Paramita: Historical Studies Journal, 35(1), 2025, pp. 12-22
P-ISSN: 0854-0039, E-ISSN: 2407-5825
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v35i1.1771

Teaching Model of the *Algemeene Middelbare School* A-1 Eastern Literature Major (AMS A-1) in Solo, 1926-1932

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Article history
Received : 2024-02-22
Accepted : 2025-04-05
Published : 2025-04-24

Keywords
Algemeene Middelbare School,
Excursion,
Teaching model,
Eastern Literature

Abstract: This article aims to analyze the development of the teaching model used and developed at the *Algemeene Middelbare School* A-1 (AMS A-1), majoring in Eastern Literature. The AMS A-1 in Solo in the Dutch East Indies was a unique historical phenomenon in colonial education. The teachers at this educational institution, which was created by the colonial government in 1926, developed an interactive teaching model inside and outside of class. This article uses the historical method to analyze its development and influence on the students. Teaching outside class was a new concept in the early 20th century in the colonized Indonesian archipelago, because the learning process usually only occurred inside classes and laboratories. The AMS A-1 senior high school students were invited on annual field trips to visit the temples their ancestors built, forming their cultural heritage. The goal of this model was to see up close indigenous cultural heritage, which they normally only knew from their textbooks, to dispel traditional myths about the places, and to further the bond between student and teacher. Besides that, it created a certain pride when learning about this heritage. This learning activity implicated the growth of Indonesian cultural nationalism, which became a means to push back against colonialism. The AMS A-1 institution thus became a boomerang for the Dutch colonial government.

Abstrak: Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis perkembangan model pembelajaran yang digunakan dan dikembangkan di *Algemeene Middelbare School* A-1 (AMS A-1) jurusan Sastra Timur. AMS A-1 yang terletak di kota Solo, Hindia Belanda, merupakan fenomena sejarah yang unik dalam pendidikan kolonial. Para guru di lembaga pendidikan yang didirikan oleh pemerintah kolonial pada tahun 1926 ini mengembangkan model pembelajaran interaktif di dalam dan luar kelas. Artikel ini menggunakan metode sejarah untuk menganalisis perkembangan dan pengaruhnya terhadap siswa. Pembelajaran di luar kelas merupakan konsep baru di awal abad ke-20 di kepulauan Indonesia yang dijajah, karena proses pembelajaran biasanya hanya berlangsung di dalam kelas dan laboratorium. Siswa SMA AMS A-1 diajak untuk melakukan kunjungan lapangan tahunan untuk mengunjungi candi-candi yang dibangun oleh nenek moyang mereka, yang merupakan warisan budaya mereka. Tujuan dari model ini adalah untuk melihat dari dekat warisan budaya asli, yang biasanya hanya mereka ketahui dari buku pelajaran, untuk menghilangkan mitos tradisional tentang tempat tersebut, dan untuk mempererat hubungan antara siswa dan guru. Selain itu, hal ini menciptakan kebanggaan tersendiri ketika mempelajari warisan ini. Kegiatan belajar mengajar ini berimplikasi pada tumbuhnya nasionalisme budaya Indonesia yang menjadi sarana untuk melawan kolonialisme. Lembaga AMS A-1 dengan demikian menjadi bumerang bagi pemerintah kolonial Belanda.

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INTRODUCTION

Colonialism determined how Western education emerged in the Dutch East Indies. The exploitation colony had the main focus of creating economic profits for the Netherlands, especially during the 19th century, when different economic policies formed the basis for all colonial policies, like the *cultuurstelsel* (1830-1870) and the liberalization of the colonial economy (1870-1900). During most of this

time, the colonial education system was neglected, as it was perceived for a long time as unimportant. This perception started to change at the end of the 1800s when more awareness was raised for the poor fates of the rural Javanese farmers. After the Ethical Policy was proclaimed in 1900, various serious efforts were undertaken to improve the fates of the indigenous people. One of its spearheads was the furthering and expanding indigenous education, which pushed the colonial government to create better chances for indigenous students wishing to pursue higher education (Brooshooft, 1901, p. 97).

There was to be a special institute that had to be adjusted to the needs of the locals, and thus the idea for the *Algemeene Middelbare School* (AMS) was eventually born. The *Algemeene Middelbare School* senior high school had three majors: AMS B focused on mathematics and physics, AMS A-1 focused on Eastern Literature, and AMS A-2 focused on Western Classical Literature. The junior high school consisted of the MULO, which offered a broad basis for its students, allowing them to specialize in any AMS major.

The *Algemeene Middelbare School* majoring in Eastern Literature (AMS A-1) was a one-of-a-kind educational institution in the Dutch East Indies. It was the only secondary education teaching indigenous culture and history. The concept of a secondary education adapted to the cultural background of the indigenous students was drafted by a special committee in 1916. This was a reaction to the HBS high school, which was a 5-year program with high Dutch standards and teaching models, resulting in severe difficulties for non-Dutch students who were not too familiar with the foreign language, culture, and history (Commissie van Advies, 1916, p. i).

Of all these majors, only the AMS A-1 had a distinct focus on indigenous culture and history (Schrieke, n.d., p. 1). Only a single AMS A-1 institution in the Dutch East Indies, located in Solo, was founded in 1926. The highly educated teachers enthusiastically taught their students, creating and adapting their own teaching methods and models. The AMS A-1 principal, W.F. Stutterheim, wrote special textbooks for courses like Indies cultural history. Since these special classes had never been taught, he had to create his own textbooks. Nevertheless, the teachers also sought to bring their students closer to their learning subjects in other ways, for example by bringing them directly to important cultural heritage like the Prambanan temple and Ratu Boko complex ("*De eerste studiereis van de A.M.S. van Solo*", 1927). These specially devised learning methods greatly influenced the students, which, together with their enthusiastic teachers, created feelings of pride and patriotism towards their cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, when we take the 'historical turn', it is hard to find literature about how these models were formed over the years and the history behind them. Recent studies on colonial education have focused on colonial government policy (Karsiwan & Sari, 2021). Others, like Kusmayadi (2017), have focused on the historical development of educational institutions in 20th-century colonial Lampung, Indonesia. Arifin (2020) has analyzed the colonial education policy on history teaching nationwide, emphasizing the various modes of propaganda found within it. Purwiyastuti (2022) has analyzed the "excursion" concept of Nugroho Notosusanto, emphasizing the educational, inspirational, imaginary, and recreative benefits of a study tour, yet fails to mention that this concept was not new in the 1960s (2022). This was already invented in the late 1920s by the teachers of the AMS A-1, where many influential intellectuals graduated.

The lack of attention to how colonial teaching models were created and how these impacted indigenous students can also be found in the few existing studies on the AMS schools. The first study on the history of the AMS A-1 in Surakarta by Heri Priyatmoko (2018) found some factual errors, making it important to study and analyze the research findings more deeply. Despite discussing a similar subject, it incorporates different unused sources like newspapers recording events at the AMS A-1 and official documents relating to the AMS A-1 curriculum. Only a few aspects, like the roles of teachers and the intellectual network of the AMS A-1, have received attention thus far (Priyatmoko et al., 2024a, 2024b). However, many topics relating to the AMS-A1 and colonial education in general deserve a (deeper) explanation, like the colonial teaching models and field trips that have not been discussed before by any other research on the AMS A-1.

This study thus focuses on a local case with a different teaching model from the general, colonial, and Eurocentric nationwide one. How was this teaching model adapted to the needs and culture of indigenous students, and how was such a progressive and interactive model formed? These are important questions to understand how colonial teaching models affected students and education in former colonized countries.

METHOD

This study uses the historical method with qualitative data. Qualitative data analysis covers ordering, organizing, and grouping the collected data into categories (Sugiyono, 2015). The first step within the historical method is choosing the topic, resulting in the teaching model of the AMS A-1 focusing on specially developed methods like creating their own textbooks and field excursions (Kuntowijoyo, 2013, pp. 69-83). The next step covers the collection of primary and secondary sources, which contain a wide array of different kinds of sources. These cover personal letters from the principal W.F. Stutterheim, school plans, and education policy from the National Archives in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Other accounts written by former AMS A-1 students comment on their time as students. Also, the books and materials written by W.F. Stutterheim himself are used in analyzing the teaching model. Lastly, newspaper articles about the state of education and news about the AMS A-1 school are used to complement other sources.

Then, in the third step, the collected data is compared and validated with other historical sources, aiming to test and investigate authenticity, trustworthiness, and credibility in both form and content (Gottschalk, 1986, pp. 80-111). This is done by considering the different kinds of sources and comparing both form and content among them, while comparing their form to similar documents on other topics. The resulting historical facts are used for interpretation in the fourth step, before they are used for historiography in the last step. The output of the last step forms this scientific article. Other studies about teaching models have focused on the meaning and impact of such teaching models. In contrast, this study aims to test their observations in a historical setting, while explaining its background information starting from the creation of an 'Indies' curriculum, exploring the freedom of its teachers before finally delving into the field trips created by the teachers as part of an interactive and visual teaching mode (Purwiyastuti, 2022; Sarnkhaowkhom & Suwathanpornkul, 2022).

ESTABLISHING THE AMS A-1

It would take three years after the first concept of the *Algemeene Middelbare School* system was proposed in 1916 before the first AMS B school was erected in Yogyakarta. It would take even longer before the first and only AMS A-1 school was founded in 1926 in Solo. Despite this, there was already a lot of discussion about the AMS A-1 in government and intellectual circles about the potential opening and location of the AMS A-1 school. The congress of the *Java Instituut* in 1924 had already received a motion from pastor Van Lith to push for the establishment of the AMS A-1 in the city of Solo ("*De Oud-Javaansche Monumenten*", 1925). Some *Volksraad* members were disappointed by how long it took for the AMS A-1 to be established and pushed for it to be established sooner ("*Volksraad*", 1923). Still, *Volksraad* members kept sparring over the need and benefit of the AMS A-1 ("*Volksraad*", 1925") However, even the government itself underlined that it would be very disappointed if the establishment of the AMS A-1 would be delayed again in 1926, which did not happen in the end ("*Volksraad*", 1924).



Figure 1. School building used for the A.M.S. in Surakarta (Solo). Source: "Pahargyan Surakarta: 200 Tahun", Kajawen 18 April 1939

One of the main reasons this took so long was a pressing shortage of teachers for the school. The colonial education department searched for specialized teachers like W.F. Stutterheim and C.C. Berg with both high knowledge and degrees, which were only sparsely available. This meant fresh graduates from Leiden University, like C.C. Berg, were drawn directly into the school for it to open. Still, in early 1926, on the eve of the opening of the school, only the school's director, W.F. Stutterheim, and two teachers had been appointed ("*A.M.S. te Solo*", 1926).

The opening of the school was a grand success nonetheless. Around two hundred people were invited to the ceremony, attended by many local notables and officials ("*De Nieuwe A.M.S.-afdeeling te Solo*", 1926). The attending speakers thanked the cultural congress 1918 and pastor Van Lith at the *Java Instituut* in 1924 once more for their important contributions in realizing the school. With 94 students accepted into three parallel classes, the school was very successful from the start, and there was a need to search for another accommodation. At the start, the AMS A-1 was placed in a rented

Table 1. The AMS A-1 Curriculum in 1926.

No.	Course name	Class		
		IV	V	VI
1	Javanese	5	5	5
2	Malay	2	2	2
3	History of Indies' culture	4	3	3
4	History of Indies' art	1	1	1
5	Dutch	6	6	6
6	French	3	3	3
7	English	2	2	2
8	German (optional)	2	2	2
9	History	3	3	4
10	Geography	2	1	1
11	State knowledge	-	1	1
12	Economy	-	2	2
13	Mathematics	2	1	2
14	Physics	1	1	1
15	Chemistry	1	1	1
16	Plants and animal knowledge	-	1	1
17	Drawing	-	1	1
18	Sports	2	2	2
Total		37 (2)	38 (2)	40 (2)

Source: *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 1926, no. 234

house of the Chinese Major; however, eventually the school moved to a new building (see Figure 1).

CREATING AN 'INDIES' CURRICULUM

Specialized teachers were needed because the AMS A-1 had a different and special curriculum compared to the other AMS majors and the HBS. It featured the courses Javanese literature, Malay literature, History of Indies' culture, and History of Indies' art, which were not present in any other senior high schools or AMS. Thus, out of all the supposedly 'adapted' AMS majors to local cultures, only the AMS A-1 had a unique indigenous character. Until 1942, it would remain the only senior high school to teach these four courses that were not to be found anywhere else. However, because the humanities were not highly regarded, enrollment was never high enough to open another school. Also, because of the continuing shortage of specialized teachers, it would not have been feasible to open another AMS A-1 institution.

The initial curriculum was used continuously without any changes during the existence of the AMS A-1 in Solo (see table 1). Javanese language and literature had an important share of the allocated hours, even though most students were not Javanese ("De A.M.S.", 1926). The education department, however, had foreseen this. Thus, it was officially underlined that the teaching model for those with and without Javanese language knowledge had to be differentiated. Those without a Javanese background were given a special pre-class to learn simple pronunciation, vocabulary, and reading and writing Javanese characters. They were admitted to regular classes after proving their mastery over basic Javanese language knowledge (Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1927). It was also the only course with different standards held for Javanese and non-Javanese students (Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1929, no. 28). The Malay language was considered well-known by all students.

Each course had a short description of topics the students needed to master and what elements would be tested in the final exam. The final exam elements mainly covered translating simple poetry and prose from and to Dutch for the language courses. In contrast, the final exam of Indies' cultural history only tested the most important topics of grades 5 and 6 (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1929, no. 28). Indies' art history was not a final exam subject. The topics that had to be discussed in each course during the different grades were quite vague and general. It was the same for language courses as what would be tested in their final exam. Indies' cultural history would start from classic Indian and European civilizations to a heavier focus on ethnographic topics about the various

indigenous ethnic groups. The history of Indies art, which had no final exam, had the shortest description, where the main focus was on European and Indian art in 4th grade, art from the Hindu period in 5th grade, and finally art from the Islamic period in 6th grade.

The teaching materials used in the curriculum depended on the type of class. General classes like Dutch and Malay existed at many Indies schools, meaning there were enough textbooks and workbooks to be found and used. The AMS A-1 teachers could choose what books they wanted to include in their teaching. For other courses, which were rare or even new, like Javanese, the history of Indonesian art, and Indonesian cultural history, there were very limited learning materials. The teachers had to be creative and compile or even create their resources. It resulted, for example, in publishing a small series of textbooks on the cultural history of the Indies written by its teacher, W.F. Stutterheim, which was also read by a wider public audience.

The skills and expertise of the teachers at the AMS A-1 meant they had already mastered their respective fields. They were often highly regarded seniors, like W.F. Stutterheim and C.C. Berg. Others, like the Malay, Javanese, and Arab teachers, were native language speakers. Thus, they did not need more time to deepen their fields, but were allowed to spend all their preparation time configuring creative resources and ways of teaching. That allowed them to instill the same level of creativity into their students, to push, challenge, and stimulate them with the best teaching materials.

This liberty of the AMS A-1 teachers in compiling their teaching resources for their own models was sometimes questioned, even criticized. For example, Multatuli's use of Max Havelaar in the Dutch language course for the 4th grade was criticized publicly. It was feared that this book, which was seen as one large accusation towards Dutch colonial rule, would stoke hatred among the indigenous population towards the Dutch (Mr. A.B.C., 1926). Interestingly enough, the other novel included on the list is *Orpheus in de Dessa* by Augusta de Wit, one of the first Ethical Policy-inspired novels. As a whole, literature was an important teaching material for each language course. This shows the progressive, Ethical policy-inspired ideals among the teachers shaping their teaching models. They were not afraid to criticize or discuss the shortcomings of the colonial government in class.

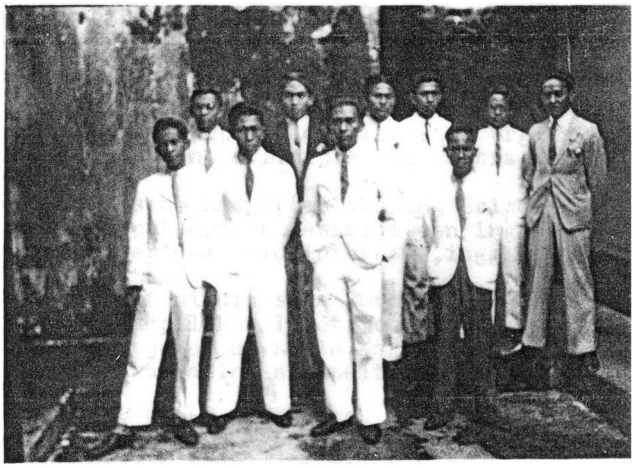


Figure 2. AMS A-1 Students in 1929. Source: Serat Pengetan Gesangipun Jasawidhagdga (1950)

FORMING INTERACTIVE AND VISUAL TEACHING MODELS

It was emphasized in the official course plan that teachers needed to work together. For example, Malay and Javanese teachers worked with the Dutch language instructor to master their translations. The cultural history teacher was also asked to coordinate together with the art history and drawing courses. This was done creatively, since the teachers had a very limited amount of existing teaching models and resources to draw on. Stutterheim, for example, combined material for the cultural history and art history courses in his textbook about Hinduism in the Archipelago (1932). Sometimes this was easier because of the lack of teachers. Stutterheim taught cultural and art history, allowing him more freedom to combine both materials in one handbook.

The syllabus was already 'written in stone' so to speak, since it was recorded in the official colonial magazine on government news (Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1929, no. 28). It could only be changed with the permission of the colonial educational minister and the AMS A-1 director. Only rough outlines were written down in the same document regarding how the courses were to be formed. Teachers thus had more freedom to fill in these courses with their own teaching models and resources. The same held true for assessing the learning goals that had to be achieved. Various modes included the writing of essays, questionnaires and speaking exams, all came down to what way the teacher thought was most appropriate to challenge and asses the students. Only the ways for the final assessment were written down and had to be followed on a national level.

The teachers thus enjoyed relatively large freedom in choosing how to form their courses.

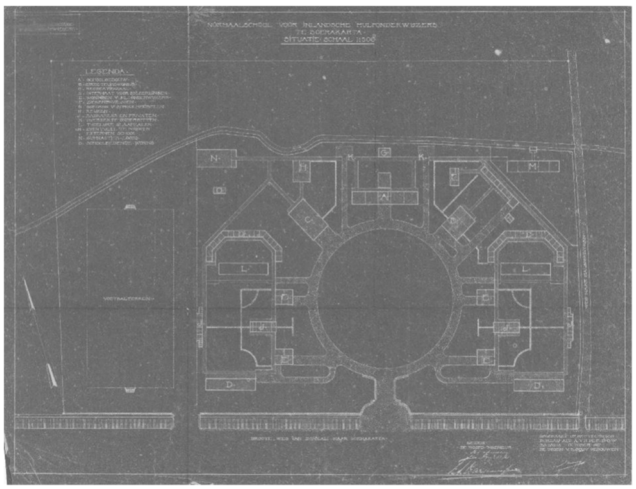


Figure 3. Design of the school plan. Source: Arsip No. 1632 Departement van Burgerlijke Openbare Serie Grote Bundel 1854-1933

Stutterheim, the school's principal, treasured his school and students. For example, when the AMS A -1 would get a newly erected building, the original plans were cut because of budget deficits. Stutterheim fought hard and emotionally to keep the original plan on the table (1927). Stutterheim vocally defended his teachers, as was shown when R.J. Katamsi, the Javanese drawing teacher, was ordered to leave AMS A-1 ("*Een overplaatsing*", 1928). Stutterheim had been closely cooperating with Katamsi, because of their intertwining courses, and did not accept that Katamsi was to be placed at some junior high school. With the same enthusiastic, vocal, and critical way, Stutterheim filled his classes. He wrote his textbooks on cultural and art history and invited his 5th and 6th-grade students to a field trip to the Prambanan temple and Ratu Boko complex.

Indigenous designs inspired the school's original architecture and reflected the intention to integrate Eastern cultural values with Western knowledge. Thus, it can be seen from both Figure 1 and Figure 3 that this concept was fundamentally woven into the AMS A-1, starting from its foundations and school design to the teachers and students themselves. It also reflected the goal of the AMS design as a whole, which was meant to integrate Western science and Eastern culture to promote their bonds. This was actively promoted too by the teachers, especially the principal, Stutterheim, who was a fiery proponent of these ideas.

Even though the names were Indies' cultural history and Indies' art history, Stutterheim himself consistently used the more scientific, but also nationalistic, term Indonesia in his books. It can thus be assumed that the colonial term 'Indies' was rarely used in class, in favor of the term 'Indonesia'. Stutterheim wrote a series of 3 textbooks, respectively for the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade. The first and second parts, both published in 1932, discussed the Hindus in India and Hinduism in the archipelago, while the third part discusses the arrival of Islam and was published in 1935. Stutterheim, an expert in the field of cultural history, used the latest sources available with the help of his friend, a Javanese language teacher and expert, Prof. Dr. C.C. Berg. The topics alternated between history, culture, and art, according to the needs of the students. This series made learning a lot easier, since the students did not have to use a large variety of books anymore and could rely on a single textbook for each grade (Stutterheim, 1932).

The AMS A-1 teachers tried to use the latest teaching models and resources available in their classes. Directly after the opening of the AMS A-1, the principal bought a projection lantern, capable of showing images ("*Nieuws projectielantaarn en lezingen A.M.S.*", 1927). Stutterheim used this for seminars held occasionally on weekends at the AMS A-1. The projection lantern opened up new worlds for its viewers. The first seminar held by Stutterheim was about Tibet, where he showed various images of the distant country, which the attendees only knew in name. Thus, the teachers put effort into visualizing what they taught by coordinating drawing lessons with the cultural history course and buying equipment like a projection lantern.

Stutterheim was well-known for his wide historical knowledge. Outside of the AMS A-1 institute, he would give seminars using projection lanterns, for example on the Prambanan temple ("*Lezing dr. Stutterheim*", 1926). He would also take other parties on field trips to the same places as he would later take his classes. In 1926, a year before the first field trip of the AMS A-1, Stutterheim had already organized a trip for the NIOG organization in Solo to the Prambanan temple ("*Vakbeweging N.I.O.G.*", 1926). Stutterheim had been doing his research on the Prambanan temple and helped with the actual digging at the site, writing articles and reports on it ("Prambanan", 1927) It must have been successful in Stutterheim's eyes, since he held a field trip to the same site the next year with all of his students.

FIELD TRIPS TO CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

These efforts to visualize learning objects were enhanced by the ambitious plan to hold a field trip ("*De eerste studiereis van de A.M.S. van Solo*", 1927). This required greater coordination and funds compared to previous efforts, which were incorpo-



Figure 4. AMS A-1 students playing tennis. Source: Serat Pengetan Gesangipun Jasawidhagdga (1950)

rated in the teaching model. It was decided that the two highest classes were to join the trip. The principal and teacher of cultural and art history, Stutterheim, took responsibility for organizing it. He was joined by the Javanese language teacher J.L.W.R. Rhemrev, the Malay language teacher A. Bakker, and the Dutch language and history teacher Drs. Th.W. Nannings. The first destination was decided to be the Ratu Boko complex and the Prambanan temple, two sites very familiar to Stutterheim.

It was decided that the field trip would be held on Friday morning, the 5th of August 1927. The students and their teachers took the first train departing from Solo towards the train station Brambanan. Stutterheim was already waiting for them there and joined the students and teachers at the train station. Afterwards, they went together around 6.30 a.m. towards the Ratu Boko complex. When they arrived at their destination, Stutterheim led his students around while explaining the various features and ruins left to them. He told them for example that the Ratu Boko complex must have been a temple and not a palace ("*De eerste studiereis van de A.M.S. van Solo*", 1927). Nevertheless, there were also other ruins, their function and use still shrouded in mystery. There was room for discussion and questions on the possible uses of the many ruins left, inviting the students to think critically about their cultural heritage from a different perspective.

After they finished exploring the Ratu Boko complex, the group moved towards the Prambanan temple. Here they watched how these large, ancient temples were being restored to their former glory. The restorations had already made quite some progress, starkly contrasting with the few remaining ruins at the Ratu Boko complex. They stayed there for more than 2 hours while Stutterheim explained the importance and meaning of the Rama relief. Standing between the large temple ruins, Stutterheim explained on-site what was needed to study these Javanese Hindu ruins further. Stutterheim thus did more than just explain about the sites. He explained to them the newest information available on the topics and, in fact, encouraged them to continue studies on the heritage sites, equipping them with the latest knowledge to do so.

Afterwards, they returned to the train station after a very long day and returned to Solo once more ("*De eerste studiereis van de A.M.S. van Solo*", 1927). The field trip was quite a success. Because of this, another trip will be held next year. The plan was for Stutterheim, some teachers, and the AMS A -1 students to visit the Borobudur temple ("Excursie A.M.S.", 1928). Again, this was no unknown site to Stutterheim. He had already extensively written on the subject. In these writings, it is clear how emotionally important the sites were, for example, when he protested against vandalism done by American tourists on 'the most beautiful Buddhist temple' (1926).

The states of both the Prambanan and Borobudur temples were in the process of being restored during the visits of the AMS A-1 field trips in 1927 and 1928 (Figures 5 and 6). It must have impressed the students to see their cultural heritage broken down and neglected. However, they were instilled with the hope for a future where these heritage sites of a glorious past could be preserved and restored. Restorations were on the way, and the temples would stand tall and proud once more in a matter of time. These were the biggest achievements of their Javanese ancestors, not the Indians and definitely not the Dutch. Stutterheim underlined such views with his respected knowledge, adding even more credibility and awe.

The goal of this field trip was thus more than only learning on-site and enhancing visual teaching models. Javanese history in 1927 was still seen as belonging to the gods, kings, and legendary heroes of the past, as Stutterheim wrote in a book about the lives of Javanese villagers 1000 years ago (Stutterheim, 1938). Historical sites and artifacts were seen as magical and dangerous, not places of study or academic discussions. Thus, the field trip must be seen within the frame of dispelling the myths surrounding Javanese history. Only afterwards, when Stutterheim succeeded in doing so, would the students be able to celebrate and view the monuments in a different light. These were just the first steps in de-mythologizing heritage sites for

Javanese people. Stutterheim was not alone in this and received support from, among others, the royal house of Mangkunegaran (Stutterheim, 1938).

One of the most famous myths was the Javanese tale of Lala Jonggrang, taking place at both the Ratu Boko complex and the Prambanan temple. The tale was about the beautiful princess Lala Jonggrang, daughter of King Ratu Boko. Bondowoso wanted to marry her, but was not allowed to because they were enemies, and Bondowoso killed Ratu Boko. Bondowoso was tasked to build 6 temples and 1000 statues of Ratu Boko. In the end, Lala Jonggrang wanted to prevent him from completing, doing so successfully. Bondowoso then cursed the women of Prambanan so that they would not be able to marry young (Tokugawa, 2004). These events occurred at the Ratu Boko complex and Prambanan temple, the sites Stutterheim chose to visit with his students. Those places were thus not only chosen for their historical value but to free the students from any non-scientific perspectives of the ruins.

Bonding might also have been one of the side objectives of holding a field trip. The teachers at the AMS A-1 organized a 'yearly AMS party' together with the students, who would put in most of the effort ("*A.M.S. jaarfeest*", 1928). It was held at the theatre building, and there was a varied program, including Malaysian theatre, a historical play 'Erlangga', Ambonese and *wireng* dances, and more. The program was concluded with European dancing deep into the night. The party was not just meant for the students. The Dutch resident Ament, teachers from the AMS A-1, many princes from the palace, and the Mangkunegaran came, together with many spectators from Solo. This shows the diversity among the students and the connection between the palace and the school. The number of high-ranking and important spectators underlined the importance of the AMS A-1 in their eyes.

The play 'Erlangga' was based on Javanese history and written by S. Pané, also an AMS A-1 student, in Dutch. All the actors formed students from the AMS A-1, including Prijono as Erlangga and Amrin as Arja Barada. This was undoubtedly inspired by the classes given by W.F. Stutterheim, who enthusiastically discussed such topics. The play was thus experimental, since it was written from scratch and used *wayang wong* dancing costumes, making it a somewhat risky performance for the spectators from Solo. However, it was received very positively and praised for its beautiful verses. In fact, the news reporter was interested to see what their next performance would be about ("*A.M.S. jaarfeest*", 1928).

EDUCATION RESULTS

Early results were not completely satisfactory despite using new, interactive learning models. Newspapers called the results 'sad' and 'disappointing' ("*De droevige uitslag*", 1929). It was said that even the education department singled out the AMS A-1 results during their first final exams in 1929. The results were so bad in the eyes of the department that the education inspector and the school's director were formally asked to make a report about the situation. Newspapers predicted that mutations would most likely happen at the AMS A-1 as a direct result of these bad results ("*De droevige uitslag*", 1929).

These predictions became true and a reality in just a week. L.M. Burkunk, A.E. Revers, M. Polak, Kromsigt, Dr. Esser, J.L.W.R. Rhemrev, and M. Aboesaleh were all fired from the AMS A-1 institution. This meant that just a few teachers remained, only they who were deemed good enough. It is also probable that only the students who achieved good results in the final exams related to their courses. Most of the teaching positions were not immediately filled with new candidates. Just three replacements were appointed for the time being: F.H.B. Nolthenius, Dr. Kerling, and Duijvendak ("*Mutaties bij de A.M.S. te Solo*", 1929). However, since these radical personnel changes happened during the large school year break, most students were not immediately affected. Afterward, new teachers were added to the school and continued to function normally again during the next school year. However, it must have been a sad experience for the students to see many of their teachers go while getting to know all the new teachers.

However, the bad results were not, per se, a result of bad teaching. Since the AMS A-1 school was the first and only of its kind, most teachers had little premade material and handbooks to draw on. Whilst they could adapt to this locally within the institution by making their tests, the final exam was drafted and tested nationally by teachers from outside the institution. National standards were different, and perhaps with different kinds of exams. It appears that the results of both specialized AMS A-1 courses, like Javanese language, and general courses, like English language, were disappointing. This is because teachers from special and general courses were fired after the disappointing exams.

However, not all early results were as disappointing. Tjan Tjoe Siem received a prize from the French consulate in the Dutch East Indies because

of his excellent French language in 1929. His French language teacher Van den Bosch, who had 'survived' the cull a few months before, was together with his student awarded prices and certificates ("*Fransche prijzen*", 1929). This first inspiring result again put the AMS A-1 in some positive light after the debacle of the first final national exams. It appeared, too, that the cull of teachers had positively affected the results of the following final exams held in 1930, when almost all of the students passed ("*A.M.S. eindexamen*", 1930). As for Tjan Tjoe Siem, he would continue to finish his studies successfully in the Netherlands ("*Geslaagd voor doctoraal examen*", 1936).

The field trips and bonds formed left lasting impressions in the long term. Most eventually graduated from the AMS A-1, bringing with them deep knowledge and closeness to cultural history and Javanese temples. Their thirst for further study brought them to the *Balai Pustaka* (Bureau of Literature) and its library (Balai Pustaka, 1992). Others, like Amin Soedoro, went to the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* (Archeological Bureau) (Soekmono, 2002). Furthermore, other former students, like R.L. Soekardi, went to work at archival institutes before eventually joining Amin Soedoro after Indonesia's independence (Soekmono, 2002). They were all known for their passion for history and archaeology.

The relations between students and teachers also crossed space and time. When Sudjono, another AMS A-1 graduate, went to the Netherlands to continue his studies, he came under the guidance of Prof. Dr. C.C. Berg, who had been a teacher at the AMS A-1 before being appointed as a lecturer on Javanese literature at Leiden University. Even though C.C. Berg was very strict, he helped Sudjono a lot in finishing his studies. Among others, he provided his work, *Kidung Sundayana*, which Berg also used to teach at AMS A-1 (Soebagijo I.N., 1983).

The field trip thus had both short and long-term effects. It challenged students to rethink their perceptions of cultural heritage sites in the short term. They were asked to imagine and reason about the possible historical uses and backgrounds. They also learned basic knowledge about cultural and art history. In the long term, it inspired students to pursue their passions and ignited their hearts to continue learning and reading. The teaching model motivated students inside and outside of their classes. Teachers like Stutterheim succeeded in passing on their passions to the younger generation.

DISCUSSION

Returning to the earlier reflection upon the existing literature about colonial education institutions, policies, and teaching models, it thus becomes clear that there still exists a gap in research about how the latter was formed. Teaching and learning models were an important aspect of colonial life. Many of those who received an education during the late colonial era became important cultural or state actors during the formative years of the Indonesian Republic. Their actions influenced the Indonesian Republic's and society's direction during those years. Thus, it is fruitful to delve deeper into their thoughts and how these were formed. Education played an important role in this; thus, tracing what thoughts, concepts, and morals they were taught will enable us to analyze deeper why such actions were taken and the deeper meaning behind them.

From the previous sections, it becomes clear that an Indies-centered curriculum was created by the teachers at the AMS A-1, where they creatively used the resources at hand to craft their original teaching models. This was very different from the other educational institutions, which were very much focused on Dutch culture and history. New prominent courses like art history and cultural history gave rise to new perceptions about the history of the Indonesian archipelago.

Thus, this study is the first to explore how colonial teaching models were created and received by students and, to an extent, by the wider colonial society. It is for example quite striking to see the difference between the state repression on nationalist movements versus the independent learning models employed at the AMS A-1, where there was a lot of freedom to critically asses the colonial government and indigenous (cultural) history. For example, the creation of field trips meant a radical change in how cultural heritage was perceived.

This study has its limitations, mainly in that it explores the teaching model of the AMS A-1 during its early years and how these were formed. Further research might show how such teaching models' ideas, concepts, and morals influenced historical actors and their actions. Comparative studies between different colonial teaching models will also enrich such understandings and show how different teaching models influenced indigenous colonial society, and in turn, the development of locally-focused education, nationalist movements, and the formation of the Indonesian nation.

CONCLUSION

The AMS A-1 curriculum, with its Javanese, Malay, Indies' cultural history, and Indies' art history as fixed courses, was very different from any other high school curriculum in the Dutch East Indies. These courses focused on the history of the Dutch East Indies from an indigenous perspective. This was very different from the usual history course at any other high school, where Dutch history was the central subject and perspective. The prescribed content was only general points, giving the teachers a relatively big freedom to incorporate their ideas and views. They tried to innovate and use new teaching techniques, where they coordinated classes together, wrote their own material, and used projection lanterns.

The holding of field trips signified a serious turn in the teaching model. It was more ambitious, in terms of both planning and finance. The first trip held to the Ratu Boko complex and Prambanan temple was a success in 1927. The students enjoyed their trip, learned new things, and some pursued their passion in the field of archeology afterwards. Traditional views associating myths with heritage sites were dispelled. The field trip developed into a yearly tradition, where they would visit the Borobudur temple in 1928 and other places during the next years.

The interactive teaching models had an important influence on the students. They were in awe of their teachers because of their enthusiasm, wide knowledge, and serious intent to teach them. Teachers were creative because they were forced to do so and were highly motivated to seek out new teaching methods. Their efforts influenced their students in many ways, for example, how they looked at learning and studying as a whole and in gathering knowledge and experiences that would help them for the rest of their lives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is a part of Heri Priyatmoko's dissertation research proposal at the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro. This work was supported and funded by the Indonesian Education Scholarship (BPI), Center of Higher Education and Assessment (PPAT), and Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP). [0241/J5.2.3./BPI.06/9/2022].

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