

THE FORMATION OF A JAVANESE REFORMED CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENT IN YOGYAKARTA URBAN AREA 1939-1959

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Abstract

This article examined the connection between primordial and advance features in the formation of Javanese Reformed Christians settlement in urban Yogyakarta. It focused on the causal factors behind the spatial grouping. Most of the Javanese Reformed Christians experienced social mobility which enabled them to have better professions. This research used historical methods by using church archives and various secondary sources. In a way, religion became the ultimate foundation of the formation of spatial grouping for JRC residence in urban Yogyakarta. In another way, the zending fields in urban Yogyakarta did not only facilitate means of social ladder, but also equipped them with careers. This article also found that the formation of urban Protestant settlement in urban Yogyakarta took the same pattern from that of rural areas of Java. Both settlements required relatively distinct territorial unit enclosed as if within foreign territory, so that the residents would easily be focused on Protestant teachings. However, the urban settlement of this Protestant denomination differed in terms of access to modern facilities, such as education, hospital, transportation which proves that the facilities were originally intended for Europeans who mostly were Christians. The Reformed Christian Javanese benefitted to this facilities because they embraced the same religion as that of the Europeans.

Keywords: *Protestant Javanese, urban settlement, urban area, javanese reformed christians*

INTRODUCTION

This paper focus on how primordial and advanced features influenced the spatial grouping of residence among Javanese Reformed Christians (JRC). The primordial feature suggests every 'given' aspect embedded to everyone, such as ethnicity, birthplace, mother-tongue, and religion. Meanwhile, the advanced feature implies achievements that transform one to hold new characteristics, for instance, education, occupation, income, etc.

Studies on urban spatiality in late colonial Java are commonly 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 was indicated by several concerns of urbanization, such as public health, housing, and the extension of

urban administration (Wertheim & The Siauw Giap, 1962).

Sartono Kartodirdjo points out that urban residencies 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 dwelling patterns indicated the segregational configuration of urban dwellers (Kartodirdjo, 1999). The construction of spatial pattern is not merely a matter of constructing identity since it is more linked to mobility.

Clifford Geertz shows the spatial grouping of communities in a small town in East Java, Mojokuto. Communities were clustered in overlapping categories between ethnicity, occupation, and religion. He illustrated that the Chinese settlement was located along the main road, the bureaucrats and businessmen inhabited along other roads

connected to the local government's office, the other and richer (Muslim) businessmen would have settled along the road close to the local market or mosque. Meanwhile, a group of Dutch and Javanese (high rank) officers dwelled in certain areas around their workplaces. Other Dutch and Javanese who worked in healthcare services, such as nurses, pharmacists, and midwives, who were mostly Christians, lived close to the hospital (Clifford Geertz, 1986).

Freek Colombijn clearly affirms Kartodirdjo's explanation on spatial patterns, which are influenced by socio-economic and cultural background. He contends that spatial segregation in colonial Indies, particularly in Java, was not simply a kind of racial segregation but rather that of income. He further draws that ethnic ('racial') divisions were mirrored in the residential pattern. His main thesis is 'from-race-to-class-segregation', which he puts in the decolonization context. The assumption is under the impact of decolonization, changes in the social status system were reflected in a changing residential pattern. Income differences impacted the spatial division that started in the process of decolonization, before the Japanese arrived in Java (Colombijn, 2010).

Similar to these previous studies, this paper focuses on the JRC in urban Yogyakarta who became members of a JRC church in Gondokusuman, an area of urban Yogyakarta. The selection of this congregation lies on the fact that in the third decade of the twentieth century, they underwent modernization more intensively compared to other Javanese Protestant denominations. They predominantly appeared in urban areas where modernization rapidly occurred since the early twentieth century. J.D. Wolterbeek shows that up until 1938, most Protestants of various denominations, in which the JRC was the major denomination, lived in southern Central Java, including Yogyakarta, compared to those in eastern and northern central Java (Wolterbeek, 1995). The number of Javanese Protestants who lived in the urban areas of Eastern Java was more than 3,000 (9% of all Protestants in this area); in northern Central Java, the number was more than 2,000 (33% of all Protestants); in urban areas of southern

Central Java, Javanese Protestants are more than 7,000 (48% of all Protestants).

From these notions, it is interesting to investigate the consequence of embracing Protestants in a spatial grouping. Specifically, this paper intends to further examine the impacts on the spatial grouping of the JRC's residences because of their social climbing. This paper aims to answer the following questions: 1) To what extent did the JRC construct their spatial grouping of residence? and 2) What were the motivations behind the spatial grouping of Protestant Javanese residents?

Literature Review

Protestant Javanese

The works on Javanese Protestant community in Indonesia have been being included on church history hitherto. The development of churches, mission, missionaries, and disciples often becomes discussion points. The two volumes of S.H. Soekotjo specifically discussed the history of the Gereja Kristen Jawa (GKJ), the current name of the Gereja Kristen Djawa (GKD), paying particular attention to the birth and development of the GKD and its community. In the first volume, the emergence of Protestant Javanese was exposed from the presence of missionaries of European missionary societies up until the formation of Protestant Javanese synod in 1931 and followed by a short description of the era of Japanese Occupation and after the Indonesian Proclamation of Independence (Soekotjo, 2009). During the period, Soekotjo asserted that this was the period of dependency in which the Protestant Javanese who became the citizenry of the GKD remained relying on the missionary support in many ways even though they already established their churches and synod.

In the second volume, Soekotjo illustrates efforts of the community to gain its independence (Soekotjo, 2010). The efforts included organizational and theological autonomy. The desire for independence was presumably due to the uncertain socio-political situation, which disturbed support availability, particularly from the European missionary societies. In addition, the Protestant Javanese realized their identity as a part of an

independence nation state (Indonesia). The desire for independence finally came into being after approximately three decades. In the two volumes, Soekotjo succeeded to give clear description of the Protestant Javanese church (GKD) from its dependency to independency. The volumes accomplished other works on the history of the GKD and the history of Protestant communities in Indonesia not only because their special attention to the Protestant Javanese of GKD history but also its particular focus on the endeavor to be complete independence (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). Nevertheless, he overlooked the development of the disciples along with the efforts were endured. Along with the process for independence, the disciples of GKD were also developed and underwent their social mobility. The achievement of independence was, in fact, one of the results of social mobility.

Social Mobility

Gerry van Klinken examined the social mobility of five Christian Indonesians, two (Catholic) Javanese (I. J. Kasimo and A. Soegijapranata), two Protestant Batak (Amir Sjarifoeddin and Goenoeng Moelia), and one Protestant Minahasan (Ratu Langie) (Klinken, 2003). Using a biographical approach, he applied Max Weber's leadership theory between the traditional and modern ones. The figures were the urbanites and well-educated in Western education. They had high modern capability and deserved to name as the Indonesia elites, yet not all of them were represented as completely western or modern figures. Despite their elite position, Van Klinken asserted, they nearly always represented their ambiguity between modern and traditional. Conservative (Ratu Langie) and nationalist (Kasimo and Moelia) attitudes, as well as charismatic appearances (Sjarifoeddin and Soegijapranata) proved the ambiguity.

The work of Th is the only book concerned with the social mobility on the Protestant Javanese in south central Java. Sumartana (Sumartana, 1994). In Chapter II, Sumartana explained the formation of Protestant Javanese in Central Java since the presence of a renowned Kyai Sadrach and a Dutch missionary society and the disputes

between them up to the emergence of new era for missionaries in Java. Sumartana mentioned the coming out of what he called "a new class" of Protestant Javanese particularly since the second decade of the twentieth century. Sumartana sketched the origin of the new class, the route of which they originated, and their contribution to the development of church. The short inspiring parts explained the emergence of Protestant Javanese group, which was abandoned in other works. Nevertheless, Sumartana left detailed questions on the description and explanation to the new class.

Ryadi Goenawan and Darto Harnoko studied Yogyakarta's social history, emphasizing that social mobility occurred in Yogyakarta (Goenawan, Ryadi and Harnoko, 1993). They scrutinize the social mobility that mainly occurred in the family of higher elite in a castle in Yogyakarta, the Pakualaman, in early twentieth century. They agreed that the central causal factor of social mobility was modernization. Their participation in schools supported the modern and even radical ideas of the family. The family of Pakualaman also created an Indonesian-modern education.

Johny A. Khusyairi studied on Protestant Javanese. He pointed out that, unlike the Javanese Catholic community, the socio-economic position of Javanese Christian community escalated significantly (Khusyairi, 2020). They were not from the nobility but originated from the lower social groups of Yogyakarta and its surroundings. Their socio-economic life escalated since they completed Western educational facilities supported by *zending* and jobs provided by both *zending* and the government or the private sector in line with the needs of Western education graduates. This literature review showed the picture of Christian Indonesian, including Protestant Indonesian (Javanese). However, the works overlooked connecting the rise of Christian community and the formation of urban areas. This article, therefore, intends to fill this gap.

Conceptual Framework

In colonial Java, the making of settlement was closely related to modernization. There were several agents of modernization in colonial Java. Denys Lombard mentioned the agents were

influenced by western ideas and lifestyles (Lombard, 2005). In the context of colonial Java, modernization equals westernization. Some imitated the western way of life in some ways.

Some of them even went to western schools and worked for colonial (western) institutions. They were Christian communities, Javanese nobility, soldier, and academics. They were not only groups experiencing social mobility but also participated in western (modern) lifestyles. The social position of those who embraced western religion, Christianity, climbed to the new one.

Henk Schulte Nordholt called such participation “cultural citizenship” (Schulte Nordholt, 2018). The cultural participation in the Western civilization stream was also depicted in their outward appearances, which reflected their pride in transforming to the modern way of life even though it was sometimes combined with traditional ones. Hence, Western symbols of Western modernity were placed by the Westerners as requirement to enter the Western culture.

Apart from that, the Dutch or the European in colonial Java reformulated the meaning of a particular culture already existing in the colony. Cleanliness, for example, which was certainly not the monopoly of Western culture or Christian teachings was redefined by soap usage (Dijk van & Taylor, 2011). They affirmed that soap, Christianity and Western civilization became intertwined. They merged into a single entity which preserved Europeans and Christianity.

Another aspect of western influence was the making of settlement and urban growth. The urban formation process includes urbanization (Gottdiener, Mark & Budd, 2005). The formation of urban areas was a significant consequence of modernity. Thus, urban settlement is a result of urbanization driven by modernization. In the context of colonial Java, besides colonial government, the making of urban settlement was indirectly supported by Christianization. This article shows a link between the formation of urban settlement and Christianization, in this case, one of denomination of Protestantism, the Reformed Christians.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article used the historical method. The primary source for this research was obtained from the Marriage Register provided by the municipal government of Yogyakarta (Municipality, 1960) The Marriage Register during the research period was grouped by two religious groups, the Christians and the Muslims. The register consisted of Christians was a mix of Protestants from different denominations and the Catholics. Therefore, I firstly distinguish Protestants and Catholics by focusing on the names of the official who performed the marriage ceremony.

Secondly, this paper neither collates the names of Protestants whose marriages were officiated by civil officials nor those from other Protestant denominations. In order to ensure that the pastors and evangelists were Reformed Christians, this paper relies on names known as Reformed Christian clerics.

Furthermore, this paper only looks at records where at least one-half of a couple lived in urban Yogyakarta. By opting for this method, this paper picks out 342 records from the Marriage Register, 26 of which are from 1939 to 1945 and 316 from 1946 to 1959. Each record consists of information about the bride, groom, and their parents.

Another source of information for the social background of the professionals was the master records (*stamboek*) of the Gondokusuman church. In order to collect data by the article period, the records in the master records were selected based on the baptismal and confirmation dates. This method was chosen because church membership begins from their baptismal date and/or from their confirmation date. The master records also recorded one name in more than one record. A note indicating the name on a number is the same as the name listed in a previous record number is usually attached. Such a case only counts one record. This church did not only consist of Javanese members of the church. The master records recorded non-Javanese names, for example, Sahetapy, a common Moluccan family name. This paper did not consider non-Javanese names.

In addition, this paper divides the record obtained from the *stamboek* into two periods: the first covers 1898-1940s and the second covers the 1950s. Based on this method, the names included in this study is

provided in book 1 to book 8. Book 1 up to a part of book 4 covers 1898 to 1940s. The remaining part of book 4 up to book 8 covers the 1950s. In the first period there were 2173 people and 5394 people were in the second period.

There are potential inaccuracies in selecting and counting records in this paper because church members were not recorded chronologically. Furthermore, this article does not intend to compare names recorded in the Marriage Register and *stamboek*. Thus, the number of Javanese Reformed Christians studied in this paper does not add up to the record in those two books.

DISCUSSION

Gondokusuman as a JRC's Urban Neighbourhood

On 23 November 1953, in his speech commemorating 40 years of the Gondokusuman Church, the mayor of Yogyakarta, Mr. S. Poerwokoesoemo, said that the area after which the church was named, was special for the Javanese Reformed Christian.

For the people of Yogyakarta, it is not surprising that 'the area of Gondokusuman' is 'an area of the Reformed Christians'. In the area, there was the 'Petronella Hospitaal' which in the independence period changed its name to 'Rumah-Sakit Bethesda', a hospital of 'Zending'. Apart from that, you may find the Reformed Christian Javanese church, which was once housed in a small and attractive building. Today, it houses a Christian meeting hall on Gondokusuman road (currently, Jl. Urip Sumohardjo and Jl. Jend. Sudirman which is the entrance to Yogyakarta from the east). The church was then moved to a larger and better building at Klitren Lor, where it currently remains (across the Duta Wacana Christian University). Apart from that, in that area was located the Theology School, a place for educating would be ministers, not only who comes from Yogyakarta but also outside the region" (Poerwokoesoemo, 1953).

Thirty-five years later, in commemorating 75 years of the Gondokusuman church's establishment, a Duke of Yogyakarta, Pakualam VIII, who functioned as the governor of the Special

Region of Yogyakarta, echoed the same statement as the mayor.

The Gondokusuman area was once renowned as an area inhabited by Reformed Christians (Alam, 1988). Gondokusuman's reputation as a Reformed Christian area has been rooted since the turn of the twentieth century. The establishment of the GKN's mission field of works in urban Yogyakarta in the late nineteenth century attracted Javanese Reformed Christian members from various parts of Central Java to live in the critical area of the mission. The area became an attractive point for the Javanese Reformed Christian as the primary fields of the Mission of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (*Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, ZGKN), such as Petronella Hospital, primary schools, the Reformed Christian church, and the theology school which was called Keuchenius school. Reformed Christianity, adopting Chris Park's term, 'dominate' the landscape of Gondokusuman (Park, 2004).

This domination started when Reformed Christian mission in urban Yogyakarta built a hospital called the Petronella *zending* hospital. This hospital marked the switch of Reformed Christian development from the area of Pakualaman to the Sultanate. A modest clinic made by the assigned *zending*'s physician, dr. Scheurer, in Bintaran (the area of Pakualaman, across the Pakualaman palace) on 1 July 1897 was moved to a larger and more permanent area of Gondokusuman (the area of the Sultanate, currently area around the Bethesda Hospital). The letter of dr. Scheurer written on 29 October 1897 proposing to build an appropriate hospital was soon replied by the Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII to use 28,410 m² land in Gondokusuman for this purpose (Soekotjo, S.H. & Widhartono, 2013; Soekotjo, 2009; Sumartana, 1994).

Before being provided as an area for building the *zending* hospital, a part of the area of Gondokusuman was owned by two parties. By referring to J.H. Kuyper in his book *J.G. Scheurer, "Dokter Utusan Orang Beriman Sekuat Batu Karang"*, Wulanadha explains that Prince Nganda Karuna was in possession of the village land and rice fields were rented from the sultanate by the Muja-Muju

plantation factory (Wulanadha, 2014). Meanwhile, Soekotjo shows that the land was partly owned by the municipality of Yogyakarta, while some other part was owned by the plantation of Muja-Muju. The *Zending* was required to provide as much as fl. 1,403.34 for the inhabitants as compensation for their houses and plants grew in the land (Soekotjo, 2009) (Soekotjo, S.H. & Widhartono, 2013).

A parcel of land at Gondokusuman provided for the hospital was located on the main road to Surakarta. By the time of the lending of the land, Gondokusuman was rice fields and inhabited by villagers. On 1 March 1900 (Sumartana, 1994), the *Zending's* Petronella Hospitaal was officially opened. Since the opening of the hospital, Dr. Scheurer brought his Javanese assistants along to the hospital. The assistants were Joram, Sambija, Eljada, Samuel Wasman, Kalam, and Sorda. They respectively came from Purworejo, Surakarta, and some territories of Yogyakarta (Efrajim, 1953). Joram and his family were considered as the pioneer of the Javanese Reformed Christian living in Gondokusuman (Suhatno, 2008; Tim, 1988).

Petronella Hospitaal changed its name several times following the changes of political authority in Indonesia. Under the Japanese rule, the hospital's name was changed to a Japanese name, Tjuoo Byoin (*Chuoo Byooiin*), meaning the Central Hospital (Siswadi, 1989). Following the Indonesian Proclamation of Independence, the managers of the hospital changed the hospital's name again. On 25 September 1945, the doctors and management of the hospital agreed to change the name to Rumah Sakit Umum Pusat (the Central General Hospital) (Siswadi, 1989). The name was a translation of that of the Japanese name. On 28 June 1950, the managers of the hospital agreed to change the RSUP to a name which shows its Protestant identity, and to leave out the original name, Petronella, which had been given in gratitude to the family of Rev. Van Coevorden Adriani, whose wife's name was Petonella (Siswadi, 1989: 183-86). During the meeting attended by Dr. LGJ. Samallo, Dr. Kasmolo Paulus, Dr. J.O. Picauly, Fortunatus, Atmopurwono, Sutoyo Suwito, and Junus, they agreed to choose Bethesda among the names being considered. Bethesda referred to a Biblical story which narrated how Jesus

healed a man who could not walk for thirty-eight years as stated in John 5: 1-14 (Soundarrajan, 2019). The man was lying by a pool along with a large number of other sick people waiting to move into the water which they thought could heal their sickness. The pool was located nearby the Sheep Gate in Jerusalem which was called Bethesda in Hebrew.

Like the hospital, the foundation of *zending's* primary schools in Yogyakarta presented Javanese Reformed Christians from areas where the Reformed Christianity had grown earlier, such as Purworejo and the border areas between the residencies of Yogyakarta and Bagèlèn. Both the first school teachers at Klitrèn Lor (est. 1901) and Lowano (est. 1902), Kasim Trofimus and Kalam Efrayim, came from Purworejo (Tim, 1988). Among the two schools, only the school led by Kasim Trofimus was located in Gondokusuman. Nevertheless, the Javanese Reformed Christian of Purworejo shows that, at least in the beginning, the *zending* fieldworks in Yogyakarta needed more Western-educated Reformed Christians who usually came from areas where Reformed Christianity was introduced earlier to the inhabitants than that of urban Yogyakarta, as indicated in the establishment of its auxiliary institutions.

The movement of Keuchenius school from Purworejo to Yogyakarta in 1905 formed Yogyakarta, especially Gondokusuman, as a focal growth of the Javanese Reformed Christian. Since then, as stated above, Sukotjo perceived Yogyakarta as the 'Jerusalem' for the Javanese Reformed Christian (Soekotjo, 2004). Furthermore, the foundation of the Keuchenius school as a school to educate Indigenous assistants for evangelization attracted the presence of Javanese Reformed Christian and their Protestant brethren from different areas to go to this school. R.A. Misael, for instance, the first batch of this school came from different areas (Misael, 1995). Among the first six students, two students came from Yogyakarta, and other students came respectively from districts Purworejo, Kebumen, Purbalingga, and Wonosobo. Later, the students also came from non-Javanese ethnics, the Chinese, Batak, Minahasa, and Toraja.

Last but not least was the establishment of the first Reformed Christian church in Yogyakarta. The first church building, which was located on Gondokusuman, in front (to the North) of the Petronella hospital (currently Galeria Mall) was established on 23 November 1913 (Darmohatmodjo, 1953; Tim, 1988). The second church building, the twin sapidilla church (*Gereja Sawokembar*), that could accommodate a larger number of church member, was officially opened on 11 December 1930 (Darmohatmodjo, 1953; Tim, 1988). As previously stated, before the self-establishment of their own ethic Reformed Christian churches in 1920s and 1930s respectively, the church congregation included the Dutch and the Chinese, not exclusively Javanese.

The growth of Gondokusuman as a local urban area was affirmed by the foundation of a new European settlement in this area in 1919. The new settlement was called Nieuw Wijk (Kotabaru). Farabi Fakihi argued that the foundation of this settlement confirmed the establishment of a distinctive area for the European (Dutch) in Yogyakarta and was conceived to be a barrier against indigenization (Fakihi, 2014). The Indigenous generally indicated their hesitation to enter the area. However, some of them perceived that the European kids living in this area were not as nasty as those living near the Dutch fortress (Fakihi, 2014). Outward appearances of the European in Yogyakarta, their lifestyle and their social intercourse with Javanese aristocracy gave image to the Javanese that 'all of the Dutch are from noble blood' (Soemardjan, 1986). He further argued that the area indicated Western, modern, and Christian. Several modern and Christian schools and two churches were located in this area.

Aside from the Christian institutions, there was a private institution, the Eye Hospital, built in Gondokusuman. The hospital was built by a Chinese Leiden-graduated ophthalmologist, Yap Hong Tjoen, along with the Centre Association for Promotion of Ophthalmology in the Netherland Indies (*Centrale vereeniging tot bevordering der oogheelkunde in Nederlandsch Indie*, CVO) (Albiladiyah, 2008). It started as an eye clinic built in Gondolayu and was founded on 20

June 1921. No more than two years, the eye clinic was moved to Terban, an area of Gondokusuman. On 21 November 1922, the Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII symbolically built a steadier building of this eye hospital. On 29 May 1923, General Mr. D. Fock on behalf of the Dutch Queen officially opened the eye hospital and named after The Princess Juliana hospital for the Sore Eyes Sufferer (*Prinses Juliana-gasthuis voor Ooglijders*), which later was popularly called the 'Dr. Yap' Eye Hospital. The foundation of the eye hospital appended the urbanization of Gondokusuman area.

The establishment of modern institutions marked the process of forming urban areas. For instance, the Petronella hospital indicated the growth of early cities, as Mark Gottdiener and Leslie Budd have mentioned in their Key Concepts in urban studies (Gottdiener, Mark & Budd, 2005). The Petronella Hospital in Gondokusuman meets four of ten characteristics of early cities. As the first modern institution built in the area, which housed modern medical craftsmanship and provided health services for the public, the hospital could be considered as a monumental public building. The medical officers' craftsmanship comprises physicians and nurses who were specialists in this field. The hospital was soon followed by the construction of settlements both provided by the hospital and privately built by the inhabitants creating community bound by professions rooted in Reformed Christianity. In short, since the establishment of the hospital, the area of Gondokusuman was becoming an urban area, in the process of urbanization.

Nevertheless, Gondokusuman was a small part of the municipality of Yogyakarta. The municipality's growth was mainly in the surrounding areas of the palaces of Sultan and Pakualam. Taking that into account, it is too much to call the growth of Gondokusuman urbanization as opposed to local urbanization. This conceptualization appeared as the urban center remained in areas near the sultan's palace. In addition to explaining urbanization as the process of city formation and city growth, Gottdiener and Budd explain suburbanization (Gottdiener, Mark & Budd, 2005). The latter concept was related to the settlement's formation process, which was

considered neither urban nor rural, but something in between. The growth of Gondokusuman seemed inappropriate to be called as suburbanization, although the area became a part of a more expansive territory of urban Yogyakarta. The area grew distinctively as an urban area, although the growth did not appear in more expansive areas as perceived in the concept of urbanization.

Concentration of Settlement

The fieldworks of the ZGKN in Gondokusuman and the following modern institutions became points of attraction for the Javanese Reformed Christian to move and live in Gondokusuman and the surrounding areas. The different locations can be referred to in the Marriage Register. By referring to the Marriage Register, we can see addresses of the Javanese Reformed Christian in urban Yogyakarta as follows.

Table 1: Addresses of the Javanese Reformed Christian in Yogyakarta, 1939-1945

Addresses	Son	Parents	Daughter	Parents	Total
Urban Yogyakarta	19	12	21	17	69
Yogyakarta	1	7	4	13	25
Central Java	3	8	0	8	19
East Java	2	4	0	1	7
West Java + Jakarta	1	0	1	1	3
Out of Java	0	0	0	0	0
Dead	0	1	0	0	1
No Information	0	20	0	12	32
Total	26	52	26	52	156

Source: Marriage Register 1939-1945 at the Department of Population and Civil Registration of Yogyakarta municipality (Khusyairi, 2020)

The addresses are classified into six categories according to their areas, namely urban Yogyakarta; the Residency of Yogyakarta; Java which was divided into three regions: Central Java, East Java, West Java, and Jakarta; Out of Java; Dead; and No information. The first category included those who lived in different home addresses in urban Yogyakarta's administrative territory. The second category consisted of the Javanese Reformed Christian, whose addresses were outside of urban Yogyakarta but within the Residency of Yogyakarta. The third category included those who resided on the island of Java. The fourth category consisted of the

Javanese Reformed Christian whose addresses were in the outer islands. The fifth category was made for those who passed away, and the sixth was provided for columns with no address information or blank columns.

Table 1 shows that between 1939 and 1945, most couples, 19 (73%) sons and 21 daughters (80%), already lived in urban Yogyakarta. In order to examine their geographical origin, the researcher refers to their parents' addresses. The problem is that not all columns of addresses were filled in. Many of them were left blank because one or both parents had passed away or even was not filled without a statement. In addition, sometimes the addresses of father and mother are different, without mentioning the reasons. However, with regards to this limited information, it is found that, like their children, majority of the sons' parents (23%) and the daughter's parents (32%) lived in urban Yogyakarta.

Regarding the distinction between the addresses of sons and daughters on the one side, and their parents on the other, they mainly lived in urban Yogyakarta. Some sons came to urban Yogyakarta to work and married women who lived in urban Yogyakarta.

Both sons and daughters whose home addresses were in urban Yogyakarta, mostly lived in the sub-district of Gondokusuman. The daughters lived throughout the area of the Gondokusuman's sub districts, such as Klitren Lor, Sanggrahan, Purbonegaran, Kepuh, Brontokusuman, Ledokbalapan, and Ledokpengok. Sons lived nearby the sub districts of Gondokusuman, such as Ledoktukanan (sub district Danurejan), Gondolayu, and Kotagede. Meanwhile, the daughters whose addresses were in the sub district of Gondokusuman generally lived in Demangan, Klitren Lor, Mangkukusuman, Ledokbalapan, Gending, and Purbonegaran. The brides also lived in Gondolayu (sub district Tugu), Bintaran, Kotagede, Dongkelan, and Mergangsan. The information was confirmed by statements of the mayor of Yogyakarta in 1953 and the then governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in 1988 that Gondokusuman became the focal living area of the Javanese Reformed Christian in this period.

The same trend of addresses occurred in the subsequent period, 1946-1959. Table 2 shows that most sons (225 or 71%) and daughters (261 or 82.6%) lived in urban Yogyakarta. The sons' parents in this period came mostly from Yogyakarta (20.8%) who lived outside Yogyakarta. This stacks up significantly different from those who lived in the territory of Yogyakarta (43.7%). In the meantime, the majority of the parents of daughters (40%) lived in urban Yogyakarta, and those who came from the territory of Yogyakarta numbered in the second rank (21%). These figures indicate that more men than women who came from outside urban Yogyakarta. The men likely moved to urban Yogyakarta for occupational reason, and they found spouses there.

Data in the master book of the Gondokusuman church as the first Javanese Reformed Christian church in urban Yogyakarta also confirmed the trend of addresses of the Javanese Reformed Christian. They mostly lived in Gondokusuman. The book began to include addresses of the church members started in the book number 6 (*Stamboek* 6) which recorded the Javanese Reformed Christian's addresses born no later than 1950s. The records in the master book started from the church member number 8019 up to number 10310 (in *Stamboek* 8) indicating that most of the members lived in Gondokusuman. As stated in the previous part of this paper, the Gondokusuman church was the first Javanese Reformed Christian church in Yogyakarta. Its members might have lived in various areas of urban Yogyakarta. Nevertheless, the record shows that most of them lived in Gondokusuman.

Table 2
Addresses of the Javanese Reformed Christian in
Yogyakarta, 1946-1959

Addresses	Son	Parents	Daughter	Parents	Total
Urban	225	119	261	246	851
Yogyakarta					
Yogyakarta	23	138	38	138	337
Central	29	129	11	76	245
Java					
East Java	5	24	2	10	41
West Java	23	14	1	9	47
+ Jakarta					
Out of	11	13	0	6	30
Java					
Dead	0	0	0	0	0
No	0	195	3	147	345
Informati on					
Total	316	632	316	632	1896

Source: Marriage Register 1946-1959 of the Department of Population and Civil Registration of Yogyakarta municipality (Khusyairi, 2020)

The availability of dormitories or housing provided by institutions contributed to the creation of Gondokusuman as the central neighborhood of the Javanese Reformed Christian in urban Yogyakarta. For instance, Petronella Hospital, besides functioning as a medical service provider, also provided housing for its employees. Some employees lived in the housing compound, which was located behind the hospital. Information recorded in the master book no. 6 to 8 shows that during the 1950s, almost 100 Javanese Reformed Christian members lived in this housing. Sri Atmintiasih recalled her childhood in the compound, as her father was a nurse at the hospital, where she lived in a housing surrounded by tall and thick walls. The housing was popularly called 'the house behind the wall' (Nusantara, 2003).

A similar spatial situation to Gondokusuman was also seen in a small town in East Java, Mojokuto, in 1910. Clifford Geertz draws the pattern of community settlements in urban area of Mojokuto. He notes that Javanese Protestants who worked in the local hospital also lived in the surrounding area (Geertz, 1989). The Dutch settlements were primarily located near a railway station, behind the hospital, and to the western part of the city, which was passed by the railway. This situation was similar to Gondokusuman, which is located close to the Dutch settlement in Kotabaru and the Lempuyangan railway station. In early twentieth century, Gondokusuman grew as a satellite of urban Yogyakarta, urban facilities, which usually served the Dutch or European inhabitants like hospital, church, and railway station, existed in this area.

The formation of Gondokusuman as an essential area for the Javanese Reformed Christian raised the question whether they had developed a fanatical religious attitude to live exclusively among Reformed Christians. David Englander shows that such an attitude existed among the Jews who migrated to England between mid-19th century and mid-20th century (Englander, 1994). They came from different parts of Europe. Therefore, they kept their own languages and spoke little English for many years. However, the cultural and language differences were not a barrier to living in the same areas of East London.

Englander emphasizes that religion and proximity to synagogue became the most significant bond. Religious identity as Jewish was above all.

Gondokusuman was an area where the religious bond of Javanese Reformed Christians was formed. The fields of the ZGKN in urban Yogyakarta, such as the hospital, primary schools, and school-producing Javanese evangelists were located in this area. In this area, Javanese Reformed Christians made their living. More importantly, in this area was located the first Reformed Christian church. Therefore, the religious bond to this area, especially to the church, was the most powerful drive for Javanese Reformed Christians to maintain their church. They maintain a religious-historical bond with their church in Gondokusuman. To this day, the Javanese Reformed Christians maintained their religious-historical bond to Gondokusuman by keeping their membership in the church. Several pastors and the church council members complained the reluctance of the Gondokusuman church members who had moved out from the area of Gondokusuman to switch their membership to Javanese Reformed Christian churches nearby their residences.

CLOSING

Gondokusuman appeared as a center of development for Christian Javanese and was quite far away from the cosmology of the court of Yogyakarta. The presence of the *zending*'s work fields and other modern institutions in this area created a new urban area in Yogyakarta. To some extent, the growth of Reformed Christianity in an urban area of Yogyakarta, Gondokusuman, resembled the growth of Protestantism in rural Java (Krüger, 1966). They usually created an enclave in rural areas to concentrate on developing their community and would not be interfered with by people from different religious backgrounds. Nevertheless, the growth of Protestantism in rural and urban was different. The Reformed Christianity's growth in urban areas of Yogyakarta occurred during the growth of urban areas where modernization influenced urban life. Establishments of modern facilities in administration, medical

services, and education which the *zending* of GKN also participated in providing, created urban areas as an open area to where people could freely access urban facilities. Therefore, urban facilities provided by the *zending* in Yogyakarta were not restricted to people whose religious faiths were not Protestantism. As a result, the facilities became attractive spots which led to urbanization. Moreover, maintaining religious identity as Javanese Reformed Christians who once lived in the center and essential area where Reformed Christianity grew by keeping religious-social bond to the church. Apart from that, the spatial grouping was created through multiple factors related to the presence of a working place, especially in the first monumental ZGKN's field in Gondokusuman, the Petronella Hospital.

The social mobility of Javanese Christians led them to reside in the same territory. Furthermore, the most crucial church in urban Yogyakarta was located in Gondokusuman. Religious activities were not only held in the church but also in several circles of congregation in their residences. Pastors, evangelists, deacons, and elders did not only give services in the church but also in those circles. By living close to Gondokusuman, these church workers could serve the community easier. The large concentration of Javanese Christians in this suburban area created a satellite for urban Yogyakarta.

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