

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND EQUALITY IN A CHURCH FORMATION IN YOGYAKARTA

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Abstrak

Salah satu isu penting dalam pembentukan Gereja Jawa Kristen-Reformasi ialah penggunaan bahasa Jawa. Pembentukan gereja tersebut tidak hanya menyangkut pencangkokan ajaran-ajaran teologis dan ritual dari Gereja-gereja Reformasi di Belanda (GKN), namun juga penggunaan dan pilihan atas jenjang bahasa Jawa yang hirarkis itu di dalam jemaat Jawa tersebut. Artikel ini bermaksud untuk mengkaji arti penting bahasa Jawa sebagai bahasa etnis dalam pembentukan gereja Kristen-Reformasi Jawa di Yogyakarta, yang nantinya juga berdampak pada gereja-gereja Kristen Reformasi di Jawa Tengah. Pembacaan atas arsip-arsip, terutama dari GKN, digunakan untuk mengetahui arti penting bahasa Jawa dalam pendirian gereja tersebut di Yogyakarta. Hasil pembacaan arsip menunjukkan bahwa digunakannya istilah dan bahasa Jawa dalam penamaan gereja dan pendeta, serta pilihan atas bahasa Jawa tingkat tertinggi, Krama, dalam ritual gereja didasari oleh keinginan untuk memelihara bahasa Jawa dan mengungkapkan kesetaraan sosial antara orang Jawa dan Belanda.

Kata kunci : *identitas sosial, kesetaraan sosial, bahasa Jawa, gereja Kristen-reformasi, Yogyakarta.*

IDENTITAS DAN KESETARAAN SOSIAL DALAM PEMBENTUKAN SEBUAH GEREJA DI YOGYAKARTA

Abstract

One of the important issues in the formation of Javanese Reformed-Christian (JRC) church was the usage of the Javanese language. The formation of the church did not only involve transplanting theological and ritual teachings of the Dutch Reformed Churches (GKN), but also the usage and the choice of registers of the hierarchical Javanese language for Javanese congregation. This article intends to examine the importance of Javanese in the formation of Javanese Reformed-Christian church in Yogyakarta. Archival sources, particularly of the GKN, were used to examine the importance of Javanese in the establishment of this JRC church in Yogyakarta. The author concluded that the usage of Javanese terms for "church" and "pastor", and the choice of the highest level of the language, Krama, in church ritual was intended to preserve Javanese language and convey social equality between the Javanese and the Dutch.

Keywords: social identity, social equality, Javanese language, Reformed-Christian church, Yogyakarta.

I. INTRODUCTION

The spread and establishment of Protestant churches in Indonesia seemed to follow the pillarisation policy in the Netherlands. The application of the policy resulted in denominational ethnic-based churches which has the same theological roots with that of their mother churches in the Netherlands. The idea of "pillarisation", the compartmentalisation along confessional or ideological lines (Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 649), influenced a decision in the 1910

Edinburgh International Mission Conference to encourage a modern mission to spread Christianity, in a manner Joost Coté described as “ethno-missiology”(Coté, 2011: 3-4). Coté argues that such a method switched the emphasis of mission from merely a theological approach to ‘native development’ (Coté, 2010). In the case of the missionary Albert Kruyt who was assigned to Poso, central Sulawesi, Coté shows that colonial modernity in the forms of, for instance, road construction and sustainable agriculture became more important than simply urging the introduction of Christian faith to ethnic communities.

Irfan Ahmad explained that Christianisation in Tobelo used similar cultural approach. In his study on the social history of christianisation in Tobelo, Ahmad demonstrates other forms of ethnic development within evangelisation (Ahmad, 2014). Besides the introduction of modern education and modern medical services, the local ethnic group was taught how to dress, to have good manners, to set up village space, and to maintain daily cleanliness.

The ways of running Christian mission showed major changes in the mission’s approach in the Indies occurred at the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike the previous approach which stressed theological issues without paying attention to a local societal context, the mission began to understand and use native language and culture in order to be more accepted. The new approach attempted to relate Christianity to local cultural values and also provide fields of work which might be essential for native society and supported the growth of Christian natives. Such an approach was applied by different Christian associations and missions in the Indies.

Even though the Dutch Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, GKN) was quite late in understanding local language and culture, and in making use of that understanding as an approach for Christianisation (Akkeren, 1994; Guillot, 1985), the GKN was quite early in conducting such an approach as compared to the method of Christianisation decided by mission organisations in their conference in Edinburgh in 1910. The policy of the Mission of the Dutch Reformed Churches (*Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, ZGKN) -Mission of the Dutch Reformed Churches- preceded the new approach decided in the 1910 Edinburgh International Mission Conference. The production and involvement of Javanese assistants in the ZGKN later brought social consequences to the creation of RC churches in the mission area. From the time of the Dutch Reformed Mission Union (*Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingsvereniging*, NGZV) mission in central Java, proficiency in Javanese was important to run Christian mission. Some missionaries were able to speak good Javanese, while some others were not (Wolterbeek, 1995: 61-63,72-74). Missionaries of the ZGKN learned Javanese before their arrivals to Java. The use of Javanese language in RC church became prominent as a consequence of applying the ZGKN’s policy. The application of the policy was made easier by the availability of Javanese versions of the Bible.

The first translation of the Bible into Javanese was published by Bruckner, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The translation of the publication, which arrived in Java before the end of the Java War (1825-1830), was then confiscated by the government in the name of “*rust en orde*”. The translation of the Bible later in the same century was carried out by the representatives of the Dutch Christian Organisation, namely by Gericke of the Dutch Bible Society (*De Nederlandsche Bijbelgenootschap*), and Peter A. Jansz of the British and Foreign Society. In the beginning, Jansz worked as a missionary for the

Mennonite Missionary Association (DZV), but since his permission to evangelise non-Christian community was withdrawn, he worked for the British institution afterwards. His translation of the Bible in Javanese was done while he was working in the latter organisation (Guillot, 1985: 7-8, 12-13.). Some liturgical books were specifically translated by different people in each Christian mission.

A mission whose mission field in central Java was the *Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (ZGKN, Mission of the Dutch Reformed Churches). The Dutch Reformed Churches (GKN) was established in 1892, a church which seceded from the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK, the Netherlands Reformed Church). Following its establishment, in 1893 the church held its first Synod meeting in which it decided that mission (*zending*) was actually the church's responsibility, not the responsibility of mission society (Berkhof, 1952: 150-2, 158; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 677; Wolterbeek, 1995: 90, 183). Therefore, the *Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Zendingsvereniging* (NGZV, the Dutch Reformed Mission Union), which had begun its Christian mission in central Java in mid nineteenth century, transferred its mission in central Java to GKN on 1 June 1894 (Wolterbeek, 1995: 90; Berkhof, 1952: 158). In the Middelburgh synod (1896), the church decided that in order to reach their supreme goal, that is to establish local churches, they were not supposed to be a "manager", but rather "a mentor to adulthood" (Sumartana, 1994: 74-5). Therefore, the deputation missionaries of the GKN posted in Central Java organised schools and medical services to create a favourable sphere for the indigenous masses so that they were able to learn about Christianity. A clearer consciousness of the church appeared in the Arnhem synod (1902) in which the GKN they gave great attention to the development of medical and educational services in order to create Javanese assistants for spreading the Gospel (Sumartana, 1994: 75-6; Wolterbeek, 1995: 191). In other words, the GKN realised that transplanting the church (*plantatio ecclesiae*) could not be successfully achieved without producing Javanese assistants through "prepared blessing" (*voorbereidende genade*) (Van Ufford, 1984: 101-4).

The discussion and decision of the synods in the Netherlands reflected an approach method in running its mission in Java. The ZGKN whose mission fields were urban areas in Java implemented decisions of the synods in the Netherlands by establishing hospitals and schools in its mission area including in Yogyakarta. The late nineteenth century became an important starting point for the ZGKN in urban areas of Yogyakarta. Its missionary doctor, Dr. Gerrit Scheurer, started his work as a doctor as well as missionary in Yogyakarta in March 1897. On 29 October 1897, Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII provided almost 30,000 square metres of land in Gondokusuman to build a hospital (Soekotjo and Agoes Widhartono, 2013: 22). The Petronella *zending* hospital was officially opened on 1 March 1900 (Sumartana, 1994: 83-5). Meanwhile, the first deputation minister of ZGKN, Reverend Cornelius Zwaan, was conscious that his mission could never be achieved without the participation of the local Javanese. In order to attract Javanese followers, on behalf of the *zending*, Zwaan established schools in several locations in urban areas of Yogyakarta. The *zending's* work more or less became points of attraction to the people in Yogyakarta and the surrounding areas (Sumartana. 1994: 89; Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 35; Suhatno, 1988/1989: 15). The Javanese who were attracted to the missionary work later formed a Reformed-Christian congregation. Later on the congregation was ready to form a Reformed-Christian church.

The institutionalisation of the church in Yogyakarta, Gondokusuman, was very important, since it was the first JRC church to be established organically, as evident from the first proposal of the establishment. Unlike most works on the church history which typically concern the institutional and theological history, this essay seeks to examine the church formation by giving emphasis to the utilisation of Javanese language. The Javanese language which is hierarchical required the users to notice social positions of their counterparts both in formal or informal communication. The institutionalisation of the church raised questions about the importance of Javanese language in the process church formation. What was the role of Javanese language in the Reformed-Christian church formation in Yogyakarta? Why did Reformed-Christians choose certain level of Javanese used in the church? What was consequences of Javanese used in the church? This essay intends to examine the significance the language as regards the formation of the JRC in an urban area of Yogyakarta.

This essay is divided into four sections which is organised on the basis of the use of Javanese language within the JRC. First, what and how did the JRC name their congregation? Second, where was Javanese language located in the church ritual? Third, did they have a particular term for Javanese minister, and why they felt the need to have a specific term? Fourth, how did other ethnic groups respond to the use Javanese in the church? The final section is the conclusion, and preceding the discussion sections is a section on the origins of the JRC. The sub questions indicate the significance of Javanese language in the formation of the JRC as the Reformed-Christian congregation which was not fully the same with the mother church, the GKN, in the Netherlands.

The Javanese Reformed-Christian church was established in the second decade of the twentieth century. The minutes of the meeting that established is available in the archives of the GKN which became the mother church of this Javanese church. These archival sources were cited in the book by H. Reenders, *e Gereformeerde Zending in Midden-Java 1859-1931, een bronnenpublicatie*, and the book by Pradjarta DS and Chr. G.G. de Jong, *Sumber-sumber tentang sejarah Gereja Kristen Jawa, 1896-1980*. This article also referred information provided in the Primary source of Apostolic church. Another primary source which was used in this article was a biography of a Javanese Reformed-Christian who lived in Yogyakarta. In addition, several secondary sources such as books, journal articles, and internet websites were used in order to understand historical context of the church formation and to create a conceptual framework for this article. All of the sources were selected by categorising them by topic. The author read and interpreted the selected sources in order to explain the historiography of the formation of the JRC church.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNITY

Several agencies played roles in the emergence of the Reformed-Christian Javanese church in the urban area of Yogyakarta. This section intends to give a historical explanation of their presence. The presence of Reformed-Christians in Yogyakarta was particularly a result of the work and the charisma of Kyai Sadrach Suropranoto, a prominent figure in the growth of Protestant Javanese in Central Java (Guillot, 1985). A Javanese nobility and a Captain of Pakualaman court, Raden Mas Soerjasmara Natataroena (Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 674), embraced Christianity after learning of the religion from one of his employees, Elijah, who came from a rural area in the

territory of Yogyakarta, Sèlong, which was located on the border between Yogyakarta and Bagèlèn. The influence of Sadrach was strong in the border area as it was close to the centre of Sadrach's Christianity in Karangjoso, Kutoarjo, in the residency of Bagèlèn. Another explanation argues that Natataroena became aware of Christianity because of his relationship to Kassian Céphas. Céphas, who was considered as the first Christian Javanese in urban areas of Yogyakarta by several scholars, worked as an official photographer of the sultanate. Through his profession, Céphas might have developed relationships among nobilities in Yogyakarta including Natataroena. The relationships later on drove Natataroena and his children to convert to Christianity (Guillot, 1985: 26-7; Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 28-30; Mrázek, 2002: 304). On 30 May 1887, Natataroena and his three children were baptised in Karangjoso by Reverend Jacob Wilhelm, a missionary of ZGKN assigned to Purworejo who was able to cooperate with Sadrach (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, 1988: 16; Wolterbeek, 1995: 82; Soekotjo. 2009: 223, 296; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 674; Guillot, 1985: 143; Suhatno, 2008: 806; Reenders, 2001: 895). Apart from that, the cooperation between Sadrach and Rev. Wilhelm resulted more than 200 Javanese converts baptised at Natataroena's house (Darmohatmodjo, 1953. pp. 30-1).

Sadrach, who evangelised widely, played a significant role in Christianising Javanese in rural and urban areas of Yogyakarta. Following the unsatisfactory result of an evaluation on Sadrach conducted by Reverend Lion-Cachet of the Mission of the Dutch Reformed Churches (ZGKN), which took over the mission duties of ZGKN, Sadrach established his own new Christian community, *Golongané Wong Kristèh Kang Mardika* (the group of independent Christians), which was established on 17 April 1883. (Berkhof, 1952: 150-2, 158; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 677; Wolterbeek, 1995: 90, 183; Partonadi, 1988: 87). Guillot argues that Wilhelm had inspired Sadrach and his followers to call themselves "independent" Christians, for Wilhelm initiate called himself "*pandito mardiko*". However, some other Sadrach's followers' frankly desired to have closer relationships to the Whites (Guillot, 1985: 131, 133-4, 136). In 1899, Sadrach seemed to have found a way out of his difficult relationship with the *zending*. In his visit to Magelang, he met Liem Cu Kim, a Chinese man who became a messenger of *Gereja Kerasulan* (Irvingites), the Catholic Apostolic church which was founded by a Scot pastor, Edward Irving, in Glasgow in 1831 (Wolterbeek, 1995: 179-80; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 651, 683; Hebeisen, Isnugroho, and Hadiwidagdo, 2011: 30-31; Guillot, 1985: 64-5). Sadrach along with Markus and his adopted son Yotham, went to Batavia to meet Christian Apostolic congregation which was firstly led by Frederick Lodewijk Anthing, Sadrach's mentor on Christianity, in the second half of 1860s. On 30 April 1899, Sadrach was ordained as a Javanese apostle (*rasul*) of the Irvingites church (Guillot, 1985: 166; Wolterbeek, 1995: 78). As a consequence, most of his followers also shifted to the Apostolic church. Later on, most of Sadrach's followers became the origin of Javanese Reformed-Christians. The areas of Sadrach's followers particularly in the border area between Bagelen and Yogyakarta, became "a good fishing pond" for ZGKN (Waerts, nd.: 13, 18). Regarding the influence of Sadrach the first christianisation in Yogyakarta later drove ZGKN missionaries to clarify their denominational identity among Java Christian

To summarise, there were several agencies which contributed to the presence and growth of the JRC in urban areas of Yogyakarta. The first was Kyai Sadrach Suropranoto who opened the gate to Christianity for Javanese. The second was the *zending*'s institutions, namely NGZV and

ZGKN, which founded important fields, hospital and schools, which was intended to assist the primary goal, that is to evangelise to the Javanese. The third, Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII who facilitated the establishment of the ZGKN's field in Yogyakarta, even though the policy did not directly have an impact to the development of the JRC community in Yogyakarta. The growth of the JRC in urban areas of Yogyakarta encouraged the Dutch *zendeling* to establish the community as a church. The Javanese language started to be formally used to name the Javanese church. The next section discusses the establishment of JRC as a church.

III. JAVANESE LANGUAGE IN THE CHURCH FORMATION

A. Institutionalisation and Naming of the JRC Church

The institutionalisation or establishment of the JRC church automatically effected to the name of church. Naming of the church comprises of two elements, namely the substantive name and the language applied to the name. As a transplanted Christian church of the GKN, the JRC church had to maintain the Christian theological stream of the GKN. However, the church was established in the heart of Javanese culture, and most of the church member were Javanese, so that Javanese element might have to be represented in the name. This section explains the establishment of the JRC community as a church. The establishment indicated the formal use of Javanese, for it was attached to the formal name of the church.

The role of the Javanese language was not clearly represented in the institutionalisation of the church, except in its transliteration of the church name. The church was established after a long discussion in the Dutch Reformed Churches (GKN), and among the missionaries sent to south central Java by the church's mission. The general requirement for establishing churches in Java was decided in the Synod of Utrecht in 1905 (Reenders, 2001: 11-15). It consisted of the natural drive for establishing the church, the minimum number of church members and their residences, and the church name. In short, establishing a church ought to be carried out organically and not in haste. Establishing a church from a congregation ought to be as careful as possible. Regarding the number of flock, the minimum number of members at least consisted of 12 men who lived within the vicinity and not dispersed. Otherwise, church establishment ought to be put on hold. Some of them were required to have received spiritual gifts for performing church services.

Regarding the members, they were supposed to be Latin-script literate (DS and De Jong, 1995: 9-11), so that they would be able to be appointed as members of the Church Assembly. Latin-script literate Javanese were considered able to lead a prayer gathering (Wolterbeek, 1995: 185). The availability of Latin literate member of church was also required for the institutionalisation of JRC churches in Purworejo and Temon in 1900, although the establishment of congregations in Sadrach's areas was driven by competition with, and concerns over, the influence of Sadrach's community. One significant reason for the institutionalisation of Reformed-Christian Javanese church in Purworejo, as clearly stated in a footnote of L. Adriaanse's letter to the Reformed-Church assembly of Utrecht, was a reaction to the switch of Sadrach and his community to the Apostolic church and his appointment as an Apostle. Therefore, although facing the unavailability of land and building and other restriction the Reformed-Christian congregation of Purworejo succeeded to elect members of church assembly (DS and De Jong, 1995: 9-11). Since the churches were

established in a hurry, they only partly met the requirements, namely having Javanese members in the Church Assembly but without meeting the theological and financial requirements.

Apart from the theological standard for observance of religious duties, the Synod of Utrecht recommended a basic principle in church institutionalisation of RC congregation in Yogyakarta, adding “reformed” (*gereformeerd*) to the name of the congregation. The church’s name would be ‘the Reformed Church in ...’ (“*de Gereformeerde Kerk te...*”). It was considered the best name rather than the common name of “Christian church distinguishing from that of the Apostolic, the Catholics, or other Christians. In addition, the name was relevant to urban areas of Yogyakarta, since it appeared notably in the Petronella Hospital which represented “the medical zending of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands”.

In the early phase, the Reformed-Christian church in the urban area of Yogyakarta, Gondokusuman, whose members consisted of Dutchman, Chinese, and most of all Javanese, was a branch of Reformed-Christian church of Amsterdam, and had been admitted by the local government of Yogyakarta by 1899 (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman. 1988: 24). On 22 December 1901, 22 Javanese and 3 Chinese attended Holy Supper (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman. 1988: 29). In the first half of 1902, Rev. Zwaan thought that the congregation was ready to be established as a church, but the church assembly in Amsterdam thought it was premature. In February 1907, Rev. Zwaan discussed about the institutionalisation of Reformed-Christian congregation in Gondokusuman, but the church assembly in Amsterdam suggested him to be careful and expected him to consult with the Particular or Separate Meeting of Servant of the Words (*bijzondere of afzonderlijke vergadering van dienaren des Woords*, BV). Initially, the BV unofficially advised the establishment, but the church assembly of Amsterdam recommended not to do that. Instead, he was able to create a ‘provisional institution’ or to appoint ‘missionary elders’. On 9 December 1907, Rev. Zwaan wrote a letter to the church assembly expressing his disagreement with the idea, and asked the assembly to patiently wait for the official and definitive decision of the BV (Reenders, 2001: 423).

On April 1908, the BV held a meeting discussing the idea of establishing the congregation in Yogyakarta (Reenders, 2001: 424-8). They raised three points regarding the situation of Reformed-Christian congregation. First, whether the Reformed-Christian Javanese in Yogyakarta was ready to be established. Second, if they were, how was the establishment to be carried out. Third, regarding the congregational name, its legal position, as well as the confession and church order of the congregation. The questions implied requirements for establishing a church in Java, which had been discussed in Synod meetings of the GKN in the Netherlands.

Responding to the questions, Rev. D. Bakker and Rev. Klaas van Dijk revealed the requirements for the capability of church members, their ethnicity, and their residence. The availability of educated members of the congregation (*ontwikkelde gemeenteleden*) were significant for establishing church. In 1908, there were 281 Reformed-Christian who had been baptised, of whom 174 were invited to attend the Lord’s Supper. All of them were living within the capital of the residence of Yogyakarta (*binnen de grenzen van de hoofdstaat der Residentie*), that was urban areas of Yogyakarta. Furthermore, they were living within an area of no more than 2 hours from the city. Elders and deacons were able to be elected from among them. The members of

congregation had rights to raise objections against the candidates of elders and deacons. Beyond those requirements, the establishment of church in Java by ZGKN also required Latin literacy of the church assembly.

Regarding the possibility of the congregation to be fully independent, the reverends concluded that the congregation might need financial support and guidance, the congregation understand not only its vocation to live as a congregation to Christ ordinances, but they were also willing to sacrifice their wealth. They, therefore, would be able to provide for the needs of a native minister if they could call upon. All in all, the reverends recommended without hesitation or restriction the establishment of Reformed-Christian congregation in Yogyakarta although they needed spiritual and material assistance from Church Council of Amsterdam. The establishment of the congregation which would be named after the Reformed Church in Yogyakarta (*de Gereformeerde Kerk te Djogjakarta*), they asserted, was necessary as all the criteria had been met, and if the Church Council of Amsterdam agreed with this advice, they would be confirmed by the elders and deacons on 1 January 1909 (Reenders, 2001: 427-8).

The idea to establish a Reformed-Javanese congregation in Yogyakarta was raised again by Rev. D. Bakker to on 15 April 1910 (Reenders, 2001: 457-9). Bakker insisted on the establishment, not only to relieve the missionary preacher, but also to meet the desire of some members of the congregation for the sake of empowerment. The *zendeling* posted in Yogyakarta, C. Zwaan, was assigned to appoint elders and deacons of the congregation as he returned from his leave in the Netherlands. The Reformed-Christian congregation in this urban area of Yogyakarta was actually bigger and stronger than that of Temon and of Purworejo which had been established in 1900, and also that of Glonggong (Kebumen) which would soon be established. The fields of ZGKN in urban areas of Yogyakarta was complete, namely ministerial, medical, and school services. The indigenous assistants existed in the three services. Their number was not small, and they were more educated (*meerdere ontwikkeling*).

Finally, the Church Council of Amsterdam wrote a letter to the minister seconded to Yogyakarta, Rev. C. Zwaan, on 18 April 1912 (Reenders, 2001: 488-90). They realised that there would be no real independent church in the urban area of Yogyakarta, since there was no Javanese minister. The congregation would only have elders and deacons. However, the council recommended the establishment of the congregation by suggesting, among others, the formation of a church assembly. The congregation ought to consist of two European and four Javanese elders, and two Javanese deacons. The Europeans were specifically responsible to take care of Europeans, and they were not obliged to attend all meetings regularly except those which they ought to act on. The names of the elders and deacons had to be announced to the congregation within two Sundays in order to gain approval.

On 29 July 1913, on behalf of the GKN two Dutch ministers of the GKN, Rev. K. van Dijk (posted in Kebumen) and Rev. Aart Merkelijn (posted in Magelang) assessed the possibility of the JRC this congregation in Gondokusuman to be bestowed as a mature church. At that time, the number of the congregation was 569 which consisted of 297 children and 272 adults. The number increased as compared to their number in 1 January 1913, which was as many as 413 (Wolterbeek, 1995: 189, 194, 196; Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 37-8).

On 6 November 1913, several names were proposed to be candidates of elders and deacons. Jusuf Wasman, Eliada, R. Soedikun, and Kalam Efrajim were proposed to be elders. Meanwhile, Samuel Wasman and Daniel Wasman were proposed to be deacons. The names were announced in two Sunday services, 9 and 16 November 1913. Since there was no objection to the candidates, on 23 November 1913 they were determined to be the first elders and deacons (Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 36). The church assembly actually consisted of 6 elders of which comprised of 4 Javanese and 2 Dutch, and 3 deacons of which comprised of 2 Javanese and 1 Dutch (Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, 1988: 35; Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 36, 38). It was planned that if the number of Chinese increased, they would also have representatives in the church assembly. They thought that this would prevent from division based on ethnicity in ecclesiastical life (Reenders, 2001: 427). The idea to form a church in which membership consisted of different ethnicities or nationalities was impossible to establish a decade earlier, as was evident in the formation of Reformed-Christian Javanese church in Purworejo. The Dutch *zendeling* thought that Europeans and Javanese, for various reasons, could not form one church formation. The church ought to be Javanese, not Dutch, because it had been resolved that there would not be a church included those who sit on chair and sit on the mat (Reenders, 2001: 325-9).

Referring to the Synod of Utrecht 1905 and the advice of Rev. Bakker and Rev. van Dijk in 1908, the new church name ought to be *de Gereformeerde Kerk te Djogjakarta*, but they used the Javanese translation of *kerk*, so that it became *Pasamoewan Gereformeerd Ngajogdjakarta* (Tim Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta, 2011: 533). Nevertheless, Darmohatmodjo concluded that the church assembly did not really understand the meaning of the word suggested by Rev. Zwaan, “*gereformeerd*”, although they took pleasure in using it. Nevertheless, Darmohatmodjo realised that the establishment of the church, including its name, was not a personal decision but an institutional accord at least among the deputation *zendingen* in south central Java (Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 37-8). Javanese language did not only represent the naming of the congregation, but also in singing Psalm, in liturgical books, and in delivering sermon as well as sacramental rites.

The name *Pasamoewan Gereformeerd Ngajogdjakarta* for the church located at Gondokusuman was invalidated in 1925 when other congregations particularly in Yogyakarta were established. The JRC congregation in southern part of urban areas of Yogyakarta, Tungkak, was established in 1925 (Reenders, 2001: 888), so that by the time of the establishment the church located on Gondokusuman changed its name specifically to Reformed Christian Church in Gondokusuman Yogyakarta (*Pasamoewan Gereformeerd ing Gondokusuman Ngajogdjakarta*). The church in Tungkak was called *Pasamoewan Gereformeerd ing Tungkak Ngajogdjakarta*.

The GKN had an interest in the substantive name of the JRC church. Therefore, the GKN was involved in creating an official identity for the church, “reformed” (*gereformeerd*). However, the mother church did not determine the language used of the transplanted church in Central Java, including that in the urban area of Yogyakarta. The missing decision on the language used was made most probably by the deputation Dutch minister in Yogyakarta along with Javanese minister and evangelists to translate into Javanese, but kept the substantive name in Dutch. The following section shows further the use of Javanese language inside the JRC.

B. Ritual and Social Language

The ultimate duty of every pastor, minister, or any religious figure was to convey God's words through preaching. In order to be understood by each respective religious follower, the sermon should use local language. The language choice in the JRC church was quite difficult as Javanese language is hierarchical. Disputes occurred to determine which level of Javanese language, whether to use the lower (*ngoko*) or the higher (*kromo*), to be used in the ritual and social language within the church.

Although there is usually a close relationship between the sacred language used and origin of the religion, in fact, certain religions adopt local languages as their religious language in holy books and rituals. This fact does not disregard religions which maintain specific religious languages, for instance Catholicism which to some extent preserves Latin, and particularly Islam which closely maintains the use of Arabic as its ritual and holy language. Meanwhile, several denominations of Protestantism tend to contextualise its teachings into local languages. Several Protestant churches in Indonesia, for instance, perform their services and other religious rituals in local languages. The same applies to the JRC. Since its early phase, the church made use of Javanese as its primary language. Language issues for the JRC did not emerge in its usage of Javanese as the religious language of the Holy Book or in rituals, but in certain social usage.

Komaruddin Hidayat explained that religious language consists of metaphysical, holy book, and ritual languages. Metaphysical language includes expressions and statements used to explain metaphysical objects, particularly God. The holy book language is the language used in a set of divine information and messages stored and recorded in a text called holy book. The (religious) ritual language includes oral expressions, body language gestures or physical attitude (performative language) which are conducted in ritual worship (Hidayat, 1996: 5-11). Because a religion always has its adherents, religious language does not only consist of divine or sacred language, but also profane or social language. The latter language, which is overlooked in the religious language category of Hidayat, played a significant role in the formation of JRC as a single entity. Furthermore, the nature of the hierarchical language prompted the emergence of social language as another type of religious language. The Javanese language is heavily influenced by social and cultural aspects in the contextual usage of the language.

The hierarchical Javanese language represents social and cultural structures between communicator and communicant. The usage of each style or sub language of Javanese, *krama inggil* (*krami*), *krama madya*, and *ngoko* indicates the social and cultural background of communicator and communicant (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 236; Soemardjan, 1986: 112). Colonial Yogyakarta witnessed that the Dutch preferred to speak the non-hierarchical Malay to the Javanese. Even though the Dutch understood *krama inggil*, Selo Soemardjan asserts, they avoided to speak the sub language. They realised using *krami* conveyed their respect to whom they were speaking with. Moreover, they only permitted the regent (*Bupati*) and higher ranks of bureaucrats of the Sultanate to speak Dutch or Malay to them. The rest of the Javanese were obliged to speak *krami* to the Dutch (Soemardjan, 1986: 113-14). This consciousness on social background led to the creation of social identity in the usage of Javanese language. Speaking in *krama inggil* or *krami* is appropriate to God (Robson, 1994: 133-142), but speaking to His servants requires sensible reasons as well

as brings social and cultural consequences. Social and cultural relations particularly in colonial context underpinned the utilisation of the language.

From the beginning, there was no objection to the presence and usage of Javanese in the Bible and ritual of Reformed-Christian. On 7 October 1906 Rev. Zwaan reported the purchase of 500 copies of Javanese Psalm Book in the Netherlands à f. 0.60 per copy for resale and intended to replace the incomplete book translated by Rev. Jansz Sr. published by Brill in 1885 (Reenders, 2001: 406-7). Rev. Zwaan revealed that the book was selling well. It sold 180 copies a day to the Christian Javanese, indicating not only their eagerness to own copy, but also the literacy rate among them. Even though, there was a Javanese melody (*těmbang*) version to the psalm, but the Javanese in Yogyakarta had never sung the *těmbang* version. In comparison, two years earlier, the Reformed-Christian Javanese of Purworejo expected both the Javanese translation of psalm and its *těmbang* version. The RC church of Utrecht which was responsible for the church in Purworejo agreed to fulfil the expectation of the JRC in Purworejo to have a Javanese language version of the psalm. On 16 June 1904, the church assembly of Utrecht wrote a letter to a Javanese evangelist, Timotheus, in which they urged him to continue with the usage of high Javanese language, *kromo*, and *těmbang* (Reenders, 2001: 376-7). Moreover, the church of Gondokusuman received gifts from their Amsterdam's brethren an organ, besides a loud bell for the church building of Gondokusuman. Rev. Zwaan asserted that the Javanese could quickly learn all kinds of ways of singing with a little guidance. In this case, the church of Gondokusuman seemed to be more Western than that of Purworejo which probably retained the influence of Sadrach.

The Reformed-Christian Javanese was also helped by the provision of Reformed-Christian liturgical books translated from Dutch into Javanese (Reenders, 2001: 431-4). Those included the Heidelberg Catechism, the 37 Articles of Faith and the 5 articles against the Remonstrants. They had been using Jansz's translation of the Bible while its revision was in progress.

In the early stage, Dutch ministers used lower Javanese. In 1904, Rev. D. Bakker, sought to determine the usage of Javanese language level within Reformed-Christian Javanese church. He realised that Javanese is hierarchical, and thought that the lowest level of the language, *ngoko*, was the appropriate language to use in the church. *Ngoko*, he asserted, was absolutely not an impolite language. Conversely, the highest level, *kromo*, represented a slavish spirit, so that it had to expelled in order to create the Javanese as free and powerful (Reenders, 2001: 378).

Bakker argued that modern civilisation was incapable to adequately fight the slavish spirit, but the power of the gospel made it possible to liberate and release the Javanese from the spirit. He even emphasised that *ngoko* was designated for pulpit language and ought to be encouraged. Therefore, he suggested Javanese evangelists to speak *ngoko* in their sermons. In fact, the use of *ngoko* would never be delivered without great annoyance among the Javanese. In 1906, in designing the school for producing Javanese evangelists in Yogyakarta, Keucheniusschool, Rev. Bakker intended to produce Javanese evangelists who were able to preach in *ngoko* Javanese (Reenders, 2001: 404-5). In delivering the message of the Bible, ministers or evangelists actually became the means and lips of God, therefore, considering the logic of the Javanese language hierarchy, they were tolerated to speak in *ngoko* Javanese.

Almost two decades later, a Christian Javanese of a noble family of Mangkunegaran (Nusantara, 2003: 64), Radèn Soedono Nimpoeno, for instance, in his memoirs called for the use of *kromo*

in preaching. Radèn Soedono Nimpoeno and his brother, Radèn Soetoyo Nimpoeno, embraced Christianity when they went to school in Surabaya where they lived at a Javanese evangelist's house, Matheus Madakim. After their schooling, the Nimpoeno brothers never lived in Surakarta again. Soetoyo worked for the railway-company. Soedono stayed for a while at Rev. Wijers while in Batavia, before leaving for the Netherlands to be a Javanese language teacher. Between 1921 and 1960, he lived in Amsterdam and married a Dutch woman. The Dutch deputation minister in Surakarta, Reverend Huibert Anthonie van Anandel, kept in touch with Nimpoeno family and other noble families of the Mangkunegaran in Java.

Van Anandel had created a good relation with the noble families of Mangkunegaran, even with Mangkunegoro VII. Prior to his coronation as the duke, Mangkunegoro VII studied in the Netherlands and was living with the family of Rutgers. One of Rutgers daughter later got married with Van Anandel. Blessing in disguise, Van Anandel was assigned to Surakarta, where he was able to continue developing the good relation. As a result, the duke eased the work of *zending* in Surakarta, for instance establishment of Koningin Emma School, Christelijke Huishoud School, Christelijke Holland Indisch School, Chinese school, Kweekschool, Sint bernard School, Villapark Holland Chinese School, and Christelijke MULO School van Limburg Stirum (Nusantara, 2003: 64; Reenders, 2001: 856).

In the Netherlands, Nimpoeno worked firstly at a trade office and later became a teacher in the Indonesian language. During his forty-year stay in the Netherlands, Nimpoeno held lectures throughout the country. He pleaded for the appointment of a minister for Indonesian students in the Netherlands, a higher theological education in Indonesia, and a more independence Javanese churches. He was one of the founders of PERKI (Association of Indonesian Christians) in 1930 (Wolterbeek, 1995: 206; Reenders, 2001: 654).

According to Nimpoeno, Javanese evangelists really objected to preaching in *ngoko*. Nimpoeno thought that Christianity had only limited success with upper class Javanese, the *priyayi*, and he urged the church to produce Javanese ministers who were not only familiar with Animism, Hinduism, Islam, theosophy, and proficiency at least to read Dutch, but also who were able to interact with the *priyayi* circle. Such interactions, he asserted, could be best carried out by Javanese ministers, not by Europeans. Nimpoeno preaching in *krama inggil* (*krami*) or proficiency in high Javanese was badly needed, for this was an accepted language within the *priyayi*. The annoyance of hearing *ngoko* was evident only to Javanese preachers. Such an objection on preaching in *ngoko*, however, did not apply to the European workers of the mission (Reenders, 2001: 378). Soekotjo argues that the objection to speak in *ngoko* rather in *krami* was hard to address (Soekotjo and Widhartono, 2013).

Unfortunately, no document has been found which directly responded to Nimpoeno's idea. Yet, in the mid-1920s, a Dutch minister observed that the Javanese were indeed unhappy to hear that lower stratum of Javanese language. With regard to this situation, since 1925, Rev. Adriaanse started to deliver sermons in *krami* Javanese. Dutch ministers in this period realised that speaking in *krami* was very important to allay suspicions among the Javanese that their status was being lowered by Dutch religious ministers (Wolterbeek, 1995: 223-4).

Language use, including within religious ritual, has a social face. The choice of speaking Javanese *ngoko* and *krami* brings its own consequences, particularly in the colonial context.

Because conversion to Christianity partly meant equal status with the Dutch, the JRC hoped that the Javanese would not feel that their status was lowered by the Dutch, especially when a Dutch minister gives a sermon.

C. Between ‘Pamulang’ and ‘Pandita’

Up until 1919, the church in Amsterdam thought that the institutionalisation of Reformed-Christian Javanese in the urban area of Yogyakarta as incomplete (Algra, nd: 101). The complete establishment could only be accomplished by the existence of a native (Javanese) minister. By 1916 the ZGKN appointed two Reformed-Christian Javanese to be evangelists, namely Ponidi Sopater and Djemino Darmowarsito as the first evangelists for the *Pasamoewan Gereformeerd Ngajogdjakarta*. Setodihardjo, Sis Joram, and Kalam Efrajim were appointed as evangelists in Tungkak, the Petronella Hospital, and Wates respectively. In the first half of the 1920s, several other evangelists were appointed, namely M. Darmowasito, M. Hardjosiswojo, and R.M. Besar. However, there was no one who was invited to be minister for the church. Besides evangelists, members of the church also worked as school teachers and nurses. Regarding to the availability of educated or developed members of the church, Darmohatmodjo claimed that the church deserved to have fully self-governed status by choosing one of them as a minister. On 7 January 1925, Rev. A. Pos explained the church’s obligation to have its own minister. On 28 July 1925, chief of the church assembly, Raden Samuel Soekarta Martohatmodjo, held a meeting to discuss the procedure to appoint a minister. The selection of a ministerial candidate was conducted on 2 August 1925, in which they elected Ponidi Sopater to be minister candidate for the church (Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 48-9; Reenders, 2001: 898; Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, 1988: 38; Soekotjo and Widhartono, 2013: 40).

Ponidi was born in Kampung Lowano, Tungkak, Yogyakarta in 1890. He was baptised by Rev. Zwaan at the church of Gondokusuman on 18 September 1910. He took Sopater as his baptismal name. Ponidi Sopater went to Lan-Jon school, whose then headmaster was D. Kolewijn, and among other teachers were Sukarto Samuel Martohatmojo, and Daniel Wasman. He afterwards continued to the first section of the Keuchenius school, or the Christian teacher training school (*pamulangan calon guru Kristen*). Graduated on 2 June 1911, Sopater wanted to progress to the second section of the school, to be educated as evangelist candidate, but he was required to have work experience in a field and also provided evidence as good Christian. Sopater, therefore, worked as teacher. On 4 July, 1912 he married a nurse of the Petronella Hospital, Sukinah, and the bestowal of blessing was conducted at the church in Tungkak. Sopater actually added a name following his marriage, that was Kartosoehardjo, but he hardly used this name. In 1913, he entered the second section of the Keuchenius school, whose headmaster was Rev. F.L. Bakker, and one of his teachers was Rev. J.P. Zuidema. He graduated on 12 June 1915, and almost immediately became an evangelist of the Gondokusuman church (Suhatno, 2008: 814-22; Reenders. 2001: 898).

After being selected as minister candidate, the evangelist Ponidi Sopater was obliged to follow a special course on theology at the Theologische Opleidingschool under Rev. D. Bakker and Rev. F.L. Bakker for about six months starting from 2 August 1925. The church assembly of Gondokusuman and the deputation minister to the church, Rev. A. Pos, determined that the peremptory test would be on 8 April 1926. On behalf of the church assembly, Rev. D. Bakker,

Rev. F.L. Bakker, Rev. A. Pos and several representatives of deputation ministers of the ZGKN posed questions to Sopater. As a result, Sopater passed the test satisfactorily. In order to get a response from the church member, the plan for ordaining Sopater was announced on 17 and 24 April 1926. Since there was no objection to the plan, Ponidi Sopater was ordained as minister of the Gondokusuman church by Rev. D. Bakker at the church on Thursday 29 April 1926. Hence, the church obtained its fully self-governed status by having its own minister within thirteen years of its establishment (Darmohatmodjo, 1953: 50-1; Soekotjo and Widhartono, 2013: 40-1; Reenders, 2001: 898). The procedure to appoint a Javanese minister had been decided in the GKN synod in Leeuwarden in 1920. The requirements for appointing a Javanese minister included the following qualities: excelling in faith, pious, having good character, having good theological knowledge as graduates of the Theology School in Yogyakarta, having good practical skills (industrious, wise, good leadership), and taking a further course on theology before taking peremptory examination (Reenders, 2001: 629-33).

The debates arose with regard to the full establishment the church in Gondokusuman Yogyakarta revolved not only on who ought to be the first Javanese minister, but what would be the appropriate term for a minister. The Javanese term used for minister was *pandita*. The previous term proposed by Rev. Van Dijk in 1923 was *pamulang*. He argued that the proposed Javanese term sounded like a biblical term, while *pandita* related to a Buddhist term. *Pamulang* actually was designated by Rev. D. Bakker in his school. Nevertheless, Raden S. Nimpoena objected to the proposed title. He argued that *pandita* had been used by Dutch or missionary ministers, therefore, if *pamulang* was used for a Javanese minister it would give the impression that Javanese ministers had lower status than those of missionaries. Nimpoena also questioned why one objected to the use of *pandita* for Javanese ministers but not for Europeans (Reenders, 2001: 633). To this day, the term used for a Javanese minister is *pandita*.

The choice of a Javanese term for naming a Javanese minister was not based on a biblical term. Social equality considerations became more important than biblical reasons. In a way, the JRC sought to have the same status as the Dutch. On the other hand, they seemed to seek to be distinct from non-Christian Javanese, or at least to show to other Javanese that they were at the same level with the Dutch. Nevertheless, the expectation of having similar social position with the Dutch could not be accepted by the Dutch. The following section demonstrates the Dutch attitude towards the JRC, which was then followed by the Chinese, who abandoned the JRC church.

D. Separated-Congregational Language

In the beginning, members of the JRC church in Gondokusuman Yogyakarta consisted not only of ethnic Javanese, but also Dutch and Chinese. The use of a Javanese cultural element, Javanese language compelled the non-Javanese to leave the congregation. This section shows that language can be used as a boundary marker between different ethnic groups, despite such groups having the same Christian denomination.

Even though, the Dutch *zending* workers were comfortable with the use of Javanese language, it raised objections from Dutch newcomers who did not speak Javanese. Such an objection had actually appeared at least since 1909. In a report submitted to the church assembly in Amsterdam, Rev. D. Bakker informed that he had attempted to deliver service, the Holy Supper, in both

Javanese and Dutch, but it became inconvenient to the attendance, because it took longer. In addition, he also tried to serve the Javanese and the Dutch separately using each congregation's language. Service for the Javanese was conducted in Javanese in the morning while for the Dutch it was delivered in Dutch in the evening (Reenders, 2001: 444).

In 1916, the Dutch-speaking members of the church officially requested to be separated from the Javanese church and established their own church. The church council of Amsterdam granted independence to the Reformed-Christian Dutch in 1919 (Reenders, 2001: 590). In 1920 the Reformed-Christian Dutch who did not speak Javanese detached themselves from the church. Objections on Javanese language usage emerged in Magelang too. In his letter to the church assembly of Middelburg, Rev. Merkelijn illustrated that there was no Javanese-speaking Dutch in Magelang while they existed in urban areas of Yogyakarta. In addition, what Merkelijn called "communal" attitude occasionally disturbed the solemnity of a ritual, as had happened during a Holy Supper in Magelang (Reenders, 2001: 589-93).

Unlike the Reformed-Christian Dutch in Yogyakarta, their brethren in Solo had never been united in one church with those of Javanese. Up until the end of 1918, they held separated services in the house of ZGKN minister in Solo, Rev. H.A. van Aniel. They attended the Holy Supper in the Javanese (and Chinese) church as guests for the first time on 10 February 1918. However, they expressed their objection to the hold of such a service delivered in Javanese. So that, the separation of the congregations was obliged to execute. The Reformed-Christian Dutch's church was finally established on 26 July 1919 (Algra, nd.: 124; Reenders, 2001: 545-7).

The Reformed-Christian Dutch initially held services delivered in Dutch in a room of the Petronella Hospital (Algra, Nd.: 124; Reenders. 2001: 545-7). On 21 May 1923, they already had their own church building in Kotabaru (hkbpjogja.blogspot.co.id). By 1923, there were two Reformed-Christian churches in urban areas of Yogyakarta, that is in Gondokusuman which mainly housed the Javanese, and in Kotabaru which particularly accommodated the Dutch (Suharno, 2008: 812; Tim penerbitan buku kenangan 75 tahun GKJ Sawokembar Gondokusuman, 1988: 35).

Following the departure of the Dutch, Christian Chinese also seceded from Gondokusuman church along with the Dutch by stating the same reason, that is the difficulty in understanding Javanese during the service (gkiswjateng.org). Nevertheless, Wolterbeek discloses that the factual reason behind the abandoning from the Javanese church was because the Chinese did not want to be considered to be on the same level as the Javanese. Some of them even did not accept evangelisation from Javanese evangelists (Wolterbeek. 1995: 234-5). Wolterbeek's explanation seems reasonable, for during the Dutch Administration, the Chinese was socially categorised in the second ethnic group along with other Foreign Asiatics, which were generally a level higher than Javanese. Moreover, most Chinese had Dutch language proficiency because they were graduates of Hollands-Chinesche School (HCS) Gemblaan Danurejan Yogyakarta, which was established in 1917 (Christiani, 2014: 7). Tabita Kartika Christiani argues that the establishment of Reformed-Christian Chinese congregation in urban areas of Yogyakarta emerged as a result of the role played by the Reformed-Christian Dutch centred at their church in Kotabaru, besides important roles played by Reformed-Christian Javanese and Christian *totok* Chinese. The Javanese played a role in introducing Christianity through socio-economic interaction, the Dutch gave financial support to the Chinese in the early phase of the separation of this congregation from the Javanese

congregation, meanwhile newly-arrived Chinese arrived from China (the *totok*) who already embraced Christianity facilitated a place for conducting services (Christiani, 2014: 1-6).

To compare with, the establishment of the Reformed-Christian Javanese church of Solo (Margoyudan) which was established 30 April 1916, a Chinese was appointed to be elders in the church assembly. Reverend van Andel even recommended the Chinese congregation in Solo was established in a separate church to that of Javanese, although they needed much higher salary than Javanese. He argued that the Chinese would have contributed more than the Javanese (Reenders, 2001: 545-7).

Prior to residing in permanent church building at Ngupasan, Reformed-Christian Chinese in urban areas of Yogyakarta held their ecclesiastical activities at different places. Following recognition by the government in 1928, the congregation held services delivered in Malay at a *totok* Chinese place, Hoo Se Sing, in Pajéksan where the *totok* held service in Hok Chiu. In the same year (1928), they rented a house for holding services in Ngabéan. In order to have sufficient space, in 1929 they moved to a house at Ngadiwinatan. Because they were financially independent, they became established as the Maleisch Chinese Gereformeerd Kerk (*Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee*, THKTKH) on 3 June 1934. On 2 June 1935, THKTKH moved to a bigger and more permanent church location, at Jalan Ngupasan 21 Yogyakarta. In 1941, the congregation obtained its full adulthood, after having their own minister, Rev. Pouw Ie Gan. Meanwhile, Go Tiang Lioe who had become the first evangelist of the congregation in 1935, was ordained as the second minister in 1943 (Christiani. 2014. *Sejarah GKI Ngupasan 75th*, Yogyakarta: GKI Ngupasan Yogyakarta, 7-9; Wolterbeek reveals that L. Go Tiang Lioe was ordained an an evangelist in 1935 (Wolterbeek: 1995: 241).

This section shows that language inclines to have more social meaning rather than theological. Similarities in theological faith could not prevent non-Javanese to establish their own church. Furthermore, the social position of the Dutch and the Chinese which were higher than the Javanese may have been the primary reason of the two ethnic groups to leave the Javanese congregation and establish their own churches and church buildings.

IV. CONCLUSION

Javanese language was important to the formation of JRC in urban areas of Yogyakarta during the early twentieth century. It represented Javanese congregation as a distinct ethnicity among other Reformed-Christians. Ethnic segregation among communities within colonial setting created social consciousness in certain JRC churches which drove them to place the language in an appropriate way. The choice of the highest level of Javanese language as a pulpit language, and the Javanese term for a Javanese pastor or minister, for example, explained that social aspects of language was more important than theological sense. Nevertheless, the dominant presence of the Javanese, and especially the use of Javanese language, made the non-Javanese congregation leave the Javanese congregation.

In the twentieth century, Christianity in south central Java, including urban areas of Yogyakarta, was formed through a comprehensive understanding of the mission's institutions and their missionaries' expertise as regards the local language and culture. By using Javanese, the

GKN'S mission and its missionaries attempted to intervene in the use of Javanese language in the JRC church, that is to determine Javanese as a religio-social language, as the pulpit language, and the term for Javanese minister. The efforts, however, affirmed that the highest Javanese language level (*krami*) as the most noble compared to the other levels. The formation of JRC in urban areas of Yogyakarta indicates that the social aspect of language is very important. The JRC was conscious that embracing Western religion does not mean leaving their social and cultural identities. Apart from colonial period of this study, the Javanese desired to articulate their identity through the usage of a particular level of Javanese language.

Furthermore, the mission of language-level creation produced churches with the same theological principles, but separated by ethnic language. Aside from the real reasons of proposing to be separated from JRC, the separation indicates that Javanese language more or less became a means of creating boundary markers among religious communities. Each community demarcated themselves from others in order to sustain each distinctive religio-social identity. Javanese language, thus, played significant role or made use by each party to be an independent RC community.

Church history does not have to highlight institutional history. It also includes other aspects which played roles in the growth and development of congregation which drove them to firmly establish as a church. Last but not least, this study shows the relations between two major discipline, that is History and Linguistics, by examining the history of JRC church. However, there should be a distinction between Linguo-historical and Historico-lingual studies. While the first study gives emphasis to History, the stress on the second study is on Linguistics. This study consecrates on the former.

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