

# A History of Christianity in Indonesia

EDITED BY

Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink



STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN MISSION [35]

BRILL

Indonesia is the home of the largest single Muslim community of the world. Its Christian community, about 10% of the population, has until now received no overall description in English. Through cooperation of 26 Indonesian and European scholars, Protestants and Catholics, a broad and balanced picture is given of its 24 million Christians. This book sketches the growth of Christianity during the Portuguese period (1511-1605), it presents a fair account of developments under the Dutch colonial administration (1605-1942) and is more elaborate for the period of the Indonesian Republic (since 1945). It emphasizes the regional differences in this huge country, because most Christians live outside the main island of Java. Muslim-Christian relations, as well as the tensions between foreign missionaries and local theology, receive special attention.

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# Studies in Christian Mission in Indonesia

General Editor  
Marc R. Spindler (University of Leiden)

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VOLUME 32

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## PART TWO

## 1800-2005 CHRONOLOGICAL AND REGIONAL

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesian religions are poorly represented in the international or more specifically the English-language surveys of religious developments. Although the country is the home of the largest single Muslim community of the world, Indonesian Muslims usually remain marginal in general handbooks about Islam. Its Christian community, about 9% of the population, has received no overall description in English. It was mostly Dutch and German, besides Indonesian, surveys that pictured the solid and sometimes exceptional development of global Christianity in this country, fourth in the world as to population (with 245 million in 2008, ranking after China, India, and the USA).

This book aims to give an encyclopaedic view of the varied history of Christians in Indonesia. It sketches the few Christians of the pre-colonial period, the growth of some Christian communities during the Portuguese period (1511–1605), and it endeavours to present a fair account of developments under the Dutch colonial administration (1605–1942) and the Indonesian Republic. It emphasises the regional differences, because to a large extent Christianity was established in the so-called Outer Islands, outside the main island of Java. These regions are sometimes large archipelagos in their own right and differ immensely from each other, in geography, in social and economic history, and also as to their participation in world Christianity. This history relates in many pages the race between the global religions of Islam and Christianity, but also their continuing ties with local traditions. In balanced reports we aim to give attention to the three major streams of Christianity: the classical Reformed and Lutheran traditions, the newer Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches, besides the enduring presence of the Catholic Church. Although much attention had to be given to institutional developments, the more spiritual, moral and theological characteristics of Christianity in the various parts of Indonesia have also been pictured in as much detail as possible in such a broad overview.

This book is not a history of foreign missionary organizations and their personnel, although an honest tribute has been given to many overseas pioneering workers. In most places it was the local factor that has been described first of all. The local people were not the passive receiving side of the process of religious change, but are seen here as the acting and deciding party that took up the opportunity of the presence of a new religious system of meaning. In general, more emphasis has been given to the origins and the first deciding decades in the founding of Christian communities than to the later

institutional development. As in most historical writings, the moments of change, their causes and consequences dominate this history.

This is not the first attempt to publish a more comprehensive history of Indonesian Christianity. In 1900 the former Protestant missionary Sierk Coolsma published a record in Dutch of what was dramatically called 'the mission century of the Dutch East Indies,' *De Zendingseeuw*, in his case the nineteenth century. He was somewhat premature. The real 'mission age' has to be located between the 1870s and 1940, as will be discussed later. In 1908 and 1934 the Jesuit priests Arnold van der Velden, followed by Antonius van Aernsbergen published histories of the Catholic mission in Dutch. Major publications in Indonesian date from the 1970s: in five volumes Martinus Muskens edited his *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, while the same work was done for Protestants by Frank Cooley and Fridolin Ukur in the fourteen volumes of the series *Benih yang Tumbuh*, self-descriptions of the larger Protestant churches, followed by the national survey of all the churches in 1979: *Jerih dan Juang, Laporan nasional: survai menyeluruh gereja di Indonesia*. The work by Muskens and Cooley-Ukur also became available in English language abstracts in the early 1980s. In 1959 Theodor Müller-Krüger published a history of Protestantism in the archipelago in Indonesian and later also in German. Since the 1980s the two-volume Indonesian handbook by Thomas van den End, *Ragi Carita*, has become the standard history for Protestant theological schools. In 2001 Hasto Rosariyanto published with his *Bercermin pada wajah-wajah Keuskupan Gereja Katolik Indonesia* a new overview of the Catholic Church in Indonesia. In 2003–2007 the two volumes of Steenbrink's *Catholics in Indonesia 1808–1942, a Documented History*, were published, a work that was started as a Catholic initiative to balance the eight volumes of historical documents published at the initiative of the tireless Thomas van den End. Besides these initiatives on the national level, there have been many monographs and articles on local histories of Christianity in Indonesia. So, this work did not start from zero, but its character as the first English language summary of the topic has made it from the beginning a specific work. Because of the intended audience it should become a work for people who are not familiar with the geography, culture and history of Indonesia. Therefore the context has been given much more attention than was the case in any of its predecessors. We expect that this not only will generate a better understanding of the actual history, but also will add some specific features to the description and analysis of the long process itself.

The initiative for this work was taken in mid-1998 with contacts between Jan Aritonang of the Sekolah Tinggi Teologi, the Theological College of Jakarta, and Karel Steenbrink of IIMO, the Centre for Intercultural Theology (then still under the name of Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en

Oecumenica), at Utrecht University. It was the need for an international successor to the Muskens and Cooley-Ukur projects of the 1970s that brought them together. From the beginning it was clear that it should become an ecumenical endeavour not only through the two editors (Aritonang for the Protestant side, Steenbrink for the Catholic developments) but also through other contributors. Through the participation of Azyumardi Azra the very strong Islamic presence in Indonesia was taken into consideration. Another consideration was that there should be a balance between national and local developments. Therefore the book is divided into three parts: the first part presents the period up to 1800; the second part has the chapters on the most important 'Christian regions' besides a national overview of political, economic and social developments. The third part discusses the most important aspects of Christian life.

In September 1998 Steenbrink started a *Newsletter of the HCI, History of the Christianity in Indonesia Project* and after many enthusiastic responses a conference with 24 participants was convoked on the Uithof Campus of Utrecht University, from 19–23 June 2000. It was to become a dramatic event: in the midst of this conference one of the participants, Dr. Mesakh Tapilatu from Ambon, saw on Dutch television how the campus of his Christian University of the Moluccas was attacked by members of the Muslim militia *Laskar Jihad*. The house and private library of Tapilatu were lost during this action. Dr. Azyumardi Azra, rector of the Islamic University of Jakarta and a close friend to Steenbrink and Aritonang, was present at the Utrecht conference, guaranteeing attention for the Muslim majority of the country, the most decisive context for the development of Christianity in Indonesia. He was also troubled by the new developments, but from faraway Holland not much could be done immediately.

The Utrecht conference of 2000 resulted in the formulation of the general outline of the work, the focus of its readership and the general methodology. During the next years several hopes and promises could not be fulfilled, and for several sections other authors had to be sought, but chapter after chapter, drafts and final texts were completed and this finally has resulted in a work that now can be used by the general public, much later than initially was expected, but it was better to postpone the final redaction than to skip important developments or be content with imbalanced contributions.

On 27 June 2003 the grand old man of Indonesian church history Dr. Fridolin Ukur passed away after a long period of weak health. He could not fully cooperate in the successor to his earlier project on the 'growing seed'.

## Acknowledgements

First of all we have to thank the various institutions where the authors had their main responsibilities. The Theological College STT of Jakarta, where Jan Aritonang has his base, provided him with the time and means to contribute to this project and it also became the home for a much broader initiative, a Centre for the Documentation of Church History in Indonesia. The University of Utrecht was the host for the conference of 2000 that was made possible by generous contributions from the NWO, the Dutch government agency for academic research, from CMC, the central mission committee of the religious orders in the Netherlands, and from the mission board of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. John Prior and the Candraditya Research Centre of Maumere, Flores, were a unique help for the connections with Eastern Indonesia. In many instances they found also the right English expressions for religious terminology.

Some authors had to wait long before their valuable contributions were published: Father Adolf Heuken of Jakarta even published a much more extensive version of his text with many maps and illustrations in a special book (Heuken 2002), commemorating the 450th anniversary of the death of Francis Xavier. Others saw their contributions reduced in length or modified in order to suit the general structure of the book. Simon Rae in New Zealand not only contributed to the Sumatran history, but also was again and again willing to revise the English language of so many different contributors. His aim was to make it as readable and clear as possible, without changing the personal style of the different authors. Through his broad knowledge of the general and missionary history of Indonesia he prevented several authors from making factual mistakes. Paule Maas, wife of Karel Steenbrink, took care of the bibliography, footnotes and the more scholarly and administrative inventory, besides functioning in many instances more or less as the secretary for the whole project, gently warning of technical mistakes, lacunae and imbalances in presentation. Most of all, we have to thank all the authors, who mostly could only communicate through e-mail, for their continuing trust in the final result of this long process. Prof. Marc Spindler, in a different position as tutor and supervisor to both editors, has remained for all these years a committed observer and we thank him for including this book in his highly esteemed and well-edited series of historical *Studies in Christian Mission*.

Jakarta-Utrecht 4 October 2007, on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi  
Jan Aritonang & Karel Steenbrink

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

We include here only the more common contractions that occur in several chapters. For a full and detailed list the reader must consult the index. Nearly all abbreviations that start with G(ereja) or Church have been omitted here.

ADS	Agama Djawa Sunda, the Javanese-Sundanese Religion
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief
ATESEA	Association for Theological Education in Southeast Asia
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
BPUPKI	Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan [Investigating Body for Preparatory Work for (Indonesian) Independence]
CAMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CCA	Christian Conference of Asia
CM	Congregatio Missionis, commonly called Vincentians or Lazarists, Catholic Order
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
CSP	Christelijk Staatkundige Partij
CSV	Christen Studenten Vereeniging
DGI	Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia (Council of Churches in Indonesia)
DI/TII	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (World of Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army)
<i>Doc. Maluc.</i>	<i>Documenta Malucensia, I-III</i> , ed. and annot. by H.J. Jacobs, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu 1974-1984
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People's Representatives Council; Parliament)
EACC	East Asia Christian Conference
ELS	Europese Lagere School (the most prestigious Dutch language Elementary School)
ENI	<i>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
G-30-S/PKI	Gerakan 30 September/Partai Komunis Indonesia (30 September Movement/Indonesian Communist Party)
GIUZ	Genootschap voor In- en Uitwendige Zending (Society for Home and Foreign Mission)
GKI	Gereja Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Church; the continuation of the former Chinese Churches)
GKN	Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Dutch Reformed Churches, a 19th century schism from the Netherlands Reformed Church or <i>Hervormde Kerk</i> )

Golkar	Golongan Karya (Functional Groups)
GPdI	Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia (Pentecostal Church in Indonesia)
GPI	Gereja Protestan di Indonesia (Protestant Church in Indonesia, successor to the great colonial <i>Indische Kerk</i> )
HCS	Hollandsch-Chineesche School (Dutch-language school for Chinese)
HIS	Hollands-Inlandsche School (Dutch-language indigenous school)
HKBP	Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (Christian Protestant Batak Church)
HTS	Hoogere Theologische School
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute of Islamic Studies)
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia (All-Indonesian League of Muslim Intellectuals)
IK	Indische Kerk
IMC	International Missionary Conference/Council
KINGMI	Kemah Injil Gereja Masehi di Indonesia (the Tabernacle Gospel Christian Church)
KNIP	Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (Central Indonesian National Committee)
KWI	Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia (Indonesian Bishops' Conference), after 1986: MAWI
LAI	Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia (Indonesian Bible Society)
LBI	Lembaga Biblika Indonesia (Indonesian Biblical Society)
LMS	London Missionary Society
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
Masyumi	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)
MAWI	Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia/Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia (Supreme Council of the [Catholic] Bishops in Indonesia)
MNZG	Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendeling-genootschap
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MSC	Missionarii Sacri Cordis (Sacred Heart Missionaries)
MSF	Missionaries of the Holy Family
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Council of the [Islamic] scholars)
NASAKOM	Nasionalisme, Agama dan Komunisme (Nationalism, Religion and Communism)

NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap (Netherlands Bible Society; NBS)
NGZV	Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingsvereniging (Dutch Reformed Mission Union)
NHK	Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (Netherlands Reformed Church)
NICA	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
NII	Negara Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic State)
NIT	Negara Indonesia Timur (State of Eastern Indonesia, 1947-1950)
NIZB	Nederlandsch-Indische Zendingsbond
NKRI	Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia)
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur (Southeastern Islands, Lesser Sunda Islands)
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama (literally: the Rise of the Religious Scholars)
NZG	Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society)
NZV	Nederlandsche Zendings Vereeniging (Dutch Mission Society)
OCarm	Order of Carmelites
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Franciscans, a Catholic Mendicant Order
OFMCap	Capuchins
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a Catholic Missionary Order
OSC	Ordo Sanctae Crucis (Order of the Holy Cross)
Parkindo	Partai Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Party)
Parmusi	Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Party)
PBI	Persekutuan Baptis Indonesia (Indonesian Baptist Fellowship)
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (the Indonesian Democratic Party)
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party in Struggle, since 1997)
Permesta	Perjuangan Semesta (Universal Struggle)
PERSETIA	Persatuan Sekolah-sekolah Teologi di Indonesia (Association of Theological Schools in Indonesia)
PGI	Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia (Communion of Churches in Indonesia; successor to DGI since 1984)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party)
PII	Persekutuan Injili Indonesia (Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship)
PPKI	Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence)

PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
PRRI	Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia)
REC	Reformed Ecumenical Council
RIS	Republik Indonesia Serikat (Federal State/Republic of Indonesia)
RMG	Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (Rhenish Missionary Society)
RMS	Republik Maluku Selatan (South Maluku Republic)
SCJ	Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus
SEAGST	Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology
SI	Sarekat Islam
SJ	Society of Jesus, the Jesuits
STT	Sekolah Tinggi Teologi (Theological School/College)
SVD	Societas Verbi Divini (Society of the Divine Word)
THHK	Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (or <i>Zhonghua Huiguan</i> : Chinese Cultural Organisation)
THKTKH KH WD	Tiong Hoa Khie Tok Kauw Hwee Khoe Hwee West Djawa (the West Java Chinese Christian Church)
UUD	Undang-Undang Dasar (Constitution)
UZV	Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging (Utrecht Missionary Society)
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United [Dutch] East-India Company)
WACC	World Association for Christian Communication
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches
ZGKN	Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Mission of the Dutch Reformed Churches)
ZNHK	Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (Mission Board of the Netherlands Reformed Church)

## PART ONE

## THE FIRST CHRISTIANS: UNTIL 1800



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### CHRISTIANITY IN JAVANESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Java is by far the most populous of the islands of Indonesia. In 2000 out of a total population of nearly 206 million some 121 million lived in the very densely populated island of Java, some 830 per km<sup>2</sup> (about 60 in Sumatra, 10 for Central and East Kalimantan, 140 in North Sulawesi and slightly over 4 for Papua).<sup>1</sup> The numbers for Christians in Java in 2000 were;

*Statistics for Javanese Christians in 2000<sup>2</sup>*

Province	Number of Christians	Percentage	Total population
Jakarta	837,682	10.04%	8,361,079
West Java	703,604	1.9%	35,724,092
Banten	213,135	2.63%	8,098,277
Central Java	874,245	2.83%	31,223,259
Yogyakarta	245,062	7.85%	3,121,045
East Java	799,276	2.3%	34,765,998
Total	3,673,004	3.03%	121,293,750

Totalling 3,673,004, the Christians in Java represent a mere 20.5% of the sum of Indonesian Christians, while about 60% of the whole population live in Java. This figure alone is already a good indication of the minority position of Christianity in this most important island of the archipelago.

In 1800 there were virtually no native Christians in Java. Besides the white Christians there was a much larger number of Eurasian baptised, but the real growth of these communities took place during the last two centuries. Still, the vast majority of Javanese are Muslim. The capital of Jakarta, a melting pot of the various ethnic identities of the country, showed in 2000 slightly higher than the national overall number of Christians or 8.92%. Besides, there was a significantly higher number of Christians in the region of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, while the province of West Java had by far the lowest number for the Christians. This chapter seeks to sketch a picture of the history of these communities.

<sup>1</sup> Cribb 2000:70, with some modifications.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Suryadinata 2003:3, 115–116.

In the first half of the nineteenth century there were no indigenous Javanese Christian communities. There were also no coordinated and continuing missionary efforts. Between 1822 and 1843 three missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) worked in Batavia and some other cities. They were William Milne, Robert Morrison and Walter Henry Medhurst. The Dutch Indies was their second choice. They wanted to start a mission in China and they used the Chinese community of Batavia and other towns in the colony as a starting point for their final goal. Medhurst joined the British army during the first Opium War of 1843, as a translator, and had remained in China since then. The small Malay and Chinese congregations were left behind.<sup>3</sup> Another missionary was the German Gottlob Brückner, who worked for the Baptist Mission Society of Britain and translated the New Testament into Javanese, had it printed (in Javanese characters) in Serampore between 1828 and 1831 and worked until 1857 in Semarang without many visible results. His translation of the Gospel of Mark was printed in 1831 but initially forbidden by the colonial authorities, fearing that active missionising among the Javanese might cause troubles. Only in 1848 permission was given to sell sections of the New Testament among the Javanese.<sup>4</sup>

The real beginning of Javanese Christianity started with some local initiatives by Eurasians. The first was Coenraad Laurens Coolen, born in 1775 of a Russian father and a Javanese mother of noble descent. In 1816, while still a soldier in the colonial army, he came into contact with a small group of pious commoners who were nicknamed "the Surabaya Saints," with the German born watchmaker Johannes Emde (1774–1859) as their central figure. The colonial government did not like the activities of this small group and in 1820 Emde was even sent to prison at the instigation of a minister of the Protestant Church (*Indische Kerk*). After serving for some years in the colonial army and the forestry service, Coolen managed to get permission to clear a forest in the isolated region of Ngoro, close to Mojoagung, some 80 km southwest of Surabaya. Coolen became the founder of a new village that attracted many Javanese from the region. In the mid-1840s there were already about 1000 people. Coolen was a pious Christian, but also continued much of Javanese tradition and wisdom in his life. He was convinced that his son was the incarnation of the local saint whose grave was found in the forest of Ngoro. He was acknowledged as a *kiyahi*, a traditional wise and holy man, albeit in a Christian version, but still one who could give advice and receive visions. He did not urge the new villagers to become Christian, and accepted that many of them remained Muslim. But he set a number of specific rules

for his foundation like abstention from work on Sunday. The Christians were obliged to attend Sunday morning worship, as well as the midweek meeting in private houses.

In the early 1840s a number of Ngoro villagers went to Emde in Surabaya to be baptised, something that was not practised by Coolen. Emde not only baptised the group but also told them to cut their hair, wear European clothes and refrain from semi-sacral *wayang* or traditional puppet play. They were initially chased away from Ngoro by Coolen who did not like that Christians should behave like Europeans. But later Coolen gave in, and 200 of his people were baptised in 1854, but he forbade them to cut their hair or to change their names as was customary for other Javanese who were baptised. Coolen translated the basic doctrines of Christianity into Javanese and composed hymns in traditional Javanese style where his version of the Christian creed came very close to the Islamic confession,

I believe in Allah, the One  
There is no God but God  
Jesus Christ is the Spirit of God  
Who excels in his power  
There is no God but God  
Jesus Christ is the Spirit of God.<sup>5</sup>

That God is called Allah was not so sensational because this is common in the Indonesian languages. The second and fifth line, however, is not in Javanese but very close to the Arabic and Muslim confession: *la illaha illallah*. That Jesus is called Spirit of God (*Ruhullah*) is also identical to the Muslim creed and phrasing. Coolen was assisted by Paulus Tosari and Abisai Ditatrana who founded near Ngoro the new village of Mojowarno, for the next century the centre of Christianity in East Java. We will deal in more detail with this 'founding father' of Christianity in East Java in the special section on East Java below.

In Central Java the first major movement towards Christianity was led by more sophisticated and semi-professional, but also self-made Christians teachers, the most important of them being commonly called Sadrach. Born in northern Central Java about 1835–1840 under the name of Abbas, he not only followed the basic training in chanting the Qur'an as was common for Muslim children, but he became also a student of Islam at several *pesantren*, boarding schools that have the character of Islamic monasteries or seminaries in the countryside of Java. His first meeting with Christianity probably was through a gospel of John in Javanese translation that he received through an evangelist who preached at market places and distributed tracts and texts of the

<sup>3</sup> Steenbrink 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Swellengrebel 1974:45.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sutarman 1990:135.

gospel. He came into contact with Dutch missionary Jelle Jellesma in East Java (Mojowarno), and with the rather independent Javanese Christian evangelist and mystic Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung near Jepara. Under the name Sadrach (Javanese converts were given no names from the New Testament, but from the Old Testament) he was baptised in 1867 in Batavia by the famous lay preacher Frederik Lodewijk Anthing. Sadrach for some time worked as an evangelist and distributor of tracts in cooperation with Anthing, but finally established a Christian centre of his own in Karangjoso, near Purworejo, in the southwestern region of Central Java. As Sadrach Surapranata he became leader of a more or less independent church (only in loose relation to the Irvingite Apostolic Church) that was considered by some Protestant missionaries as rebellious and heretical. In its heyday the Sadrach community had some 5,000 members in more than 60 small communities. The schism between Sadrach and the Reformed missionaries of Central Java occurred in 1891 during the visit of mission inspector Frans Lion Cachet and was from the beginning contested by some missionaries with experience in the field who wanted to give more organisational and also religious freedom to this gifted and original religious leader who had a thorough knowledge of the Bible. Sadrach established a well-organised structure for his congregations, regulating baptism, marriage and festive days. He also included some Islamic practices and local wisdom teachings (*ngelmu*) and definitely never wanted to become a blind imitator of foreign missionaries.<sup>6</sup> Only after the death of Sadrach, the greater part of his movement was reunited with the Protestant mission congregations, and finally with the *Gereja-gereja Kristen Jawa*. He will be discussed in more in detail below, in the section on Central Java.

In the hierarchical administration of the Catholic Church personalities like Coolen and Sadrach cannot so easily develop. But still, there is among the Eurasians of Semarang a quite striking example of some more or less "independent Catholic church" in the 1830s. One Richard James MacMootry, apparently of Scottish-Malay descent, had a part of his house in Semarang furnished as a Catholic church, complete with altar and tabernacle, a pulpit, communion-rail, chairs, chandeliers, confessional and baptismal font. The place was provided also with the necessary utensils such as ceremonial cloths for Holy Mass, a silver chalice and ciborium, a silver plate with two small cans for water and wine, two censers, while he used a copy of the Bible as his missal. During his confirmation visit to Semarang in 1833, Prefect Apostolic Scholten investigated and immediately condemned this whole enterprise. Some utensils were destroyed; some were confiscated, while Scholten gave orders for strict surveillance to pastor A. Grube, the not so strict parish priest of Semarang.

At Christmas 1833 MacMootry still held the nocturnal Mass. On 2 April 1834 he sent a petition to Governor General Baud to be permitted to continue his religious and educational ministry for the benefit of:

the poor and the children in the outskirts of the city of Semarang, who have insufficient knowledge of the Dutch language and will be served by him in Malay... Besides, the petitioner's purpose is only to help poor people, who are unable to give decent clothing to their children and therefore cannot send them on Sundays to the service in the great Roman Catholic Church.

MacMootry, at that time 47 years old, had a modest job as clerk with the merchant J.M. Neill, and his salary was not sufficient to live decently with his wife and two children. Therefore he asked permission to "collect contributions once a month in Semarang and occasionally in the regencies such as Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Magelang, Jepara, Pekalongan and Juwana for the maintenance of the above mentioned church."<sup>7</sup>

MacMootry died shortly thereafter, while the governor general was still in the process of asking information to Prefect Apostolic Scholten about his case. Was this MacMootry a religious charlatan who for financial reasons tried to exploit the poor religious situation of Eurasian Catholics in Semarang? Or should we consider him a visionary leader on the same level as the Eurasian or indigenous Javanese Protestants like Emde, Coolen, Paulus Tosari and later also Sadrach who did not feel at home in the European congregation and started their own congregations? The sources do not give us enough facts to reach firm conclusions in this case. At any rate, the MacMootry incident is an indication of the character of the Catholic community of Semarang which at that time was not only financially but also culturally and socially very tightly bound to the colonial government and its personnel, but also counted poor members who did not feel at home in the 'white' parish church. The MacMootry congregation, if there ever existed something of this kind, did not survive its leader.

*From the a-religious nineteenth century to the religious revival of the twentieth century: Catholics in Batavia, Semarang and other Javanese towns*

In 1808, as a result of the European revolutionary spirit, freedom of religion was announced. This resulted in the return of Catholic priests to the colony. On 4 April 1808 two first diocesan priests arrived in Batavia. They were Jacobus Nelissen and Lambertus Prinsen. The former was appointed the first Prefect Apostolic (1807–1817), while Prinsen started a parish in Semarang.

<sup>6</sup> Sutarman Partonadi 1988; J. Waerts 2001–8:2–39.

<sup>7</sup> Van der Velden 1908:58–60. Also Steenbrink 2003–I:16–17.

In 1810 the colonial administration allowed another two diocesan priests to come to Indonesia, Philippus Wedding for Batavia and Henricus Waanders for Surabaya.

In general, the policy of the government was not always conducive. Under the banner of the so-called *rust en orde* policy, the mission of the Catholic Church had to face plenty of difficulties. Anti-Catholic measures in the Netherlands under King Willem I were put into practice in the Dutch East Indies as well. On the other hand, Prefect Apostolic J.H. Scholten (1830–1842) forbade the Catholics to join Freemasonry and to have mixed marriages. The colonial government did not favour it and the relationship between the government and the church worsened when the Prefect Apostolic claimed his jurisdiction over the priests and denied that the government could appoint or move priests at will. In addition, for many missionaries working among the colonial officials was like cultivating a dry and barren earth.<sup>8</sup>

In 1842 the Prefecture became a Vicariate Apostolic and Jacobus Grooff was appointed the first bishop (1842–1846). He was forced to leave the East Indies in 1845 due to a conflict of jurisdiction with the governor general (J.J. Rochussen). He left behind four priests. Only after long negotiations between the Vatican and the Dutch government was an agreement made to give more free space to the Catholic clergy. Petrus Vrancken then came to take over the position as the second Vicar Apostolic (1847–1874). The authority to appoint and to move priests was reserved to the Vicar Apostolic. Moreover, the number of priests who were not paid by the government was not limited. The colonial government safeguarded its power over the missionaries (Protestants and Catholics), particularly for the policy of 'Law and Order'. They were not allowed to carry out mission in the same territory.<sup>9</sup>

In 1859 there was a new development with the arrival of the first Jesuits to take the place of their predecessors, the diocesan priests. On 9 July 1859 two Jesuits, M. van den Elzen (1822–1866) and J.B. Palinckx (1824–1900) came to the Dutch Indies. When they took up their residency in Surabaya, the intention was for a mission to the whole of East Java.<sup>10</sup> For the time being, however, they and their successors also concentrated their work on the European population of the colony, except for the areas of Bangka and Flores.

<sup>8</sup> Vriens 1972:31.

<sup>9</sup> Art. 123 of the 1854 Netherlands Indies Government Regulation: "The Christian ministers, priests and missionaries of other denominations, must be in possession of the special admission (*radikaal*), to be granted by or on behalf of the governor general, in order to be allowed to carry out their ministry in any given part of the Netherlands Indies territory. When this admission is found harmful or when its conditions are not complied with, it can be withdrawn by the governor general." Later on, it became the art 177 in the 1925 Netherlands Indies Constitution without any alteration.

<sup>10</sup> J. Hadiwikarta 2001:338.

In the later decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century Catholics were able to build large institutions in all major cities of Java. A huge cathedral in neo-gothic style dominated the landscape of the new centre of Batavia, not so far away from the grand dome of the Willem I Protestant Church. Jesuits and Ursulines sisters build great compounds for boarding schools that gave a first-class European education to Catholic but also to as many Protestant children. Besides a great Protestant hospital, the Catholic Carolus hospital was built in the 1910s. This was all for the European and Eurasian population, besides some wealthier Chinese and very few indigenous people. This was not only the case in Batavia. In all the major towns of Java there were Christian churches, schools and hospitals that represented the largest investments of the Christian churches as to buildings.

Although the Vicar Apostolic and a large section of the Catholic clergy enjoyed government salaries, they had a much more independent status than their Protestant colleagues who were more fully colonial officials. This brought the Catholic clergy in the first four decades of the twentieth century to a policy similar to that in the European homeland. Catholics should be brought into denominational organisations in all fields. A Catholic weekly, later a daily newspaper, trade unions for teachers, for railway workers, for Catholic personnel in the army, scouting, a union for students, and above all a Catholic political party became established in this period of denominational segmentation of society. This was at first an affair for the European population that followed the strategy of *verzuiling* (litt. 'pillarisation') of the Dutch clergy. The Javanese Catholics did not join these social institutions and in politics they started a nationalist Catholic party that did not follow the conservative line of the white Catholics of the colony. Due to the larger proportion of white women who migrated to the colony in the decades after 1900, urban Catholicism in the major cities of Java was even more separated from native society than it had been in the nineteenth century. In 1900 the European and Eurasian Catholics amounted to half the total number of Catholics, in 1940 they were 88,172 or still about 15.5% of all Catholics in the colony. Between 1945 and 1957 this group disappeared by return to Europe or integration in the Indonesian society.

Batavia had been a colonial town from its foundation in 1619. It did not have the traditional mosque at the market place (*alun-alun*) that could be found in towns like Bandung, Surabaya, and Semarang. But also in these other towns the church buildings were more impressive, showing a more modernising and renewing power, than the modest mosques. Only after independence (in most places only after 1960) were there grand mosques built in the centre of the towns, and in that period it became more and more difficult to build churches or claim Christian space anywhere in the bigger cities. Close to the Catholic cathedral of Jakarta the great Istiqlal Mosque was built, with a high

minaret and much greater prayer room, putting the cathedral in the shadow, literally, especially for those who look around the major square of the town, Independence Place or *Medan Merdeka*. Along the major road of the town, Jalan Husni Thamrin, there was, amidst embassies, ministries, department stores and hotels, the great building of the Adventist Church, but it had to capitulate and move in the 1990s. Christian presence clearly became less visible in the major towns of Java after independence.

In West and East Java the small flocks of Christians came from the rural areas and in most cases they were brought together in isolated Christian villages. Urban Christianity was until the 1950s something for the European and Chinese population, with the exception of Central Java where both Protestants and Catholics from the beginning were used to living in a diaspora situation of a tiny minority amidst a sea of Muslims. In the 1950s and 1960s more and more rural Christians also turned to an urban life. From the 1970s on, with the light decline of the Christian presence in primary and secondary education (although they still fostered the strong position as quality schools), there was more and more academic education organised by Christian institutions. Jakarta has now a score of Christian universities. In Yogyakarta we find side by side the Jesuit Sanata Dharma University and a branch of the Jakarta Atma Jaya University, led by the Catholic laity in cooperation with the diocesan clergy. Similarly, the mainstream Protestant Duta Wacana University of Yogyakarta developed in rivalry with the Evangelical Immanuel Christian University. All these institutions, however, could never dominate the educational market, and could not even compete with the much richer and more prestigious state universities. In the independent Republic of Indonesia, the cities of Java regained a more and more strongly Muslim character and Christian presence in the cities represented much more the fragmentation of the Christian denominations than was the case in the countryside.

For the period between 1945 and 2000 three issues dominated the Christian denominations which were probably much more important for urban people than for rural Christians. Firstly, from 1945 until 1965 the main issue was that of consolidation, proving that Christianity was not the religion of the coloniser and oppressor, but a living religion for true Indonesians. Secondly, 1965–1985 was the period of contribution to development. In this period we see the start of development aid in Europe. Churches should have become independent in this period but there was a contradicting counter-current of money. Particularly Germany and the Netherlands started supporting development projects proposed and managed by church personnel. Another issue that became very prominent in this period was inculturation or contextualisation. The Christian message should be brought into harmony with Indonesian local cultures. Thirdly, in the period 1985–2000 we notice more and more a distancing from actual politics; development organisations become indepen-

dent from the churches as NGOs. The Evangelical and Pentecostal churches become more prominent, mostly in the urban areas of Java. The Charismatic movement becomes strong among Chinese Catholics in the bigger cities. The devotion to Mary in places of pilgrimage, built in imitation of the European places of Lourdes and Mejugorje become stronger than the move towards inculturation.

On 3 January 1961 Pope John XXIII founded the hierarchy in Indonesia that was interpreted as an admission of the maturity of the local Church. Jakarta and West Java became one Ecclesial Province, which covers the archdiocese of Jakarta, the dioceses of Bogor and Bandung, while Central and East Java became another Ecclesial Province, which covers the archdiocese of Semarang, the dioceses of Purwokerto, Surabaya, and Malang. In organisation this period was also the end of the hegemony of the religious orders. More and more diocesan clergy became available and several diocesan priests were ordained bishop, although the majority of the Catholic clergy in Java (as in Indonesia as whole) are still members of the religious orders.

#### *Protestants in the major cities of the colonial Dutch East Indies*

Protestants—European or Indonesian—living in the major cities mostly belonged to the Protestant Church in the Dutch East Indies, the *Indische Kerk*. The status of this church was in some respects quite different from that of the Catholic community, because it was placed more directly under government authority. By a decree of 11 December 1835 the Dutch king, Willem I, commanded the fusion of the Lutheran and Reformed denominations (only effected in 1854), and the establishment of one church council for the whole colony (realised in 1844). This same king had already, in 1820, decreed that a royal committee (the *Haagsche Commissie*) would be nominated to select the ministers for the East Indies and maintain communications with the church in the colony. In later regulations it was laid down that the Church Board (*Kerkbestuur*) of the *Indische Kerk* should be nominated by the governor general, who also had the last word in many details of the life of this church. Besides Protestant Europeans, the *Indische Kerk* included the ancient Christian communities in the Moluccas, the Minahasa and Timor. Between 1815 and 1875 the *Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap* sent a number of missionaries to those provinces. In the Moluccas and Timor they could do little more than care for the existing congregations, but in the Minahasa they succeeded in christianising the greater part of the population, so that the number of Protestants there increased from several thousands in 1830 to 80,000 in 1875 (see chapter ten).

Nearly all descriptions of the Protestant Church are full of complaints about the domination of the colonial administration. But it is difficult to see how the

church could have survived if the state had not taken over its administration. Actually, several times the government offered the church its freedom, but this offer was refused. Not only during the 'irreligious nineteenth century' but also in the first decades of the twentieth century public life in the Indies did not show much religious enthusiasm. Anti-clericalism and active atheism was quite common among the intellectual elite. When Governor General A.W.F. Idenburg (1909–1916), a member of the Dutch Reformed Churches, issued a decree restricting government activities and public events in general on Sundays, the general (European) public was infuriated. Idenburg remarked that "the greatest enemy for Christianity at this moment is not yet Islam (it will be only so when it has been roused specifically), but the European population in these countries."<sup>11</sup> In reports of Catholic missionaries, too, we find a picture of the colonial official and employee as a rather lax religious person. Nevertheless in the history of the *Indische Kerk* during the nineteenth century several lofty personalities can be found.

One of these was Wolter Robert van Hoëvell (1812–1879, in the colony 1836–1848). Moderately orthodox, he was an example of the progressive and liberal attitude of Protestantism in the colonial state. He founded the first general magazine (1838) and the first Christian journal (1846) in the Indies. In 1848 he was one of the leaders of the demand for the abolition of slavery and for more democracy in the colony. The colonial government considered this action revolutionary, and when the Church Board also seriously reprimanded him, Van Hoëvell returned to the Netherlands. There he became a Member of Parliament and as such consistently advocated a more liberal colonial policy. J.F.G. Brumund, who was a minister of the *Indische Kerk* from 1840 until his death in 1863, was known for his research in the field of older Javanese history, especially the archeology of the Hindu period. Another prominent member of the colonial society was the Rev. A.S. Carpentier Alting (1837–1915), a liberal theologian who served as a minister in the Indies between 1885 and 1905. He was also Grand Master of the Masonic lodge in Batavia. He reformed and reorganised Freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies and made it into a pillar of ethical colonial policy, and he was also active for the education of the white population. The profiles of these three persons show how Protestant leadership was closely related to the liberal elite of the colony.<sup>12</sup>

During the first decades of the twentieth century the number of Europeans who came to the colony increased sharply. In the same years a religious revival

occurred in Dutch Protestantism, including the Netherlands Reformed Church, which had been hit severely by the exodus of Kuyper's Neo-Calvinists. As a result, the Protestant Church of the Indies became stronger and at the same time more orthodox. After long preliminaries, in 1935 a reorganisation of the church took place. The administrative (but not the financial) bonds with the state were severed, and a new church order was designed which was more or less Presbyterian in character and included a creedal formula. But in 1942 all European members were imprisoned in the Japanese internment camps. The church was again European-dominated for a short time between 1945 and 1949. In 1948, the third general synod decided to create a 'fourth church,' the Protestant Church of West Indonesia (*Gereja Protestan Indonesia Barat*, GPIB), which would include all church members outside the three autonomous churches in East Indonesia (Minahasa, Moluccas, Timor), among them the great majority of the European Protestants. But in the next year the Netherlands ceased its efforts to maintain its grip on the former colony. Most Dutch people left Indonesia, and the remainder were expelled in 1956–1957, as a result of the conflict between the two countries about the status of New Guinea (Papua). From then on, the GPIB was the church of the Minahasans, Moluccans and Timorese living in the cities of Java and other parts of Western Indonesia (membership about 250,000). The Protestant Church of Indonesia (*Gereja Protestan Indonesia*, GPI), as it was now called, continued to exist, but only as a legal body; it has no congregations.

Although statistically rather important during the colonial period, the Europeans within the Protestant Church of the Indies did not leave a strong impression on the history of Indonesian Christianity, except for the impressive church buildings in the centre of the major towns of Java. Like the Netherlands Reformed (the *Hervormden*) in Holland, they did not create many denominational institutions and organisations, in the way Catholics and the Dutch Reformed (the *Gereformeerden*) did, who brought to Indonesia the 'pillarisation' (compartmentalisation along confessional or ideological lines) they had initiated in their home country. In politics the Dutch Reformed started, in the 1910s, a *Christelijk Ethische Partij* (CEP), that was not very successful, even after it changed its name to *Christelijk Staatskundige Partij* or Christian Political Party (1930). In 1945 their Indonesian spiritual heirs founded a Protestant political party, PARKINDO, and a few years later a Christian University, *Universitas Kristen Indonesia*, came into being in Jakarta (UKI, 1950), in time followed by many others.

<sup>11</sup> De Bruijn & Puchinger 1985:212 and 262.

<sup>12</sup> Van Boetzelaer 1947:366–368 for these and more profiles. On Freemasonry in the Netherlands Indies, see Th. Stevens 1994.

*Indigenous Christians in West Java*

The Protestant congregations of the major VOC towns like Batavia and Semarang have been described in chapter five. From the seventeenth century onward the Portuguese-speaking *Mardijker* community in Batavia had been an important element of the Protestant congregation in that city. But with the decline of the VOC this mestizo culture disappeared from the capital. In 1807 church services in Portuguese were discontinued. Many *Mardijkers* accepted the majority religion and were absorbed by the Muslim *Betawi* population.

During the VOC era there were very few Christians outside these centres. About 30 km south of Batavia, in Depok, there existed a community of former slaves of Cornelis Chastelein. They originated from various regions of Indonesia, most of them from Bali and Sulawesi. Between 1696 and 1713 some 150 slaves were baptised. Under the will of Chastelein they were set free and received a piece of land. Although they were not really natives of West Java, still their community can be seen as the first truly Indonesian congregation in the whole of Java.<sup>13</sup> Because of the general policy of that time not to evangelise among the Javanese, they remained for a long time the only Christians in the region. In 1878 the first theological seminary for indigenous ministers was established in Depok. Until the 1920s it was the major institution of its kind in the country. The students originated from all parts of the Netherlands Indies, including Papua, but the largest group came from Batakland.<sup>14</sup>

Inhabiting most of West Java (with the exception of Batavia/Jakarta and its outlying area (the *Ommelanden van Batavia*) with their mixed population, as well as the regions surrounding Cirebon and Banten that are close to Central Javanese culture and language), the Sundanese had and still have characteristics of their own. They have a distinct language, and during the period under consideration (1850–1942) the strong contrast between orthodox Islam and popular or *abangan* religion that dominated Central and East Java was not present among them. Sundanese culture was seen as basically Muslim and conversion to Christianity was much more exceptional than in the other regions of Java. Like the other inhabitants of Java, the Sundanese were not missionised until well into the nineteenth century. That was not because the colonial government had banned missions; until the 1850s there simply was nobody who thought about bringing the Gospel to the Sundanese. To tell the truth, the government did not like Christian missions entering Muslim territories, but once a mission agency applied for permission, after a few years of foot-dragging this was given. In the case of Sundaland, it was Isaac Esser (see

chapter seven) who first envisaged a mission among the Sundanese; he succeeded in attracting the interest of the Board of the *Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging* (NZV) to this region.

Even before the NZV sent its first missionaries, a layman started work in the *Ommelanden*, using indigenous preachers. The judge Frederik Lodewijk Anthing (1818–1883) was born in Batavia of a Dutch Lutheran father and a mother of German descent. At the end of his colonial career he was vice-president of the Supreme Court of Batavia. He was a committed Protestant and one of the very few missionary spirits in colonial Batavia. In 1855 he started evangelising among the indigenous population of Batavia and its surroundings. For this purpose, and together with other people, he founded the Society for Internal and External Mission (GIUZ, *Genootschap voor In- en Uitwendige Zending*). In 1867 he established a training school for evangelists that soon collapsed due to internal strife between its teacher and Anthing's society. In 1870 he retired from his office and dedicated himself to missionary work. At any given time no less than 57 native evangelists received a modest salary from Anthing. No wonder, then, that by the end of the 1870s he had spent his whole personal fortune in the mission. Thereupon he went to the Netherlands, where he tried to obtain financial and moral support. When the NZV Board declined his request for funds, Anthing turned to the Irvingites, the adherents of the Catholic Apostolic Church, founded in Glasgow in 1831 by Edward Irving. The widower Anthing also found his second wife among members of this church. In 1881 he returned to Java as an Irvingite 'apostle' to Java and continued his missionary work until his death in a tram accident in 1883. The Anthing mission established a number of small congregations in the *Ommelanden*, in fact mostly among the native workers on the large estates of that region, owned by Europeans or Chinese. After Anthing's unexpected early death it was uncertain who would take over his emerging chain of congregations. Most of these small congregations counted about 100 members. After some time, the responsibility was taken over by the *Nederlandse Zendingsvereeniging* (NZV, Dutch Missionary Society).

The NZV was one of the missionary societies founded by people who broke away from the *Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (NZG) in 1858–1859, when their struggle against the influence of theological modernism in that organisation had failed. In 1863 the first NZV missionaries arrived in West Java. Missions were established in a number of towns: Bandung, Cianjur, Bogor, Indramayu, and Cirebon. Until 1900, Batavia was left to GIUZ and its counterpart in the Netherlands, the *Java-Comité*. After mastering the language (Sundanese or, in the coastal area, Malay and Javanese, the missionaries at once started evangelising, mainly by visiting people at their homes.

However, the missionaries soon found out that they had been sent to a difficult field. The inhabitants of West Java, and especially the Sundanese, are in

<sup>13</sup> Coolsma 1901:14.

<sup>14</sup> Hoekema 1994:35.

general loyal and devoted Muslims who mostly fulfil the basic obligations of their religion, as already discussed above. The Islamic identity is very deeply rooted among them. Although it may seem to outward observers that their knowledge and practice of Islam do not really go very deep, they will not easily dissociate themselves from Islam as a religion and cultural identity. The Sundanese are very steadfast in their involvement and appreciation of Sundanese tradition, which they consider to be the heritage of their ancestors even when many elements of this cultural asset are not in harmony with the doctrines of Islam or are even openly in conflict with them. Both elements, Islam and the ancestral tradition or *adat*, are united in this culture, forming a strong identity; and to both people should be loyal. As Hendrik Kraemer put it in his West Java Report, "Islam is the crowning element of their *adat*."<sup>15</sup>

The close connection between local customs and religion unavoidably led to the identification of Islam with society and culture. People found it self-evident that Sundanese were Muslims. Therefore, transition to another religion could not be accepted. Religious and social leaders, even the indigenous civil servants, were keen to keep intact the identity of the Sundanese community as a Muslim community. People who accepted another religion were considered traitors and deserters.

Thus it does not come as a surprise that the missionaries were met by an invisible wall. People were friendly, courteous, but with a few exceptions simply refused to talk about religious matters. As for the religious leaders, even if the missionaries had wanted to discuss faith questions with them, they would not have been accepted as discussion partners, because they did not know Arabic and had no more than an elementary knowledge of Islam, let alone of Islam as it functioned in Sundanese society. Here the missionaries were confronted with the shortcomings of the preparation received before leaving for the mission field (see chapter six, first section). After some time, in order to gain the confidence of the native population, they turned to activities in the fields of education and health care. Besides, they tried to reach out through the distribution and sale of tracts and bible portions. The tracts were either translated from international examples in the field or written for this purpose by NZV missionaries. A Sundanese translation of the New Testament was finished in 1879, a full Bible in Sundanese became available in 1891. The translation was made by missionary S. Coolsma; in the revision he was assisted by the Sundanese nobleman Raden Gandakusumah, presumably a Muslim.

However, all these activities were to no avail. Hendrik Kraemer was not exaggerating when half a century later he called West Java "a desert, a spiritual

Nova Zembla for the [first generation of] Christian missionaries."<sup>16</sup> In 1880 baptised Christians on the NZV missionfield numbered 220, half of whom were Chinese. The landed peasantry, which formed the backbone of Sundanese society, was impervious to the Gospel. At least one missionary (C. Albers in Cianjur) had a good relationship with the local *bupati* (regent), whose son and heir even lived for several years with the Albers family to get a Dutch-language education, but it was unthinkable that a member of the Sundanese nobility would accept Christianity.<sup>17</sup> Nearly all converts belonged to the landless class, and needed to be supported by the missionaries, who took them into their service or bought them a piece of land. It proved very difficult to build a stable community out of these elements, let alone that they could become fellow-workers in the evangelisation of their compatriots.

There was, however, one exception to this rule: the couple Ismael and Moerti, who were baptised by Coolsma at Cianjur on December 26, 1868 as the first-fruits of the NZV mission among the Sundanese. They belonged to the Sundanese middle class. Ismael was literate (a number of his letters to his spiritual mentor Coolsma have been published by the latter),<sup>18</sup> and well-versed in Islam. Even before receiving baptism he started evangelising his Muslim fellow-countrymen, writing letters to religious leaders as far away as Bandung. Coolsma and Albers (who were very critical of the later converts and passed a harsh judgment on Ibrahim Tunggal Wulung) expressed their admiration for his deep understanding of the Christian faith. We see here an example of the paradox formulated by Guillot: among Muslims converted to Christianity, former *santri*, that is, orthodox Muslims, with their orientation towards Holy Scripture, are much more prepared to understand and accept Christian dogma than former adherents of popular Islam.<sup>19</sup> Ismael's activity did not last long; he died in 1872. Moerti outlived him by ten years. It is interesting to notice that in 1869 the Governor General P. Mijer, who was also very close to the missionary C. Albers, granted Ismael an audience.

Among the Chinese Christians (who were mainly found in Indramayu and Cirebon, outside Sundaland proper) Ang Boeng Swi (ca. 1810–1864) takes the same place as Ismael did among the Sundanese. He was the first Christian in

<sup>16</sup> Kraemer 1958:98.

<sup>17</sup> A report of a discussion between a missionary (D.J. van der Linden) and a regent (the *bupati* of Indramayu) in: Van den End 1991:112–114 (Indonesian translation in Van den End 2006:117–120).

<sup>18</sup> S. Coolsma, *Soendaneesche Brieven*, s.a. (with Dutch translation). See also S. Coolsma, *Ismael en Moerti* (Rotterdam 1906). Several autographs of Ismael are kept in the archives of the *Raad voor de Zending* (Het Utrechts Archief, ARvZ, 9–13a).

<sup>19</sup> Guillot 1981:25, cf. 92. Half a century after Ismail, another converted *santri* on the NZV mission field, Kartawidjaja, wrote a spiritual autobiography, which was published by the mission in Dutch translation with the title *Van Koran tot Bijbel* (From Quran to Bible, 1914).

Indramayu (baptised 13 December 1858). Like Ismael, he was a 'seeker,' but he was different from his Sundanese brother in that he had found the faith on his own, through a New Testament given him by a local Dutchman. He became the founder and leader of a small congregation at Indramayu, but he died a few months after the arrival of the first missionary. His son, An Dji Goan (1831/1832–1895) was an elder of the congregation. He was said to have a thorough knowledge of Islam and Chinese religion besides Christianity. (On the beginnings of the Chinese churches on Java, see chapter nineteen.)

The relative success of the mission among the Chinese was one of the factors, which deterred the NZV Board from abandoning West Java. But in particular the Anthing congregations saved the NZV mission. In the 1870s, the missionaries began to feel the need for indigenous evangelists. As these could not be found amongst their Sundanese converts, they turned to Mr. Anthing. In 1875 Anthing sent several of his followers, who then started spreading the Gospel in the way they had learned from their spiritual father, but which was not always to the liking of the NZV missionaries, especially when, in line with popular Javanese religiosity, they presented the Gospel as an esoteric wisdom and used magical formulas to cure diseases. Slowly the congregations began to grow. After Anthing's death (1883) the NZV succeeded in taking over most of his flock, more than doubling the number of Christians in the care of the missionaries (in the case of non-Chinese Christians the increase was even fourfold) and securing the help of the Anthing-educated congregational leaders, whose descendants, the Atje's, the Djalimoen's, the Elia's, the Rikin's, the Titus's, have a prominent place in the history of the Sundanese church.

If there was ever a case of the meagre cows eating up the fat ones, it was the incorporation of the Anthing congregations by the NZV mission. Fortunately, in this case the meagre cows did not stay meagre, but started to grow. However, this growth made the economic problems stated above even more urgent. The missionaries could not provide a job or buy *sawah* for all those people. The solution they found was one applied earlier on other mission fields: they purchased an estate (or were given tracts of waste by the government), where landless Christians or people who felt oppressed by the Muslim community of their native village could obtain a piece of land. In this way a number of Christian settlements came into being, which still exist today: Cideres (1882), Pangharepan (1887), Palalangan (1902), Haurgeulis-Rehoboth (1912). In 1915 more than one third of the non-Chinese Christians in the NZV mission field lived in these villages. The landlord was the local missionary, who drew up a set of rules according to which the tenants had to regulate their civil and Christian life.

The gathering of the indigenous Christians in separate villages solved the problem of poverty and social exclusion. However, in this way the Christians were even more isolated from their fellow-countrymen, and it became even

more difficult to give witness about Christ in the midst of the people. There arose also the erroneous idea among the common people that Christians were bought through the promise of money and land. After some time these weaknesses in the strategy of the Christian villages were realised by the NZV. Later policy tried not to alienate the new Christians from their environment. It was felt that the first missionary strategy had focused too much on individuals, without taking into consideration the consequences for the Christian community as a whole. From the 1910s on more and more attention was given to the social impact of missionary activities. Individuals who converted should no longer be separated from their communities. Therefore, after 1917 there were no longer any plans to establish Christian villages.

The number of Christians on the West Java mission field grew slowly but steadily (1,724 in 1900; 3,497 in 1922). The pupils of the mission village schools numbered 92 in 1883, 1,752 in 1910, 2,198 (among them 604 girls) in 1938. Besides, in 1933 the NZV had eleven Dutch-language schools (one of them, the MULO-Zending in Bandung, a secondary school). As on other mission fields, at first the teachers were educated by the local missionary, but in 1901 a teacher training school was established in Bandung, headed by a Dutch schoolmaster, where Sundanese was the language of instruction. The school was a *normaalschool*, which means that as preparatory training only low-level elementary education (village school) was required, while the graduates could teach at village schools and at the 5-year *standaardschool*. The first examination, in 1903, was attended by the government Advisor for Native Affairs, the famous C. Snouck Hurgronje. In 1917 for the first time a girl entered the school. The four or five years of teacher training were followed by one or two years of theological schooling. In this way the village school teachers could be employed also as congregation leaders and evangelists without adding to the financial burden of the mission (see chapter six). In 1932, due to cutbacks in government spending, the teacher training school was closed. The course in theology was to be continued independently. But the incipient church was too small to carry such an infrastructure. The two-year course was only given once, after which responsibility for the education of the evangelists reverted to the individual missionaries.

The missionary initiatives in the field of medical care fared better, because they served the population as a whole. Here, too, initially it was the individual missionaries who started giving medical treatment. In fact, they had received elementary medical training before leaving for the mission field. Often they used homeopathical medicine. The first hospital was opened in 1897 in Cideres; after the turn of the century several other hospitals were established, the biggest of which was Immanuel Hospital in Bandung (1910, from beginnings in 1901), which has been a great Christian medical centre for a century. More than the village schools, the hospitals were an important instrument of

missionary work: an evangelist would visit the wards every day; in Bandung the Sunday morning church service was obligatory for all patients who were able to come to the central hall. In 1914 the first doctor (a woman) arrived in Bandung; besides Dutch personnel the mission also employed Indonesian doctors, one of whom was J. Leimena, who after the war served as Minister of Public Health under Soekarno, held other cabinet portfolios and was seven times acting President (*Penjabat Presiden*).<sup>20</sup>

During the last decades of the colonial era, important developments took place regarding the relationship of the mission with Islam, and that of the Christian congregations with the mission. As to the first, from the beginning Islam had been considered by the missionaries as an enemy, which had to be destroyed but which was also feared. As has been observed before, the missionaries had no adequate knowledge of Islam; they indeed studied the Quran (in translation) and Islamic literature available in Sundanese (often expressing popular Islam), but found it boring and lacking religious depth. This attitude they passed on to the converts. As a result, there was hardly ever real contact with Muslims on the religious level. Missionaries like Bernard Arps (on the mission field 1926–1956) wanted to change that. To them, Islam was not an opponent, but a religion, which had to be approached in a purely religious way. To realise that ideal, the Sundanese Christians would have to be living Christians, but also *Sundanese* Christians, no more estranged from adat.

No more identification of 'Dutch' and 'Christian.' No more bare seventeenth-century Dutch Calvinist village churches and church services. [What is needed is for them] to appreciate positively the valuable elements in their own culture; ennoble, sanctify, and inspire their own *adat*; take (especially the teacher-preachers) a real interest in the religious, political, social, and economical development of their own country and people.<sup>21</sup>

Arps and his like-minded colleagues were no religious pluralists, they still announced the Gospel, but wanted to present it to Muslims as a living faith, represented by Christian personalities. In this, they were representatives of the 'ethical theology', which was dominant in Dutch missions during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Besides the attitude of missionaries and indigenous Christians towards the religious environment, the relationship between the latter and the mission also needed a fundamental change. In the first decades of the twentieth century, some steps were taken towards the organisation of an autonomous church. In the local congregations church councils were instituted; a number of evangelists

<sup>20</sup> Leimena 1995:338.

<sup>21</sup> B. Arps to NZV Board, Report on the ressort West Priangan in 1927, ARvdZ, 115–39–9; published in: Van den End 1991:486; Indonesian translation in Van den End 2006:550.

were installed as leaders of a congregation; the gurus of several ressorts and of the mission field as a whole came together for discussions about the mission policy. As for these meetings, it should be added that the Conference of Missionaries was not fond of them and that several times the Mission Board in Holland had to intervene when the Conference decided not to continue them. In any case, these meetings were not supra-local ecclesiastical councils, as those present were not church office-bearers and did not represent their congregations. In fact, as late as 1934 no Indonesian Christian on the NZV mission field had been given the authority to administer the sacraments. There was one exception: Titus (1856–1917), one of the most prominent evangelists, originating from one of the Malay-speaking Anthing congregations, who had been ordained in old age in 1917 when through his efforts a group conversion had occurred in the village of Awiligar, near Bandung and it was deemed that the presence of a European would be damaging to the progress of the mission there. Titus died a few days later, even before he could baptise the Awiligar Christians, and the experiment was not repeated.

However, times were changing. Some Sundanese Christians were more in touch with society in general than was assumed by Arps. With the emerging of Indonesian national consciousness in the 1920s, within the Sundanese Christian community, too, European leadership was no longer accepted at face value, at least by the teachers and other educated people. They formed a union and protested at the low salaries paid by the mission, but also at the isolation from their fellow-countrymen caused (as they saw it) by missionary policy. Between 1927 and 1931 churches were instituted on several mission fields. In 1932 the Missionary Conference of West Java asked Dr. H. Kraemer for his opinion about the situation on their mission field. From May until October 1933 Kraemer visited all ressorts. He wrote an extensive report, which among other things contains an insightful description of Islam in the various regions of West Java.<sup>22</sup> As he had done before on other mission fields, Kraemer recommended setting the congregations in West Java on their own feet. This advice was accepted and on 14 November 1934 the *Geredja Keristen Boemipoetera di Tanah Pasoendan* (the Indigenous Christian Church in Sundaland, actual name *Gereja Kristen Pasundan*, GKP) was instituted. Just as in other regions, the mission would work alongside the church, and for the time being the Church Board would be chaired by one of the missionaries. There was a Sundanese secretary, D. Abednego, and a treasurer of Chinese descent, Tan Goan Tjong. This situation lasted for eight years; full independence only came

<sup>22</sup> The greater part of this report was published in an English translation in Kraemer 1958. The very informative thirty-odd pages on Islam were left out from this publication and consequently were not included in the Indonesian translation (Weinata Sairin (ed.) 1986). The original report never appeared in print.

about with the internment of the Dutch missionaries in 1942. At that time, the membership of the church was 5,500; in 2007 it is ca. 30,000, many of whom, however, are migrants from other parts of Indonesia. The Sundanese people as a whole remain a Muslim society.

The GKP did not include all Christians on the NZV mission field. For several reasons, most Christians of Chinese descent in West Java chose to stay aloof. There were those who from the beginning had been cooperating with NZV missionaries; another group had close contacts with the Methodist mission, which had been working in Batavia and Bogor from 1905 until 1928, and with Christian churches in China. This contrast more or less coincided with that between *peranakan* Chinese, those who had been born in Indonesia, often from mixed marriages, Malay-speaking, and *singkeh*, born in China and Chinese- (mostly Hokkien-) speaking. From 1927 onwards Pouw Peng Hong and Oen Tek Tjioe made efforts, among others, to found a united church including all Chinese Christians in West Java or even in the whole of Java (who at the time numbered about 3,500). They wanted to imitate events in China, where in 1927 the Church of Christ in China had been formed. The history of these efforts is very complicated. In the end two churches came into being: the *peranakan* founded the *Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee*—*Koe Hwee Djawa Barat* or Chinese Christian Church, West Java Presbytery, which in 1958 took the name *Gereja Kristen Indonesia Djawa Barat*, the Indonesian Christian Church of West Java. Initially the membership of this church was only 1,600, but the church grew to 6,000 in 1951 and about 50,000 in 2000. Initially, the words 'West Java Presbytery' were added in view of the hoped-for union with the sister churches in Central and East Java. After long preliminaries, this union finally came about in 1988, when the *Gereja Kristen Indonesia* (GKI) was formed, which now has a membership of more than 160,000. The *singkeh* Chinese founded the *Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee* (first beginnings 1928), which in 1958 also took an Indonesian name (*Gereja Kristus*, Church of Christ) and now has a membership of about 20,000.

*The end of Dutch colonialism in 1942: Japanese, the struggle for independence in West Java and the further development of a Christian minority*

After the Japanese army occupied Java in March 1942, there was a general ban on gathering by indigenous people and also church meetings were not allowed. With the help of Colonel Nomachi, a Japanese Protestant army chaplain, church life could be restored, without the Dutch missionaries who were sent to a detention camp, but the school buildings were confiscated. After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, it took many years before some of the schools were returned to the church and several of these buildings were never returned.

The GKP, *Gereja Kristen Pasundan*, notwithstanding its name reflecting an ethnic identity, remained an extremely small minority in the very populous Indonesian province of West Java. It also became ethnically a more mixed church. Although the Chinese churches had separated themselves in 1938, it never became a truly pure Sundanese church. Many of the former 'Anthing congregations' were already mixed Malay-Javanese due to the closeness of the national capital Jakarta. Migrants from Minahasa, Batakland and the Lesser Sunda Islands also joined GKP. Many were considered as Christian (and no longer pure Sundanese) because of their marriage to people from outside West Java. Rightly therefore, Dr. Mintardja Rikin stated in his 1973 dissertation that the church is "not a tribal but a regional church."<sup>23</sup> At the end of the twentieth century there were only a few ministers left who would hold services in Sundanese because standard Indonesian was, for most members of the church, the common language. Therefore it became also more and more difficult to use traditional musical instruments (*gamelan*, *angklung*). Selected people only used specific Sundanese music in services and the Sundanese book of hymns, *Kidung Kabungahan*, at specific occasions. As the major regional Protestant church the GKP became an important member of the Indonesian Council of Churches in 1950, the WCC in 1961 and WARC 1970. In the 1950s and 1960s its international relations were extended from a sole relation with Dutch churches to a broader network, among them with the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. In 2003 the GKP counted fifty congregations with some 30,000 members. This is only a small community, compared to the much larger number of Chinese Protestants (80,000 in GKI), while there are in the region many members of the Batak Church (HKBP), the former *Indische Kerk* (GPIB), some 130,000 Catholics and probably a much larger number of Pentecostals. They all brought the number of Christians in the region to a total of slightly over 700,000. The modest Sundanese Church is a good example of the problems Christianity had in winning over true Sundanese. In the early 1970s the GKP took care of 10 primary and 5 secondary schools, with some 75% of the pupils Christians. This is a fairly modest number compared to the 55 primary and 61 secondary schools of the Catholics in the same province of West Java. When we see the GKP in the perspective of other 'ethnic' or regional Protestant churches, especially in the outer islands, it must be seen as a very small Christian presence amidst a variety of other Christian denominations, but most of all amidst a huge Muslim majority.

<sup>23</sup> See Rikin 1973. This Dutch language dissertation, defended at Leiden University, has as its major theme the study of circumcision in West Java. Rikin defended the thesis that the ritual could be accepted for Christians in the region. It was too much for the Sundanese Christians and he was sidelined. Only later it was seen as a bold and well-argued attempt at inculturation.

*The complicated conversion of Madrais adherents to Catholicism*

Madrais is the shorter name of a member of the West-Javanese nobility, Prince Sadewa Alibasa Kusumawijayaningrat, born about 1835 in the village of Cigugur, some 20 km south of Cirebon on the slopes of the mighty mount Ceremai. After some Islamic education he received direct revelations and established a religious movement that in four aspects differed clearly from mainstream Islam: monogamy, no marriage before the age of 28 for men or below 23 for women, no circumcision, and burial in coffins made of good quality *jati*-wood. Madrais considered his social and mystical movement as a separate religion. He was expelled to Papua, but finally in 1925 in his old age, he received recognition for his movement from the Colonial Government, as "the Javanese-Sundanese Religion" (*Agama Djawa Sunda*, ADS).

Notwithstanding protest by Muslim clerics, especially during the Japanese rule, ADS was able to develop and even claimed, in the early 1950s, some 100,000 adherents. Madrais' son Tedjabuana, already an old and sick man, was the leader when in 1964 the court of justice in the town of Kuningan, supported by the army and the national government, banned the Madrais movement. Its members could no longer legally marry according to the rules of the sect, widows would receive no allowances, and they could no longer even claim inheritances. In the 1950s and early 1960s the Madrais movement had been one of the most prominent of the 'new Religious Movements' or *aliran kepercayaan* who tried to survive notwithstanding the policy of the government that freedom of religion was only for the five major recognised religions of Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Protestantism and Catholicism. They suggested that the wording of the Constitution of 1945 guaranteed "Freedom of religion and *kepercayaan* (faith)". Their position was that they were a faith movement and should be given the same rights as the great global religions. The army, always a strong opponent to Communism, was afraid that they would be used as a safe haven for communists and pushed this prohibition in all its consequences.

At that time ADS leader Tedjabuana no longer lived in the mountain village of Cigugur but in nearby Cirebon. He had close relations to a Catholic priest, Hidayat Sasmita, and therefore he decided to ask for baptism. After a full night of teaching he was baptised on 30 July 1964. At the same time he dissolved the religious movement of Madrais and suggested that his followers should also turn to Catholicism, but he gave them full freedom to act according to their own free choice. It were not only Madrais members from Cigugur who wanted to convert to Catholicism, another concentration was in the village of Cisantana, only two km uphill from Cigugur. Other groups lived in diaspora in West Java. The new converts received baptism not after the usual introductory and learning period of two years, but after only a few months, with the

obligation to continue learning the doctrine of the Catholic Church. In the early 1970s there were already about 2,000 baptised as Catholics. For Sunday Mass a *gamelan* orchestra was trained and hymns in Sundanese language and musical tradition were composed. Nevertheless the basic structure of the Catholic liturgy was followed, as in global post-Vatican II Catholicism. For the liturgy in households, concentrating on traditional sacred meals or *slametan*, Sundanese prayers and hymns were composed and printed in a booklet. The Catholic holidays of Easter and Christmas were celebrated with great pomp in the palace-sanctuary of Cigugur and in the smaller churches that were built at other places with active cooperation of the local congregations. This was the first and only mass movements towards Christianity after more than a century of mission work in the Sundanese territory.

According to later Madrais tradition, the founder of the movement had given a prophecy about the entrance of his followers into Catholicism, "My children, you should not be afraid, be strong in times of turmoil. You will know my descendant, a messenger from below the White Tamarind." The White Tamarind was interpreted as the white gown of the Holy Cross priests who would lead the young Catholic community. From their side the Catholics considered the special regulations of Madraism like indissoluble monogamous marriage and the ban on circumcision as a way towards their religion.

Some ex-ADS accepted Islam, while a handful addressed the Protestant GKP Church in Cirebon by mistake because they did not realise the difference in denominations. They stuck to their first choice and in the 1970s they were followed by several hundreds related to the start of the conflicts between the Catholic clergy and Tedjabuana's successor Djatikusumah.

Tedjabuana died 5 March 1978 in Cirebon, still a Catholic, at the age of 82 years. He was succeeded by his son Djatikusumah who from 1974 on used to stay in the palace-sanctuary of the movement in the mountain village of Cigugur. The Catholic priests, warm followers of the strategy of inculturation, had not built a new church for the new converts, but mass and religious ceremonies still took place in the great hall of the palace-cum-sanctuary of the descendent of Madrais. During the Catholic mass the major role was for the priest while Prince Djatikusumah, seated on a grand throne, could only watch the ceremony. Also in giving instructions he was no longer the leader of the ADS but this role was clearly taken over by the clergy.

This was also the period of the beginning of development aid and the Catholic priests could start many projects in the field of cattle breeding, vegetable growing, irrigation, all sponsored by foreign aid. This also meant that Tedjabuana's and later Djatikusumah's role became rather marginal. At Christmas 1978 Djatikusumah took the initiative to organise an ecumenical celebration of Christmas, giving a rather important role to the Protestants. In December 1980 Djatikusumah began a process of re-establishing the

independent movement and turned away from Catholicism. The Catholics then started building a grand church of their own. Pangeran Djatikusumah, in early 1981, declared himself no longer a Catholic and founded a new organisation *Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang* (PACKU, Organisation for the Restoration of Customary Tradition). On 11 July 1981 he applied for membership of the union of free spiritual organisations (*Badan Koordinasi Musijawarah Antar Penghayat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Y.M.E. Indonesia*) of Golkar, the powerful governmental political party, and this was accepted on 17 July 1981.

Djatikusumah hoped that a majority of his former followers who had turned Catholic would follow this move and become members of PACKU. This did not happen. Only about one out of four became followers of PACKU, most of them government officials (because of the official recognition of PACKU by a Golkar body). Also Djatikusumah's brothers Pangwedat and Sadewa, living in Cirebon, remained loyal to Catholicism. The Catholic priests decided not to seek a confrontation; PACKU would be accepted as a cultural organisation. Especially for those Catholics who wanted to join the festive days of *Seren Taun* ('Thanksgiving Day') it would not be considered as an act of apostasy if they did so. The procedure of moving out from Catholicism was executed in a surprisingly open and bureaucratic way. An act of 'apostasy' or declaration of leaving Catholicism was signed and handed over to the parish priest of Cigugur who received some 500 formulas.

There was some unexpected action from another side: on 3 August 1982 the Supreme Court of the Province of West Java declared that PACKU was illegal, because it was seen only as the revival of the *Agama Jawa Sunda* that was banned in 1964. It behaved like a religion and not like a socio-cultural movement and therefore could not be accepted within the Indonesian system of law.

The court decision was only one in a very long series of judicial cases that has accompanied the existence of Madrais from 1900 until today. But until now this decision has never been revoked. It had serious implications for the various parties involved. For the Madrais leader himself, Djatikusumah, it suggested that the only way out would be a concentration on his movement as a socio-cultural movement, not a full religion. On 14 December 1976 the central building, that was also the dwelling place for Djatikusumah and some 20 members of his family, the Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal, was recognised as a cultural heritage (*cagar budaya*). In the later 1980s and 1990s the ceremony of *Seren Taun* became the central ritual for the movement. The national ministry of tourism even started promoting the festival for local and international tourists as a meeting where they could see 'the life of society in Cigugur, West Java, who inherited their ancestors' religious cultural values.' A booklet published by the Ministry of Education and Culture tried to promote a visit

to the ceremonies, just as national tourism offices promoted visits to burials in Bali and Toraja. It emphasized the open character of the ceremonies. The English text stated: 'The *Seren Taun* ceremony is not owned by one specific group but is a multi-racial and multi-religious ceremony. Every person can take part in it.' The Indonesian text of this English version even more expressly stated that, 'it is not the possession of only one group, but all become one in it: Muslims, Protestants, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists and adherents of free religious movements (*Penghayat*).' This is much more liberal than we have seen in the history of the movement, but we must judge this against the language of propaganda as used by the ministry of tourism.

Although the adaptation of the Catholic liturgy for ex-Madrais members continued in places like Cigugur (with masses in Sundanese, gamelan music orchestra on Sundays and choir singing in Sundanese style), the diocese of Bandung decided in 1989 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the conversion of the first group of Madrais adherents with a remarkable project. In nearby Cisantana, where also a concentration of ex-ADS Catholics was found, a dry and infertile hill was bought, where a large Way of the Cross with fourteen attractive chapels was built. On top of the hill a Lourdes grotto and a modest church with a dormitory for pilgrims was built. This compound of the 1990s can be considered as another move in the drastic religious changes in this region: it was a turn from adaptation to Sundanese culture towards a European-style emphasis on devotion to Mary, with great imitation-Lourdes statues of Mary, and also fitting in with the new mode of charismatic Catholicism of that time. We have given somewhat more attention to the religious quest of the Madrais people, because it has been until now the only mass conversion movement in West Java, although in respect to the overwhelming number of Muslims it still remains a small number of some 6,000 baptised.<sup>24</sup>

#### *The turbulent decade for West Java: 1995–2005*

Like other regions of Indonesia, West Java also felt the increased tensions between the religious communities that accompanied the fall of Soeharto in May 1998. After the first great series of attacks on churches in East Java: Surabaya (9 June 1996) and Situbondo (10 October 1996), there was a chain of violence in the town of Tasikmalaya in the heart of the mountainous region of Priangan, West Java. Tasikmalaya is, like Situbondo in East Java, an area with many orthodox Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren*. The series of aggressions started with a problem within a *pesantren*. A pupil of one of the

<sup>24</sup> See Steenbrink 2005 for more details and references to the changes in the Madrais Movement.

Islamic schools, a son of a policeman, complained that his teacher beat him. The latter was summoned to the police station together with some of his senior students. Without clear reason, there were rumours that this teacher had been beaten and died in the police station. Within a short time a mob was gathered who burnt down the police station. The following day they came together again and then continued their destructive action into factories, hotels, banks, shops and a number of Christian schools and churches. This happened not only in the town of Tasikmalaya, but someone organised trucks that brought youngsters as far as Cileunyi and Kalaksanan, at a distance of some 70 km, to continue their violence. Apparently an action against the police, known for their corruption and greed, and for taking money also from the poor, was turned into an anti-Chinese and anti-Christian action. Moderate Muslim leaders openly accused hard-line Muslim Adi Sasono of involvement in the riots; he expressed his intention that the action was planned to throw the blame upon the moderate Muslims. Among those who went around plundering and burning there were many from outside the region and among those who were finally convicted only two or three pupils of the traditional Islamic schools of the district were found. Four people, mostly Chinese shopkeepers, were killed; the damage was enormous and in total 15 church buildings were destroyed by fire or otherwise (out of the 18 in the whole district of 1.5 million people). There were only 3,800 Christians in the Tasikmalaya district who nevertheless were among the richest of the population (mostly Chinese shopkeepers and entrepreneurs) and the Christian buildings were very visible and prominent in the landscape of this dominant Muslim region. Of the churches two were of the GKP, the Sundanese Church, two were Catholic, one from the Batak Church HKBP, while most others were Pentecostal and/or Evangelical. This also mirrors the variety of Christians in the region.

A quite different but similarly clear incident that shows some features of Christianity in West-Java is the so-called Sibuea affair, 1999–2003 in the great city of Bandung. One Mangapin Sibuea, a Batak, born about 1940, had been educated at the Bible School of the Pentecostal Church in Pematangsiantar (1965) and also at a similar school in Beji, Batu (East Java). In the 1980s he had been for some time a minister in a Pentecostal church in Philadelphia, but he returned to Indonesia in the late 1990s. His prophecies had started on 28 February 1999 when he heard God's Spirit speaking to him in English, ordering him to repeat the prayer, "O God, come into my heart, answer me!" Sibuea called himself the Apostle Paul II, had gathered twelve apostles around him, and finally collected more than 200 faithful, who had sold everything in order to join him on his way to heaven from the great turbulations of doomsday. He had predicted the end of the world for 10 November 2003, at 3 pm. He spread his message through pamphlets, but also through a VCD, a disk with images and sound of his sermons. Many of his followers came from the

Moluccas, some from Papua, others from Timor and from Batakland. The sect had been banned already by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs as a heresy and wrong doctrine (*aliran sesat*) in 2000, but only after the failure of 10 November 2003 he was taken to prison. On 6 April 2004 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

This small affair shows us some quite peculiar aspects of the more recent developments of Christianity in Indonesia. In the larger towns it is a floating population, migrants from many different parts of the country, who seek comfort and social contact in the vibrant Pentecostal churches. They are monitored by the Indonesian government, but can develop in relative freedom until something strange happens, as in this case where people had sold their possessions, and had started a ten-day fast before the expected event of their being raised to heaven.

In the Catholic Church we can see a comparable development in the move of the most famous Carmelite priest Dr. Yohannes Indrakusuma to West Java. Indrakusuma, born in 1938 in East Java, studied theology in Malang and obtained a Ph.D. in Indonesian studies in Paris with a dissertation on the mystical teachings of the new Pangestu sect (1973). In 1988 he moved to Cikanyere, a small village 100 km from Jakarta in a mountain resort, a recreation area for people from Jakarta. A grand church was built and a retreat centre with a capacity of 252 beds, besides a small convent for true Carmelite monks who lead a contemplative life. Indrakusuma teaches a combination of traditional Carmelite spirituality with modern charismatic renewal. The emphasis is on inner healing, but some spectacular physical healings are said to have taken place and certainly part of the great crowds that visit this Catholic place are hoping for miracles. The place is located amidst a traditional Muslim population but until now has caused no trouble in a more and more open Sundanese society (see further in chapter eighteen).

#### *Protestants in Central Java: the heartland of Javanese culture*

By Central Java is understood here the area which is covered by the present province of *Jawa Tengah* (Central Java), together with the territory of the *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (the special region of Yogyakarta). This last region has retained a special status because of the active role of the Sultan of Yogyakarta in the fight for independence. Therefore the Catholic bishop for this region has his seat not in Yogyakarta but in Semarang, with another diocese ruled from Purwokerto. Although this is a very densely populated region (34.3 million in 2000 on 36,600 sq. km or nearly 1000 per sq. km) it is less industrialised than other areas of Java. Several mountains, often around 3,000 meters high, dominate the landscape. Mount *Merapi* near Yogyakarta is

a still active volcano. In general the soil is very fertile; one-third of the land is used as rice fields. Sugar cane, too, has been an important crop as well as tobacco. Already in the nineteenth century coffee plantations had been developed on the slopes of the mountains and in some areas indigo and rubber were or are important.

The history of Central Java is rich and complex. In many respects it is connected closely to the history of other parts of Indonesia, especially East Java and Madura. Both in Central Java and in East Java the Javanese language is the vernacular. Until the sixteenth century this whole area was coloured by Hindu and Buddhist cultures and religions. In the neighbourhood of Yogyakarta the famous *candi* (temple) Borobudur (Buddhist) and *candi* Prambanan (Hindu) remain today as impressive witnesses to those centuries. Besides these, many other, smaller, *candi* could be mentioned here, as well as other old buildings in the Old Javanese architectural style (including mosques as the still extant *menara Kudus*, minaret in Kudus, built in 1549). The well-known Hindu epics of *Ramayana* and *Bharatayuda* continue to play an important role in folk culture, as in the different *wayang* stories (shadow plays), in names given to children and businesses, and in literature and art (even within churches!).

Around 1527 the old Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit collapsed.<sup>25</sup> Its dominant role was taken over by the Islamic state of the Sultan of Demak, then an important harbour on the central north coast of Java. Demak succeeded in conquering other ports on the north coast, both in East and West Java. Several cities of the north coast became influential centres of Islam, which according to later traditions was spread through the witnesses of nine *wali* (*walisongo*, nine saints of Islam in Java). The tombs of several of them are holy places of pilgrimage. One city on the north coast even got an Arabic name: Kudus (*Al Quds*, holy city, in the Islam tradition: Jerusalem). As a result of this strong influence, the north coast of Java up to the present time carries a *santri* type of Islamic influence. Many *pesantren* (Islamic religious schools) are to be found here.

From the sixteenth century onward the respective rulers in the southern part of Central Java were constantly squeezed between several political and religious powers. On the one hand, the above-mentioned Islamic sultanates were competitors. Yet besides these powers, the Dutch VOC became more and more influential. Though during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the kingdom of Mataram continued to be the most powerful, and sometimes even succeeded in closing down all the seaports of the north coast, nevertheless it constantly had to struggle for its life, often by bloody wars. Mataram covered the area that later was named *Vorstenlanden* (principalities) by the Dutch, that is the cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta where the rulers built their *kraton*

(fortified palaces). However, these Mataram rulers from time to time also fought each other.<sup>26</sup> No less than three royal families were competing with each other. Nevertheless, from 1757 until 1825 Central Java experienced peace; the royal families succeeded in creating harmony by intermarriage and the VOC was weakened militarily. This period became a creative era that established in the end the excellent spiritual role the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta fulfil up to the present time, based upon a Hindu-Islamic tradition. In these parts of Central Java Islam has a strong *Sufi* character. Most important became the ethical wisdom literature which was produced at the courts; Pakubuwono IV (c. 1769–1820) is said to be the author of the famous book *Wulang Reh* ('Teachings on Conduct or Rule'); his son, the later Pakubuwono V instigated the compilation of *Serat Centhini* ('The Book of Centhini') which belongs to the so-called *Suluk* literature, that is, Javanese literature concerning religious subjects, often in the Islamic mystical tradition.<sup>27</sup> This ruler also stimulated other authors such as the famous Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito (1802–1873) who among other works wrote the *Serat Wirid* ('The Book of Sacred Teaching'). Later, this type of literature became the object of research of a number of Dutch and Indonesian scholars, missionaries and theologians, like the Jesuit priest Piet Zoetmulder (a renowned authority on the relationship between pantheism and monism in this *Suluk* literature), Harun Hadiwijono (pastor, later professor of systematic theology in Yogyakarta), Soelarso Sopater (professor at the Sekolah Tinggi Teologi Jakarta and past chairperson of the PGI), the missionaries J.H. Bavinck and A. Wind, and others.

Neither Yogyakarta nor Surakarta, however, was in an economical sense the most important city. The VOC at first had had its regional headquarters in the harbour town of Jepara, but from 1708 onward Semarang became the main trading post for Central and East Java. It still is an important and industrious city, with rather many Chinese inhabitants, who propagated trade and banking. A famous example became the Oei Tiong Ham conglomerate, named after a Semarang-born and *peranakan* oriented second generation Chinese, Oei Tiong Ham (1865–1924). This conglomerate which spread out over the entire Indonesia and Singapore region, owned banks and sugar factories; Oei Tiong Ham himself was known as the 'sugar king' (*raja gula*).<sup>28</sup>

After the brief British interregnum (1811–1816) the Dutch managed to expand their direct military and economic influence, no longer by means of the (private) VOC that had ceased to exist in 1799, but as a colonial power. Once more the Central-Javanese rulers waged an unsuccessful war against the Dutch, the so-called Diponegoro war (1825–1830). After that, they ceased to

<sup>25</sup> De Graaf 1949:61–79; Ricklefs 2001:41–44.

<sup>26</sup> Ricklefs 2001:126–139.

<sup>27</sup> Harun Hadiwijono 1967:12.

<sup>28</sup> Leo Suryadinata 1997:28–31.

have any political and military strength. However, to the present day they continue to function as important spiritual powers. Hendrik Kraemer, who lived in Yogyakarta between 1922 and 1928 as 'pathfinder' of the NBG, correctly described Central Java and especially the royal courts as "the last historical place where Java's independent political power and therefore its authoritative cultural property can be observed."<sup>29</sup>

During the nineteenth century Central and East Java suffered several times from drought and other natural disasters such as the eruption of volcanos (Merapi, Kelud). Also, the compulsory delivery of certain agricultural products to the colonial power had a negative economic influence. All this led to a temporary decrease in the population in certain areas and to migration to other parts of Java. The consequent feelings of mental and spiritual uncertainty became the breeding ground for several social and religious protest movements<sup>30</sup> and, in a way, for the spread of Christianity.

In the *Vorstenlanden* the struggle for national emancipation started when in 1908 the medical doctor Wahidin Soedirohoesodo and others founded *Boedi Utomo* (The Elevated Endeavour) as a cultural organisation of Javanese students, *priyayi* (Javanese nobility) and other intellectuals, followed in 1911 by the founding of the political movement *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (Islamic Trade Association), later renamed *Sarekat Islam*. The attitude of the Reformed missionaries towards these movements varied from benevolence to straight-out rejection.

After Indonesia's independence in 1945, the role of the sultans of Surakarta and Yogyakarta became less conspicuous, though Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX (r. 1939–1988) especially played an important role in the politics of the republic, as a cabinet minister under Soekarno and later under Soeharto, and even (1973–1978) as vice-president of the republic. At the end of the twentieth century his heir, Hamengkubuwono X, was involved in creating the conditions for the so-called *Reformasi* after Soeharto's fall.

Finally we have to mention here, that in 1965–1966 the bloody clash between Soeharto's army and certain Islamic groups on one hand, and members and sympathisers of the Communist Party (PKI) and nationalists on the other hand, did cost tens of thousands of lives in Central Java and left deep scars which are felt till today. Both in East Java and in Central Java thousands of victims and accused people came to the Christian churches to seek refuge and comfort. During the economic and political uncertainty of the final years of Soekarno's reign and during the first decade of Soeharto's regime the churches grew rather spectacularly.

<sup>29</sup> Kraemer 1928:11.

<sup>30</sup> Drewes 1925; Sartono Kartodirdjo 1973.

### *Earliest Christianity in Central Java*

The earliest Christian presence in Central Java can be dated before 1753. In that year the Protestant Church in Semarang got its first Dutch pastor<sup>31</sup> (also chapter five). However, before that year a church building already existed. In 1794 the still existing, conspicuous 'Koepelkerk' (*Gereja Blenduk* dome) was dedicated.<sup>32</sup> We do not get the impression that it was a lively community; it existed mainly of Dutch colonials. Of course, the pastors belonged among the dignitaries of the city and some of them succeeded in becoming quite wealthy.<sup>33</sup>

No wonder then, that the first missionary who worked here, Gottlob Brückner (1783–1857), often complained about the lukewarm Protestant congregation and about the extreme indifference he met in evangelising. In a letter to the Baptist Missionary Society he complained that he could hardly find three or four God-fearing Dutch individuals in this town!<sup>34</sup> Brückner had arrived in Batavia in 1814, together with the missionaries Johann Christoph Supper and Joseph Kam, on behalf of the NZG and the London Missionary Society. Influenced by the Baptist missionary W. Thomas Trowt, who had arrived in Semarang a little earlier and died soon afterwards, he was (re-) baptised in 1816 and then became a Baptist missionary. A modest and pious man, Brückner was the first to translate the Bible into the Javanese of the north coast.<sup>35</sup> However, he did not succeed in gathering a congregation around him and several times the BMS expressed its disappointment about his lack of visible results. After his retirement and death, the BMS decided to discontinue the work in Semarang. It would take almost a century before Baptists restarted missionary work in Central Java; this time they came from the USA.

In this paragraph we also have to mention the efforts of the *Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap* (NBG) that commissioned J.F.C. Gericke (1799–1857), like Brückner a pupil of J. Jänicke in Berlin, to translate the Bible into the formal Javanese of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. From 1827 till 1857 he lived and worked in Surakarta.<sup>36</sup> It was not his task to work as a missionary and we do not hear of any Christian community there as a side effect of his work.

Finally, in Semarang, Jepara and Tegal small Armenian centres were found. The Armenian colony in the Dutch Indies, especially in Batavia, goes back as

<sup>31</sup> Coolsma 1901:13.

<sup>32</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn 1884:175.

<sup>33</sup> Van Boetzelae 1947:169.

<sup>34</sup> Letter to BMS December 8, 1843; Archives BMS.

<sup>35</sup> Swellengrebel 1974:39–49; Coolsma 1901:242.

<sup>36</sup> Swellengrebel 1974:49–84.

far as 1656, and probably it had already spread into Central Java at the end of the eighteenth century. Many Armenians in Java were well-to-do merchants.<sup>37</sup> Their roots were in New Julfa, Isfahan (Persia). Also, they remained in touch with their Holy See in Edchmiadzin, and with compatriots in India (Bengal) and Singapore.

So, until around 1850, we only find a few Dutch-speaking congregations in the major cities and towns of Central Java, served by only one or two Reformed pastors.<sup>38</sup>

*Lay evangelists in Central Java during the second half of the nineteenth century*

After 1850 drastic changes took place and the map of missionary activities becomes complicated from that time on. First of all, we have to point to private evangelising efforts by three women, Elisabeth Jacoba Le Jolle-de Wildt (1824–1906), Johanna Christina van Oostrom-Philips (1815–1877) and her sister-in-law, Christina Petronella Philips-Stevens (1825–1876).<sup>39</sup> Mrs. Le Jolle taught and proclaimed the gospel to the Javanese labourers of the coffee plantation near Salatiga (30 km to the South of Semarang) that was administered by her husband. On behalf of this work she asked and received help from missionary J.E. Jellesma who sent a Javanese assistant ('helper' in the Dutch language missionary literature), Petrus Sedoyo. In 1855 this led to baptisms by missionary W. Hoeszoo (see below) and later to a congregation of around fifty souls in a new settlement Nyemoh near Salatiga. More to the south, in Banyumas, Mrs. Van Oostrom owned a batik industry; several of her female workers and others became Christians because she held church services with them. Since she had contacts with Hoeszoo, the first group of nine persons was baptised by him in Semarang in 1858. Hoeszoo himself did not receive permission from the government to work in Banyumas, but dispatched a Javanese co-worker, Yusup, to assist her. Near Kebumen and later in Purworejo, Mrs. Philips, whose husband was involved in the indigo cultivation, acted in a similar way. She received help from Abisai, Tarub, Sadrach and others, which led to the baptism of no less than 1,000 Javanese persons between 1860 and 1870. The pastor of the Protestant Church in Purworejo administered baptism to these Javanese Christians.

The most interesting aspect of the efforts of these women is the fact of their openness to Javanese Christians and "seekers of truth" and their willingness

to ask their help in reaching out to the indigenous population. Whereas many missionaries, as we will see below, felt bound to their Dutch interpretation of gospel, creeds and catechisms, and therefore often looked down upon Javanese Christians because of their so-called syncretism, these three women treated the new converts as their equals. Therefore, their attitude to and meetings with persons like Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung, Sadrach Suropranoto and others gave to the latter the feeling that their ways of contextualising the gospel as *ilmu* (knowledge, wisdom), were legitimate and appropriate. Sumartana even states, "The appearance of the second generation of missionaries, such as Jellesma and the mission bodies on Java, can be described as the sign of the emergence of a process of 'purification' against the accommodative tendency that smacked of syncretism."<sup>40</sup>

*The next phase in Central Java: mission through full time missionaries*

In connection with the above mentioned three women we also have to mention again the name of F.L. Anthing, who worked as a judge in Semarang and later in Batavia. To many Javanese Christians and seekers of truth he lent a ready ear; several of them became evangelists themselves. It seems that an informal network existed of such evangelists who with unflagging zeal travelled over Java from West to East and back. They cooperated with the above-mentioned Dutch Christians (who themselves were partly offspring from mixed marriages and therefore well acquainted with Javanese society), sometimes as their co-workers, sometimes as independent evangelists and congregational leaders. Research into their role still is a desideratum. The names and concepts of Asa Kiman, Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung and Sadrach Suropranoto will recur below and also in chapter sixteen.

The work being done by these lay evangelists has laid a foundation for evangelisation during the next decades, when missionaries from Dutch and German mission organisations started to work in Central Java. No less than four organisations and their workers need to be mentioned here.

*Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*: NZG. From 1849 until his death in 1896 the NZG commissioned missionary W. Hoeszoo to work in Semarang. Together with his Javanese co-workers, such as Asa Kiman, he succeeded in founding a congregation there that at its peak in 1875 counted 150 members. Hoeszoo, who wrote several tracts and reports in the *Mededeelingen* and *Maandberigten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*, was also responsible for missionary outposts to the east of Semarang (Kayu Apu near Kudus,

<sup>37</sup> Paulus [1935]:7–13.

<sup>38</sup> Van Boetzelaer 1947:361.

<sup>39</sup> Partonadi 1988:44–46; Reenders 2001:12–13; Sumartana 1993:14–20; Van den End & Weitjens 2002:234–236.

<sup>40</sup> Sumartana 1993:36.

where Filemon became a trustworthy leader of the small congregation, Pati and even Rembang) and—as we saw above—to the south, near Salatiga. All in all Hoezoo's work area counted some 250 baptised persons around 1860. Unfortunately this number decreased in later times; besides, the NZG apparently paid more attention to the work in East Java and it had no intention or means to extend the work in Central Java. Hoezoo even had to hand over part of his work to missionaries of other organisations and after his death this missionfield was divided between the *Doopsgezinde Zendings Vereeniging* and the *Salatiga Mission*.<sup>41</sup>

*Doopsgezinde Zendings Vereeniging*: NZV. Soon after W. Hoezoo had arrived, the Mennonite Missionary Association (DZV), which had been founded in 1847, was allowed to open a missionfield of its own in the residency of Jepara. Its first missionary, Pieter Jansz (1820–1904), was a capable and passionate, though not easy going or docile man. Jansz started his work in the neighbourhood of Jepara as the private schoolteacher of a wealthy Armenian owner of sugar factories, Margar Soekiazian (Soekias). However, soon the characters and religious insights of Jansz and Soekias collided. From then on Jansz worked as a fulltime missionary and though his work was not very successful in the beginning, he founded several small rural congregations in the area around the mountain Muria. Jansz, too, asked and received assistants who had been educated by Jellesma in Mojowarno, East Java. The first of them was Sem Sampir.<sup>42</sup>

Jansz became well known for a number of reasons. First of all he was an able lexicographer who subsequently translated the Bible into the Javanese language on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As Gericke, whom he was acquainted with, had done, Jansz too used Javanese specialists to assist him. In a photograph taken around 1887, we see Jansz (retired by then as a missionary) at work in Surakarta together with Raden Ngabehi Djojo Soepono. Unfortunately we know nothing about this literate assistant. Secondly, Jansz wrote an interesting treatise about land reclamation and evangelisation. In fact, he followed previous ideas by Coolen in East Java and Mrs. Le Jolle in the Christian settlement Nyemoh near Salatiga, which also had been put into practice by Jansz's successful opponent Tunggul Wulung. However, Jansz expanded these ideas to bring Christians together in separate villages, as some kind of missionary strategy. After he retired from active service, his ideas were practised in three settlements near Jepara. The credit side of this approach has been that the number of Christians indeed grew; unfortunately, both their

<sup>41</sup> Coolsma 1901:242–250.

<sup>42</sup> Jensma 1968:15–52; Hoekema 1997:9–24; Hoekema 2001:25–74.

isolation from a wider society and the fact that the missionaries functioned both as spiritual leaders and as landlords, had a negative impact on the later independence of these congregations.<sup>43</sup>

Belonging to a church which out of theological conviction and tradition kept a distance from the government, Jansz did not evade a fundamental conflict with the colonial government when he was required, in 1859, to stop his missionary work because of a rather harmless treatise *De tijd is vervuld* (The time is fulfilled). This treatise was an explanation of Mark 1:15 with a subsequent exhortation to immediate repentance. The silly misinterpretation of this text by the assistant resident in Pati caused a grotesque conflict that even led to questions in the Dutch parliament. Jansz did not yield and from now on continued his work even though his government permission to evangelise had been withdrawn and the gentlemen of his own mission board far away in Amsterdam (who wanted to maintain good relations with the government) felt not amused.

Finally we have to mention his conflict with Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung (ca. 1800–1885), an itinerant guru, whom he first met in 1854.<sup>44</sup> Tunggul Wulung was a hermit who was said to have a secret mystical knowledge. He sought contact with persons like Jellesma in Mojowarno (who baptised him), Anthing in Semarang, Jansz and others, and finally settled down with a large group of followers in Bondo, an unfarmed area near the coast of the Java Sea, which was considered to be *angker* (taboo), only a few kilometres away from Jansz' congregations. Cooperation between these two men proved to be impossible, though time and again Tunggul Wulung tried to seek contact. Here Jansz' European conception of the gospel became a serious impediment. He was turning his followers into *Kristen Londo* ("Dutch Christians") whereas Tunggul Wulung's followers became known as *Kristen Jawa* ("Javanese Christians"). Their conflict became a model of similar conflicts between western missionaries and indigenous evangelists in Java during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. As to numbers of adherents, it was like the competition between Saul and David. Jansz only had a few hundred followers, Tunggul Wulung at least a thousand. Unfortunately he did not leave any written documents. His teaching may have been a blend of Islamic, Buddhist and Christian truths, which connected with his charismatic, almost messianic appearance that had a great appeal to his followers. After his death his congregations successively became part of the (Mennonite) mission church. However, until today his name is mentioned with deep

<sup>43</sup> Swellengrebel 1974:84–96; Hoekema 2001:47–54.

<sup>44</sup> Hoekema 1979; Yoder 1981.

reverence and his tomb in Bondo almost has become a place of pilgrimage not unlike the graves of the Islamic *wali songo* (the above mentioned 'nine saints' who brought Islam to Java).

*Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingen Vereeniging*: NGZV. In the third place we have to mention here the work of the NGZV, 1859, founded by the Amsterdam pastor of the Scottish Free Church, Rev. Carl Schwartz.<sup>45</sup> Its first missionary, A. Vermeer, started his work in 1861 in Tegal, on the northwest coast of Central Java. Later contact was made with Mrs. Van Oostrom and Mrs. Philips. Through these contacts the NGZV found new mission-fields in the districts of Bagelen, Banyumas and Kedu, to the west and northwest of Yogyakarta. In the 1880s, permission was given by the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Paku Buwono IX, and by Prince Paku Alam V to establish congregations in Yogyakarta itself, where the Dutch colonial government had no direct authority. However, by then the gospel had come to Yogyakarta through a photographer at the court of the Sultan, Kassian Cephas, who belonged to the circle of Mrs. Philips and had been baptised in 1860 in Purworejo. Another Christian from Yogyakarta to be baptised was a relative of the Paku Alam serving in his army, Raden Mas Suryahasmara Natataroena. Natataroena's house functioned as a meeting place for the steadily growing congregation till a meetingplace was found at the newly built Christian hospital in 1900. Missionary Jacob Wilhelm baptised Natataroena in 1887 in Purworejo; permission to administer the sacraments in Yogyakarta itself was only given in 1891. Shortly after his baptism Natataroena had his child circumcised, which led to much discussion among the missionaries and in fact was a signal of disagreement as to the inculturation of the gospel.<sup>46</sup> Wilhelm, though mostly open to the Javanese culture, in this case sent a stern cable from Purworejo to Yogyakarta, saying, "Natataroena. Jogja. Christians should not circumcise their children. If they do so and break God's law, it is inevitable they will be judged by God, Wilhelm."<sup>47</sup>

Rightly Partonadi mentions this circumcision in the context of Sadrach's community. His name was mentioned above; as to his theological position we refer to chapter sixteen. Here we explain briefly the historical events concerning Sadrach. By all means he was the most influential independent Javanese Christian of his time. No wonder, several studies have been dedicated to his life and work.<sup>48</sup> Sadrach had been raised as a *santri*, student at Muslim schools. He became involved in the same network of seekers of truth to which Tunggul Wulung belonged, went to Anthing in Batavia (Jakarta) and was baptised

there in 1867. For a time he became a follower of Tunggul Wulung in Bondo. Then he moved to Mrs. Philips-Stevens and helped her to expand her house community. Motivated by "self-confidence and a spirit of independence"<sup>49</sup> he founded his own community in Karangjasa, Bagelen in 1870. Till his death in 1924 this community of *wong Kristen mardika* (independent Christians) experienced much growth. Sadrach was charismatic, organised his congregations like a community around a mosque (he even called churches *mesjid*, mosque), and taught the Gospel as a new *ngelmu*, spiritual wisdom. He always tried to respect the missionaries and to maintain good relations with them. However, this cooperation with the Dutch missionaries and churches became more difficult. The mission and the *Indische Kerk* (the Dutch Protestant Church, which had strong ties with the colonial government) tried to control his movement which was seen as a threat, both because of its heterodox ideas and because of the number of Sadrach's followers (around 3,000 in the early 1880s) whereas the total number of Christians belonging to the NGZV around 1890 was said to be almost 6,400.<sup>50</sup> Sadrach's refusal to get his people vaccinated after a smallpox epidemic in 1882, based on a 'fundamentalist' reading of the Javanese translation of I Tim. 5:6-7 and II Cor. 6:3, triggered off a crisis. It was seen as insubordination and he was arrested for a couple of weeks. After that, Wilhelm was the only missionary communicating with Sadrach on the basis of mutual trust. On Old Year's Eve 1882 Wilhelm wrote in his diary, "Silently I watched the turbulences in the field of mission; it did not befit me to judge. In my opinion justice was entirely on the side of the Christian communities and on the side of Sadrach."<sup>51</sup>

Wilhelm continued to choose the side of Sadrach, but all the tensions around the movement caused his untimely death in 1892. Shortly after, in 1893, all relations with the NGZV were broken off. Sadrach looked for a new partner and found it in the Irvingite *Apostolische Kerk* in Batavia, where Anthing, too, had sought a refuge. Sadrach was appointed an apostle in that church which added to the recognition of his leadership. He kept that position till his death.

*Salatiga Mission*. A fourth mission organisation, which started work in Central Java, is the *Salatiga Mission*. After Mrs. Le Jolle had repatriated to the Netherlands in 1857 she contacted the so-called *Ermelo Mission* that had been founded in 1850 after a spiritual revival in the Reformed congregation of this village in the Netherlands. In 1868 this mission sent missionary R. de Boer to continue the work in Nyemoh. Later the *Neukirchener Mission*

<sup>45</sup> Coolsma 1901:157-189; Reenders 2001:3-29.

<sup>46</sup> Partonadi 1988:197-202; Reenders 2001:189-191.

<sup>47</sup> Partonadi 1988:198; Reenders 2001:190.

<sup>48</sup> Guillot 1981 and Partonadi 1988.

<sup>49</sup> Partonadi 1988:65.

<sup>50</sup> Coolsma 1901:181; it is not certain that his statistics are reliable.

<sup>51</sup> Reenders 2001:27.

in Germany, founded in 1880 after a similar revival,<sup>52</sup> joined this effort by sending a number of missionaries who succeeded in founding several communities in the whole residency of Semarang and also in the residency of Rembang. The early practice of the *Neukirchener Mission* was similar to that of later faith missions. All in all they counted over 900 baptised Christians at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

During the nineteenth century Christianity in Central Java grew due to the activities of at least four kinds of agents. First were the European lay evangelists like Mrs. Le Jolle and Mr. Anthing, who wanted to share the gospel with Javanese labourers and others. Second were the Javanese seekers for truth and some Javanese *guru Injil*, assistants of western missionaries. They showed great mobility, formed a well-informed network, and had the strongest appeal for the Javanese inhabitants. Some of these *guru injil* came from East Java. Third were the missionaries from Central and East Java. Though their sending organisations held different confessional views, on the mission field itself the missionaries cooperated closely shared printed material (tracts, hymns, bible translations) and organised conferences together (from 1880 on). Marriages between them or their children were not unusual. Hardly any of them, however, were able to free themselves from the normative character of their western views. Finally, the existing *Indische Kerk* expanded its presence in Central Java, especially in the southern parts. By baptising Javanese Christians on the request of lay evangelists like Mrs. Philips, it became interested in the religious developments of the local population. Sometimes there was a clear rivalry between the *Indische Kerk* and the missionaries, who often did not hold in high esteem the *predikanten* (ministers) of the *Indische Kerk* (most of whom stayed only a few years on the same post), and the ethics of the Dutch colonial population. At other moments both of them together showed a deep concern as to the path of the independent Javanese evangelists like Sadrach.

All in all the number of Christians grew substantially, though not spectacularly. Around 1909 there were probably about 5,000 Protestant Christians in Central Java, Sadrach's followers not included.<sup>54</sup> Economic and social factors certainly played an important role as to this growth. The missionaries opened informal schools for the Javanese population and gave medical treatment in as far as they were able to provide this. In general the congregations were found in rural areas, sometimes in special Christian villages. As to the missionaries, contacts with Muslims always took place as part of their evangelising efforts. Their assistants and independent charismatic leaders like Sadrach showed a more open attitude towards Islam.

### *New perspectives for Central Java at the turn of the century*

In 1894 the NGZV handed over its work in Central Java to the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (GKN), except the work in the residency of Pekalongan that was transferred to the *Salatiga Mission*. The GKN had been founded in 1892 as a fusion between the congregations belonging to the so-called *Afscheiding* (Separation, 1834) and to the *Doleantie* (Anxiety, 1886) and can be seen as a confessional reaction against the liberal views prevailing within the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK). Its church order was congregational with a higher authority in provincial synods. After a few years, the GKN mission work was well organised by local 'sending' churches and surrounding regional networks of congregations. According to the principles agreed upon by the important Synod meeting of Middelburg, 1896, they did not send (lower educated and not-ordained) missionaries to the missionfields but ordained missionary ministers, alongside teachers and medical doctors.<sup>55</sup> This was one of the factors in the renewal of the mission work in Central Java.

A second, external factor in this renewal and reorientation process has been the so-called 'ethical policy' of the Dutch colonial government at the beginning of the twentieth century. It led to a more positive attitude towards the work of the missions, and thus to permission to start work in the *Vorstenlanden*, as well as to more generous subsidies for educational and medical work. Missionary work in Yogyakarta had been able to start in 1891, before this 'ethical policy' became the leading vision of the colonial government. At that time the town had 58,000 inhabitants; in 1930 there were 136,000 people.<sup>56</sup> Also permission was obtained to start missionary work in Surakarta (1910).<sup>57</sup> As to the opening of the latter mission field, missionary H.A. van Andel relates a revealing statement of the Soesoehoenan of Surakarta, who, when asked to give permission to the Christian mission to establish a mission post in his city, answered:

I have no objection against Christianity; in fact, several members of my family are Christians. However, it is contrary to my religion to give a formal permit. Let the governor general send them; I will show no resistance at all. However, as head of the Islamic religion I cannot give a permit; that would be contrary to my faith.<sup>58</sup>

Governor General, A.W.F. Idenburg, who as a representative of the 'ethical policy' and as a devout Christian was very sympathetic toward the work of the *Gereformeerde* (GKN) mission, then gave the requested permit! In both cities, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, medical work started first, but quickly the

<sup>52</sup> Van den End & Weitjens 2002:42–43.

<sup>53</sup> Coolsma 1901:189–205.

<sup>54</sup> *Hedendaagsche Zendine* 1909:256–257; Reenders 2001:847 and 887.

<sup>55</sup> Reenders 2001:29–44, 236–249.

<sup>56</sup> Reenders 2001:46.

<sup>57</sup> Reenders 2001:47, 235, 468.

<sup>58</sup> Reenders 2001:Document 158, 507–509. See below how the Jesuit Driessche obtained a similar rather vague permit to baptise Javanese from the Sultan of Yogyakarta in 1914.

urban congregations started to grow with schools and a teachers' seminary. In fact, the mission of the GKN was the first to emphasize the necessity to work in urban settings.

At the edge of Christianity, theosophy arose. It had a limited support; its adherents were to be found among the more educated people in urban areas (including at the feudal courts) and its ideas did fit in well with the spiritual thinking of *priayi* and (Indo-) Europeans. During several decades it exerted a certain influence, and time and again missionaries warned against it.<sup>59</sup>

Of a totally different nature was the *Bala Keselamatan* or Salvation Army.<sup>60</sup> In 1894 the first Salvation Army missionaries arrived from the Netherlands. One of the first things they did was to pay a fraternal visit to Sadrach in Karangjoso!<sup>61</sup> From 1895 till 1913 Semarang served as its headquarters; then the main office of the Salvation Army moved to Bandung. Nevertheless, the social, medical and evangelising work in Central Java continued, and in the early years the Salvation Army was not only active in Semarang but also in places like Magelang, Rembang, Pati, and Kudus. Following the example of the Christian settlement Margorejo in the Muria area, in 1902 the Salvation Army founded a colony for victims of serious floods on the north coast, and of devastating eruptions of Mount Merapi and Mount Kelud, who had fled to Semarang. Several hundreds of people were gathered there. 'Salib Putih' (White Cross), near Salatiga, later was to continue as an independent Christian project on behalf of homeless people and beggars. After World War II it came under the auspices of the GKJ.<sup>62</sup> In 1915 the Salvation Army also founded a still existing ophthalmology hospital in Semarang; in addition, the *Bala Keselamatan* got involved in a wide range of social activities. Though very soon the Salvation Army worked in many provinces of Indonesia, Central Java remained an important part. In the terminology used by the Salvation Army, it was a *division* with a commander of its own. The officers of this international church came from abroad (mainly Netherlands and Australia), but very soon also from Indonesia itself. The *prajurit* (soldiers) were "recruited," of course, from the local population. In the beginning some missionaries regarded the work of the Salvation Army with suspicion, since it started its work in areas where other missions were active already.<sup>63</sup> Others, however, like Pieter Jansz (whose daughter Marie joined the *Bala Keselamatan*) were friendly and cooperative. In a similar way some missionaries were hesitant as to the work of Johannes van der Steur (*Pa van der Steur*) among soldiers near Magelang. Van

der Steur became wellknown as the initiator of an educational institution and orphanage on behalf of thousands of children of mixed race, many of them born from relations between Dutch soldiers and Javanese women.

Finally, in the 1920s several Methodist Episcopal congregations were to be found in Banyumas, Semarang and elsewhere. American Methodists stimulated this work.<sup>64</sup>

### *The Gereja-gereja Kristen Jawa: 1900–1940*

In 1900 self-governance within the GKJ began, as the congregation in Purworejo received its own church board.<sup>65</sup> The work in Yogyakarta and especially Surakarta prospered. The intensive contacts with the upper class of *priayi* led to a type of congregation that showed self-confidence and power. The first medical doctor (J.G. Scheurer, from 1893 on) and the first hospital, Petronella hospital (now Rumah Sakit Bethesda), were established in Yogyakarta. In 1904 the characteristic church building in Gondokusuman (Yogyakarta) was built and a year later the teachers' seminary (Keuchenius School) opened its gates, serving also as a training school for indigenous evangelists. From 1911 on this training school, headed by Rev. D. Bakker, functioned independently as a seminary; it developed into the present *Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana*. Within twenty years after it started its work, the mission of the GKN supervised a number of hospitals and well-equipped medical personnel. The latter were sent by churches in the Netherlands but comprised also educated Indonesians. Also a number of schools had been opened.

An important part of the missionary method was the publication and distribution of Christian literature in the Javanese and Malay languages. Probably no other mission has paid so much attention to the spread of written material. Periodicals like *Mardi Rahardjo* and *Penaboer* had a circulation of tens of thousands of copies.<sup>66</sup>

Rev. Dr H.A. van Anel, during thirty years one of the most eloquent and authoritative missionaries on the field, together with his very talented wife, J.C. van Anel-Rutgers,<sup>67</sup> considered it his duty to open a dialogue with the *priayi* in Surakarta; however, he also was of the opinion that work among this group was to be reserved to the European missionaries and could not be done by Javanese assistants. In fact, this was also the position of Hendrik Kraemer, though his Barthian theology differed greatly from Van Anel's.

<sup>59</sup> Reenders 2001:417–421.

<sup>60</sup> *Hedendaagsche Zending* 1909:211–217; Brouwer 1994.

<sup>61</sup> Brouwer 1994:14.

<sup>62</sup> Siswopranoto 1988.

<sup>63</sup> Reenders 2001:716.

<sup>64</sup> De Jong 1997:8–9.

<sup>65</sup> Hadi Purnomo & Sastrosupono 1986:39; Reenders 2001:309.

<sup>66</sup> De Jong 1997:12–13.

<sup>67</sup> See on her Van der Woerd 2004.

Nevertheless, the latter was unable to stop the changes of the time and Raden S. Nimpoeno, who originally was from Surakarta but lived in the Netherlands, was in 1922 the first one to contradict him at this point. Dutch ministers were unfit to approach these *priyayi* in a real sense; this could only be done by highly trained Javanese pastors, according to Nimpoeno.<sup>68</sup>

After one candidate to become a Javanese minister unfortunately had died in 1909 before the decision to ordain him had been taken, finally in 1926 the first Javanese minister was ordained, Ponidi Sopater. Two years later he was followed by four others: Raden J. Wirjatenaja, Zacheus H. Soesena, Idris Nakam Siswawarsana and Soedarmadi. In February 1931 the first Javanese synod meeting (*Pasamoewan Gereformeerde Djawi-Tengah*) gathered in Kebumen, presided over by Soesena.<sup>69</sup> In the next year, this synod accepted a Presbyterian church order, in which the Heidelberg Catechism was accepted as the appropriate guideline to interpret the Bible. Besides, the *Confessio Belgica* and the decisions of the Synod of Dordrecht had to form a protective wall against syncretism and mysticism.<sup>70</sup>

Though the Christians in the area of the mission of the GKJ lived in or near the place where Indonesian nationalism was born, not too many of them were politically active. Some Christians from Central Java joined *Mardi Pratjojo* ("Promoting faith"),<sup>71</sup> founded at Pentecost 1913 in Mojowarno (East Java), as a Christian rival to the *Sarekat Islam*. However, "it appeared unable to stand out on the political stage as a Christian organisation which could participate in the world movements in the era of progress."<sup>72</sup> After a brief success, *Mardi Pratjojo* run down due to disagreement about the question of whether it was to be a means of evangelisation or a tool of political emancipation. Lack of leadership and insufficient support from the missionaries were other reasons to discontinue. In 1918 it was succeeded by the *Perserikatan Kaum Kristen* (Union of Christians) in which, alongside East-Javanese leaders such as Jerobeam Mattheus, Raden Samuel Martohadmodjo and others from Central Java also became board members.<sup>73</sup> Martohadmodjo was a strong and independent member and elder of the Gondokusuman congregation in Yogyakarta, who once organised a *wayang kulit* (shadow play) performance in his garden, which led to irritation among native Christians and missionaries. He was also one of the editors of the progressive periodical for Christian teachers, *Taman Swara*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Reenders 2001: Document 208, 654–656.

<sup>69</sup> De Jong 1997: 77–82, Document 1.

<sup>70</sup> Müller-Krüger 1968: 209–213; Van den End 1986: 69; De Jong 1997: 92–101, Document.

<sup>71</sup> Ngelaw 1994: 71; Sumartana 1993: 124–131.

<sup>72</sup> Sumartana 1993: 127.

<sup>73</sup> Sumartana 1993: 132–136.

<sup>74</sup> Reenders 2001: 676–680, 575.

Finally we need to mention here the missionary attitude of the early GKJ. In 1899 the GKN Synod of Groningen had recognised the Dutch Reformed Kwatang Church in Batavia (Jakarta) as a sister church. When later Javanese members of the GKJ migrated to Batavia, they found a base of their own church there. More important yet was the responsibility the GKJ took as to the many migrants to Lampung, South Sumatra.<sup>75</sup> As early as 1905, the government had opened the possibility for Javanese farmers from East and Central Java to migrate to this area in South Sumatra. Among them were some Christians. As to the pastoral care of the latter, especially the name of Josafat Darmohatmodjo must be mentioned here. In 1933 he was ordained as pastor of Purworejo. In 1935 his congregation asked the GKJ synod to consider an own missionary task in Lampung and in the next two years Darmohatmodjo made exploratory visits to the Javanese living there. In 1938 the Synod meeting in Kebumen officially accepted the work among those people. From that moment on, the growing congregations in Lampung remained a part, later a classis (presbytery) of the GKJ until the Lampung church became independent in 1987 (see chapter thirteen).

#### *The Protestant Churches in North Central Java: 1900–1940*

In fact the other mission fields in Central Java followed the trends set by the mission of the GKN, though their main orientation was towards the young churches in East Java. Both the *Salatiga Mission* and the *DZV* worked mainly in rural areas, and were led by missionaries, not by academically trained ministers. Also, the stimulus provided by higher educated Javanese and by the nationalist movement was not clearly felt in North Central Java.

In Margorejo the *DZV* had also opened a teacher-training seminary, which functioned well between 1904 and 1925 when government subsidies started to dry up. It hardly provided trained evangelists, however. Although Jansz Sr. and N.D. Schuurmans had done praiseworthy work in the field of health care, professional medical work did not start till Dr H. Bervoets came over from East Java in 1908 and a hospital was built in Kelet in 1915; also, in the latter year an institution for leprosy patients, *Donorodjo* ('Royal Gift') was opened near Kelet. Several medical doctors from the Netherlands were to work in these institutions next to German-Russian nurses; also, the name of the Javanese midwife Justinah has to be mentioned here.<sup>76</sup>

However, the missionaries did not keep pace with these professional developments. Several of them came from the ranks of German-Russian Mennonites;

<sup>75</sup> Hoogerwerf 1997; Reenders 2001: 822–826; cf. chapter thirteen.

<sup>76</sup> Jensma 1968: 76–88.

their context was a rural type of leadership. Therefore, the expansion of the mission work stagnated in the early twenties, a process that would last until 1926 when the first German missionary (Hermann Schmitt) brought rejuvenation. After his arrival, and thanks to an impressive plea by the missionary doctor K.P.C.A. Gramberg in a board meeting of the DZV, work in urban areas like Kudus (cigarette industry and printing mills), Jepara (woodcarving industry) and Pati (an administrative centre) started.<sup>77</sup> The ideas of Kraemer, as written down in his church visit reports that later were translated as *From Missionfield to Independent Church*, certainly played an important role as well. Kraemer was highly esteemed as an advisor to both the missionaries and the DZV board.

Due to the standstill mentioned above, the DZV mission field lagged behind as to independence of congregations and training and ordination of pastors. The rural congregation of Margorejo had been given rules and bylaws in 1924 (mainly taken over from Mojowarno in East Java) and its *guru Injil* Roebin Martoredjo was ordained as pastor, but in fact the missionaries continued to govern. A really revised *Pranata Pasamoewan* was accepted not until 1938 on behalf of the federation of congregations in the Muria district. Adult baptism was emphasised in it as well as the Apostles' Creed and also non-violence as an evangelical principle.<sup>78</sup>

Here we recognise the hand of the missionaries. And not until 1937 were two young candidates sent to Bale Wijata, Malang and one (Soehadiweko Djojodihardjo) to the *Hoogere Theologische School* (HTS) in Batavia to receive theological training.<sup>79</sup>

The *Salatiga Mission* continued its work in the other districts of North Central Java under similar circumstances as the DZV. The first congregation here to become independent was Purwodadi (after 1926); in 1937 several other congregations followed. In the same year a *Parepatan Agung* ("Great Meeting") was convened, which can be considered the beginning of the independence of this church.<sup>80</sup>

#### *Evangelisation among Chinese Indonesians*<sup>81</sup>

In 1856 the *Genootschap voor In- en Uitwendige Zending* in Batavia, in which Mr. Anthing played a role, had invited Gan Kwee from Amoy, China, to become an evangelist in Java. He stayed till 1873 and travelled all over Java. One of his

<sup>77</sup> Jensma 1968:94–96.

<sup>78</sup> Jensma 1968:111–112, Van den End 1986:72.

<sup>79</sup> Hoekema 2001:101–103.

<sup>80</sup> Sumarjo 1994.

<sup>81</sup> For a more detailed account of Chinese Christians in Java see chapter nineteen.

early converts was Khouw Tek San in Purbalingga who from 1866 on became the initiator of mission among Chinese in Central Java.<sup>82</sup> In 1867 in Purbalingga 68 Chinese were baptised as a result of his efforts.<sup>83</sup> Some Chinese joined Sadrach's movement; in fact, it was a Chinese evangelist in Magelang, Liem Cu Kim, who drew Sadrach's attention to the Apostolic Church in Batavia.<sup>84</sup> Also, in spite of the language difficulties, other Chinese joined incidentally one of the Javanese-speaking congregations of the European missionaries. As early as 1905 the Methodists started to pay attention to the Chinese minority in Central Java as well. This Methodist influence became felt especially in the field of church hymns.<sup>85</sup> Within the *Bala Keselamatan* Chinese *prajurit* ('soldiers') and officers were found from the beginning.

In the southern part of Central Java, the mission of the GKN became aware of the possibilities for evangelising among Chinese people as early as 1910.<sup>86</sup> At that time, in Yogyakarta around twenty Chinese Christians were counted—out of a total of some 5000. Several times H.A. van Anandel urged his sending church in the Netherlands to start a separate mission effort among the Chinese. The Javanese were Muslims; it was the Chinese heathen who needed a specific missionary approach. Javanese and Chinese belonged to different peoples, according to Van Anandel. Later he made a plea to accommodate them, for the time being, within the one, non-divided missionary church. In 1924 Van Anandel reported about the newly arriving *singkeh* Chinese in Yogyakarta and Magelang who understood neither Javanese nor Malay.<sup>87</sup> In 1928 Diong Hong Sik was appointed as an evangelist to them, in Magelang.

So, around 1920 in several separate places, Chinese speaking church services were held which led to a Chinese congregation in Solo. It started in 1922 and became independent in 1933. In 1936 another congregation was founded in Purworejo.<sup>88</sup> Not until 1940, when World War II had already begun, the first Chinese pastor was ordained, Andreas Kwee Tiang Hoe.<sup>89</sup>

#### *The 1930s and World War II*

The number of Christian congregations and of Protestant Christians made a big leap between 1900 and 1940. In the latter year the number of baptised

<sup>82</sup> Widyapranawa 1973:23–24; Hartono 1999:25, see also chapter nineteen.

<sup>83</sup> Widyapranawa 1973:23.

<sup>84</sup> Partonadi 1988:92.

<sup>85</sup> Widyapranawa 1973:230.

<sup>86</sup> Reenders 2001:459.

<sup>87</sup> Reenders 2001:518; 545–547; 698–701.

<sup>88</sup> De Jong 1997:182, 186–188; 202–204.

<sup>89</sup> De Jong 1997:265.

members of the mission of the GKN was estimated 1,700 by J.A.C. Rullmann;<sup>90</sup> for the (Mennonite) Muria area an estimation of 5,000 adults and children is given.<sup>91</sup> Many congregations that had formed part of Sadrach's movement joined the mission of the GKN after 1933. Most missionaries did not have an open eye towards the inculturation of the Gospel. However, from their discussions about *adat*, circumcision, *wayang*, and about Sadrach's independent Christians, we learn that the Javanese church members were seriously looking for ways to bring Gospel and culture in contact.

As an effect of rising nationalist feelings in Java and elsewhere, several local Christian communities became self-governing in the 1920s and 1930s. The first indigenous synod meeting took place in 1931. This also implied the receiving of church orders.<sup>92</sup> Theological training reached a higher level, especially in the mission field of the GKN, and a number of Javanese church leaders were ordained as pastors. All mission churches in Central Java were active in the field of education and medical care; Javanese and Chinese teachers, doctors and nurses attained a prominent position in these fields. The role of women in the churches itself remained modest, in line with the situation of the sending churches in Europe. Nevertheless several noticeable exceptions have been mentioned.<sup>93</sup>

Besides emphasis on evangelisation to the Javanese people, attention to spreading the gospel among mainly *peranakan* Chinese became important. Often the churches that originated among these Chinese were totally or partly independent. On all mission fields in Central Java Chinese believers were influenced by travelling evangelists like John Sung. Though on a personal level contacts between leaders and missionaries of the respective churches (GKJ, GKJTU, GITJ) were cordial, there was not yet any serious effort to cooperate closely or even merge.

Finally, Islam was seen as a missiological problem; open contacts with Muslim leaders hardly existed, contrary to contacts with prominent adherents of Javanism.

On 10 May 1940 German armies occupied the Netherlands and from that moment on German missionaries (now belonging to the enemy) were detained. In Central Java this hit the work of the *Salatiga Mission* and to a lesser extent that of the DZV. Together with 400 other German internees some of these missionaries died in a tragic way on board of the motor vessel "Van Imhoff" that was to take them from Sumatra to India, when it was torpedoed by the Japanese, 19 January 1942.

<sup>90</sup> De Jong 1997:273.

<sup>91</sup> Martati Ins. Kumaat 1973:13.

<sup>92</sup> Van den End 1986:69, 72.

<sup>93</sup> Van der Woerd 2004:138–166.

Once the Japanese had entered Java (28 February 1942), the fate of most Dutch missionary workers became deplorable too. From 1943 on, almost all of them and their families, like all enemy citizens, were detained in Japanese camps, where a number of them, including several workers of the GKN died. In the meantime, the position of most Javanese and Chinese Christians was hardly any better. Right after the arrival of the Japanese army, not only Europeans but also indigenous Christians were attacked by rioting mobs. In Surakarta the European district was looted as well as the Chinese Sangkrah church.<sup>94</sup> A hard fate struck the congregation of Margorejo on the Mennonite mission field. There the church was burnt down and five pastors and elders were forced to recite the Islamic confession of faith.<sup>95</sup> The shock and the shame pursued them during the rest of their lives. The mission hospital in Tayu was looted and a Chinese doctor almost lost his life. The saddest story is that of the missionary H.C. Heusdens (himself belonging to the Christian Reformed Church and temporarily working on the Mennonite mission field) who even after repeated urgent requests declined to leave the 300 patients of the leprosy institute Donorodjo. He rather chose to die for them. One of his patients, a Balinese evangelist Nyoman Regig, wrote a moving report about his last moments and his death.<sup>96</sup>

Several church leaders were detained, tortured by the *Kempetai* (Japanese secret police) and even died in prison. Others unfortunately followed the Japanese or became apostates. Schools were closed and many teachers and evangelists had to look for other sources of income because the mission could not pay their salaries any longer.

The accelerated independence and the compulsory ecumenical cooperation between churches and Christians during the years of war and the early time of independence have been a blessing in disguise. These changes had been impossible as long as the European missionaries were in charge! In the Muria area, the congregations gathered in a *musyawarah* (deliberation) on 30 May 1940 and formed an independent *Association of Evangelical Christian Congregations in the Residencies Pati, Kudus and Jepara* that—after several changes of name—now is the GITJ. And at a meeting in Yogyakarta, June 1942, a provisional inter-church consultative body of Javanese churches was formed, which laid the foundation for the even broader *Dewan Permusyawaratan Gereja-gereja* (DPG) in 1946.

Nevertheless, in many places the churches suffered great losses as to membership, buildings, financial means and spiritual energy. In Surakarta, for instance, the number of (adult) confessing members decreased from almost

<sup>94</sup> De Jong 1997:27.

<sup>95</sup> Djojodihardjo 1977:89–97.

<sup>96</sup> Nyoman Regig 1977:109–119.

5,000 in 1939 to 2,700 in 1949.<sup>97</sup> The GITJ in the Muria area lost almost half of its members between 1940 and 1950.<sup>98</sup> The situation of the GKJTU<sup>99</sup> and the *Bala Keselamatan*<sup>100</sup> was worrisome in a similar way.

*Post-war time: a new independent spirit*

The years between 1945 and 1950 were hard and intense for the population of Central Java. The struggle between the young Indonesian Republic and the Dutch who refused to recognise its independence was partly fought out in this province, Yogyakarta being the heartland of the Republican troops, and the north coast predominantly being in the hands of the Dutch occupier.

This military and political situation made contacts between the churches until 1950 difficult, though not impossible. In the previous section we mentioned the foundation of a *Dewan Permusyawaratan Gereja-gereja* of Central Java. Many Christians hoped that all the churches of Central and East Java, particularly the Javanese speaking churches, would be united. In fact this DPG became one of three regional Councils of Churches in Indonesia, which—prepared by a meeting in Yogyakarta, November 1949—led to the formation of the *Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (DGI) in 1950.

In October 1953<sup>101</sup> and again in 1959 the Javanese speaking churches of Central and East Java convened to discuss unity. It was decided to cooperate closely, though a real unity was never reached.<sup>102</sup> Incidentally we hear complaints that the GKJ suffered from a lack of ecumenical awareness and wanted to do everything on its own, “A legacy of the *Gereformeerd* (GKN) Mission?”<sup>103</sup> A lasting ecumenical cooperation took place as to higher (theological) education in Yogyakarta and later also in Salatiga, in the use of a Javanese hymnbook, and in the sharing of catechetical and missionary material.

In 1964 the matter of unity became a hot issue again within the DGI; it was suggested that all regions would form their own regional Council. As a result, after the dramatic start of the Soeharto government in 1965, which claimed many victims in Central Java, a *Dewan Gereja-gereja Wilayah Jawa Tengah* (Regional Council of Churches of Central Java) came into being, which was also supported by the Chinese churches and several Pentecostal churches.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> De Jong 1997:27, 797.

<sup>98</sup> Martati Ins. Kumaat 1974:17.

<sup>99</sup> Cooley 1975:6–8.

<sup>100</sup> Brouwer 1994:205–210.

<sup>101</sup> De Jong 1997:452–457.

<sup>102</sup> De Jong 1997:518–522.

<sup>103</sup> De Jong 1997:749.

<sup>104</sup> Ukur & Cooley 1979:594–598.

As an advance toward the proposed unity of Central Javanese churches, the GKJ and the GKJTU merged in 1949.<sup>105</sup> Since the GKJTU maintained no contacts with the (German) *Neukirchener Mission* after the war, it was weakened in finances and personnel and had to hand over part of its work to the GKJ. Unfortunately, the merger of both churches did not last; the leaders of the GKJTU felt ‘forced’ into it, and the proposed church order of 1951 was too *Gereformeerd* in their eyes. In 1953 it was decided to continue as an independent church.<sup>106</sup> During almost twenty years this fact disturbed the relationship with the GKJ and until 1972 the GKJTU was therefore unable to become a full member of the DGI.<sup>107</sup>

After many deliberations, the Mennonite GITJ also decided to remain independent. It may be that both GITJ and GKJTU felt threatened because they were smaller partners in this deal, compared with the well-oiled, broadly supported and larger GKJ and GKJW. Historical ties and theological differences (baptism, synodal versus congregational structures, confessions) apparently were a greater hindrance than had been anticipated. The GKJ had close ties with its Dutch partner church and soon after independence a rather large number of mission workers were present again on the mission field. The GKJTU got its first worker from overseas not earlier than 1965. GITJ (and GKMI) were a little more fortunate; as early as 1949, 1950 the North American *Mennonite Central Committee* (MCC) was able to send some personnel, and in 1953 Dutch and German mission workers, too, were welcome again. Nevertheless, their support, both financial and as to manpower, remained limited compared to the support provided to the GKJ (and GKI). A side effect within the latter churches was a strong dependence on the Dutch GKN, which resulted in a conflict in the seventies.

*Baptists, Evangelicals and Pentecostals as post-war phenomena*

As elsewhere in Indonesia, in Central Java too, a number of new church bodies were founded after Indonesia became independent. Most charismatic churches arrived in or after the 1980s, but some other churches are older. We mention here four post-independence churches, which have their base and main constituency in Central Java itself (cf. chapter eighteen).

One of the oldest Pentecostal churches is the *Gereja Isa Almasih* (GIA, Jesus Messiah Church); its early name was *Sing Ling Kauw Hwee*. Tan Hok Tjoan, a Chinese Christian from Langoan, Minahasa, was its founder. Tan

<sup>105</sup> De Jong 1997:378–386.

<sup>106</sup> Cooley 1975:7–11; De Jong 1997:35–37; 649–653.

<sup>107</sup> Cooley 1975:12–13.

worked at the Customs office and originally followed a Dutch Pentecostal church. In 1946 he left this Pentecostal church because of ecclesiological and organisational differences and started his own congregation; first as a house church, later gathering in a movie theatre in Semarang and from 1950 on in a church building.<sup>108</sup> From then on, the church expanded rapidly. In order to emphasize that it wanted to be a genuinely Indonesian church it changed to its present name, GIA, in 1955. During the same church meeting a church order and a confession of faith were accepted. The seventh synod meeting, in 1971, accepted five principles: Spirituality, knowledge, evangelism, order, and ecumenical attitude. Hence this moderate Pentecostal church opened a seminary, *Abdiel* in Ungaran (south of Semarang) in 1967, accepted a presbyterial-synodal leadership and became a member of the DGI/PGI. It was one of the first churches in Central Java to have ordained women ministers in the 1960s and 1970s; the first women ministers in the GKJ did not appear until the end of the 1980s. Now GIA has over a hundred congregations, and some 5,000 members. Several other Pentecostal churches are active in Central Java as well, such as *Gereja Bethel Indonesia* (GKB).<sup>109</sup>

In 1951 Southern Baptists from the USA arrived in Indonesia. Soon after 1955 they had church buildings in several places in Java, including Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Magelang. A seminary was founded in Semarang in 1954; it attracted and still attracts students from several denominations.<sup>110</sup> Since this church does not cooperate within the DGI or the DGW, the work among students in cities such as Yogyakarta has been seen as a threat by some other churches. However, when in the early seventies leadership came into the hands of Indonesians and it had become clear that the church was too conservative and too much dependent upon foreign missionaries, the Baptists started to change. Avery Willis, who did research into motifs for conversion within GKJW, GKJ, GITJ, GKJTU and the Baptist Church, concluded, "Baptists on the whole have ignored lessons that might have been learned from over one hundred years of cultural adaptation by other denominations; they have Westernised the members of their churches."<sup>111</sup>

Starting as a prayer group within the Mennonite GKMI in the seventies, the *Jemaat Kristen Indonesia* (JKI) was founded in 1985 as a charismatic split-off, which is said to have now almost 15,000 members, even outside Indonesia in California. This church is exemplary in its use of modern, evangelistic methods to reach people and found new congregations. Especially among Chinese-Indonesian youth a strong longing for revival can be found. The JKI

started a huge training school on the slopes of Mount Merbabu near Salatiga and plans to build a mega-church in Semarang to host over 5,000 people. Elsewhere, in the main cities of Indonesia, similar trends can be found. Charismatic churches often attract middle-class people and students in the large cities, who no longer feel at home in their traditional churches. This, of course, is sometimes seen as a threat by established churches, which are inclined to follow the path of charismatic churches. Different kinds of music, hand clapping and prayer services have become quite common in traditional congregations as well, even in villages.

A last example of a young church based in Central Java is the small Eastern Orthodox Church that was founded in 1990 in Surakarta.<sup>112</sup> Its founder was Daniel Bambang Dwi Byantoro, a gifted young man. While studying in Seoul, Korea, he happened to read a book on Orthodoxy, felt attracted to its liturgy and theology and after a lot of wandering around (Athens in Greece and Syracuse in the USA) finally became an orthodox priest himself. Though in the meantime Bambang himself left this church again, the congregations in Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia continue to exist under the (Greek) Ecumenical Patriarch in Hong Kong, though as fragile small communities. It is not easy to define why Orthodoxy would appeal to Javanese people. Headley, an orthodox priest himself, points to the fact that Javanese people, especially *abangan*, do not emphasize doctrine (like in the GKJ), but the experiences in their inner heart (*hati nurani*) and the importance of a socio-cosmic harmony; hence they feel attracted to the prayers in the rich orthodox liturgy and to the cosmological dimension of salvation which plays an important role in Orthodoxy.<sup>113</sup>

#### *Post 1945: The internal life of the churches: confessions and church order*

The now independent churches needed to reconsider their confessions and church orders, which dated from the time when the missionaries still ruled their churches. In fact, all churches accepted the Apostles' Creed to express their unity with the world church and with the DGI. The Mennonite GKMI accepted an extensive confession of faith in 1958, which shows close affinity with an older confession of the North-American Mennonite Church.<sup>114</sup> A much more contextual confession of faith was accepted in the 1990s.

The GKJ, too, adopted a church order in 1950, based upon the presbyterial-congregational model of the GKN in the Netherlands. It did not correspond

<sup>108</sup> Eleas 2005:52–65.

<sup>109</sup> See for an older survey Ukur & Cooley 1979:107–114.

<sup>110</sup> Smith n.d.:128–130, Willis 1977:176.

<sup>111</sup> Willis 1977:185.

<sup>112</sup> Headley 1990.

<sup>113</sup> Headley 2001:224–234.

<sup>114</sup> Yoder 1981:314–318; Van den End 1986:109–117.

with the 'Javanese way of thinking' that is attached to respect for one's superiors, according to the survey that this church undertook in 1986.<sup>115</sup> The church order of 1985 took more distance from the European model, now men and women can be ordained.<sup>116</sup> For different reasons, both GITJ and GKJTU needed more time to adapt their church orders to the new times. Since the GKJTU had its origin in the *Neukirchener Allianz Mission* and had a congregational structure, it had inherited a lack of clarity as to this point. However, in 1988 its synod decided to formulate a church order and a catechism. The GITJ suffered from internal problems in the 1980s and 1990s that paralysed the work at a synod level for several years. In 2000 the reconciled synod accepted a new church order. It is quite striking that much more attention is given to church order than to the theological content of the confession. The latter is often just a reference to age-old confessions of the first ecumenical councils or of the European churches.

### *Theological training*

After 1945, the theological school of the GKJ in Yogyakarta reopened its doors in 1946. From now on both GKJ and GKI Jateng were its sponsoring bodies. Before the war the *Salatiga Mission* had its own training school, which for the time being was not reopened; after all, the GKJ and the GKJTU were in the process of merging. After 1965 the GKJTU re-opened its school for evangelists, Sabda Mulya, in Salatiga.

The GITJ opened a school of its own in 1950, supported by European and North American Mennonites. Five years later this school merged with *Bale Wijata* in Malang, East Java. One Dutch and one Canadian teacher participated in this new venture. In 1960s the Reformed Church in the Netherlands (NHK) and the *Gereformeerde* church (GKN) started to cooperate in ecumenical bodies. Hence, in 1962 *Bale Wijata* merged with the school in Yogyakarta; the *Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Duta Wacana* was opened as an ecumenical school at an academic level. Since then, the names of noted theologians like Harun Hadiwijono, D.C. Mulder and (now) E. Gerrit Singgih are connected with *Duta Wacana*. In the mid-1980s the *Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Duta Wacana* developed further into a *Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana* (UKDW) that now has several faculties.

Though the GITJ, too, was represented in its board, the admission level of this new school proved to be too high for most students from the GITJ and the GKMI in the Muria area. Hence, in 1965, these two churches started their own

school, *Akademi Kristen Wijata Wacana*, which functioned until the 1990s. By then, the GKMI had already withdrawn from the AKWW; most of its students preferred to study either in Yogyakarta or in evangelical schools.

In the meantime in 1956 in Salatiga a Christian Teacher Training College had been opened, *Satya Wacana*, which, after three years, broadened its horizon to become a Christian University with faculties of Law, Economics, Education, English, Theology and also sociology and technology.<sup>117</sup> No less than ten churches participated in it. For many years the lawyer and noted ecumenical leader Prof. Mr. O. Notohamidjojo was Principal of this university, which is well known outside the Christian community.

Next to these ecumenical efforts, Evangelical and Pentecostal theological seminaries and universities opened their doors as well. Government information (1994) mentions no less than 13 theological colleges in Central Java and the *Daerah Istimewa* Yogyakarta; a recent website even records 17. We have mentioned already the Baptist Seminary in Semarang (1954) and the Pentecostal Seminary *Abdiel* in Ungaran (1967); eight years later the evangelical *Sekolah Theologia Tinggi Injili Indonesia* opened its gates near Yogyakarta. The borderline between 'evangelical' and 'ecumenical' also crosses the main protestant churches; therefore these schools also attract students from GKI, GKMI and GKJ. Since the academic level cannot always be guaranteed, this situation is not really fruitful to the development of the churches as a whole.

### *Church Growth*

Though statistics of religious affiliation are not very reliable and trustworthy comparisons are hard to make, it seems clear that the churches in Central Java experienced their largest church growth rates in the period between 1960 and 1970. This decade is marked by severe political antitheses between communists, nationalists and Muslim parties during the latter years of Soekarno's presidency, culminating in the tragic clash or coup d'état in 1965. Hundreds of thousands of alleged communists tried to find refuge in the churches when the new Soeharto Government decided in 1966 that all Indonesians must profess a recognised religion. Government statistics (Department of Religion) mentioned for Central Java 155,000 Protestants and 110,000 Roman Catholics in 1968.<sup>118</sup> According to De Jong<sup>119</sup> the GKJ counted 60,000 members in 1964; 90,000 in 1969 and 130,000 in 1972. The growth rate of other churches has been comparable. Willis gives a growth rate of the Baptists in Central Java of

<sup>115</sup> Hadi Purnomo & Supriyadi Sastrosupono 1996:169.

<sup>116</sup> Djunarso Kartiko Hadi 1987.

<sup>117</sup> De Jong 1997:576–580.

<sup>118</sup> Hadi Purnomo & Supriyadi Sastrosupono 1986:24.

<sup>119</sup> De Jong 1997:798.

20.8% between 1960–1965 and 21.6% between 1965 and 1970; their growth rate was smaller than that of GKJ, GKJTU and GITJ.<sup>120</sup> The Roman Catholic Church experienced a similar growth, from 92,000 members in 1962 to 234,000 members in 1972 within the diocese of Semarang.<sup>121</sup>

Willis, Ukur and Cooley and others give a number of reasons for this growth within the Javanese churches of East and Central Java. Next to the government decision mentioned above, efforts by the churches, spiritual needs of the inner life (*batin*), influence from village leaders, personal witness by neighbours or family members, protection out of fear of being labelled as a communist, service of the churches through hospitals and schools, miracles like the power to exorcise demons have been mentioned here.<sup>122</sup> Though this growth rate has decreased since the 1980s, nevertheless almost all churches still seem to grow faster than the population growth in general.

#### *Development of church and society*

Next to theological training, the churches needed to be prepared for independent life within their local societies. Two aspects have been emphasized: self-support and self-activation of the congregations and urban or rural development. The medical work of the churches (hospitals, small clinics) continued to function well, as did the educational programme. Continuing the latter programmes was to be more difficult in the 1980s when government regulations became strict, Islamic schools and hospitals became competitive and subventions from western partner churches and organisations decreased.

GKJ and GKI worked closely together within the *Lembaga Pendidikan Kader* (LPK, Institute for Cadre Training) which started to function in 1958. Its aim was “to equip the Christians to become living and witnessing members of the body of Christ in the midst of the world.” Until the 1980s Dutch missionary ministers worked here side by side with Indonesian pastors like Soelarso Sopater and Benyamin Abednego.

From the 1970s onwards the attitude of Christians in Central Java towards culture started to change. Yogyakarta became a centre of cultural renewal within the churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. During the 1960s and 1970s it was tried, for instance, to use *wayang* (shadowplay) performances based upon Bible stories as a means of evangelisation. Though this was a success, Harun Hadiwijono, professor of systematic theology and a truly orthodox

<sup>120</sup> Willis 1977:178–182; Ukur & Cooley 1979:198.

<sup>121</sup> Ukur & Cooley 1979:77.

<sup>122</sup> Tasdik 1970:11–12; Willis 1977:223–224; Ukur & Cooley 1979:200–201; see also Hoekema 1986.

Reformed theologian, once confessed privately that he still preferred the *real* shadow play themes from the Hindu tradition in which noble characters combat each other above the Christian *wayang wahyu*!

In the field of visual arts and dance the name of Bagong Kussudiardjo (1928–2004), a well-known painter and choreographer in Yogyakarta, has to be mentioned here.<sup>123</sup> Notwithstanding lack of support from the first generation of foreign missionaries, many local churches have accepted in the meantime visual art and dance, and wall paintings, mosaics and even stained-glass windows with Biblical or Christian motifs have decorated several church buildings.<sup>124</sup>

#### *Church, other religions and state*

Around 1940 Islam still was seen as a missiological problem. In this respect, too, the attitude changed in the seventies. The theological faculty of the UKDW for instance, started to exchange staff and students with the *Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga* (IAIN) in Yogyakarta. This cooperation continues to the present day. Also, the *Institute for Inter-Faith Dialogue in Indonesia* (INTERFIDEI), founded in 1992 by the late Th. Sumartana, has its office in Yogyakarta. It organised several seminars and workshops; the results of these gatherings have been published in several volumes.

However, the feelings of Christians towards the developments in Islam were not always positive and Sumartana and others were often blamed for running too far ahead of the troops. From research being done during 1980s in four GKJ congregations in the district of Karanganyar, it became clear that only half of the Christians there had no problems with the more prominent place Islam had been receiving in this period. Over 50% of the Christians who were interviewed were not in favour of mixed marriages and 74% of them had never had a real dialogue with Muslims; 53% agreed with the conclusion that Islam was able to grow due to the weakness of the church, which is apathetic and fails to give sufficient information and tools to build up the Christian community. Besides, Islam was able to expand because of government assistance according to these Christians in the same research.<sup>125</sup>

The shocking and violent anti-Chinese riots in May, 1998, as well as social and religious violence from 1996 onwards, resulting in the damaging and burning down of church buildings, including more than fifty damaged churches in Central Java in the years 1996–1998 (ICCF 1997), did make Christians hesitant as to the aims of certain factions within Islam. Severe clashes between *Laskar*

<sup>123</sup> Takenaka 2004:4–5.

<sup>124</sup> More on Christian Art in chapter twenty.

<sup>125</sup> Sardjono 1987.

Jihad gangs and Christians in Poso, Central Sulawesi, and on Ambon also affected the Christians of Central Java, since some of the *Laskar Jihad* had their roots there. Nevertheless, in general the harmony (*kerukunan*) between people of different religions is still maintained and practical cooperation in the sense of *gotong royong* (mutual aid) never really suffered from this crisis.

In a few cases Christians have raised their voice as to human rights issues. Headed by Yosef Widyatmadja the *Yayasan Bimbingan Kesejahteraan Sosial* (YBKS, Foundation for Guidance in Social Prosperity issues) in Surakarta has been very active as to labourers' rights during the 1970s and 1980s. Critical staff members of the *Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana* in Salatiga, such as Arief Budiman and George Aditjondro, even had to give up their positions because they were too outspoken on human rights issues. Together with other NGOs and with outstanding individuals like the Catholic priest Y.B. Manguwidjaja, several church-related human rights groups devoted themselves to the cause of 6,000 peasants of the village Kedung Ombo near Boyolali, who without any appropriate compensation had to leave their homes and land between 1986 and 1991 when a controversial, World Bank sponsored barrage was built to create a huge water reservoir. And after the government published still pending plans to build a nuclear plant at the north coast of the Muria peninsula, east of Jepara, a church-related human rights group helped to defend the rights of farmers in that area whose traditional rights to the land had never been confirmed by legal papers.

Generally speaking, however, Christians most often supported the regional and national government; as a tiny minority they hardly had another choice. Some prominent theologians and lay Christian leaders got themselves mixed up in the recent debates about an eventually Muslim state instead of the Pancasila state. After the PARKINDO was forced to merge with other parties in 1973, many Christians took the side of the new *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (PDI) that had a strong base in Central Java; later they followed Megawati Sukarnoputeri's *PDI-Perjuangan* (PDI in Struggle).

All churches in Central Java have grown rapidly from the time of independence until now. Nevertheless, their total number (less than one million) does not surpass 2% of the total population; therefore they remain a small minority. This is one of the factors that define their identity. Many Christians are middle class people and the urban church buildings often show a certain pride and wealth. Antagonism between ecumenical and evangelical or charismatic churches is slowly disappearing since the church services in many churches move in the direction of charismatic services. It is not felt that there is a fierce competition, and dogmatic differences are not overemphasized.

Whereas around 1940 all churches in this region were confined to Central Java, now many churches have branches in other areas as well. The earlier gentlemen's agreement not to evangelise in each other's territory is generally

still maintained, though in university cities all kinds of churches can be found. Besides, the GKJ and GITJ have substantial branches now in Lampung and other migration areas outside Java. Often *Bahasa Indonesia* has replaced the Javanese language in church services, especially in urban areas and this opens these churches for members belonging to other ethnic groups. Originally Chinese churches such as GKI and GKMI showed a clearly evangelistic zeal; the GKMI even has an own missionary organisation PIPKA and mission workers in Bali, Singapore and Hong Kong. They, too, are open for members of other ethnic groups.

After the fall of Soeharto in 1998 the continuing political crisis caused much unrest in religious affairs. The churches still suffer from this uncertainty, which does not create an advantageous climate for religious dialogue. Nevertheless most Christians would agree that they live in good harmony with their direct neighbours. Therefore, the prospects of Christianity in this part of Indonesia are not unfavourable, though church growth in the next decades probably will be limited compared with the growth during the decades behind us.

*Frans van Lith SJ: the twentieth century Catholic start in Muntilan  
and Yogyakarta*

As in most regions of Indonesia so also in Central Java Protestant missionaries came somewhat earlier than Catholics. They were also more successful. In the province of Central Java there were in 2003 about 500,000 Protestants and 373,000 Catholics, a quite exceptional number, because many of them were converts out of Islam. They still are a tiny minority in a population of more than 33 million (with a vast majority of Muslims, besides 27,000 Hindus and 68,000 Buddhists). In the special region of Yogyakarta the Catholics were with 165,000 far more numerous than the 80,000 Protestants. For both denominations the city of Yogyakarta is an important centre of their organisations.

Until 1900 there were few indigenous Catholics in Java. There were concentrations of Eurasians in Semarang, Yogyakarta and Ambarawa. The latter place was a central compound for the military where many European Catholics often lived with a Javanese woman. Their children were accepted in the Catholic orphanage of Semarang (Franciscan Sisters) or the Protestant in Ambarawa (Pa van der Steur). There was also a group of converts from the about 3,000 West African soldiers who entered the colonial army between 1840 and 1870. They received an extra payment at baptism and after that a higher salary than non-Christians. This proved to be a good incentive to follow religious classes and to become baptised. Priests, however, complained about the quality of their conversion. Some Africans even applied twice for baptism: Protestant and Catholic, in order to receive the allowance twice. Another group in the

army were the many Manadonese who served in the colonial army. Quite a few of them opted for Catholicism while serving in Java, instead of the majority Protestantism. As has been described in chapter ten, they became the beginning of the small but consistent group of Catholics in the Minahasa.<sup>126</sup>

Catholicism among the indigenous population of Central Java started with some peculiar conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism. It was first the old and sick missionary M. Teffer (1826–1907) who in 1894 sought consolation and support from the Catholic clergy in Semarang and joined their denomination. Together with Teffer two Javanese 'catechists' or teachers of religion changed from Protestantism to Catholicism. They were Johannes Vreede and his brother Martinus Martodiredjo. Together with four others they were hired by the Jesuit Mission Superior Julius Keijzer (1847–1896) who saw in this group a good opportunity to start a mission to the Javanese. Vreede and perhaps also some others had worked in West Java under the supervision of Anthing, others later worked in Semarang with Protestant missionary P. Bieger. As in the Anthing preaching strategy they could work rather independently. This was also the case because the priests only spoke Malay. The Jesuit Frans van Lith arrived in the Indies on 4 October 1896, first studied some Javanese in Semarang and then moved to Muntilan in late 1897. In early 1898 it turned out that most of these catechists were involved in financial manipulations with mission money, were opium addicted and in one case had two wives. All but one were dismissed.

Notwithstanding this bad start, Van Lith continued work in Muntilan, together with his colleague Petrus Hoevenaars who had settled at the same time in nearby Mendut. They both opened some simple schools, but also wanted to attract village chiefs through economic ties. Van Lith had taken over the debts that some village heads had with Chinese lenders in order to be able "to continue his close relation to them." He developed plans for a textile industry. But none of these strategies led to the expected quick growth of conversions. Quite unexpected was the turning of four small villages in the Kalibawang region to Catholicism, a result of the disintegration of the Sadrach congregations after the break with the Protestant mission in the 1890s and Sadrach's connection with Irvingianism. In this mountainous region, from the 1930s on, the most famous Catholic place of pilgrimage, the Sendang Sono sanctuary was located.

It would be difficult to write the history of the modern Archdiocese of Semarang without mentioning Xaverius College in Muntilan, Central Java. It was the first Catholic boarding school (at high school level, including a teachers' training at secondary school level) for the Javanese native people. There are

several important persons in the history of the Catholic Church in Central Java and in Indonesia who were graduates of Xaverius College, Muntilan. The history of the Catholic Party of Indonesia, founded in 1923, was closely connected with the history of Xaverius College since I.J. Kasimo and his colleagues were students of the college. The first Javanese native priests were all graduates of the college. There were many teachers spread in various places in Central Java and other places who were trained in the college.

The moment Frans van Lith started, 1904, coincided with the beginning of the political ethical movement of the Dutch colonial government, in the first decade of the twentieth century. One of its ambitions was to give primary education to the whole population and during this period, there were an increasing number of schools for the native people and an increasing number of the students as well.

Thanks to government subsidies the Muntilan initiative could grow steadily. In 1922 the graduates of Xaverius College already numbered about 600. Many of the students of Muntilan came from people who wanted a good career for their children. A quite interesting example of a parallel school and conversion career is found in the autobiography of a man born under the name of Soekiman. Anton Soekiman, born in a Javanese family with nominal adherence to Islam, was one of the many young boys of Yogyakarta who came around 1910 to Muntilan. In his autobiography, written in the mid 1920s while a student of theology at a Jesuit college in the Netherlands, he wrote about his first encounter with Catholic mission personnel. This person was a Franciscan Sister who watered the flowers in front of their religious house in Yogyakarta, "A human being that only partly belonged to the world, without ever laughing, always praying, never in anger but also never friendly: without passion, absolutely ascetic."<sup>127</sup> At his government primary school there was a Catholic teacher who occasionally came for religious classes given to the few Catholic pupils. His reading of the Bible was in an extremely solemn and dull way. The other pupils imitated for fun this style of reading. In retrospect Soekiman called it a Protestant habit, due to the Protestant background of the first catechists of Muntilan.

Still, Soekiman came to Muntilan, because it was easier and cheaper to enrol in that teachers' training course than at the government institute of Yogyakarta. There was only one opening for alumni of all six primary schools of Yogyakarta and many of these Javanese boys wanted to become government officials. Therefore the young Soekiman joined the procedure to enter the school in Muntilan, was accepted and promised himself never to become a Christian, but only to follow the course to become a teacher. As was the case

<sup>126</sup> Steenbrink 2003:12–16.

<sup>127</sup> Soekiman 1927:7.

with nearly all the pupils of Muntilan, Soekiman also accepted Catholicism. In his own words, he discovered the weak sides of Javanese culture, especially the cruelty of the feudal class, many of whom were addicted to opium and did not bother about the poverty of the common people. Children who came to a European school "become industrious and hard-working, simple in their outward appearance; cock-fighting and that kind of entertainment disappear; honest trade that is despised by the feudal class, is now accepted as honest work."<sup>128</sup> For Soekiman it was most of all this disciplined hard work that was the major value of Christianity. He regretted that the strong separation between the Europeans and the Javanese was so strict. This separation reminded him of the caste system in British India. If this separation had been less strict, Christianity could have been flourishing much more strongly and quickly.

The college grew not only in number of the students, the program developed simultaneously. There were various programmes for extended primary school in Javanese but also in the more prestigious Dutch course. At the secondary level the school used Dutch. There was a teachers' training programme that used the Javanese language, and another that used the Dutch language. To support the school program, Van Lith received assistance from various sides: finance and teachers from the Society of Jesus, as well as from the government. In order to support the small staff of the college, young Jesuit students for the priesthood were sent from the Netherlands. The first three arrived already in 1909. They were in their early twenties and had finished their first Jesuit noviciate and two years study of philosophy in the Netherlands. They came to Muntilan to teach at the secondary school, besides learning Javanese. After two or three years they returned to the Netherlands. In the 1930s they also followed courses of philosophy and theology in Java. These first Dutch Jesuit students were not really qualified for teaching, but later groups followed some special courses in the Indies or even before their departure in the Netherlands to become officially qualified as secondary school teachers. This was important for the recognition of the school by the government and also for the related subsidies.

Van Lith wanted to remain close to Javanese culture, but at the same time he had a good feeling for the development of a modern colonial society where Dutch language and Western civilisation became more and more important during the first decades of the twentieth century. These teachers' training programmes also received official recognition from the government, though they started from a very simple programme. Thereafter, the graduates spread to various provinces: Central Java, West Java, East Java, Batavia/Jakarta, and even some to the outer islands. They occupied various professions: most of

<sup>128</sup> Soekiman 1927:11-12.

the graduates became teachers, several also officers on various institutions like banks, post offices, railway stations; some continued their studies in various fields, and some were candidates for the priesthood.

Xaverius College, run by the Jesuits, did not request students to become Catholics since the goal of Van Lith was to educate Javanese to become teachers. However, the college gave opportunity to the students to take non-obligatory courses of religious instruction. To become candidate for baptism a student was required to ask permission from his parents.<sup>129</sup>

After some years of running the Xaverius College, F. van Lith asked the Franciscan Sisters of Semarang to start another boarding school for girls. It was built in Mendut, 10 kilometers from Muntilan. It started in 1908 with a primary school, and was completed with a vocational school for household practices and a high school. Since 1916, there was also a teachers' training department on the compound. Besides providing education for the native girls, another goal of this school was to collaborate with Xaverius College to prepare Catholic families among the Javanese.<sup>130</sup> Together the priests and the sisters arranged from 1909 on programs where boys and girls of the two schools could meet each other. It was through these frequent meetings that the students of the two schools could continue their relations, even after they had graduated from the schools. They still made contact though they lived in separated places.<sup>131</sup> Many of the first generation of Catholic families came in this way from the two schools.<sup>132</sup>

As these were the first generation of Catholics, the priests who worked in the parishes worried about their moral life since they lived among people who had no contact with other Catholics. At a pastoral meeting of the parish priests of the Vicariate Apostolic of Batavia, 9-10 December 1935 in Muntilan, F. Sträter declared that Javanese Catholics could be divided into three groups, namely: those baptised since childhood, those baptised as students, those baptised as adults. The second group was the largest. They had some problems that needed to be considered. After they had finished their study, they lived among non-Christians, and they experienced isolation. Formerly they had studied during four years or even longer in the strong discipline of the boarding school. After

<sup>129</sup> A. Soegijapranata 1933:17-23.

<sup>130</sup> F. Hasto Rosariyanto 1997:259.

<sup>131</sup> After many years, the result of the strategy was still visible. The Van Lith Museum of Muntilan holds a collection of letters between Floriberta Sumardiyati and Simatupang showing the result of the strategy. The two were students of Mendut and Muntilan. After graduation Floriberta Sumardiyati lived in Muntilan as a nurse, and Simatupang lived in Bangli, East Java, as a sugar factory employee. They kept contact through letters. Finally they married and were blessed with 6 children.

<sup>132</sup> The first couple of alumni/ae of Mendut and Muntilan schools married on 13 October 1913. *Buku Kenangan Reuni XIII ex siswi Suster Fransiskanes*, 1955.

they left school, they lived far away from other Catholics. Sometimes it was suggested by their parents that they should marry a non-Catholic partner. They lived in an environment which made them 'morally in danger', particularly the practices of gambling and polygamy.<sup>133</sup> To solve these problems, the priests frequently make home visits as a pastoral strategy. The Catholic bishops were at that time quite restrictive and as a rule did not give permission to marry a non-Catholic.<sup>134</sup> A conversion story similar to that of Soekiman is available for Willibrord J.S. Poerwadarminta, well-known as the author of a standard dictionary of Indonesian. He also went to Muntilan for the benefit of a good education and to become a teacher and government employee but, like almost everyone, he converted. He did not become a priest, but wanted to marry, and to do this there was the problem of having his fiancée converted, as the Catholic priests would not give dispensation for a mixed marriage at that time. The young lady who was already selected by his parents (who were not Catholic), consented to conversion to Christianity, took a three-month course, was baptised, and then they married.<sup>135</sup>

One reason to opt for Muntilan as the centre of the Catholic mission was the colonial ruling that no Catholic preaching among native Javanese was allowed in the areas that were controlled by the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the Soesoehoenan of Surakarta (the Principalities or *Vorstenlanden*). In the Yogyakarta region the Protestants had received permission to work since 1891, but there could be no 'double mission' and therefore the Catholics were excluded from this region, except for pastoral work among Europeans and Eurasians. In March 1897, while still learning Javanese, the Jesuit Petrus Hoevenaars, during a short stay in Yogyakarta, had baptised 72 Javanese. In very polite and formal but clear wording Hoevenaars was criticised by Resident J. Ament of Yogyakarta and received orders not to carry out any activity in the Principalities. About Easter 1905 Petrus Hoevenaars, then working in Mendut (located in the Kedu districts and outside the Principalities), had asked children of three schools in and around that place to come in their most beautiful clothes for a picture at the ancient Buddhist shrine of Mendut. After the photograph was taken, the children were brought into the church, to see what a church was like inside. Petrus Hoevenaars sprinkled some water upon them with the *aspergillum*. Later there were rumours that the children (virtually all of Muslim descent) had been baptised at that event. Therefore many children were withdrawn from the schools and parents protested to the

local colonial official. This affair was not settled as easily as in 1897. Bishop Luypen in Batavia received an official reprimand from the side of Governor General Van Heutsz (a Catholic himself) on 2 July 1906, blaming the priest for "imprudent practice." Hoevenaars by that time had already been removed to Cirebon.<sup>136</sup>

Notwithstanding this government ban on direct mission by European Catholic missionaries that lasted until the 1920s, there were many pupils from the Principalities who entered the school in Muntilan. A position as a teacher was very popular among the population but there was a very limited number of pupils who could enter the government teachers' training school in Yogyakarta. Many students of the broad class of the Yogyakarta nobility opted for the Muntilan school. Most of them converted to Catholicism and brought their new religion back home. In the early 1910s a Javanese convert to Catholicism was contracted to work in the Yogyakarta region. This was Raden Mas Josef Poerwadiwirja, born a Muslim, for a long time a member of the Theosophical Society, a convert to Protestantism and also close to several individual mystical (*ngelmu*) teachers. He ended his spiritual quest with conversion to Catholicism and was contracted by the Yogyakarta parish priest Henri van Driessche (himself a Eurasian, born in Surabaya 1875, died 1934) to work among the nobility and common people in Yogyakarta, because no formal permit was needed for native evangelists. Van Driessche, however, was very cautious. In September 1915 he managed to get a letter from the court of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, "that there were no objections against the transition to the Roman Catholic religion by the Sultan's servants if they wanted to do this." Soon after this letter some Catholic *abdi dalem* were nominated for functions in the Sultanate, where they had to swear the oath of allegiance. They were allowed to do this on the Bible and no longer on the Qur'an as was the previous common practice. When in 1927 the Minor Seminary was opened in Yogyakarta, followed by a Catholic secondary school in 1928, the Sultan was present to give his blessings for these undertakings.<sup>137</sup>

In 1918 the *Canisius Vereeniging* was founded to coordinate the mission schools in Central Java. It was a foundation of Catholic schools whose teachers were mostly graduates of Xaverius College.<sup>138</sup> The spread and increase of the teachers was very surprising and was the beginning of the spread of Catholicism in various regions of Central and East Java. In the late 1930s the number of Catholic schools for the Javanese in the Principality of Yogyakarta had reached 110. In the Residency of Kedu there were 90 Catholic schools, a further 60 in Semarang, and in Solo 40. All these cities were located in what

<sup>133</sup> G.Budi Subanar 2001:130.

<sup>134</sup> Although Frans van Lith was not a parish priest, he made frequent visits to the families of alumni, even to families who lived in areas far from Muntilan. F. Sträter did the same with the motive to coordinate the catechists. Testimony of Sastradwidja, in: Maryana 1996:69–78.

<sup>135</sup> Putu Lasminah 1980.

<sup>136</sup> Steenbrink 2003–I:208–212.

<sup>137</sup> Steenbrink 2007–II:389–392.

<sup>138</sup> J. Weitjens, in: Muskens 1974–IIIb:861.

later became the province of Central Java. The number of Catholic mission schools in East Java was far less than in Yogyakarta and Central Java.<sup>139</sup>

The teachers, who taught in mission schools during the day, had another duty in the afternoon and evening. They became religious teachers who gave religious instruction to the people in various places. Each teacher had two or three occasions per week to give religious instruction to the catechumens in different places. Therefore, many of these schools became the origin of parishes in various places in Central Java.<sup>140</sup> While H. van Driessche became the chaplain for the Javanese, F. Sträter who was the Novice Master of the Indonesian Jesuits from 1922, became also the coordinator of the teachers in the mission schools. These two Jesuits visited many persons in various areas to coordinate and supervise the work of the teachers. They also approached native families when they heard about interest in Catholicism. After the first start of Van Lith in Muntilan, Van Driessche and Sträter thus extended the work in the Yogyakarta Sultanate. Johannes Prenthaler became the first resident parish priest in the Kalibawang region after 1929.

If we compare the large educational compound of Muntilan to similar Catholic centres in East Indonesia like Langgur on Kai, Lela and Ndona on Flores, Woloan in the Minahasa and Nyarumkop in Kalimantan, the special position of Muntilan is very clear. Muntilan could start immediately with secondary schools, a training institution for teachers and not with primary schools of three years only. At a very early stage it changed to Dutch as the major language for instruction. Besides, there was much stress on Javanese as a cultural and sometimes also a liturgical language. Malay was neglected in Muntilan as a means for instruction and communication. The Catholic mission considered Malay to be a Muslim language and preferred Javanese, alongside Dutch.

Missionary work was not entirely a clerical initiative. There was in Central Java one quite spectacular Catholic project carried out by the pious Schmutzer family, owners of the sugar plantation of Ganjuran, south of Yogyakarta. The Schmutzers had owned this plantation in Bantul since 1862. In line with the increase in religious activities among the Catholic Europeans in the Indies in the early twentieth century, here also we find the first active promoters of missionary work: the two brothers Joseph (born 1882) and the younger Julius who together took over the plantation in 1912. During their study in the Netherlands they had been active in the Catholic students' movement and were deeply influenced by the new spirit of the ethical politics. They formulated the rights of their labourers in a treaty with a labour union in their plantation

Tjipto Oetomo. The contract had details about the maximum working hours, a 5% increase of salary per year, a pension plan, health insurance and sick-leave, life insurance, housing facilities, and holidays. In 1918 all personnel was still Muslim and the holidays were fixed as three for the festival at the end of the month of Ramadan (Grebeg Puasa), two for Grebeg Besar (Idul Adha), two for the commemoration of Muhammad's birth (Grebeg Maulud). The board of Tjipto Oetomo had the right to see the balance and the financial details of the sugar estate.<sup>141</sup> In 1920 Joseph moved to Buitenzorg (Bogor), because of his position as delegate and later even vice-chairman of the Volksraad, but he stayed in contact with the sugar plantation and his family there. In 1920 Julius Schmutzer married Caroline van Rijckevorsel, a younger sister of the Jesuit priest Leopold van Rijckevorsel who had been in the Java mission since 1909. Caroline van Rijckevorsel had worked as a nurse before she married Julius Schmutzer, and she opened a small clinic in the buildings of the estate in 1921. In 1922 a separate building was constructed for this clinic that was also visited by a medical doctor from Yogyakarta. In 1930 the clinic was transformed into a proper hospital, entrusted to the Carolus Borromeus-sisters. These same sisters worked in the Catholic Hospital Onder de Boogen (now Panti Rapi) of Yogyakarta that was opened in 1929 at the initiative of Julius Schmutzer and some other prominent Catholics of Yogyakarta.

In 1919 an extended primary school was opened in Ganjuran, followed by three village schools in 1923. In 1930 the estate took responsibility for twelve primary schools, commonly called the twelve apostles. All teachers were graduates from Muntilan. They made quite a few converts in the region, where in 1920 only some European Catholics were present.

When the Schmutzer family left the estate in 1934 there were already 1,350 Catholics, still a small minority in this region but a remarkable community. For the period after 1934 the place became more and more known because of the chapel, built in the style of a pure eighth-ninth century Hindu-Javanese shrine (candi), such as is found in the compound of Prambanan. The building of this shrine had started in 1927. In the basement a 57 cm high statue of Jesus has been buried, with an inscription on a copper plate, "Even when this candi ever will be destroyed, Christ King will forever remain in Ganjuran." The sugar estate was burnt down by a Dutch bombardment in 1948, but since then the beautiful shrine that survived the attack has become one of the major places of pilgrimage for Javanese Catholics.

<sup>139</sup> Anton Haryono 2003:25–27.

<sup>140</sup> R. Maryono (ed.) 1996.

<sup>141</sup> For more precise details see the summary by Jan Weitjens SJ of the MA thesis by Lucia Esti Elihami, "Sejarah Berdirinya Paroki Hati Kudus Yesus Ganjuran," Yogyakarta: Sanata Dharma, 1995; in the "Schmutzer Collectie", Nijmegen, KDC.

*Albertus Soegijapranata and the solid establishment of Catholicism in Central Java: 1930–1963*

In some romantic expressions Muntilan was called the Bethlehem of Java, because a whole generation of Catholic leaders received their formation here between 1905 and 1940.<sup>142</sup> Among this first generation of Xaverius College we find Albertus Soegijapranata (1895–1963), and Adrianus Djajaseputra (1894–1979), the bishops of Semarang and Jakarta, Ignatius Kasimo and friends, founders of the Indonesian Catholic Party and many others. Among the former pupils of Mendut School there was Mrs. Maria Soeyadi Darmaseputra Sasraringrat, the founder of *Wanita Katolik Republik Indonesia* (WKRI, the Indonesian Catholics' Women Association).<sup>143</sup> There is something like a 'Muntilan-Mendut' lineage, the children of the graduates of these schools who continued to cherish the memory of the two famous institutions. Among the well-known people of this second generation of children of Muntilan-Mendut families we must mention Cardinal Julius Darmaatmadja, Archbishop of Semarang (1983) and later of Jakarta (since 1996), Prof. I. Sugeng Istanto, the former President of the Atmajaya Catholic University in Yogyakarta, Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya, a priest and architect (1929–1999), writer P. Swantoro, former vice-Director of Kompas, a national newspaper, and many others.

Of the lay people, the most prominent of the first generation was Ignatius Joseph Kasimo Endrawahjana, born in 1900 and educated in Muntilan where he was baptised in 1912, completing his primary education. Kasimo had also studied at the agricultural college in Buitenzorg (Bogor) and worked since 1921 in Central Java, first in a rubber plantation later as a teacher and consultant for agricultural subjects. In 1923 he was one of the founding members of *Pakempalan Politik Katolik Djawa* (PPKD, Catholic Javanese Union for Political Action). This was established as a political union to be developed into a nationalist party, independent from the Catholic Party that was set up by the white Catholics in the Dutch colony. The clergy always tried to keep the Europeans, Eurasians and indigenous Catholics together, but realised very soon that in this field it was impossible. From 1931 until the end of the colonial period it was I.J. Kasimo who was appointed a delegate in the *Volksraad* the embryonic parliament. Also in the later period of independence Kasimo remained the major Catholic politician until the party (*Partai Katholik*) was dissolved and integrated into the nationalist party in 1973, as part of the

<sup>142</sup> G. Budi Subanar 2003:74.

<sup>143</sup> In 1945, after Indonesian independence WKRI joined the Indonesian Catholic Party. *Atas Nama Pelayanan: Sejarah Wanita Katolik Republik Indonesia*. DPP WKRI-CRI Alocita, 1992; *Dinamika Sejarah Wanita Katolik Republik Indonesia*. Jakarta 1995.

reduction of the number of political parties to three under General Soeharto. Kasimo died in 1986.<sup>144</sup>

In 1942, when the Japanese invaded Indonesia and took over the territory from the Dutch colonial authority, diverse tragic events occurred. The foreign missionaries were interned in various camps. The Japanese authority took over most mission buildings, including schools, hospitals and monasteries. In this difficult situation, the first generation of the Javanese Catholics struggled to live a Christian life under the guidance of the first indigenous bishop, Albertus Soegijapranata SJ.

Soegijapranata, who was ordained as the first Indonesian bishop on 6 November 1940, made important strategic decisions. After the Japanese occupation of March 1942, he travelled to various places showing that he was still free and to fight against the rumour that he was in prison. The bishop coordinated the faithful in many ways. He wrote letters sending the small number of native-born priests to various places to give pastoral advice and lead liturgical services. He wrote letters giving the native-born priests authority as officers to register Catholic marriages. He wrote letters to give authority to the laity as guardians of mission buildings. He asked permission from the military office to exempt the Javanese nuns from the military programmes. On behalf of the native faithful, teachers of mission schools worked without any salary. Religious instruction was given by groups of youth. Various families and the youth collected food and money to support the European missionaries in the detention camps.

On 17 August 1945 the independence of the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. Thereafter, the new republic needed people who took responsibilities in various fields and some of the Xaverius College graduates took responsible positions. Although most of the Catholic Javanese had received an education as teachers, some changed their professions: bureaucrats, military, artists, etc. Most of them, however, continued their profession as teachers.

The beginning of the new independent country was not easy since there were two military actions by the Dutch army that created a chaotic situation. Defending the new country, on 3 January 1946 the government of the Indonesian Republic moved the capital of the country from Jakarta to Yogyakarta. Showing his solidarity with the new republic, on 13 February 1947 Soegijapranata moved the centre of the Apostolic Vicariate of Semarang to Yogyakarta. There were various motives why the bishop joined the movement towards independence. Most important was that he wanted to show that Catholicism was not part of the colonial system.

<sup>144</sup> For Kasimo also Van Klinken 2003:52–68.

Motivating the Catholics to integrate their activities within the nationalist perspective, Bishop Soegijapranata invited the Catholics to integrate the two values of Christianity and nationalism. He laid the basis for this integration in the teachings of the faith. In this respect, Mgr. Soegijapranata often cited the interpretation of the fourth of the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:8, "Honour your father and your mother"), which was repeated in his speeches and pastoral letters:

If we are really good Christians, we should be real patriots. Therefore, we feel that we are 100% patriotic, since we are also 100% Catholic. Even, according to the fourth of the Ten Commandments, as is written in the Catechism, we should love the Holy Catholic Church. So, we should love the state, as well, with all of our hearts.<sup>145</sup>

One of the challenges for Catholicism after the independence of Indonesia was the growing influence of communism. In 1955, at the proposal of Soegijapranata, the Indonesian Bishops' Conference promulgated a *Catholic Manifesto* that forbade communism and supported the national Indonesian ideology of *Pancasila*. There were some professional organisations based on Pancasila established as Catholic unions and associations: the Pancasila Association of Labourers, Pancasila Association of Peasants and Fishermen, Pancasila Association of Businessmen, Pancasila Association of Paramedics spread in various places.<sup>146</sup>

#### *Central Javanese Catholics in a period of church renewal and development*

After the death of the politician Soegijapranata in 1963, the new archbishop of Semarang was the social activist Justinus Darmojuwono (1914–1995; since 1967 also a cardinal). His first two years were for a larger part devoted to the debates at the Second Vatican Council. Coming home to the Archdiocese of Semarang after attending the council Darmojuwono had to face a chaotic situation after the failed communist coup that eventually brought General Soeharto to power. The impact of this affair was very tragic. According to various estimates the victims who were killed numbered between 200,000 up to 2,000,000 people. The Indonesian Communist Party has a long history, with a first major uprising in 1926. However, the history of the 30 September 1965 Movement is still open for discussion. The effects for common people

<sup>145</sup> At the opening of the Indonesian Catholic Congress (*Kongres Umat Katolik Seluruh Indonesia-KUKSI*) at Semarang 27 December 1954; Pastoral letter for Lent on 16 February 1957; Pastoral letter in October 1959.

<sup>146</sup> G. Budi Subanar 2001:216–217.

were most dramatic in Central and East Java, where the communists had a very strong following.<sup>147</sup>

As the Second Vatican Council ended, Darmojuwono's task, to introduce and apply the constitutions and decrees of the council, was suspended for some years because of the impact of the tragedy of the 30 September Movement.<sup>148</sup> Tracing the policy of the Cardinal on account of the impact of this affair, it is necessary to divide this into two periods. First of all were the policies when the screening of the membership of the party started after the incident. The second was his policy on account of the impact of the affair on those who were the victims, those who were accused of being members of the Communist Party, their families, and all Indonesian citizens. It was the Secretary of the Archbishop P. Carri SJ who reacted to the affair, and who gave guidance to the faithful in responding the affair, since the Archbishop of Semarang, Cardinal Justinus Darmojuwono, was still in Rome attending the last session of the Second Vatican Council. Supporting the military action to screen the membership of the communist party, there were three letters. The first letter (22 October 1965) written by the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Semarang, P. Carri called the faithful to show the spirit of Catholicism *Pro Ecclesia et Patria* in which Indonesia, based on the Pancasila ideology, would appreciate the pluralism of society, and conviction about God. There was another letter to the priests and the religious members of the Archdiocese of Semarang that forbade joining the military action to screen the membership of the Communist Party (issued by P. Carri 6 November 1965). The third was to the lay people asking them to support the military action to make a screening of the membership of the Communist Party, with a prerequisite not to get involved in violent action. Cardinal Darmojuwono signed this last letter of 6 January 1966. These letters were very important, since after the affair, the military authority mobilised the people to screen the party membership and systematically to wipe out the communist party's influence.<sup>149</sup>

After his arrival from Rome, the Cardinal himself visited the parishes in the archdiocese of Semarang. The Cardinal also asked the military authority to give security and protection to the people based on a peace commitment.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Cribb 1990.

<sup>148</sup> "The closing of the sessions of the Second Vatican Council happened at the same time as the tragedy of 30 September Movement in Indonesia with its implications. Therefore, for some years after, the constitution and decrees of Vatican II could not be applied yet in pastoral care." Darmojuwono 1981.

<sup>149</sup> Webb 1986.

<sup>150</sup> Letter of Archbishop A. Djajasuwaja of Jakarta to the Archbishop of Semarang dated February 18, 1966; a letter of Mgr. Justinus Darmojuwono to A. Djajasuwaja dated 22 February 1966, and an open letter of Mgr. Justinus Darmojuwono dated 13 February 1966.

Until 1967–1968, the impact of the affair still continued. A proposal to give an identity card to the Catholic faithful was refused since it would only create a bigger conflict, though there was a difficulty that the new adherents were still accused of being communists, since they were accused of having no religion.<sup>151</sup> Paying attention to the tragedy, the Indonesian Bishops' Conference through the Archdiocese sent a letter to the parish priests, inviting them to give attention and help to the victims in the region.<sup>152</sup>

It is against the background of this national tragedy that the growth in the number of Catholics happened. After the affair, the Indonesian government created a policy, which asked citizens to choose one out of the five official religions: Buddhism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam, and Protestantism. As the consequence of this policy, there was a big wave of conversions among the Indonesian people. Before this there were many Indonesian people who were adherents of the traditional beliefs without properly or openly being affiliated to one of the formal religions. Such a wave of conversions into "the official religions" became a common phenomenon in all regions of Indonesia.<sup>153</sup> To support the Catholic faithful of the Archdiocese of Semarang who were involved in assisting the other Indonesian citizens becoming Christians, the Cardinal encouraged them in his pastoral letter of Advent 1967. There was a big risk taken by the persons or families who tried to help the children of the victims of the chaotic situation. On the other side, for the citizens who became Catholic, this was not without risks, whether because of the society or of their families. There are documented cases about village heads, as well as military commanders of the detention camps in Buru, who prevented people from converting to Catholicism.<sup>154</sup>

Regarding this tendency, Cardinal Darmojuwono asked priests not to easily baptise people. Talking about the preparation of the new members of the People of God, the Cardinal cautioned that it is necessary to avoid the tendency to seek a big number of conversions of those with motives of escape and seeking security. He laid down some conditions for the catechumens and for the process of the catechumenate period and gave an important role to the basic community in the formation of the new catechumens for the sacrament of baptism. Such condition for the new conversions caused discussions among the parish priests in the archdiocese of Semarang.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Report from the meeting of the advisors to the Archbishop, 11 November 1967.

<sup>152</sup> A circular of the Vicariate General of the Archdiocese of Semarang dated 13 February 1968.

<sup>153</sup> Spyer 1996, Heffner 1993, Willis 1977.

<sup>154</sup> D. Tatag & B. Sardjono 1997:32–38 for the village of Sukorejo; on Buru a letter by Bishop Andreas Sol of Ambon to the Vatican Pronuntius Jos Mees in Jakarta, 13 March 1973.

<sup>155</sup> Note from a meeting of parish priests of the Archdiocese of Semarang, 20 November 1965.

In 1969, the policy of Cardinal J. Darmojuwono for the political prisoners of the 30 September Movement and their families was institutionalised as the *Program Sosial Kardinal*, the Cardinal's Social Program. Making his program known, the Cardinal discussed this with some leaders of other religions before he founded the institution. Therefore in Semarang this became an ecumenical activity. In 1981, the activity of the *Program Sosial Kardinal* reached many regions in Indonesia outside the Archdiocese of Semarang: Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Purwokerto, Malang, Surabaya, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Ujung Pandang, Ambon, Medan, Pangkal Pinang, Padang, Palembang, Tanjungkarang.<sup>156</sup> Such a service was not an easy one, and not without risk. Once, there was a priest who was arrested and interrogated by the military office because of his activities of giving service to the ex-political prisoners and their families.<sup>157</sup>

In ten years the number of Catholics increased dramatically. Between 1964 and 1973 the Catholics of the archdiocese of Semarang increased from 103,195 to 234,135. The sharpest rise was between 1967–1972 with its peak in 1969 when 15,778 adults were baptised, or 8% of the total of the Catholics of this region. In 1973 the 'new Catholic' adults, those baptised during the last nine years, constituted even 48.5% of the total number of Catholics of the archdiocese.<sup>158</sup>

Such a situation also stimulated many people to get involved in various activities. To support the religious instructions among the people, for instance, many people volunteered to work as catechists. Another impact of the increasing number of Catholics was the growing number of parishes.

Marriage was a special problem in this region where Catholics lived not in closed communities but in diaspora, with an overwhelming majority of Muslims. The Dutch clergy usually made mild judgments about European Catholics who wanted to marry Protestants. But for marriage with indigenous Javanese Protestants they were quite severe and did not like to apply too easily the possibilities for dispensation that were available according to Canon law. Concerning Catholic family formation, Mgr. Soegijapranata lamented about priests who easily gave dispensation for mixed inter-religious or inter-church marriage. For him the Catholic nuclear family would be the centre of the Catholic Church in this dominant Muslim region. This concern was shared by his successor, Darmojuwono.

<sup>156</sup> In Jakarta this work was initiated by diocesan priest Stanislaus Sutopanitro, *Hidup*, 14 May 2000:32–33.

<sup>157</sup> G. Budi Subanar 2001:245.

<sup>158</sup> G. Budi Subanar 2001:242.

Below we show the quantitative data of mixed marriages in the Archdiocese of Semarang for 1970.<sup>159</sup> 2,796 Couples married. Among them, there were 697 couples that had dispensation because of *disparitas cultus* (i.e. Catholic with Protestant) or *mixtae religionis* (with a Non-Christian). Among the 697 couples, 561 could be traced for a research ten years later.<sup>160</sup>

Couples who became fully Catholic	115 (20.49%)
Couples who were as before marriage	253 (45.09%)
Couples who divorced	27 (4.81%)
No information	135 (23.70%)
Catholic party lost his or her identity	25 (4.45%)
Non Catholic became a catechumen	6 (1.96%)
Total	561 (100%)

One of the serious issues among the Christian families was the question of family planning. This issue became important because there were opposing views between the governmental strategy to promote family planning through methods that deviated from the teaching of the church (*Humanae Vitae*) regarding to the morality of contraception. With a few exceptions the Catholic leaders left the practical decisions to lay people. Like other hospitals, Catholic hospitals also provided the various methods made possible by the government programme *Dua anak cukup* ('two is enough'). Darmojuwono wrote in 1973:

The problem of the Family Planning Programme is not only a matter of the method of birth control, since we must express the responsibility to appreciate life. It is a challenge to handle together a crucial problem without creating tension and disturbance, but to help every person to become more mature and more integrated with a solidly formed conscience.<sup>161</sup>

Cardinal Darmojuwono retired in 1981 from the see of Semarang and became again a parish priest, in a small village, close to poor people. He died in 1994. He was succeeded by another Jesuit, Julius Darmaatmadja who was moved to the see of Jakarta in 1996 after the death of Leo Soekoto. This shows the need of the Jakarta see for politically experienced leadership. A diocesan priest, Ignatius Hardjoatmodjo, became the next archbishop of Semarang.

<sup>159</sup> Cardinal J. Darmojuwono, *Perjalanan Umat Allah*. 1981:15–16; private manuscript in the Archives of the Semarang Archdiocese.

<sup>160</sup> G. Budi Subanar 2001:215.

<sup>161</sup> Pastoral letter for Lent of Cardinal Justinus Darmojuwono, "Menuju Keluarga Bahagia (Toward a Joyful Family)," 13 February 1973.

The history of the Catholics is, of course, much more than only that of the key figures like Van Lith, Kasimo, Soegijopranoto and Darmojuwono who have dominated this section about Central Java. As to the last decades of the twentieth century we can only give a fragmentary picture. For the period until 1985, there was the double movement of emphasis on inculturation and on development programmes. As to adaptation towards the Javanese cultural heritage there was from one side the need to make Catholicism a less foreign religion. An important centre here was the Catechetical School of Yogyakarta, in the 1990s included in the theological faculty *Wedhabakti* of the Sanata Dharma University, established by the Jesuits of Yogyakarta. Father Edmund Prier and his choir *Vocalista* created a new style of church music, different from classical Catholic Gregorian chant, also different from the Evangelical style, but close to traditional Indonesian music. Fellow Jesuit Rudi Hofmann started a new style of Christian art by commissioning six Balinese artists to make about one hundred biblical paintings. From use as slides, later as videotapes, he moved towards radio and television programmes, integrating pictures of everyday life into religious programmes. Complementary to the emphasis on inculturation is the fear that Indonesian society will have to face secularisation and that Christians are perhaps not prepared for this wave, as in the case of Europe. Like Soritua Nababan in Batakland, it was the Yogyakarta Jesuit F. Heselaar who again and again insisted upon the modern world as the greatest challenge for Christians in Java.

Catholic religious education started in the 1910s at primary and secondary level. These schools created the first generation of Catholics in Central Java. In the period since 1965 it is mostly the family that is considered to be the cradle of Catholic life, where values and a religious lifestyle must be acquired. That is the more individualised way of the Christian diaspora of Central Java. The great institutions of the past like church buildings, hospitals, a chain of schools, right up to universities, are continued, but the outward manifestations have become more and more modest during the later decades of the twentieth century.

#### *Christians in East Java*

With regard to its geography the northern parts of the province of East Java (including Madura Island) are lowland and relatively less fertile. The central part, on the other hand, is quite good for plantations with its mountains spreading volcanic soil and rivers flowing down the hills to fertilize the island. According to the 2000 statistics, the population in this province is 34,756,400 people; the Catholics are just 266,596 people (0.76%), Protestants about 533,400 (or 1.5%, double the number of Catholics). The majority of the population

(26 million) speaks Javanese, 7 million speak Madurese, and a few groups speak the dialect of Osing (Banyuwangi, in the eastern part of the Java)<sup>162</sup> and the dialect of Tengger (around the mountains of Semeru, Bromo, and Tengger).

Culturally speaking, the people can be distinguished in five cultural areas. The first group inhabits the western part of the Province (Blitar, Magetan, Ngawi, Pacitan, Ponorogo, Tulungagung, Trenggalek), which has a close affiliation to the Surakarta and Yogyakarta culture. The second is the culture area of *Brang Wetan*, the so-called remnant culture of the Hindu Majapahit kingdom (1200–1518), which can be found in the central part of the province (Jombang, Malang, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Nganjuk, Sidoarjo). The third is the coastal area of the northwest coast, which covers Tuban, Lamongan, Bojonegoro and Gresik. The people of this group mostly speak the Javanese *Brang Wetan* and live side by side with the Madurese. The fourth is the Madurese cultural area, which consists of the whole island of Madura and the northeast coast of East Java (Situbondo, Bondowoso, Lumajang, Jember, Pasuruan, Probolinggo). The fifth is the Osing culture area, which covers the whole district of Banyuwangi (the eastern part of East Java). Regarding the East Javanese culture, in general the scholars speak about the Javanese-Madurese-Osing culture.<sup>163</sup> All this, however, just represents the rural-agrarian or folk culture, which is different from the urban-industrial or 'elite' culture of big cities such as Surabaya, Malang, and Jember. The former belongs to a homogeneous society and the latter to a pluralistic one. The distinction might be in accord with the one that the scholars use to make between the 'small tradition' of rural culture and the 'great tradition' of urban culture. Sociologist Jamie Mackie says that East Java is more urbanized than the other provinces of Indonesia.<sup>164</sup>

### *The Protestant Churches of East Java*

As we have already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Christianity in East Java started with a circle of 'Saints of Surabaya' with the German-born Johannes Emde as their initial centre. One of the reasons for Emde (1774–1859, born in Arolsen, Germany), to seek his fortune in tropical countries as a watchmaker, was to test the truth of Genesis 8:22 implying that there was no region on earth without winter season. In 1814 Emde was visited by missionary Joseph Kam who encouraged him to spread Christianity among the Eurasian and native population. Emde, himself married to a Javanese woman, started

<sup>162</sup> Beatty 1999.

<sup>163</sup> H. Supriyanto 1996:1–6; S. Yuwana Sudikan 1999:1–8; cf. Hars Nasruddin 1992:94.

<sup>164</sup> Jamie Mackie 1997:48–50.

religious services in his house. His wife was very instrumental in gathering some native people also among his following. Emde was mediating in the baptism of several native people, whose baptisms were dispensed by ministers of the 'white' *Indische Kerk*. Emde received sections of the translation of the Gospel of Mark and of religious tracts, produced by Brückner in Semarang.

Most of the small group of Javanese who were won by Emde lived in the village of Wiung, on the outskirts of the predominantly European and Eurasian town of Surabaya, the second town of the colony and the great harbour for the sugar, coffee, indigo, and tobacco plantations of East Java. Emde considered conversion to Christianity also as part of a process of becoming westernised. Male and female converts had to cut their long hair, in the church men had to take off their *blangkon*, a woven and painted cloth worn as the typical Javanese hairdress, and they were no longer allowed to wear the *keris*, the short sword worn as a sign of free men, although the *blankon* and *keris* were signs of proper Javanese clothing. Converts even had to give up traditional Javanese dress for a European outfit. The Javanese *gamelan* music was absolutely forbidden, as well as circumcision, participation in common ceremonial meals in villages (*slametan*), visits to the graves of ancestors, cockfighting and gambling. They did not join the services in the Dutch speaking Protestant church, but Emde considered some knowledge of Dutch as necessary for a better understanding of the new religion. These aspects made the preaching by Emde unfit for the inauguration of true Javanese Christianity. Some people called these Javanese converts *Kristen londo tanpa kursi*, "White Christians without chairs."

Coenraad Laurens Coolen has also already been mentioned above as the initiator of the first long-lasting foundation of a Christian community in East Java. Until his death in 1873 Coolen was the leader of a community of people who wanted to realise a Javanese style of Christian life. They created Christian expressions in the traditional shadow play or *wayang*, used Javanese music and dance and articulated their religion as some kind of *ngelmu*, a magico-mythical practice. Their *mantra* resembled the Muslim confession of faith about God as the Only God and Muhammad as his prophet: they confessed their faith as, "God is great and the prophet Jesus is his son." In their liturgy this was repeated again and again. The Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the prayer Our Father were also repeated as basic texts in the congregations. It was not only the farmers, working on the new agricultural settlement owned by this former soldier, but also many people from outside who came seeking knowledge and spiritual insight from this founder of a new Javanese-Christian tradition. They frequented Ngoro especially on the occasions when the *wayang* was performed. Ngoro was not an exclusively Christian village, although Coolen had set the rule that no manual work should be undertaken on Sundays. There were many farmers who wanted to remain Muslim. Coolen

even had an *imam* installed who had to see to it that the Muslims observed the elementary Muslim rules and customs, whereas he himself remained the pastor of the Christians.<sup>165</sup>

Coolen was initially hesitant to administer Baptism and the Holy Supper for his faithful. Probably this was caused not only by his wish to develop a style of Christianity distinct from the European one of the larger cities of Java. At the beginning of his spiritual career in the 1810s he divorced his European wife and took a Javanese wife on his estate of Ngoro. After the five children with his first wife, he had six children with one or even two Javanese wives in Ngoro. This caused many problems with the Surabaya Saints led by Emde. They looked with mixed feelings at the self-declared Christian leader Coolen, and took him often for a syncretic and deviating charlatan.

An intermediary figure between Emde and Coolen was Paulus Tosari (1813–1882), from a family originating from the island of Madura. Like Sadrach, Tosari had studied at Islamic boarding schools, *pesantren*, but during a visit to Ngoro had become a follower of Coolen through the help of some people from the village of Wiung, close to Surabaya. In company with some people from Wiung, Tosari was baptised in Surabaya by Emde on 12 September 1844. These 'dissident Christians' could not return to Ngoro and therefore they started clearing the forest around a deserted settlement that later was given the name Mojowarno, six kilometres from Ngoro. This finally became the cradle of Christianity in East Java. While Coolen's former assistant Abisai Ditotruno was the vigorous character that organised the initial clearing of the forest, it was Paulus Tosari who became the first spiritual leader, until his death in 1882.

These small pockets of Christianity were made known to the outside world by the inspection trip of L.J. van Rhijn (1846–1848) who asked a permit from the governor general to send missionaries to this region. From 1851 on it was Dutch NZG missionary Jelle Jellesma (1817–1858) who served this new congregation, followed by W. Hoezoo between 1860–1864. They were wise and modest missionaries who could respect indigenous leaders like Tosari and did not replace him but joined him in his leadership. Jellesma and his followers had the strong conviction that Javanese Christians should not be isolated from Javanese culture. They also knew that they could not do the basic work themselves, not alone because of the scarcity of foreign workers but for the single reason that the Colonial Government would only allow unpretentious missionary work by European people in this overwhelming Muslim region. Jellesma made many trips outside Mojowarno but mostly concentrated on the training of native Javanese evangelists and teachers. Between 1848 and 1849

<sup>165</sup> Van Akkeren 1970:61.

Jellesma had studied Javanese with Bible translator J. Gericke in Surakarta and he was instrumental in the publication of the full Javanese translation of the bible in 1854.

The origin of East Javanese Christianity in new and isolated villages like Ngoro and Mojowarno could create communities that were really embedded in Javanese culture and truly Christian, but also, like the Mennonite villages of North-Central Java, quite separated from their environment. The settlement Mojowarno received some extra financial input from missionary organisations and the Colonial Government. In 1871 a great storehouse was opened to support agriculture. The opening in 1894 of a hospital in Mojowarno and the start of model schools did not really open it up for integration into the overwhelmingly Muslim culture of East Java. It was quite strange that the resident of East Java charged all the greater mosques to give financial subsidies to this hospital, because many of its patients were Muslims. Later, colonial advisor Snouck Hurgronje protested against this measure, because in this way "the European administration abused its authority by supporting the Christian missionary activities through contributions that were taken from specific Muslim sources."<sup>166</sup>

Local congregations not only emerged in Ngoro and Mojowarno. About 1880 there were already more than 20 small rural communities in a very dispersed diaspora. There were some congregations among migrants from heavily Muslim Madura. Their best-known centre became Sumberpakem in the Besuki region (1887, J.P. Esser). The number of congregations would grow to some 70 in the 1950s, totalling some 35,000 Protestants at that time. Several of these settlements were set up as new villages that could start through buying a tobacco plantation (Kendal-Payah, 1880) or by government permit to clear forest (Parerejo, 1899). On the whole this Javanese Protestant Christianity remained mostly a rural movement.

The first local congregation to be declared independent was the major establishment of Mojowarno in 1926. They elected a church council and had to find and control their own finances. Many rural congregations were quite reluctant to follow this step of Mojowarno. They were afraid that they were too poor to bear the responsibility of financial independence. While in urban regions the spirit of nationalism had grown faster, this was still absent in these lonely Christian villages. In Swaru, at some 25 km or five hours walking from Malang, a first congregation was established in the 1870s due to the work of a Dutch evangelist who cleared the forest for a new settlement. But in the second town of East Java, Malang, a missionary settled and started a proper Javanese congregation only in 1923. The first church that organised services in

<sup>166</sup> Snouck Hurgronje 1959:806–807.

Javanese opened only in 1930 in Surabaya, the major town of the region. Until the 1950s the towns were mostly places for European and Chinese people, who were served by ministers from the *Indische Kerk* or by Chinese preachers.

The process towards independent congregations that started in Mojowarno resulted in the *Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan* (GKJW, East Java Christian Church), a church that held its first Synod on 10–11 December 1931 in Mojowarno. After the independent Batak Church HKBP in 1930, the GKJW was the second in a row of churches gaining independence. Later in the 1930s the churches of Minahasa and the Moluccas followed, while the Protestants of Timor only obtained independence in the later 1940s. But until 1942 the GKJW was still led by Dutch missionaries of the NZG. The latter also retained a strong formal position in the church order of 1931: they chaired the presbyteries (*classis*) and the general synod. Their official title, however, became *guru kadiwasan*, teachers who should lead towards adulthood. Hendrik Kraemer served the Protestant mission in Indonesia between 1922 and 1935. He was the great promoter of this move towards ecclesiastical independence. In the official recognition of the Colonial Government, dated 27 June 1932, this church was called *Oost-Javaansche Kerk*, but the Javanese name became the common one. It was never changed for an Indonesian one, although Indonesian became more and more used after independence. The link of this Protestant church GKJW with the Reformed Church of the Netherlands remained strong and some even considered themselves as an Indonesian or East Javanese branch of that Dutch church.

Although Jellesma had already opened a simple Bible school in Mojowarno in 1851, it took a long time before proper theological training developed. The teachers' training in Mojowarno was often interrupted and in the period around 1900 most promising youngsters were sent to Depok for training. The first minister, Mas Dryo Mestoko, was ordained only during the process of independence for Mojowarno in 1926. In 1928 *Bale Wiyoto*, 'House of Faith' was established as a proper theological school under the leadership of Dr. Barend M. Schuurman who was a good scholar and great admirer of Javanese language and culture. He directed the school to become a place of open dialogue with that great tradition. In 1931 a grand church was built in Malang in the traditional Javanese style of a *pendopo*, an open structure with a great roof, but no closed walls. In fact this remained the only Protestant church in Java to be built in this accommodated style, that later was used in a much braver architecture in the island of Bali. In Malang, the most important urban centre of the GKJW, besides some prestigious schools a great hospital also was built in the 1930s as a sign of the dynamics of Protestantism in East Java.

Also in the 1930s this East Javanese church sent the first indigenous Protestant missionaries to Bali, after the hot debates related to the work of the CAMA evangelist Tsang Kam Fuk between 1929 and 1933 (see p. 734).

After independence in 1945, it took many years before the scattered congregations, separated through many actions of the allied and Dutch forces against revolutionary guerrilla fighters, could build their church structures again. Anti-Dutch feelings in these regions were so strong that it was only in 1951 that a Dutch lecturer was invited for *Bale Wiyoto* after it reopened in 1949. In its further development this school sought help from the much larger *Duta Wacana* theological school of Yogyakarta.

East Java was in the period 1965–1966 perhaps the most violent region of Indonesia, besides Bali. In the aftermath of the turmoil related to the collapse of the Soekarno government and Soeharto's raise to power, it was the Islamic youth movement of *Ansor*, a branch of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), the organisation of the rural Muslim leaders, with its centre in East Java that joined the army in a bloody cleansing of the region from communists. Many former communists sought a religious shelter. There was a revival of Hinduism in the region, but many more turned to Christianity. This not only increased the number of Roman Catholics and GKJW Protestants, but also the Chinese Protestant church GKI (see chapter nineteen). It also resulted in a much stronger presence of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches in the region. The town of Batu, a mountain resort close to Malang, became a concentration of many Bible schools. Once a tourist book even noted that, "God has provided a nice place for those who love Him" (1 Cor. 2:9) with reference to the many foreign missionaries in Batu in the 1980s and 1990s. With 153,000 members in 2000, the GKJW is smaller than the Roman Catholic community, who counted 266,596 for East Java in that year. Together these two mainstream churches counted for about 40% of the small minority of Christian in this region (see above, 2.3%, only slightly higher than the percentage for West Java).

The fragmentation of Christianity in this region became quite visible in the series of violent events that started on 9 June 1996 in Surabaya and were followed by similar but even more serious incidents in Situbondo on 10 October 1996. In Surabaya a mob of some three thousand people made a devastating tour in the northern suburb of Sidotopo. Two Bethel churches, a Gospel Tabernacle Church, two Pentecostal Churches, a Pentecostal Tabernacle Church, a church of the Assemblies of God, a GKJW and a HKBP Batak Church, besides an office of the GPIB, the successor to the mainstream Protestant Church of West Indonesia, were severely damaged and in some cases totally destroyed. Many of the churches were small structures, some even simple garages that were in a clandestine way (against formal Indonesian law) used as a room for Christian services. Initially there were also comments that the many small new churches among a predominant Muslim population had caused envy and irritation. Another analysis stipulated that it was an orchestrated answer to attacks on a mosque in Dili, East Timor, in early 1996. This case in Dili was a protest against the Indonesian presence in the

former Portuguese colony. For this reason also a Protestant church, used by Indonesian migrants, had been destroyed on that occasion. A third reason for the series of attacks was given as a chain of small facts like someone who had urinated against a mosque, a dog urinating within a mosque and Muslim children who were invited to attend Sunday school.

Four months after the Surabaya attacks a similar series of incidents occurred in another East Javanese town, Situbondo. There was an odd start to this series in which the Court of Justice of Situbondo, a number of Protestant and Catholic schools and 23 churches in Situbondo and surrounding places were seriously damaged or even totally ruined. In one of the churches that were set on fire the minister, his wife and three children died. The antecedent of the Situbondo riots was extremely strange. A simple-minded Muslim, known only by the name of Saleh (Sholeh), according to some reports even a lunatic, had stated "God was a creature, *makhluk*, that the Prophet Muhammad was not God's messenger and the Qur'an was conceived by man."<sup>167</sup> This Saleh was a student at one of the minor Muslim boarding schools, *pesantren*, in this area, known as the 'Athos of Indonesia' for its many and very large Muslim boarding schools. Saleh was brought to court and was sentenced to five years' prison. Numerous youngsters did not agree with this 'light sentence' and asked for the death penalty. They attacked the building of the court, Chinese shops, Christian churches, not only in the town of Situbondo itself, but at other places as well, up to a distance of 40 kilometres, going to these places on trucks that were made available. Only after about five hours the army intervened.

Immediately after this tragic event there were rumours about the real causes. Some serious sources mentioned the growing political tension preceding "Soeharto's End-Game." The old general, born in 1921, would be elected again as the result of the 1997 general elections, to become confirmed by the new parliament in March 1998. Soeharto's beloved wife died in April 1996, and since then the aging President looked like someone who was no longer in power. Therefore, army generals and others who played their game in politics were looking for power. A general situation of insecurity could only give more power to these persons. Moreover, East Java, known as a very strong Muslim area, the cradle of the traditionalist movement of the *Nahdlatul Ulama*, could only be controlled when the Muslim leaders could be controlled. Blaming them for disorder would be a very strategic step towards stricter control. The *Nahdlatul Ulama* leader Abdurrahman Wahid later accused some opponents (sectarian Muslim leaders in cooperation with some members of the military who provided the trucks to bring hired youngsters to the place of the riots) that "they had received some US\$ 100,000 and used it to buy shares in the

<sup>167</sup> Report in the national weekly *Forum Keadilan*, 4 November 1996:97.

Jakarta Stock Exchanges."<sup>168</sup> Some more general comments called attention to the growing gap between rich and poor in Indonesia, especially in one of the poorest provinces of the country, East Java, where in all major towns trade and commerce were dominated by a Chinese minority, who could become rich thanks to a coalition with corrupt Javanese/Indonesian government officials. Some commentators also called attention to the growing influence of a-political evangelicalism in Protestant churches in Indonesia, where individualistic ethics, especially amongst first generation Chinese converts to Christianity, showed a combination of individual piety with social shrewdness.<sup>169</sup>

### *Catholics in East Java*

Between 1808 and 1927 East Java was part of the Batavia Prefecture Apostolic (1807–1842) and Vicariate Apostolic (1842–1927). In this period the few priests who lived in the town of Surabaya concentrated on pastoral work with the Europeans and Eurasians in the town and on some plantations.

In 1895 a rich planter donated money for a proper Catholic church building in Malang. Thereupon the Jesuit priest G. Jonckbloet took up this post, which became a sign for the existence of the Catholics in the area. His work, however, was mostly for the plantation area for which Malang was an important administrative and financial center. Besides, it was a town where planters could enjoy entertainment and social interaction in western style.

What about the native Catholics? The first Javanese Catholics were noted in the Baptism Book (*Libri Paroechiales*) of the Parish of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Malang, years later. They were a woman born in Salatiga (baptised in 1910), a woman from Kediri and another one from Jombang (1917). In other words, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Church of Malang started a new phase in its history with a new parish of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the center of the city. At this time, a new policy of the Dutch colonial government, known as the ethical policy was promulgated in 1901. The policy, which was supposed to help the natives due to the 'debt of honour' (*eereschuld*) of the colonial government, was theoretically a part of the Christian motivation to empower the people to live a better life.<sup>170</sup> There was a cry for '*kemajuan*' (progress) and for better living conditions; and so a real need for Western education. The implementation of the policy ironically strengthened and perpetuated the superiority of the Colonial Government and worsened the life of the natives.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>168</sup> In the newspapers *Jawa Pos* and *Surya*, 11 June 1997, quoted in Tahalele 1997:8.

<sup>169</sup> Steenbrink 1998; Aritonang 2004:463–469.

<sup>170</sup> Sudhiarsa 2001:108–113.

<sup>171</sup> Dhakidae 2003:88–90.

Regarding the Catholic mission, the people of Surabaya had become acquainted with Catholicism when the Society of Brothers of St. Aloysius (CSA) from Oudenbosch opened a school and boarding house in 1862. A year later (1863) the Ursulin Sisters (OSU) started a school in the city. These brothers and sisters taught in Dutch and their boarding schools were very popular with the planters and colonial officials who lived in small places, often outside Java. Because of this half of their pupils were not Catholics but Protestants.

Half a century later the Holy Spirit Sisters (SSpS) came to Surabaya and took over the Hospital (St. Vincent de Paul Hospital) in 1925. All this mission work was directed to the Europeans, and to the natives as well. Regarding the Christian message, the Church tried hard to reach the Javanese too, but it seemed a good result needed much more time. Progress was too slow. Only few local people embraced Christianity.

In the early decades of the twentieth century parishes were opened in other cities such as Jombang, Mojokerto, Probolinggo.<sup>172</sup> The foundation of the Church of Mary in Surabaya, completed in 1900, was an evident sign of the existence of a Catholic congregation there. Later on, in 1920 in the southern part of the city, the church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (the present Cathedral of Surabaya) was built.

In 1922 the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of Faith decided to transfer the mission in East Java from the Jesuits to the Lazarists and the Carmelites. The Lazarists took over the mission in the western part of East Java including the districts of Rembang and Blora of the Central Java Province (now the Diocese of Surabaya). The Carmelites were entrusted with the mission in the eastern part including the island of Madura (now the Diocese of Malang).

Five Lazarist priests of the Dutch Province came to Surabaya on 30 June 1923, following the footsteps of the saint-missionary, John Gabriel Perboyre and his confreres who visited the city in mid-1835 on their way to China. The five missionaries were Dr. Th. de Backere (the mission superior), Cornelius Klamer, J.H. Wolters, Th. Heuvelmans, and E. Sarneel.<sup>173</sup> They took over the mission in the western part of East Java, the residencies of Surabaya, Rembang, and Kediri, and started their pastoral work from their Surabaya headquarters. The eastern part of East Java (the residencies of Malang, Besuki and Madura) was offered to the Dutch Carmelites. The three first priests who came to Malang were Clemens van der Pas, Paschalis Breukel, and Linus Henckens. They received a hearty welcome from L. Sondaal SJ when they arrived in Malang on 6 July 1923. When they took over the mission from the Jesuits, there were three Catholic congregations with their own church, namely

St. Anthony of Pasuruan (1895), the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Malang (1906), and the Immaculate Virgin Mary of Lawang (1916). Since 1923 the priests concentrated their mission more seriously on the Javanese and the Chinese. The Catholic Church developed its ministry in the field of education, health care and social services. A convert from Central Java, Raden Simon Soedarmo, one of the small numbers of committed lay persons, is still remembered for his important role in education.

Surabaya was a unique metropolitan and multi-ethnic city by that time. The Javanese, Madurese, Chinese, Japanese, British-Indians, and Arabs mixed together with a very small number of native Catholics, less than a hundred people. Even less were the native Catholics in the interior. In his letter of 11 November 1926 mission superior Th. de Backere mentioned some difficulties for evangelisation that he had to cope with, such as the lack of personnel (priests or religious brothers and sisters), the suspicion of the Muslims, a lack of financial support and the challenge from the mission activities of the Methodists and Freemasonry.<sup>174</sup>

On 27 April 1927 the Prefecture Apostolic of Malang was founded and on 15 May 1928 the Prefecture Apostolic of Surabaya was founded where the Lazarist De Backere served until 1937. From the very beginning De Backere had a vision that the Church should take root in the Javanese culture. It was in line with this strategy that at Christmas 1927 for the first time the Catholic congregation of Blitar celebrated Mass accompanied by Javanese songs. Cl. Sindoeperwata, a passionate Javanese teacher in Blitar, had made the translations from Dutch hymns.<sup>175</sup>

De Backere himself never became acquainted with the Javanese language and culture. As head of the mission in Surabaya he was very much involved with the European and Eurasian population of that city. In 1933 De Backere created a very serious crisis amongst the Catholic leadership of the colony by preparing a pastoral letter for Easter, urging his flock to stay united in a single Catholic Party. In fact the national Catholic Party, IKP, *Indische Katholieke Partij*, was at that time controlled by newly arrived white Europeans, so-called *totok*. In Surabaya the majority of the Eurasians had become members of a religiously neutral political party of Indo-Europeans. In order to restore the unity of all Catholics, De Backere wanted to issue a pastoral letter against this *Indo-Europeesche Vereeniging* (IEV, Eurasian Union). Those Catholic Eurasians who continued their membership of IEV would automatically be excommunicated. There was quite a reaction of panic among the other Catholic leaders of Java. The bishops and prefects tried to convince De Backere that this was an impossible measure that would only chase away many nominal Catholics from

<sup>172</sup> Boonekamp 1974:952-953.

<sup>173</sup> A. Riyanto 2003.

<sup>174</sup> Riyanto 2003:52-57.

<sup>175</sup> J. Hadiwikarta, 2001:341.

the church. They sent a telegram to the papal nuncio in Sydney and finally they sought the mediation of a high government official, Attorney General and staunch Catholic R. Verheijen. The latter persuaded De Backere that he could not take such a drastic decision against the majority of the Apostolic Prefects and Vicars of Java. Finally, De Backere surrendered and blocked the distribution of this decree.<sup>176</sup>

In contrast to the situation in West Java, De Backere was quite keen on the creation of Javanese-language primary schools, and by 1931 he had already opened 59 schools. Many of these schools were concentrated in the Blitar-Kediri region, which was somewhat over-optimistically called the counterpart of the Muntilan-Mendut region of Central Java. The great hope was not fulfilled. In 1939 there were only some 1,200 Javanese Catholics in the triangle of Blitar, Kediri and Madiun. Quite a few of these were from a plantation near Kediri where the Lazarist priest J.H. Wolters had established a school. The architect Henri Maclaine-Pont who also worked for the Trowulan museum, the site of the thirteenth century Majapahit Empire, built a beautiful compound in this region. Situated on the slope of Mount Wilis around 10 km from Kediri, Pohsarang (1936) was and still is a prominent example of the contextualisation of Catholic doctrine within the Javanese culture.<sup>177</sup> It is also a well-known site for pilgrimage and a Marian shrine in East Java. The holy site expresses the encounter between the symbols of Christian faith and the geniality of Javanese architecture.

In the Malang region there were a few plantations with Catholic administrators who promoted Catholicism among their personnel (as was the case with the Schmutzer plantation of Ganjuran in Central Java). The best example was Balearjosari, close to the town of Malang. Since 1911 A.W.C. Blijdenstein had been the administrator of a rubber plantation that was owned by a Chinese family, the San Lien Kongsj. Blijdenstein was a graduate of a teacher training college in Maastricht, the Netherlands, where also some agricultural science was taught. He started in the plantation of Balearjosari a Catholic community that at his departure in early 1933 counted some 700 Catholic Javanese.<sup>178</sup> There were still 582 Javanese Catholics here in 1939, about a quarter of all Javanese Catholics in this region at that time. After leaving the plantation the unmarried Blijdenstein went to the Netherlands, where he studied theology to become a priest. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1938 and became the parish priest of Jember.

Another small Javanese parish existed in Soekarno, the result of the migration of Catholics from Central Java to the less populated regions of East Java, where people could earn a living in the booming business of the plantation.

<sup>176</sup> More details in: Steenbrink 2007-II:57-59.

<sup>177</sup> Muskens 1974-IIIb:969-971; Tondowidjojo 2001-IIIId:6-7.

<sup>178</sup> A biography and report in *De Koerier*, 16 and 17 February 1933.

Another congregation of Javanese started in Watesbelung, close to Tumpang, where 380 Javanese Catholics were counted in 1939.

Theofilus de Backere also longed for the presence of native clergy in his Prefecture. His idea of establishing a formation for native clergy was supported by his confreres.<sup>179</sup> When he left Surabaya for the Netherlands on 24 December 1936 there were 8 Javanese seminarians for the diocesan priesthood, who studied in Yogyakarta. After a long process, finally a minor seminary was founded in Garum, Blitar, in 1959. Later on, in 1962, a major seminary for Lazarists, which was originally set up in Rembang (1953-1955), was moved to Kediri. In this place the seminarians could study philosophy and theology before they moved to Malang in 1971.<sup>180</sup> Prior to this, the seminarians had been sent to complete their study for the priesthood abroad, in the Netherlands, in the USA, in Italy, and in Australia.<sup>181</sup>

The Church suffered a lot during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) following the war that broke out in Europe and Asia. The still very modest progress of the mission over the previous three decades came to a sudden halt. The property of the church, of the Chinese and of the Europeans was robbed and destroyed.<sup>182</sup> All European missionaries were interned and badly treated. What about Catholic faith instruction? The ministry was taken over by the laity. In Blitar, for instance, the role of the laity was extremely important. Let us mention just a few of these brave people: T.S. Wirjoatmodjo, A. Gunawan Wibisono, R.M.S. Brotoedirdjo, and Ismail Harjono.

After the declaration of independence in 1945 the situation in the plantation region remained insecure for a very long time. Shortly after the Dutch recognised independence, a new conflict arose that caused that all Dutch planters to be expelled from the country (1956). Also Dutch missionaries were no longer granted new visas, although the residing clergy could stay in their mission. During the Second Vatican Council Bishop J. Klooster of Surabaya (1911-1990) asked the Lazarists of the Italian Province to work in his diocese. On 9 September 1961 J. Klooster pronounced his oath as an Indonesian citizen and was installed the same day as bishop of the diocese of Surabaya. He served this church until he retired in April 1982.

A.J. Dibjakarjana (1917-2002) was consecrated as his successor on 16 December 1982. He was the first diocesan priest of Surabaya, ordained in 1945. It was hard for him to accept this appointment and for some time he received treatment for his fragile health. He took up the ministry of the diocese with the confidence that he did not work by himself but always in

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Tondowidjojo 1995a:36.

<sup>180</sup> Muskens 1974-IIIb:998.

<sup>181</sup> In 1971 the formation house for the Lazarists moved to Malang. In collaboration with the Carmelites the two Congregations founded the *Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Teologi 'Widya Sasana'* (School of Philosophy and Theology 'Centre for Knowledge') in that same year.

<sup>182</sup> A. Riyanto 2003:104.

collaboration with the laity, priests and religious men and women. His motto was "May all be one."

During the pastoral symposium held in Pacet (1993) the priests of the diocese agreed to renew their pastoral work. They defined two priorities, proclamation (*kerygma*) and communion (*koinonia*). The fundamental reason for first priority (*kerygma*) is the urgent need to build a Christian community that is faithful to the Apostolic Creed, so that their knowledge and comprehension of their faith becomes wider, profound and missionary. The fundamental reason for the second priority (*koinonia*) is to build a community of the people of God centred on Jesus Christ, the head of the Church. Bishop Y. Hadiwikarta (1944–2003; bishop 1994–2003), consecrated on 25 July 1994 as the head of the diocese of Surabaya, supported the new mission thrust and encouraged the faithful in this line with his motto *Pastor Bonus* (John 10:11–14).

A similar vision of mission has been promoted in the diocese of Malang. Bishop A.E.Y. Albers, O.Carm. (1904–1980), the leader of the diocese, took care for this region from 1935 and it was developed by his successors. Nevertheless, the Catholics are still a small minority, only 82,785 or about 0.5% of total population (1999 statistics). Albers went into retirement on 12 April 1973 and was replaced by F.X. Hadisumarta, O.Carm. (1932–2003) consecrated on 16 July 1973. Hadisumarta served the diocese of Malang until 1988, before he moved to become bishop of Sorong, Papua. H.J.S. Pandoyoputro O.Carm., took over the diocese on 3 September 1989. Ever since the time of bishop Hadisumarta the diocese of Malang has promoted the mission of communion for the people, as the Second Vatican Council defines the church as the community of the faithful. The last synod of the diocese (2002) also put 'community of the faithful' as the vision of the diocese of Malang.

#### *Missionary perspectives during the last decades, 1970–2000*

According to demographic data, the Catholics are a small and scattered minority both in the urban and the rural areas. For years the dissemination of the Christian faith was viewed as a threat to the Muslim majority. Prior to the Second Vatican Council there was not a good relationship between the Catholics and the Protestants. They were rivals to each other as J.D. Wolterbeek mentioned.<sup>183</sup> The relationship, however, has been improving ever since Vatican II.

In the light of this context, the question arises, then, as to how the Church regards this multi-religious society as the context for doing mission and for theologising. As a matter of fact, inter-religious dialogue and ecumenical

<sup>183</sup> J.D. Wolterbeek 1939:259.

endeavours have increasingly become the real way of living the Christian life in this province. Many are aware of this ecumenical context, although they could not go further than simply being neighbours. In other words, the Church still needs a new theological thrust in being a participant in developing the society of East Java and in being the salt for the world as a whole.

Since the 'Situbondo tragedy' (10 October 1996), the Church has tirelessly promoted an inclusive paradigm of mission. Leaders of the religious traditions have worked shoulder to shoulder in developing a so-called *persaudaraan sejati* (true brotherhood). An intense relationship has become increasingly important not only for a better understanding of one another, but also in building up a new way of being brothers and sisters among people of various religious affiliations. The *Forum Persaudaraan Sejati* (Forum for True Brotherhood) was founded after the 'Situbondo tragedy' of 1996. The goal of this *Forum* is, primarily, to share experience and knowledge among the participants of all religious groups, to build a so-called 'true brotherhood'. Despite the destruction caused by the '10 October tragedy', many realise it was a blessing in disguise for the whole society. The Catholic Church has been made aware that God has opened the hearts of the people to finally promote an inclusive and plural society. Up to the tragedy it seemed that their hearts were closed within an exclusive communion.

A new theological perspective has emerged. A paradigm shift from an ecclesiocentric (church-centred) view of the plan of God for the world to a regnocentric (Kongdom-centred) view has been discussed ever since. God, the Word made flesh and the Spirit are active in the world, leading it to the fullness of the Reign of God. The religions too are elements of this cosmic covenant and the church has the privilege to participate in this mystery of salvation. The question how to find roots in a local context and to open up to the whole world, in a word how to build a contextualising church, has become the main concern of the church. In this case, the *Widya Sasana* School of Philosophy and Theology (1971) and the Pastoral Institute of Indonesia both in Malang, have engaged themselves to be agents of these cross-cultural and theological enterprises.<sup>184</sup> Through seminars and workshops the schools try to serve the needs of the people.

The *Widya Sasana* School of Philosophy and Theology was founded to fulfil the needs of the Carmelites and the Lazarists in maintaining their mission work, in particular to meet the need of mission in the two dioceses of Surabaya and Malang. Later on the school was opened for members of other congregations (priests, brothers and sisters), candidates for diocesan priesthood and the laity.

<sup>184</sup> IPI 1967.

Moreover, mission priority is focused on pastoral care for the youth, family ministry, and contextual catechism. The Church realises the need to provide a continuous ministry for the youth since they are the future of the church. It is also very urgent to empower Catholic families with Christian values. In the same way, the so-called 'catechism for all'—not only for those to be baptised in the future and integrated to the contemporary issues—has been promoted. To meet these needs, for instance, Catholic associations such as *Komisi Remaja Katolik* (Catholic Youth Commission), *Keluarga Mahasiswa Katolik* (Catholic Student Family), Marriage Encounter, Choice, *Komunitas Keluarga Kudus* (Holy Family Community), *Pastoral Pendampingan Buruh Keuskupan Surabaya* (Pastoral Ministry for Workers of the Surabaya Diocese) have been founded. Besides all these efforts, many people realise that the local Church of East Java is still in the making.

Koernia Atje Soejana (West Java), Budi Subanar SJ (Catholics, Central Java), Alle G. Hoekema (Protestants, Central Java) Raymundus I Made Sudhiarsa SVD (East Java), Karel A. Steenbrink (Catholics, and general editing)

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