 187; Soekotjo and Widhartono 2013, p. 23). The presence of *zending's* hospital and schools in urban

Yogyakarta attracted Protestant around Yogyakarta to move to urban Yogyakarta (Darmohatmodjo 1953, p. 35).

Regarding to potential development of Protestant Javanese communities in urban Yogyakarta, both Gondokusuman and Lowano, in 1900, Rev. Zwaan initiated to establish elementary schools. The first teacher, as well as the headmaster, of the school in Gondokusuman which was commonly called LAN-JON school (*Lands Jong School*, school for the indigenous) in Klitren Lor is Kasim Trofimus. The school was actually provided for the children of those who worked in the hospital. In 1901, Trofimus who came from Purworejo was posted in this school because of his literacy, and skills as carpenter and watchmaker. A year later, another Purworejo-originated Protestant Javanese, Kalam Efrayim, was posted to teacher and headmaster at the school of Lowano (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, Yogyakarta 1988, p. 27).

The Protestant Javanese families sent their children to these schools. After graduating from the schools, many of the western-educated children went to urban areas where modern job positions were provided with regard to their capability in modern skills gained through their training in such schools. They became school teacher, nurse, minister, or government employee of which the positions were mostly provided in urban areas. Some of them spoke Dutch very well, as sometimes this became one of requirements to be positioned in certain jobs, for example, to be a minister (Trimodoroempoko 2010, p. 14). Josaphat Darmohatmodjo who was initially a member of *Provinciale Raad van Midden Java* before being appointed to be a minister in Purworejo in 1932, spoke Dutch very well (Trimodoroempoo 2010, pp. 102-4). Another Protestant Javanese minister, Samidja Wirjotenojo spoke Dutch with his family members (Soekotjo 2010, p. 54). The language proficiency of the two figures imply their accessibility to the Bible written in Dutch and publication in different issues. This also implies the position of religious leader was not determined by

charismatic features or by extraordinary capability as of those who initially became rural Protestant Javanese leaders.

A GKJ minister, Ki Atmo, explained that besides those who were interested in being Protestant ministers, most of the GKJ members worked in the fields of education and healthcare which were related with Protestant missions. It was therefore some of them lived in an area close to their workplaces, which because usually in the same area of their church. However, he further explained that it does not mean that all of them tended to create a pattern of living.⁶

Urban Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta is an area which was established in particular after the sign of Treaty of Giyanti on 13 February 1755, in which resulted the division of Islam Mataram kingdom into two parts, Surakarta and Yogyakarta kingdoms (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 127-9; Ricklefs 1974, pp. 37-95).⁷ On 13 March 1755 Prince Mangkubumi, a brother of Sunan Pakubuwana II of Mataram, said publicly that a half of the kingdom of Mataram was under his authority. He named after his kingdom Ngayogyakarta-Adiningrat, his title Sultan Hamengkubuwana I, and announced the capital would be Ngajogjakarta (Darmosugito 1956, p. 13). In 1813, a part of Yogyakarta was given to Prince Natakusuma, a brother of Hamengkubuwana II, as a reward for his assistance to the British during the disputes between the the second Sultan and the British. He entitled himself Prince Pakualam I, and the area of his authority called Pakualaman (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 147-9). The official date of the establishment of a district in the sultanate (*Kadipatèn Pakualaman*) was 13 Maret 1813 (Ricklefs 2001, pp. 148-9; Poerwokoesoemo 1985, pp. 147- 197).

Urban Yogyakarta, hence, became the capitals of two realms, the Sultanate and the Pakualaman. Since 1946, nevertheless, based on a message (*Maklumat* no. 18) about the parliament (*Dewan-dewan Perwakilan Rakjat di Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta*) issued on 18 May

1946, the areas of the two realms were administratively united. Since then, urban area of Yogyakarta which prior to 1945 was divided into two areas of which bordered by Codé river (the West side of the river belonged to the Sultanate, and the East side belonged to Pakualaman), was merged into one single district (Goenawan and Harnoko 1993, pp. 26-7; Poerwokoesoemo 1985, pp. 139-41).

The inhabitants of urban Yogyakarta resided in quarters (kampong) which represent their major occupation. In addition, the quarters name may also represent the name of nobility who inhabited an area, or according to the name of sultanate's troops. Bintaran, Notoprajan, Notoyudan, Timuran Ngabèan, Pugèran, and Gondokusuman were initially the residence of nobilities. Kumëndaman and Wirogunan were the area where the commander of the sultanate's armed forces, and Bupati Wiroguno lived. In areas of Kēparakan, Gědong Těngěn, and Gědong Kiwo lived sultanate's servants. Surakarsan, Wirobrajan, Jogokaryan Prawirotaman, Mantrijèron, Nyutran, Patangpuluhan, Menduran, Bugisan, and Daèngan were the Sultanate troops lived. Dagèn, Gowangan, Měrgangsan, Jlagran, Gěrjen were initially the areas where carpentry, and other craftsmans lived (*undagi, gowong, mergongso, jlagra, gěrji*) (Darmosugito 1956, p. 22; Surjomihardjo 2000, pp. 18-20). The area of Pakualaman, some quarters were also named after the main profession of the dwellers. Jagalan, for instance, was resided by butchers (Surjomihardjo 2000, pp. 31-2).

Regarding to the inhabitant's quarters spatial pattern, Kuntowijoyo points out that spatial division generally characterise traditional urban space (Kuntowijoyo 2003, p. 63). Djoko Suryo draws that names of quarters in Yogyakarta definitely reflect the names of dominant profession of the dwellers in which royal servants (*abdi dalem*) who held strategic professions to the Sultanate lived inside or within proximity of the court which was surrounded by fortification (*jèron bèntèng*), and other professions including different sultanate's

troops lived outside the fort (Suryo 2004, pp. 35-7). Nur Aini Setiawati asserts that the quarters of urban Yogyakarta indicate that social grouping of the inhabitants is connected to their workplaces (Setiawati 2011, p. 56).

Profession-based spatial grouping in urban Yogyakarta, hence, have been existed in relation to duties hold by the major inhabitant to the court. Those who hold more strategic the duty lived in the immediate vicinity to the court. The spatial grouping in urban Yogyakarta shows that naming after urban quarters usually have relation to the major profession of the dwellers.

Urban Spatiality

Several works have done on urban spatiality. The works indicate two general approaches to examine the spatiality, that is primordial approach and advance approach. The first approach discovers spatiality are effected by birthplace, mother-tongue, ethnicity, caste, and religion. The advance approach disclose that spatiality are formed as a result of education, occupation, income, and also an external reason, that is the government policy.

David Englander argues that religious belief was able to expressed in spatiality. Englander examines processes of migration, community creation and identity of the Jews in east London. The emphasis of the study is on spatial patterning from which Englander found the connection between community and social geography. Although the Jews immigrated to London from different country of origins, therefore up to a certain period they kept speaking their own languages and speak little English, the Jews created their community particularly based on their religious background. Proximity of synagogue, for instance, seemed to be the most important bound which caused them to live in a certain quarter in London. This study shows Englander draws that religious background, for instance proximity of synagogue, seemed to be the most important bound which caused the

Jewish from different country of origin immigrated to the United Kingdom and live in a certain quarter of London (Englander 1994).

Several other works give emphasis to the importance of socio-economic reasons in constructing spatiality. Although spatial distances between occupational groups are associated with social distances particularly based on the socio-economic status, but the level of segregation practically was not absolutely high. Michael A. Costello and Marilou Palabrica-Costello demonstrate in their study on a Philippine city, Cagayan de Oro, that the segregation level could only be particularly highest in “the extremes of the socio-economic scale”. Hence, patterns of residential segregation in the city became apparent because higher status families gravitate increasingly to separate neighborhoods (Palabrica-Costello 1984).

Surinder K. Metha connects residential patterns to income, education, occupation. Metha argues that the patterns of residence in Poona India has similarities of those in European or American cities in which social and economic mobility become determinant reasons for grouping in equivalent residence. Metha emphasises that the pattern is also a result of education. Having similar level of education among people in a neighbourhood seems to make comfortable living. Hence, the spatial grouping in Poona was not only created by social and economic reasons, but also cultural reason (Metha 1968).

Robin Flowerdew examines spatiality in a multifaceted perspectives. In the study of Memphis, socio-economic, social mobility, and government spatial policy converge to make spatial grouping of the Black. A common approach to the study of spatial pattern concerns on socio-economic status, which includes racial or ethnicity, minority groups, as well as religious groups. The study of Flowerdew in the urban spatial of Memphis, for instance, shows that initially the black were divided from the white for the occupational reasons. The railway became the division between the two communities as it was associated with a certain amount of industry and unskilled employment. The

modification and extension of city area beyond the black residential sectors in the peripheral areas of Memphis benefitted the black so that they were able to have access on public facilities including transport which were in the previous residence hardly facilitated them. In addition, in the outer area, the blacks were not only able to create a more sufficient living areas, but also construct higher-quality new housing. This kind of pattern could not be applied in the Northern cities, where tradition of segregation was not explicit (Flowerdew 1979).

Besides single explanation of urban spatiality, whether based on primordial and advance features, scholars also reveal combination of the two. In their study of Toronto, Canada, A. Gordon Darroch and Wilfred G. Marston argue that that mother-tounge and birthplace groups contribute to what they call the residential segregation. However those uniformities will only work with regard to similar occupation or income statuses. The writers proved that racial basis of analysis is insufficient to explain residential segretation. Rather, differences of education, occupation and ethnic mattered in composing residential segregation among the ethnic (national origin). Thus, residential segregation is actually as a result of social stratification (Darroch and Marston 1971).

The subsequent study of Metha on Poona in the later period, 1937-65, suggests non-primordial factors such as income, education, and occupation, was not the only feature determined urban spatial pattern. Metha moved her perspectives from income, education and occupation to caste and religion perspective. This study examines the connection between caste and religion on the one hand, and income and occupation on the other hand. Using index as an operative method, Metha draws that residential dissimilarity and segregation of income, educational and occuptional groups were considerably affected by their differential caste and religious composition, and to a large extent vice versa. In addition, Metha argues that the different occupational composition of the caste and religious groups in Poona has a greater

influence on their patterns of residence and segregation than does the differential income composition of these groups (Metha 1969, pp. 482-3). This study shows that economic and social status may become significant feature in the formation of urban spatial pattern only on the basis of similar caste and religion.

Thus spatial segregation in the context of late colonial situation (Java), explicit racial cities (Memphis), immigrant city (Toronto), as well as administrative and commercial city were not rigidly determined by physiographic of the population, but stimulated by relatively complex socio-economic factors.

Social Mobility

Social mobility may give impacts to the social construction of spatial pattern. Sartono Kartodirdjo depicted that the residential pattern of urban areas reflected plurality and social structure of urban dwellers. In the Dutch colonial era, the pattern might not only reflect racial and ethnic segregations, but also socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of urban dwellers. The patterns of dwelling indicated segregational configuration of urban dwellers (Kartodirdjo 1999, pp. 72-3). The construction of spatial pattern is not merely a matter of constructing identity since it actually is related to mobility.

P. Sivaram augmented Sorokin's division on social mobility. He suggested that besides horizontal and vertical, social mobility comprises spatial mobility too. He drew his statement from his study on occupational mobility among the selected backward castes in India in order to understand in the pattern of occupational differentiation, its causes and consequences. Changes in the location of occupation may have an impact to the selection of residence (Sivaram 1990: 86-7).

Studies on urban spatial pattern in late colonial Indies (Java) are usually connected to the economic progress of Java. The first three decades of the twentieth century was, according to W. F. Wertheim and The Siauw Giap, a phase of the growing of municipalities and urban

areas which indicated by several concerns of urbanisation, such as public health, housing, the extension of urban administration arose (Wertheim and The 1962).

Becoming Protestant in late colonial Java opened access to social mobility for commoner Javanese. They particularly had access to cheap or even free Western-style education, so that more and more commoners Javanese had opportunity to socially climb through their education. Usually those who went to Christian education converted to Christianity. Western-style education paved the way for job opportunities and also changed their lifestyle and taste. The impacts of embracing (Western) Protestantism for the Javanese in the late colonial period was clearly adoption to adopt and adjust to Western culture and simultaneously left Javanese culture and tradition (Aritonang 2008, p. 713; Guillot 1985). Modification in outfit, as a part of lifestyle, according to Jean Gelman Taylor was a indication of change in religion (Taylor 1997). Hence, social mobility of Protestant Javanese opened up job opportunities, lifestyle, and taste.

Up until 1938, the majority of Protestant Javanese lived in South Central Java, compared to of those in Eastern and North Central Java (Wolterbeek 1995, p. 266-74). Krüger argues that the Protestant Javanese became prominent in the rapid development of the urban areas of Java particularly in the third decade of the twentieth century (Krüger 1966, pp. 71-3).

Professions

Protestant Javanese community existed in urban Java during the process of urbanisation in the early twentieth century (Krüger 1966, p. 171-2, 182; Wertheim and The 1930, pp. 223-47). Jan van der Kroef's demonstrates that in 1920 there was only 6.63% of the population of Java lived in cities. Ten years later there were 8.7% of communities with a more or less showed urban appearance (Van der Kroef 1954, p. 157). Kartodirdjo states that it was approximately 7.23% people of Java and

Madura lived in urban areas in 1920. A decade later, the number increased to 8.51% (Kartodirdjo 1999, pp. 71-3).

Disregarding the details of information presented by the two scholars, the amount of urban population in that period was actually quite small and the Christian Javanese were included in the population. Up until 1938, the majority of Javanese Protestants who lived urban southern Central Java, compared to of those in northern Central Java. In East Java, there were more than three thousands or 9% of Protestant Javanese who lived in the urban areas. The Protestant Javanese who lived in northern Central Java was more than two thousands or 33%. Meanwhile, over seven thousand people or 48% of Protestant Javanese who lived in urban areas of southern Central Java (Wolterbeek 1995, pp. 266-74). Müller Krüger demonstrates that the Protestant Javanese became prominent in the rapid development of the urban areas of Java particularly in the third decade of the twentieth century (Krüger 1966, pp. 71-3).

In 1948, the head of Protestant section of Religion office of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*bagian Protestan Jawatan Agama Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*) wrote that the number of Protestant Javanese was less than 80 thousands. They spread all over Java, where those who lived in East Java was 40 thousands, southern Central Java was 20 thousands, West Java was 12 thousands, and northern Central Java was 5 thousands (KanSin Shelf D Box 29).⁸

Sumartana claimed that in 1920s there were more than one thousand Protestant Javanese who worked in medical service, more than three hundred were teachers, over one hundred were *colporteurs*,⁹ and greater than one hundred worked as evangelists (Soekotjo 2009, p. 371; Sumartana 1994, p. 109). The emergence of what so-called “a new class” was produced and facilitated by school and hospital founded by the Dutch missionary society. By 1937 the mission established 159 primary schools which had almost sixteen thousand pupils, 50 secondary schools.¹⁰ In 1938, almost 80% of the school teachers were

Javanese (Purnomo and Sastrosupono 1986, p. 111). Meanwhile, the total number of hospital and auxiliary hospital in south Central Java up to 1938 was 101 in which employed 151 Europeans, and 2398 Indonesian (including 29 doctors) (End and Weitjen 1993, pp. 228, 378-9).¹¹ A number of Protestant Javanese also became evangelists in the late nineteenth century.

Becoming Protestant in late colonial Java opened access to social mobility for the commoners of Javanese. They particularly had access to cheap or even free Western-style education, so that more and more commoners Javanese had opportunity to socially climb through their education.¹² Usually the children who went to Christian education converted to Christianity. Western-style education paved the way for job opportunities and also changed their lifestyle and taste. The impacts of embracing (Western) Protestantism for the Javanese in the late colonial period was to adjust to Western culture and simultaneously left Javanese culture and tradition (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008, p. 713). This adjustment reflects that the Protestant Javanese were also able to work and live in a place where European (the Dutch) worked and lived.

The Protestant Javanese families sent their children to these schools. After graduating from the schools, many of the western-educated children went to urban areas where modern job positions were provided with regard to their capability in modern skills gained through their training in such schools. They became school teacher, nurse, minister, or government employee of which the positions were mostly provided in urban areas. In addition, their occupational positions commonly were connected with church (Reksadarmadja 1984, pp. 7-8). A GKJ minister, Ki Atmo, explained that besides some who were interested in being ministers, most of the GKJ members worked in the fields of education and healthcare which were related with Protestant missions.¹³ It was therefore some of them lived in an area close to their workplaces, because usually in the same area of their church. However,

he further explained that it does not mean that all of them tended to create a pattern of living. Moreover, particularly in the colonial period, The Dutch missionaries disallowed the Protestants who desired to work outside church services as long as the “vineyard of Jesus” requires their capability” (Kana and Daldjoeni 2015, p. 10).

Some of Javanese ministers spoke Dutch very well, as sometimes this became one of requirements to be positioned in certain jobs, for example, to be a minister (Trimodoroempoko 2010, p. 14). Josaphat Darmohatmodjo who was initially a member of *Provinciale Raad van Midden Java* before being appointed to be a minister in Purworejo in 1932, spoke Dutch very well (Trimodoroempoko 2010, pp. 102-4). Another Protestant Javanese minister, Samidja Wirjotenojo spoke Dutch to particularly his wife (Soekotjo 2010, p. 54). The language proficiency of the two figures implies their accessibility to the Bible written in Dutch and publication in different issues (Reksadarmadja 1984, pp. 7-8). This also implies the position of religious leader was not determined by charismatic features or by extraordinary capability as of those who initially became rural Protestant Javanese leaders. In other words, the new capability resulted from Western-style education which had created them to be Latin letters literate and have proficiency in Dutch opened their access to modern status, although most of them loyal to occupations in “the vineyard of Jesus”. The following section is short biographies of several Protestant Javanese leaders which describe their occupations.

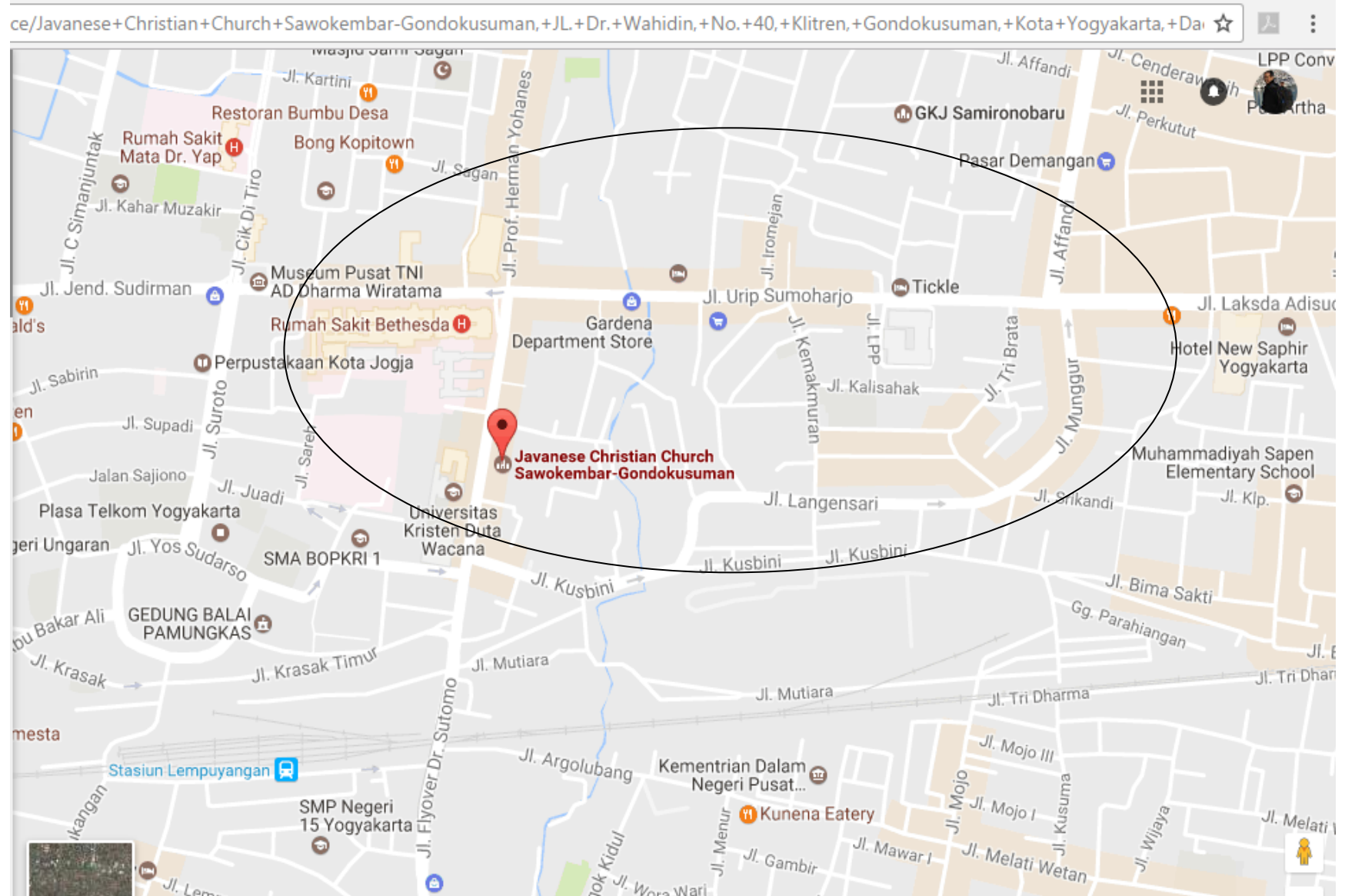
Gondokusuman: Protestant Javanese Quarters

Delivering a written speech for celebrating 75 years jubilee of Gondokusuman church, the then Governor of Special Region of Yogyakarta, Paku Alam VIII, recalls that “Gondokusuman was once known as an area inhabited by Reformed-Christian adherents” (*“Di jaman dahulu kawasan Gondokusuman dikenal merupakan kawasan yang dihuni oleh warga Kristen-Gereformeerd”*) (Paku Alam VIII 1988, p

7). This recollection analogous to the statement of Protestant Javanese minister of Wirobrajan, Rev. Yosef Christionugroho, that Klitrèn Lor was known as “the Kauman of Christians” in the past.¹⁴ The statements suggest that in the early stage many of Protestants who lived in urban Yogyakarta had propensity to spatially grouped in Gondokusuman, particularly in Klitrèn Lor as it is one of kampongs sited in the area.

Since the establishment of Petronella Hospital, the area of Gondokusuman was inhabited by Christian families who came from different places. They mostly worked at the hospital. An assistant of a *zending* Dr. Scheurer, who came from Purworejo, Yoram, who also lived in this area became the pioneer of Protestant Javanese of Gondokusuman (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, Yogyakarta 1988, p. 23). Some other Protestants from Yogyakarta and its surrounding area moved to Gondokusuman as they worked for the hospital. Only the literate Protestants who met with the hospital’s requirement. Therefore, Protestant Javanese formerly living in different parts of Protestant area in suburban and rural Yogyakarta, as well as those who came from other Protestant areas moved to Yogyakarta and inhabited nearby the hospital, that is in Gondokusuman. Sri Atmintiasih, for instance, a Javanese Protestant pedagogue in Klaten, explains that she was a daughter of a male nurse at Petronella hospital (currently, Bethesda) in Yogyakarta. She spent her childhood in Gondokusuman (Nusantara 2003, p. 14).

The Protestant Javanese church of Gondokusuman, Petronella hospital, and schools accomodated different activities of Protestant Javanese. Several organisations founded in this area, among others, Teachers Association (*Perkumpulan Guru-Guru Kristen*, PGC), Christian Nurses Association (*Perkumpulan Verplegers dan Verplegstes Kristen P.V.K.*), Christian Women Organisation (*Mardi Wanita Kristen*, M.W.K.) and Christian Youth Union (*Christen Jongeren Vereeniging*, C.J.V.) (Tim



← → ↻ peta.bpn.go.id

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Syarat dan Ketentuan Peta

Layer

- Overlay
 - Persil
 - ☐ Transaksi Jual Beli
 - ☒ ZONANILAITANAH
 - ☒ Persil (Berdasarkan Jenis Hak)
 - Hak Milik
 - Hak Guna Usaha
 - Hak Guna Bangunan
 - Hak Pakai
 - Hak Pengelolaan
 - Hak Wakaf
 - Belum terdaftar
 - Basemap
 - ☒ Open Street Map

Yogyakarta City, Special Region of Yogyakarta

110.37968, -7.78169

penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, Yogyakarta 1988, pp. 46-9).

The presence of those Protestant institutions urge Protestant Javanese as well as social organisation to settle in the proximity of the institutions. Several addresses below represent the significance of Gondokusuman as a Christian geographical sphere at least during colonial Java.

Table 1. Address List of Protestant Person and Organisation

Name of Person/Organisation	Address
Sastraharjana	GK III/222
Badan Sosial Kristen	Ledok Balapan, GK III/138
S.P. Purbawijoga	Klitrèn Lor 19
Djosaphat Darmohatmodjo	Gondokusuman 39
R. Soedarmo	Batonowarso (currently, I Dewa Nyoman Oka
BOPKRI headmaster official residence	Klitrèn Lor 5
Putra Pandu Kristen	Balapan no. 17
Putra Pandu Kristen	Klitrèn Lor 21
PPKI	Gondokusuman 37
Rullman	Klitrèn Lor 23
Probowinoto	Jl. Opak no. 8

Source: Assorted from Archive Sheves of Christian Javanese Synod Office, Kan-Sin GKJ

Concluding remarks

This preliminary study on the spatial pattern of Gondokusuman shows that religion had an impact on the construction of spatial pattern. Religion, Protestantism, in this case was not merely a theological term, but a significant way to for social climbing in late colonial period of Java. In this case, becoming Protestant paved the way for social mobility both in terms of vertical and horisontal mobility. Having

graduated in Western-style education, Protestant Javanese opened up opportunities in getting good job with better income. Supported by their economic (income) and social (occupation) status they prefer to live in a certain local which relatively close each other, where usually their offices located in their vicinity. Nevertheless, this remarks is able to be more legitimate if encourage more statistical and geographical information to search in the near future.

Tradition of the inhabitants of urban Yogyakarta to live in groups with regard to their occupation indicates occupation-based spatial grouping. The Protestant Javanese, hence, continued the tradition by living relatively in homogenous professions, even though they did not create the quarters' name. They even did not name after their quarter in a specific religious name such as their Muslim brethrens in Kauman. A prompt explanation to this circumstances is because they did not live distinctively as one dominant profession, such as a Protestant minister, teacher, or nurse; rather they assembled in a certain space with relatively heterogenous profession with no particular dominant profession.

Aside from that, they spatially were grouped more because of their religious belief as relevantly indicate by Englander. However, their social grouping was not merely based on religious bound, for instance, because the vicinity to the church as a house of worship. Further explanation should place church, along with school and hospital their workplaces because all of them were also reliant to the institutions as their livelihood. In other words, the spatial pattern of Protestant Javanese residence was actually a merging or combination between primordial and advance spatial pattern. The pattern, in fact, united elements of primordial spatial pattern such as ethnicity or caste, mother-tongue, birthplace, religion, and local tradition; with the advance elements of advance or modern spatial pattern such as socio-economic status, occupation, education, and income.

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¹ A paper prepared to deliver in the Student Weekly Forum, 4 May 2016, Graduate School of Humanities, Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada. This paper is in progress, please do not quote.

² Transformation from race to class in the late colonial Java also occurred in socio-cultural life in transportation. An indigenous had a nerve to ask for more money of a Dutch lady had paid for her ride on a *dokar* (horse-driven carts) in Surabaya (Khusyairi 2008).

³ C. Zwaan came from Zevenhoven. After being appointed as a minister envoy (*pendeta utusan*) to Yogyakarta on 17 October 1900, he left for Java. His permission from the Dutch colonial government was given on 11 July 1901 (J.D. Wolterbeek. 1995. *Babad zending di ...*, p. 183).

⁴ Christina Petronella Stevens was born in urban Yogyakarta on 17 November 1825. Four out of five servants who converted to Christianity were from Yogyakarta (Guillot, C. 1985. *Kiai Sadrach, Riwayat Kristenisasi di Jawa*, Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, pp. 26-7); Rudolf Mrázek. 2002. *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-4.

⁵ Jacob Wilhelm was born in Ommen, Overijssel, the Netherlands on 6 April 1854. (J.D. Wolterbeek. 1995. *Babad zending di ...*, pp. 78).

⁶ Interview with Ds. Paulus Pudjaprijatma or Ki Atmo, a “retired” minister at GKJ Purwodadi, Grobogan, Central Java on 17 February 2016.

⁷ M. C. Ricklefs. 2001. *A history of ...*, pp. 127-9; for detail history of the division of Mataram can be referred to M. C. Ricklefs. 1974. *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792, a history of the division of Java*, London: Oxford University Press, chapter 2 and 3, pp. 37-95.

⁸ Shelf D, box 29, KanSin 1948, archive number A7.1.1/18.

⁹ *Colporteurs* is door-to-door peddlers of Christian book and other publications. In south Central Java they became the spearhead of evangelism (S.H. Soekotjo. GKJ, 2009. *Sejarah Gereja-Gereja Kristen Jawa Jilid 1: di Bawah Bayang-Bayang Zending 1858-1948*, Yogyakarta: Taman Pustaka Kristen bekerjasama dengan Lembaga Studi dan Pengembangan (LSP) Gereja-gereja Kristen Jawa, p. 371).

¹⁰ The schools included *Hollandsch Indlandsche School*, HIS, *Hollandsch Inlandsche Kweekschool*, HIK, and *Meer Uitgebreid Lager School*, MULO) in which around ten thousand students studied. As compared to those of East Java, the progress in south Central Java was greater. In the same year there were only 96 primary schools which had 8.588 pupils, and 18 Secondary schools which had 3.255, and only 2 hospitals (Müller Krüger. 1966 *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia*, second edition, Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, p. 182).

¹¹ Van den End and Weitjens did not clearly mention whether the doctors were Javanese or of other ethnics Furthermore, they mentioned a different number of doctors in different page. On page 228, the number of European and Indonesian doctors was equally 31, whereas on page 379 the number of Indonesian doctor was 29. Besides, the writers claimed that by 1930 40% of Dutch mission’s medical facilities were located in south Central Java (Th. van den End and J. Weitjens, S.J.

1993. *Ragi Carita Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia jilid 2 1860an – sekarang*, Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, pp. 228, 378-9).

¹² For instance a primary Protestant school in Margoyudan Surakarta, was free of charge. The school even gave outfit material to the students in Christmas (Ds. D. Reksadarmadja. *Riwayat Hidup Ds. D. Reksadarmadja ditulis sendiri ketika memperingati HUT ke 80 1 Des 1904-1 Des 1984*: 7-8, archive number A211/4/1984, Shelf H, box 2, R. Darmaja Surakarta 6, Gab III: 2-3).

¹³ Interview with Rev. Paulus Pudjaprijatma or Ki Atmo, a “retired” minister at the Gereja Kristen Jawa Purwodadi, Grobogan, Central Java on 17 & 19 February 2016 in Salatiga and Purwodadi

¹⁴ Interview with Rev. Yosef Christionugroho, at the Protestant Javanese Church of Wirobrajan on 17 March 2017; Kauman means the place for the pious Muslim. It is a kampong located close to the Great Mosque of several Javanese urban areas. In Yogyakarta, the kampong is located to the Northwest of the Sultanate’s court, *kraton*. (M. C. Ricklefs. 2001. *A history of modern Indonesia, since c. 1200*, Hampshire: Palgrave, p. 209)