

The Javanese Cultural Identity Consciousness and Nationalism in Yogyakarta Early 20th Century

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Abstract

This study aims to reconstruct the emergence of Javanese nationalism that developed in the early 20th century. The problems raised are: (1) Why did Javanese nationalism appear in Yogyakarta? and (2) How did Javanese nationalism in the thoughts and movements of the Yogyakarta aristocrats? The method used is the historical method. The analysis uses the nationalism approach developed by Ernest Renan, which states that the capital for establishing a nation-state is historical and cultural similarities. The research results show that the Yogyakarta Theosophy branch brought cultural consciousness to the rich Javanese past. The consciousness developed Javanese nationalism in three forms: political movements, pedagogy, and andragogy. In the political movement, there was an attempt to form a Javanese nation-state under the leadership of Suryokusumo. Ki Hadjar Dewantara founded the Tamansiswa College, which developed students' personalities according to their talents and culture origin. On the other hand, Suryomentaram propagated the Javanese andragogy.

Keywords: *Javanese cultural identity, Javanese nationalism, Yogyakarta theosophy, Tamansiswa, Selasa Kliwon study club.*

Introduction

The New Order military regime (1967-1998) carried out uniformity in various aspects of life. The government forces citizens to follow all its ideas obediently. One is when the New Order propagated modernism; the government implemented it with a command system (Ilham, 2019). The government depoliticized to maintain public obedience by changing the multi-party system to only three political parties (Rizqi, 2022). Even McGregor (McGregor, 2007) explains that uniformity also occurs in historical writing. Historical stories are arranged teleologically, with Indonesia becoming a modern country as the goal (Purwanta, 2018). As a result, borrowing Heidegger's term (1996), Indonesian society develops into a *dasein*, which has no personality. Nordholt found that Indonesian people live without having a past or history (Nordholt, 2004).

New Order ideology and politics resulted in the marginalization of local culture. As an illustration, during the New Order government, Jambi Malay culture experienced a deep decline (Bahar, Putri, & Nurdin, 2020). Budiarto's study (2020) found that New Order propaganda that Indonesian was the only official means of communication resulted in the

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marginalization of ethnic languages. Even the position is lower than the English language taught in schools.

All ethnic groups in Indonesia experience a decline in regional culture. Only a few ethnic groups can maintain the main elements of their culture. One of the surviving ethnic groups is the Javanese, who live in the province of Yogyakarta. They still use the local language in everyday interactions. They also maintain the values and various cultural elements developed by the Mataram Kingdom in the XVII century (Sulistiyowati, 2014). Even today, they can creatively adapt and develop distinctive cultural communities that are different from other regions in Indonesia (Purwanta, 2015). The ability to maintain the regional culture has made Yogyakarta known nationally as a city of culture. At the international level, Yogyakarta is known as one of the main cultural tourism destinations next to Bali.

The success of Yogyakarta in maintaining classical Javanese culture is due to its historical success in exploring and constructing a cultural identity that distinguishes them from Western/Dutch and Islamic cultures. Yogyakarta's cultural exploration was pioneered by aristocrats who were triggered by Theosophy teachings. This exploration developed into the Selasa Kliwonan study club and culminated in the Javanese Nationalist Movement in 1917. They wanted to establish a Javanese national state that developed Javanese culture and was free from the Dutch colonial government (Kartono, Soeroto, & Ningrat, 1918). The idea spread to other areas on the islands of Java and Madura. The Sundanese, who are culturally very different, also support Javanese nationalism by becoming part of the movement.

The Javanese nationalism movement is an exciting topic of historical research. Historical studies can be grouped into two themes. The first is the root problem of Javanese nationalism. This study explains that the emergence of Javanese nationalism was related to the development of the Theosophy fraternity in Yogyakarta in 1903 and Surakarta in 1905. The Theosophy movement triggered aristocrats to study God's wisdom from various elements of Javanese culture, especially wayang kulit (shadow puppet). The study of cultural elements gave rise to a consciousness of the Javanese cultural identity as different from the Dutch and Islam (Sears, 1996). The Javanese nationalist movement also associated itself with the Majapahit kingdom. They considered that the Majapahit Kingdom was the culmination of the glory of Javanese culture in the past. Parallel to that, Indonesian nationalist movements, such as Mohammad Yamin and Sanusi Pane, also claim that Majapahit is proof of the greatness of the Indonesian (Bloembergen & Eickhoff, 2020).

Theosophy's influence also occurred when the fraternity's attention turned to politics. Under the leadership of Annie Besant, the center of the Theosophical Movement moved from New York to Adyar, and they became involved in the Indian national movement (Tollenaere, 1996). This development influenced the Theosophy Movement in Indonesia and inspired the aristocrats in Yogyakarta and Surakarta to conduct a political campaign to build a Javanese national state (Niwandhono, 2014).

A different explanation was given by Fakhri, who stated that Javanese nationalism was the result of a Western nation's project. Europe is experiencing a crisis due to the development of a modern culture based on rationalism and science (Fakhri, 2014). That crisis prompted the search for irrational solutions that gave birth to Theosophy. At the next level, Theosophy's thinking constructs a discourse that Javanese culture has developed to be superior after India's influence. In the following period, Javanese culture experienced degradation due to Islamic forces. From this point of view, Javanese nationalism is an irrational solution, namely through the Javanese romanticism of the Hindu period, for the development of modern culture brought by Dutch colonialism and imperialism (Fakhri, 2014).

The second research concern is the discourse competition between Javanese (regional) and Indonesian (national) nationalism. The research was conducted by comparing the thoughts of figures from the Javanese nationalist movement, such as Sutatmo Suryokusumo, with Cipto Mangunkusumo, whose ideas were more toward Indonesian nationalism (Sears, 1996). Shiraishi describes Suryokusumo's view as a Panditta (cleric) and Mangunkusumo's view as a ksatria (Knight) (Shiraishi, 1981). At the end of the third decade, the competition seems to have won for Indonesian nationalism. Even Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, one of the figures of Indonesian nationalism, views Indonesia as a new creation and has nothing to do with the dead Majapahit culture (Bloembergen & Eickhoff, 2020).

None of the various historical studies have discussed the crucial stage of formulating Javanese nationalism in Yogyakarta, especially the Selasa Kliwonan study club. Even though it is only an informal institution, the meeting held by the study club every 35 days is an essential means of exchanging ideas about Javanese culture and nationalism. There are at least three figures from the Selasa Kliwonan study club whose thoughts and actions represent Javanese nationalism, namely Suryokusumo, who is engaged in politics; Ki Hadjar Dewantara, who is involved in children's education (pedagogy), and Ki Ageng Suryomentaram, who is interested in adult education (andragogy/philosophy of life). From this point of view, a study of Javanese nationalism would be incomplete without including a formulation stage in the Selasa Kliwonan club study.

Based on the important position of the Selasa Kliwonan study club in the emergence and development of Javanese cultural identity consciousness and nationalism, this research is directed to trace the historical genetics of Javanese nationalism in Yogyakarta by focusing attention on the thinking and its transformation in the form of movements of the members of the Selasa Kliwonan study club. The research questions posed are:

1. Why did Javanese nationalism appear in Yogyakarta?
2. How is Javanese nationalism in the thoughts and movements of the aristocratic members of the Selasa Kliwonan study club?

Methodology

This study uses historical methods. Source collection was done by finding and inventorying primary sources, such as newspapers, magazines, and books published during the Dutch colonial administration. Secondary sources are collected from journal articles, books, and research reports available on the internet and library. Source selection was based on the problems raised in this study, namely the background of the emergence and thinking of Javanese nationalism.

The analysis was carried out using the nationalism approach developed by Ernest Renan. He stated that the nation, like individuals, is the product of a long past full of sacrifice and devotion. Among all cultures, the ancestors' culture is the most legitimate because it is the ancestors who make society develop as it is today (Renan, 1882). Another factor that becomes valuable social capital in the effort to form a nation-state is historical similarities, namely having figures who heroically defended and developed the people of a region. The similarity of heroes overcomes differences in society, such as language, skin color, and economic status (Özkırımlı, 2010). From this viewpoint, a nation-state results from a community agreement that lives in a region. Therefore, the second condition must be met is that various community groups desire to unite into one nation (Dreyer, 2018). This desire shows that the existence of a nation-state is desired by modern society, even if that institution is a continuation of the past, as is the case with the United Kingdom (Mycock, 2013).

From Renan's explanation, it can be understood that nationalism has two main elements, namely cultural identity consciousness and historical similarities, which give rise to the desire to live together as a nation within the nation-state. In this context, cultural identity is an individual's feeling of belonging, identification, and connection to a particular cultural group or community. Borrowing the conclusions of Chen & Lin (2016), cultural identity takes on both individual and social meanings that are inseparable. That feeling of connection includes shared beliefs, values, customs, traditions, language, and heritage that define the group's way of life. The process of emergence and development of identity consciousness is closely related to the depth of individual understanding and reflection on the culture of their community (Yang, Yao, & Liu, 2021). Deep understanding and reflection can occur through study, research, and education. Consciousness of cultural identity raises the desire to preserve the culture of the community from threats from other cultures. On the other hand, cultural identity consciousness also encourages communities to develop various aspects of culture that are seen as weak in adapting to contemporary life (Dugis, 1999).

The second element is historical similarities. In this context, people share the same historical events and become a shared collective memory, thus giving birth to a feeling of shared fate. Historical similarities at the next level develop socio-political connections and integration among societal groups. A growing sense of shared destiny and responsibility can overcome various societal differences (Kusumawardani & Faturachman, 2004). Even various groups of people have views on forming a nation-state.

Results and Discussion

Review of Yogyakarta Sultanate and Pakualaman Princedom

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta was established due to a conflict between brothers at the court of the Mataram Kingdom, namely King Paku Buwono II and his younger brother, Prince Mangkubumi, about attitudes towards VOC colonialism. The conflict developed into a war of succession III which lasted from 1746 to 1755 and ended with the division of the kingdom's territory into two, namely the Surakarta Sunanate ruled by Susuhunan Paku Buwono and the Yogyakarta Sultanate under the reign of Prince Mangkubumi who later held the title Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (Ricklefs, 2001).

The Yogyakarta Sultanate showed an unfriendly attitude towards the VOC, even though it had signed a cooperation agreement. This attitude was increasingly seen during the reigns of Hamengku Buwono II (1792-1810) and (1811-1812) (Carey, 2020). He rejected changes to the protocol of meeting at the palace with representatives of the Dutch government, fired Patih Danureja II, and sponsored the rebellion of the Madiun Regent. As a result, Governor General Daendels invaded the Yogyakarta Sultanate in December 1810, deposed Hamengku Buwono II and appointed the crown prince to be Sultan Hamengku Buwono III, and restored Patih Danurejo's position.

When Napoleon occupied the Netherlands, the British occupied Indonesia, and Stamford Raffles was appointed governor-general (1811-1816). The change in the political constellation caused Hamengku Buwono II to be restored to his status as Sultan and Hamengku Buwono III to be demoted to become crown prince. However, the anti-colonialistic Hamengku Buwono II's attitude towards the Netherlands and England has not changed (Marihandono, 2008). Patih Danurejo was executed for siding with the Dutch. The conflict with the British sharpened when the palace provided seats lower than the seat of the Sultan and culminated when correspondence was discovered with Hamengku Buwono II and Paku Buwana IV's conspiracy against the British. Raffles then invaded the Yogyakarta sultanate with the assistance of Prince Natakusuma. Sultan Hamengku Buwono II was deposed and exiled to Penang Island (Irawan, 2019). The

power of the Sultanate was given back to the crown prince with the title Sultan Hamengku Buwono III. Meanwhile, Prince Natakusuma was rewarded with a position as an Autonomous Duchy with the title Paku Alam I with jurisdiction at the southwestern tip of Yogyakarta. Awarding this prize resulted in two entities of political power in Yogyakarta, namely the Sultanate and Pakualaman Princedom.

The exile of Hamengku Buwono II made the Sultanate no longer have the power to represent displeasure against foreign nations in the form of opposition to the Dutch, who returned to colonize Indonesia in 1816 (Harjono, 2012). The displeasure of the empire was represented by maintaining political relationship distance and developing economic independence. The Sultanate's guard against the Dutch colonial government was represented by not being willing to attend the inauguration ceremony of a new governor-general in Batavia or a new resident in the Yogyakarta residency.

Displeasure with Dutch colonialism was represented by developing economic independence. As an inland kingdom with no port and a narrow territory of around 3050 km², the Yogyakarta sultanate's economy depended on the agricultural sector. Therefore, through his bureaucracy, the Sultan developed economic independence with a village granary and a supporting crafts system. The village granary is the collective storage of part of the harvested rice to be loaned to the deficient villagers. This system was developed to prevent villagers from famine or crop failure (Harjito, Wibowo, & Suhardjanto, 2016).

Self-sufficiency is carried out by developing various crafts that support the needs of the village community. In the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, villages emerged with different craft skills, such as pottery, agricultural equipment, and wicker villages. Haryono's research found that the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in the early nineteenth century also developed the manufacture of coconut oil, liquid indigo, coconut sugar, and salt, as well as the processing of iron, steel, and copper. He also explained that in some cases, Yogyakarta could sell its handicrafts outside the region, such as blue thread, batik, and striated cloth (Haryono, 2009).

The Pakualaman Princedom developed itself differently from the Sultanate to show its identity. The territory, which is only 146 km², will not be sufficient to support all the nobles and officials adequately. Therefore, Paku Alam chose to modernize itself and was actively involved in the Dutch colonial administration. The seriousness of efforts to modernize the princedom can be seen in the policy of sending princes to the Duchy of Paku Alam to attend education. Paku Alam V, in 1891, sent two princes who were still nine years old, namely Kusumo Yudo and Surtiyo, to the Netherlands to study in Nijmegen (Amini, 2014). The two princes left without a maid and were only entrusted to the family of J.C. Rikkers, who returned to the Netherlands due to retirement. The local newspaper, *Bromartani*, described the breakup as follows:

Kala angkatipun wau kados punapa kemawon raosing galih ipun ingkang kagungan putra, badhe pisah boten kirang saking sadasa taun laminipun, ingkang sumerep kemawon kathah ingkang rentah luhipun mila kula lebetaken ingkabar *Bromartani* supados dados satuladaning kathah, anak punika prayogi kapreteg ing kasagedan manawi kagalih panjang punika tetep tresna dhateng nganak... sampun kados pak.... anakipun tansah dipun kempit kemawon sedyanipun saking welas saha asih sayektosipun boten tresna, anak punika manawi dipun ugung mesthi bodho, tiyang bodho punika ingkang kathah tembenipun amanggih sangsara (Winter & Winter Jr., 1891).

A free translation of the quote above is that the sadness of his parents is indescribable because they will be separated for a minimum of ten years. Many people who saw his departure shed tears. Therefore, journalists included it as news in *Bromartani* to become an example for many people that a child should study science. When felt deeply, coercion is an expression of love for children. In general, children are always near their parents for

reasons of affection; in fact, that action is not an expression of love. A pampered child will be silly and miserable in the future.

The two princes used the Bromo ship from Batavia (now Jakarta) to Rotterdam. They landed in Marseilles on 20 May 1891, and only returned to Indonesia in 1902 (Haagsche_Courant, 1891). News of the arrival of the two princes from Pakualaman was first published by the Dutch newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Diederichs, 1891).

Pakualaman rulers in the following years, especially at the beginning of the 20th century, sent more and more members of their families to attend Western education, such as civil service schools. Funding was done through Paku Alam Studie Fond and assistance from the Freemasonry Society (Sudibyo, 2015). After graduating, many princes worked in the Dutch colonial government because the Pakualaman government bureaucracy was small, and it was impossible to accommodate all family members.

Theosophy Fraternity in Yogyakarta

One of the most important causes for the emergence of Javanese nationalism was Theosophy which grew and developed in Yogyakarta at the beginning of the 20th century. As a result of the Egyptology that developed in Freemasonry, the Theosophy fraternity is passionate about exploring the past to find values and worldviews that today's society can use (Hornung, Krauss, & Warburton, 2006). Moreover, Blavatsky's journey to Java concluded that Javanese culture has excellent potential to contribute God's wisdom to the world Theosophy Society based in New York (Bahri, 2017). The Javanese aristocrats, especially those from Pakualaman principedom, enthusiastically continued this theosophical spirit.

The Theosophy Society in Yogyakarta proliferates with various activities exploring values in Javanese culture. In fact, in 1908, Yogyakarta was trusted as the venue for the Indonesian branch of the Theosophy Congress, which was still part of the Theosophy Society of the Netherlands (Schalk, 1908). The Congress was held on 18 and 19 April 1908 at the house of Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung Sosronegoro, the police chief of the Yogyakarta Residency. The Congress was attended by 75 members (Hooyer, 1908). It was further explained by *De Preanger-Bode* newspaper that many members were absent. Most members were representatives from Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and the Chinese community (Schalk, 1908).

An interesting conversation ensued when Frederique Henriëtte Jacoba van Motman (wife of Dirk van Hinloopen Labberton) gave a speech entitled *Refleksi Fragmentaris tentang Seni* (Fragmentary Reflections on Art), which discussed various ancestral legacies. She explained that the feeling that underlies a work of art is the knowledge of Nature and Man. Therefore, true art must awaken the aspiration to become a better person. The same applies to ancestral graves, reminding living humans of noble values. Even Mrs. Hinloopen Labberton emphasized that Borobudur is one of the most beautiful tomb monuments. As a burial monument, it can be said that Borobudur is a symbol of the whole journey of the development of the human mind. The seven terraces represent the seven realms where the evolution of the mind took place until it finally reunited with the World of Soul (Vierhout, 1908).

The thoughts conveyed by Mrs. Hinloopen Labberton attracted the attention of the Javanese aristocrats. She made them aware that many historical relics must be studied to find God's Wisdom in Javanese culture. They focused on historical relics and oral and written literary arts in the following years. One of the arts that has received significant attention is *Wayang kulit* (Shadow puppet). In almost every Congress, the theosophy lodge always presents wayang performances because they are seen as the cultural identity of the Javanese people and contain very high-value teachings.

A study by Boonstra found that wayang art is dynamic. The Wayang develops according to the development of society (Boonstra, 2014). The split of Mataram into two kingdoms

in 1755 resulted in the emergence of wayang performances in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta styles. Both styles emerged and developed through establishing dalang (puppeteer) education in each kingdom. In Surakarta, the puppeteer education belonging to the palace is named Padhasuka (Pasinaon Dhalang ing Surakarta/ The Dalang School in Surakarta) (Matul M., 2017). In Yogyakarta, a similar institution is called Hamurwani Biwara Rancangan Dhalang, abbreviated Habirandha (Sulanjari, 2017). In Surakarta, Kasunanan poets are active in writing wayang stories, such as Arjunawiwaha, Ramayana, Baratayuda, Arjunasasra, Lokapala, and Bimasuci. Even new characters were created, such as Buto Terong/an eggplant giant, and a female giant named Kenya Wandu/a lesbian girl (Soetarno, 2011).

The Yogyakarta aristocrats' interest in Theosophy provided new energy for the initiators of association politics within the Dutch colonial government, who wanted the Javanese people to adopt habits of doing and thinking the Netherlands people. This hope grew by appointing Dirk van Hinloopen Labberton as a member of the Commissie voor de Volkslectuur (Commission of Public Education). Despite this, the ambitious project was unlikely to succeed. The association process usually occurs in a minority of immigrants to the socio-cultural system of the majority community, such as the process of association that occurs in the Pomaks community with the Post-Ottoman Turkey community (Emen-Gökatalay, 2023) and Turkish immigrants in Poland (Karaköse & Yaylacı, 2023).

The problem faced by Javanese aristocrats, especially in Yogyakarta, is a contradiction between the teachings of Theosophy and the reality of life, which represents injustice, discrimination, and exploitation between one party to another. The gap between the Dutch and the natives was loudly voiced by the Budi Utomo movement organization, which struggled to develop Western education for the natives (Kartono et al., 1918). Education was the best way to make natives equal to the Dutch. This view aligns with the Dutch colonial government, which imposed an Ethical Policy in the early 20th century (Ricklefs, 2001). The policy has three primary programs to advance natives: education, irrigation, and transmigration.

The Javanese Nationalism

Following the communicative action theory of Habermas (1986), an in-depth study of the past as a source of God's Wisdom developed by the Theosophy Fraternity in Yogyakarta provoked critical discourse among some of its members. One famous thinker is Kudiarmaji, a nobleman from the Yogyakarta Sultanate. The main criticism of Theosophy's teachings is humans' dependence on elements from outside the self. From this point of view, humans must follow God's Wisdom which makes them dependent and unable to carry out various activities outside the Theosophy teachings, both thinking and physical acting. This teaching contradicts the essence of Javanese culture, which places humans as independent subjects. As a subject, philosophically, humans are not dependent on everything outside of themselves, including the results of culture and even the concept of God developed by Abrahamic religions. Various external factors are placed only as considerations that can affect humans. The primary determinant of every action, whether thinking, speaking, or acting, is the human being as an independent person. The concept of *memayu hayuning bawana*, widely known in Javanese culture, is an attempt so that every action taken can strengthen the harmony between humans as individuals and their environment (Ainia, 2021).

The concept of the human being as an independent subject is similar to the teachings of Buddhism, which at that time became the way of life for many Javanese aristocrats, such as R.A. Kartini, who was seen by the Indonesian nationalist movement as a princess warrior from Jepara. In his letter dated 27 October 1902, he declared himself a follower of the Buddha (Kartini, 1920). Kudiarmaji's thinking is similar to Buddhism, especially in teachings that view attachment to various things outside oneself as a cause of misery. Nevertheless, further research is needed to find a relationship between the two.

Kudiarmaji's thoughts, which later changed his name to Ki Ageng Suryamentaram, developed through discussions in a group he founded, the Selasa Kliwonan study club. Since most of the members of the Theosophy Yogyakarta are Pakualaman aristocrats, the splinter members also come from there, namely:

1. Sutatmo Suryokusumo,
2. Sutopo Wonoboyo,
3. Gondoatmojo,
4. Prawirowiworo,
5. Pronowidigdo,
6. Subono,
7. Ageng Suryoputro,
8. Suwardi Suryaningrat (bergabung setelah pulang dari pengasingan), dan
9. Suryodiputro (Wiryopranoto, Herlina, Marihandono, & Tangkilisan, 2017).

The discussion on the Selasa Kliwonan study club leads its members to Javanese nationalism in three forms: cultural identity, independent personality, and community awareness. One figure from the Selasa Kliwonan study club who needs to be mentioned first as a fighter for Javanese nationalism is Sutatmo Suryokusumo. Although formally, he is not a leader, his thoughts thickly color the movement of the Selasa Kliwonan study club.

Suryokusumo 1917 founded the Committee for Javanese Nationalism with other young members of Budi Utomo: Satiman and Abdul Rachman (Muhlenfeld, 1917). Like the development of thought in the Budi Utomo movement organization, the Javanese Nationalism Committee seeks to establish a national state for the Javanese people, namely those living on Java and Madura's islands. For Java Island, the scope is Javanese and Sundanese cultured communities.

Using Java as a boundary is because nationalism requires a common thought as a binder. Suryokusumo propagated Javanese nationalism because, among Javanese, they had something in common called Javanese cultural identity, so if a conflict occurred, it could be more easily resolved by using a cultural approach (Soeriokoesoemo, 1918a). Even so, he appreciated others' views that wanted nationalism for the wider community, such as Indies nationalism conveyed by Cipto Mangunkusumo (Mangoenkoesoemo, 1918). The question that Suryokusumo asked was what element of similarity would be used as the binder? Indonesia has many races, ethnicities, customs, and religions, so it is difficult to unite them into a nation.

Suryokusumo's thoughts on Javanese nationalism are based on the view that there are differences between Javanese and Western cultures which in this context are represented by Dutch people who worked in the colonial government, business people, and factory employees. This thought was conveyed at the first Javanese Cultural Congress held in Surakarta on 5 – 7 July 1918 (Supardi, 2013). Suryokusumo stated that the development of the Javanese nation should be directed in the direction along which the ancestors have paved the way for themselves and for us (Soeriokoesoemo, 1918b). In his view, Javanese people will be able to achieve glory only by developing a culture passed down by their ancestors and not by adopting Western culture. Suryokusumo could accept that the Dutch often ridiculed Javanese society as uncivilized because the culture was subjective, so they saw their culture as the best. However, Suryokusumo criticized Javanese figures who negated the culture of their ancestors as people who did not study and understand their own culture.

Javanese people have a different education system from schools developed by the West. The Javanese community develops the Padepokan system, and students learn daily to become individuals with character. Teachers in Java, called Pandita, are responsible for creating a conducive environment for the growth and development of student personality (Soeriokoesoemo, 1918b). In Western culture, teachers create various subjects for students to study in a walled class. Even so, Suryokusumo was not anti-Western education. He stated that Western education was important, mainly the applied sciences, such as medicine, mechanical engineering, and agriculture. Suryokusumo also explained that Wayang is the soul of Javanese culture. The performance of Wayang combined with a gamelan orchestra is, for the Javanese, a medium for reflection and contemplation about themselves and the path to the future that must be taken. He explained that discussing Javanese education without mentioning Wayang is like traveling around Java without seeing the Borobudur temple.

An interesting response to the ideas at the First Javanese Cultural Congress was given by the Java Institute, particularly regarding history education. The Java Institute supports Suryokusumo's view that history education can only be understood if it is linked to moral education and character building. History education has no direct use for social life unless knowledge of it is processed to become the basis of students' inner lives (Java_Instituut, 1921).

Another Selasa Kliwonan fraternity figure who needs to be mentioned is Suwardi Suryaningrat, who later changed his name to Ki Hajar Dewantara. He carried out public awareness of Javanese cultural identity by establishing an educational institution on 3 July 1922 and is named the Tamansiswa College. The background of his thoughts was written in a book entitled *Een en ander over "National Onderwijs" en het Instituut "Taman Siswa" te Jogjakarta* ["National Education" and the Institute "Taman Siswa" in Jogjakarta]. In the first part, he explained that socio-economics rapid changes in Indonesia's early 20th century were often responded to incorrectly, thus sacrificing many aspects of Javanese culture. Therefore, even though it was too late, Dewantara founded the Tamansiswa college that marked with the Javanese words *Suci tata ngèsti*, which can be interpreted as "by building purity and order, to strive for the perfection of life" (Dewantara, 1935).

In Tamansiswa College, the development of Javanese nationalism in students is carried out based on thoughts about nature will. Every person cannot choose the location of birth, the culture that nurtures him, and various genetic characteristics. From this point of view, teachers must position themselves as caregivers who facilitate, motivate, and model so that students can develop according to their innate nature (Noventari, 2020). Many Tamansiswa's students come from Javanese culture, so teachers must educate them to become noble Javanese humans.

In addition to providing a foundation for cultural identity, education is also directed at students becoming independent human beings; that is, they can have self-consciousness to be independent, self-regulate (discipline), and not depend on others (Darmawan, 2016). This independence allows students to understand and adapt to the differences that naturally exist in society to build harmony with the social environment. At the next level, social harmony becomes the capital for creating inner happiness (Dewantara, 1977).

The idea of local cultural identity as the foundation of education has made Tamansiswa colleges rapidly gain popularity. A few months after it opened, on 15 September 1922, the Tamansiswa school held a stage featuring various Javanese arts, such as children's games and songs, reading the Vedatama book by humming it, and Nini Thowong dance. The Nini Thowong dance is a Javanese mystical scarecrow dance play involving a doll that is depicted as possessed by the spirit of an older woman (Ulivia, 2018). This dance is a combination of funny movements and singing. Thousands of people watched the performance, so *de Express* newspaper predicted that the Tamansiswa College would

grow into a large one (Kessing, 1922a). The prediction came true. On 27 October 1922, Notodiputro contacted the Tamansiswa center to set up a branch in Surabaya (Kessing, 1922b). In 1925 the East Java branch of Tamansiswa was officially established in Indonesia's second-largest city. Even in 1932, the Tamansiswa College entered Sumatra Island by opening a branch in Palembang. Tamansiswa's rapid development is inseparable from the desire to live based on the local culture of each region.

In contrast to Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Ki Ageng Suryomentaram promotes the idea of humans as independent individuals among adults or andragogy. He arranged his thoughts on achieving personal independence into four stages: note-takers, notes, kramadangsa, and anonymous humans. The note-taker stage is the lowest because his thoughts and actions only obey others (giving orders). The attitude of being dependent on other people makes him, as a human being, not dare to think and take different actions.

The second stage is called a record, namely the human mind, which begins to understand the dynamics of life, such as happy versus sad and triumphant versus failed. At this stage, human thought is colored prominently by emotions, such as anger, envy, victimization, pride, arrogance, and showing off. A life controlled by emotions makes humans easily swayed by changing times and trapped in crisscrossing discourses. Borrowing Heidegger's view (Heidegger, 1996), this stage is known as *dasein*, where persons do not have self-awareness (Rosyadi, 2019).

The third stage is *kramadangsa*. In this phase, human life is colored by the desire to own and achieve various things, both objects and position (status). *Kramadangsa* man is a hard worker who is tenacious and ambitious to make all dreams come true. They bring up an attitude of life that views failure as delayed success. At this stage, success in obtaining a high position, prosperity, and respect from the people around, is a measure of life achievement (Nurhadi & Swandayani, 2011).

The fourth stage is nameless or anonymous. Humans at this stage have succeeded in releasing emotional attachment to possessions, such as wealth, status, and people. From this point of view, the term anonymous human being is an extreme point of letting go of attachment to one's name. By letting go of these attachments, humans can gain peace or happiness, an inner state not haunted by fear, lack, or worry. The illustration often used to describe the fourth stage is a street vendor singing freely and peacefully. Inner peace is obtained because humans can let go of inner ties with status and poverty from the small income as a basket of *dhawet* (traditional drink of Java) so that they can sing freely, like Bima when he was in Dewa Ruci's body in the Dewa Ruci puppet story (Zustiyantoro, Nuryatin, Supriyanto, & Doyin, 2022).

Ki Ageng Suryomentaram's thoughts were propagated to adults, especially from the aristocratic group. At his home, namely in Salatiga, Central Java, at certain times, he gives lectures to the public and discusses various audience problems from the perspective of the science of happiness. The longer, the more people came and intended to study with Suryamentaram. Ki Ageng Suryomentaram also traveled to other cities to spread his thoughts. *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported that Suryamentaram was lecturing in Malang, East Java (Goldsmann, 1934). Suryomentaram also went to the districts of Ngawi, Maospati, Magetan, Madiun, Caruban, and Ponorogo (Goldsmann, 1938).

Conclusion

From the studies conducted, the Theosophy fraternity provides a basis for Javanese aristocrats to study and appreciate the past and actualize its values in present and future lives. In Yogyakarta, this study gave rise to a consciousness of Javanese cultural identity that differs from other cultures, such as Western, Islamic, and Indo (Eurasian). The cultural identity consciousness gave birth to cultural nationalism, which is represented in three areas: politics, pedagogy, and andragogy. In the political field, a movement emerged

led by Suryokusumo to establish a Javanese nation-state consisting of the people of West Java (Sunda), Central Java, East Java, and Madura. The reason is that these regions have the same root language, namely Javanese, so they are seen as having the same culture.

In children's education (pedagogy), awareness of cultural identity gave birth to a movement driven by Ki Hadjar Dewantara by establishing the Tamansiswa College. Through education that places the teacher as a caregiver, Tamansiswa directs students to develop their potential and grow up to be themselves, according to their personality and culture of origin. The educational model developed by Tamansiswa is seen as an embryo for forming a national education system. Tamansiswa College is snowballing and has branches in various cities on the island of Java because it is considered capable of being a counterpoint to the Western education system, which emphasizes developing thinking skills and work skills.

Awareness of cultural identity also gave birth to the Education for Adults movement or andragogy. The goal of andragogy developed by Ki Ageng Suryomentaram is to educate people to be independent and happy human beings. Suryomentaram teaches Javanese aristocrats to relinquish emotional attachment to possessions and position. From this point of view, humans can reduce individual interests and transform them into strengths to help others.

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