

Sartono Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo in Indonesian History Methodology

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Abstract: This article compares the methodological ideas of Sartono Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo. Using the historical method, it treats their major works as historical documents examined through heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Kartodirdjo emphasizes inductive logic grounded in historical facts and supported by social science approaches, including economics, sociology, political science, anthropology, geography, and social psychology. This multidimensional framework became an important legacy and opened wider possibilities for historical research in Indonesia. In contrast, Kuntowijoyo encourages young historians to develop thematic historical methodologies as fields of specialization. His methodological thinking begins with historiography as the outcome of research, which then serves as the basis for broader, more comprehensive methodological reflections. He also explains historical methodology by using auxiliary sciences to interpret historical phenomena. In Indonesian historical practice, method and methodology are inseparable, since historical inquiry requires both inductive reasoning based on facts and deductive reasoning based on theory. Supported by auxiliary sciences and grounded in research, the combination of these two logics can produce richer, more comprehensive historiography. This study contributes to historiographical discourse by clarifying the distinction between methodology and method and by underlining the need for a more integrative and multidimensional framework in contemporary Indonesian historical research.

Abstrak: Artikel ini membandingkan gagasan metodologis Sartono Kartodirdjo dan Kuntowijoyo. Dengan menggunakan metode sejarah, karya-karya utama keduanya diposisikan sebagai dokumen historis yang dianalisis melalui tahapan heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Kartodirdjo menekankan logika induktif yang berlandaskan fakta sejarah serta didukung oleh pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial, seperti ekonomi, sosiologi, ilmu politik, antropologi, geografi, dan psikologi sosial. Kerangka multidimensional ini menjadi warisan penting sekaligus membuka peluang yang lebih luas bagi penelitian sejarah di Indonesia. Sebaliknya, Kuntowijoyo mendorong sejarawan muda untuk mengembangkan metodologi sejarah tematik sebagai bidang spesialisasi. Pemikiran metodologisnya berangkat dari historiografi sebagai hasil penelitian, yang kemudian menjadi dasar dalam merumuskan refleksi metodologis yang lebih luas dan komprehensif. Ia juga menjelaskan metodologi sejarah melalui pemanfaatan ilmu-ilmu bantu dalam menafsirkan fenomena sejarah. Dalam praktik sejarah di Indonesia, metode tidak dapat dipisahkan dari metodologi, karena kajian sejarah memerlukan integrasi antara penalaran induktif berbasis fakta dan penalaran deduktif berbasis teori. Didukung oleh ilmu-ilmu bantu dan pendekatan grounded research, kombinasi kedua logika ini mampu menghasilkan historiografi yang lebih kaya dan komprehensif. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam memperjelas perbedaan konseptual antara metodologi dan metode, serta menegaskan pentingnya kerangka yang lebih integratif dan multidimensional dalam penelitian sejarah kontemporer di Indonesia.



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INTRODUCTION

Suppose young Indonesian historians need an understanding of historical methodology. In that case, they should pay attention to the works of senior historians, namely Sartono Kartodirdjo (1992, 2014b) and Kuntowijoyo (1994a, 2003a), because these historians have pioneered the field of methodology. Historical methodology is a problem that needs to be explained more clearly. Young lecturers often need help to distinguish between historical methodology and historical methods. It is only suitable for young historians to study diligently with senior historians.

Sartono Kartodirdjo always reminded us that historical methodology concerns the problem of knowing how to know (to learn how to know), which cannot be separated from theories and approaches from auxiliary sciences. In Kartodirdjo's thinking, these auxiliary sciences are the social sciences. What Kartodirdjo thinks has been understood by Kuntowijoyo, so he calls historical methodology science methods. Meanwhile, historical methods are more complicated than historical methods. Historical methods are practices concerning how people acquire knowledge (how to know). Historical methods start from heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This article will compare the issue of how to tell from senior Indonesian historians.

Kartodirdjo built a historical methodology by prioritizing theories and approaches, especially theories and approaches of the social sciences. This means that Kartodirdjo works from the zero point of heuristic and critical steps, then how he deals with historical facts that must be interpreted by historians who have a subjective background. When historical facts are explained with theories and approaches, the results of historiography cannot be stated clearly because the selection of theories and approaches is also subjective, so historical objectivity can be obtained when historical explanations do not use a single theory and approach but through various theories and approaches that support a strong historiographical building. Kuntowijoyo's historical methodology is not carried out from the zero point but is seen from historiography as a result obtained by historians. In short, historical methodology is a shadow of historiography. Existing historiography can provide clear indications of what kind of historical methodology historians think and practice. Historiography can also explain philosophy, theory, approaches to auxiliary sciences, and historical methods that are practiced. Kuntowijoyo's working style will produce a more com-

prehensive historical methodology because thematic historiographic results assist it.

METHOD

The historical method used in this research follows four steps: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Heuristics involved gathering the works of senior historians, such as Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo. This research examines the history of thought, which aligns with the specific topic of historical methodology. These works now serve as historical documents for reference. In exact sciences, references are often limited to the last ten years. In historical research, finding the oldest sources is considered a significant achievement. Their books are bibliographic documents, used as historical sources. After collecting sources, the next step is external criticism. External criticism shows that Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo produced authentic works of historical methodology. Internal criticism shows these works are pioneering in Indonesia. Both criticisms yield historical facts, especially mentifacts. Next, the mentifacts are interpreted and compiled as historiography. This results in a history of thought, or intellectual history, that focuses on historical methodology (Kartodirdjo, 1992, 2014b).

SARTONO KARTODIRDJO AND KUNTOWIJOYO

Sartono Kartodirdjo, who was born in Wonogiri on February 15, 1921, is an Indonesian historian who graduated with a bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia (1956), a Master of Arts from Yale University (1964), and a doctorate of Philosophy from the University of Amsterdam (1966). His dissertation, which produced social history, greatly influenced Kartodirdjo's subsequent academic works, particularly his book, *National History of Indonesia*, published in 1975.

Kuntowijoyo, born in Bantul on September 18, 1943, and died in Yogyakarta on February 22, 2005, was Kartodirdjo's most advanced student. Besides his position as a historian (1987a, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2006), he was also renowned as a writer (1966, 1971, 1972, 1998, 2000) and a renowned thinker on Islamic issues (1985, 1991, 1997, 2001, 2006). Kuntowijoyo graduated with a Bachelor of History from the Faculty of Literature and Culture, Gadjah Mada University (1969), a Master of Arts in American Studies from The University of Connecticut, USA (1974), and earned a Ph.D. in History from Columbia University (1990) with a dissertation entitled *Social Change in an Agrarian Society: Madura 1850-1940*

with a sociological (social change) and anthropological (ethno-ecological) approach (Kuntowijoyo, 2002a). One of Kuntowijoyo's strengths as a writer has not been matched by Kartodirdjo.

Historical methodology is an essential part of the development of historical science because it links the philosophy of history and historical research methods. The historical methodology is seen as *terra incognita* (foreign land) (Toynbee, 2006), which needs to be clarified. The first Indonesian historian to write about it was Sartono Kartodirdjo (Kartodirdjo, 1992; 2014b), who wrote the title *Social Science Approach in Historical Methodology*. Continuing the previous book (Kartodirdjo, 1982; 2014a), the book is particular to the social sciences approach. This means that the book needs to discuss, in general, the historical methodology, which includes the material of historical theories and the social sciences approach to explain the historical phenomena being studied. The cultural and natural sciences approaches should be included in the discussion because their position is also *terra incognita*.

The book *Thoughts and Development of Indonesian Historiography: An Alternative* as a collection of writings, does not explicitly discuss the issue of historical methodology but is mixed with historiography, research methods, aspects of Indonesian historical research, and didactics of Indonesian history. If historical methodology is written separately, the results will be comprehensive. Historical methodology is included in the second part with the title *Methodology and Interpretation of Indonesian History*, which contains three chapters, namely Chapter IV, *Thoughts on Historical Methodology*, Chapter V, *Thoughts on Historical Interpretation and Historical Mindedness*, and Chapter VI, *Problems of Theory and Methodology of Indonesian History* (Kartodirdjo, 1970; 2014a). Chapter V has indicated the existence of an element of historical research method. This may be what most Indonesian historians think, and they often need help distinguishing between discussions of historical research methods and historical methodology, even though many consider the two identical. This is the difficulty of writings that are spread with different themes and then published as one, so there is often overlap. Meanwhile, the titles of Chapter IV and Chapter VI are already relevant to discussing historical methodology.

The source of the writings of Chapter IV and Chapter V come from one writing originally entitled *Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey's*

Methodology and Thoughts on Historical Interpretation and Historical Mindedness, which was published in the journal *Lembaran Sejarah*, No. 6, December 1970, pages 61-72 & 73-76). The journal was published by the Research Section of the History Department, Faculty of Literature & Culture, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. Chapter VI was published in the same journal number with the captions on pages 3-16.

The book *Social Science Approaches in Historical Methodology* shows that Chapters I and II discuss theory and methodology (Gardiner, 1959; Teggart, 1962). Chapter III describes the auxiliary sciences, especially the social sciences, including geography (Daldjoeni, 1982; 1984), economics (Walsh, 1971), social psychology (Berkhofer, 1969), sociology (Nisbet, 1969; Burke, 1980), political science, and anthropology. Chapter IV contains historical categories that describe themes that emerge when historical science comes into contact with social sciences, including social history, political history, history of mentality, intellectual history, agricultural history, cultural history I, and cultural history II. Here, economic history is not included in the themes or forgotten. Still, two new themes, namely the history of mentality and intellectual history, are considered (Kartodirdjo, 1992; 2014b). Abdullah & Surjomihardjo (1985) mention historical themes such as the history of society (154-170), economic history (171-185), corporate history (186-200), intellectual history (201-212), cultural history (213-228), and ethnic history (229-246). These historical categories or themes should be discussed separately in historiography due to historical methodology and historical methods. So, Kartodirdjo's book is relevant to historical methodology in only one chapter, Chapter III. Chapter I, entitled *Concept and Perspective of History*, is an introduction to the science of history or the material of Introduction to Historical Science (Kuntowijoyo, 1995; 2013), while Chapter II, *Historical Reconstruction*, contains the theory of historical methods, the theory of historical approaches, and the theory of historiography. Sub-chapters D (Objectivity and Subjectivity Problems), E (Once Again Objectivity Problems), and F (Today's Subjectivity) are the subjectivity problems that are always found in historical writing. Subjectivity is often opposed to objectivity. Subjective history is frequently not considered a science because of the existence of subjectivity possessed by historians (Notosusanto, 1978; 1984). However, the subjectivity of history as an interpretation or interpretation of historians is

Table 1. Comparison of the Methodologies of Sartono Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo

Sartono Kartodirdjo (1992 & 2014b)	Kuntowijoyo (1994a & 2003a)	
Chapter 1 Historical Concepts and Perspectives	1. Chapter 1 Historical Writing in Indonesia	1. Chapter 1 Historical Writing in Indonesia
A. Historical Theory and Methodology	2. Chapter 2 Oral History	2. Chapter 2 Oral History
B. Our Historical Awareness Today	3. Chapter 3 Social History	3. Chapter 3 Social History
C. What is History?	4. Chapter 4 City History	4. Chapter 4 City History
D. Meaning and Function of History	5. Chapter 5 Rural History	5. Chapter 5 Rural History
E. Historical Perspective I	6. Chapter 6 History of Rural Economics	6. Chapter 6 History of Rural Economics
F. Historical Perspective II	7. Chapter 7 Women's History: from Androcentric History to Androgynous History	7. Chapter 7 Women's History: from Androcentric History to Androgynous History
G. Conventional History	8. Chapter 8 Cultural History	8. Chapter 8 Cultural History
H. Political History (New Style)	9. Chapter 9 Local History Seminar 1984	9. Chapter 9 Local History Seminar 1984
Chapter 2 Historical Reconstruction		10. Chapter 10 History of Religion
A. Historical Reconstruction		11. Chapter 11 Political History
B. Systems Approach and Historical Perspective		12. Chapter 12 History of Thought
C. Logical Structure of Historical Writing		13. Chapter 13 Biography
D. Problems of Objectivity and Subjectivity		14. Chapter 14 Quantitative History
E. Again a Problem of Objectivity		15. Chapter 15 History of Mentality
F. Present Subjectivity		
G. Selection Process in Historical Reconstruction		
H. History Unit		
I. Periodization		
J. Selection and Typology		
K. Facts and Values		
L. Historical Imagination		
M. Causality in History		
N. Generalization and Quantification		
O. Process and Structure I		
P. Process and Structure II		
Chapter 3 History and Social Sciences		
A. Social Science Approach		
B. History and Geography		
C. History and Economics		
D. History and Social Psychology		
E. History and Sociology		
F. History and Political Science		
G. History and Anthropology		
Chapter 4 History Category		
A. Social History		
B. Political History		
C. History of Mentality		
D. Intellectual History		
E. Agrarian History		
F. Cultural History I		
G. Cultural History II		

limited by objectivity in the form of historical facts, so history is called objective subjectivity (Poespoprodjo, 1987). If these subjectivities reach a meeting point, they will connect in a combination

of subjectivity or intersubjectivity and then move towards the end of objectivity even though it cannot be achieved (Gardiner, 1985; Soedjatmoko, 1988; van Peursen, 1990).

The book *Methodology of History* by (Kuntowijoyo, 1994) (Kuntowijoyo, 2003) Kuntowijoyo (1994 & 2003) is a collection of 9 papers: Chapter I *Writing History in Indonesia* (IXth History Working Conference for Java and Bali, Jember, 1988) or national history (Soedjatmoko et al, 1965; Resink, 1968), Chapter 2 *Oral History* (National History Seminar III, Jakarta, 1985), (Vansina, 1965; Thompson, 1978; Toynbee, 1988; Lucas, 1983 & 1989; Leirissa, 1991; Priyadi, 2013, 2014, 2021a, 2021b), Chapter 3 *Social History* (Direction of Writers/Researchers of Biography and History, Jakarta, 1983) (Smelser, 1968; Galtung, 1969), Chapter 4 *City History* (Local History Seminar, Denpasar, 1982) (Geertz, 1963; 1965; Koentjaraningrat, 1975), Chapter 5 *Rural History* (National History Seminar IV, Yogyakarta, 1982) (Wertheim, 1956; Bloch, 1970; Geertz, 1974), Chapter 6 *Rural Economic History* (Historical Discussion of MSI Jakarta Branch, 1985) (Geertz, 1963; Smelser, 1965; Todaro, 1982), Chapter 7 *Women's History: from Androcentric History to Androgynous History* (Women's History Seminar, Yogyakarta, 1988) (Lerner, 1981; Blusse, 1988), Chapter 8 *Cultural History* (National History Seminar V, Semarang, 1990) (Burckhardt, 1958; Huizinga, 1959; Vansina, 1970; Williams, 1983), Chapter 9 *Local History* Seminar 1984 (Local History Seminar, Medan, 1984) (Kartodirdjo, 1966; Abdullah, 1987).

The collection of writings from 1982-1990 discusses thematic history as a historiographic work in tension between historical methodology and historical methods. At first glance, this work is not about historical methodology but some of the themes of Indonesian historiography concerning social science themes. This book is a companion to Kartodirdjo's (1992 & 2014b), published two years earlier. In essence, Kuntowijoyo's *Methodology of History* contains a crystallization of historiography that explains the position of historical methodology and research methods (historical methods). Some theories and concepts are one element of historical methodology. Methodology as a science of methods has yet to be focused on. This means that it has yet to firmly position the position of methods in the structure of historical science. This results from the writings collected from themes or requests from the seminar and discussion committees, which are more focused on historiography. However, Kuntowijoyo's readers must be careful because this work is Kuntowijoyo's style, which always invites the discussion of historical methodology directly related to historical methods through

historiography. Methodology is indeed in the theoretical area, which must be distinct from practice. Historical practice can be pursued with historical methods, while historiography is the results obtained from historical research.

It seems that Kuntowijoyo (1994 & 2003) did not explain the overlapping of historical methodology, historical methods, and historiography by republishing the old book with the addition of 6 new chapters, namely Chapter 10 *History of Religion* (Huizinga, 1959; Geertz, 1963; Kartodirdjo, 1966; Bellah, 1971; Stark, 1971; Benda, 1980; Vovelle, 1982; Boland, 1985), Chapter 11 *Political History* (Galtung, 1969; Goff, 1972; Liddle, 1972; Emmerson, 1976; Roeder, 1982; Kartodirdjo, 1984; Crouch, 1986; Robison, 1986; Dahm, 1987; Legge, 1987; Nordholt, 1987; Lucas, 1989; Jackson, 1990), Chapter 12 *History of Thought* (Collingwood, 1956; Brinton, 1963; Stromberg, 1968; Kuhn, 1972; Geertz, 1981; Burke, 1990), Chapter 13 *Biography* (Garraty, 1957; Erikson, 1962; Weber, 1964; Stone, 1972; Lukacs, 1974; Peacock, 1979; Scherer, 1985), Chapter 14 *Quantitative History* (van de Graaf, 1954; Hollingsworth, 1969; Ladurie, 1979; Braudel, 1980; Hawke, 1980; Burke, 1990; Kuntowijoyo, 2002), and Chapter 15 *History of Mentality* (Huizinga, 1959; Durkheim, 1964; Lukacs, 1968; Burke, 1973; 1990; Vovelle, 1982). Chapters 10 and 11 are sourced from lecture handouts; the last four chapters are explicitly written. If the book is revised, then the chapters are not given titles, for example, history of religion, political history, history of thought, biography, quantitative history, and history of mentality, but the methodology of religious history, methods of political history, methodology of history of thought, and so on. The thematic history presented by Kuntowijoyo was undoubtedly inspired by his teacher (Kartodirdjo, 1992; 2014b), in Chapter IV, which contains the history category.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Kartodirdjo (1992, 2014b) defines methodology as *knowing how to know*. This definition distinguishes it from the historical method, which is defined as *how to know*. The historical method is a practical approach that historians must master in collecting sources, critically evaluating sources, interpreting historical facts, and writing history. Historical method skills must be grounded in theories and approaches from the auxiliary sciences, particularly Kartodirdjo's achievements, which were new to the social sciences, as previously unthinkable, thus deeming him a pioneer. Kuntowijoyo, a student of

Table 1. Various PjBL learning products

Kartodirdjo (1994, 2003), defines methodology as the science of methods, or the science that discusses paths. Methodology serves as the conceptual framework for the historical method, providing a practical framework.

Kuntowijoyo's three books are: *Methodologi Sejarah* (1994a, 2003), *Introduction to Historical Science* (1995, 2013), and *Explanation of History* (2008). Initially, Kuntowijoyo introduced deductive thinking with themes including oral history, city history, rural history, history of rural economics, women's history: from androcentric history to androgynous history, local history, history of religion, biography, and quantitative history, while Kartodirdjo left two themes, namely intellectual history and agrarian history. Furthermore, agrarian history is detailed into seven sections, comprising rural and agricultural history, regionalism versus rural history, the development of historical disciplines (including new-style political history), agricultural history, rural history, farmer history, and rural history in Indonesia. Kartodirdjo's details above include rural history, which is also mentioned by Kuntowijoyo in chapter 5. Chapter 6, Kuntowijoyo's rural economic history can be compared with rural history in Indonesia. Here, there are five thematic histories as points of contact between Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo, namely social history, political history, history of mentality, history of thought, and cultural history (cultural history I and cultural history II). However, Kuntowijoyo in *Introduction to Historical Science* follows Kartodirdjo's inductive way of thinking by mentioning the approaches of economics, political science, sociology, and anthropology, with the addition of a demographic approach. It appears that Kartodirdjo does not recognize the significance of science that focuses on population dynamics in human civilization. The issues of migration, birth, and death cannot be separated from the existence of society and culture. Kuntowijoyo, in his book entitled *Historical Explanation*, further clarifies the relationship between social science theories and historical facts within the framework of periodization, causality, structural analysis, parallelism, historical generalization, rapprochement, quantification, and narrative history.

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY POSITION

History is a tree (*syajaratun*) consisting of seeds with roots and shoots, tree trunks, and branches-twigs-leaves-flowers-fruits. History begins with

seeds as the origin of history. Seeds are the seeds (*winih*) of historical events that are always related and build a network of events (factors, figures, localities) so that monumental significant events or small events appear, which seem trivial and meaningless, but these events become memories for many people because they have something of value (Priyadi, 2021c). Therefore, the seedbed, which Tantu Panggelaran calls Pawinihan, is essential. At the same time, Panawijen in Pararaton (Padmapuspita, 1966). If the fruit is seedless (*wiji*), it results from genetic engineering. Seedless fruit has a bad or negative impact on health. Likewise, genetically engineered history can produce more, but its value is lower and does not take root (Yatim, 1999). Moreover, producing a new tree requires seeds for seeding or sowing so the roots can grow. Seeds that sprout (*wiji thukul*) and grow upwards must be supported by strong roots that penetrate the soil and grow throughout time (Soedjatmoko, 1988; Toynbee, 1988) so that they will obtain the essence of the soil or nutrients that cause the shoots to grow larger and larger. Indeed, there is a shortcut to planting new trees through grafting or cuttings (Yatim, 1999). So, in addition to growing upwards, seeds will penetrate downwards or inwards to make the seeds more meaningful. This means that the shoots are developing themselves in the process of time towards the tree branching, having twigs, having thick leaves, and being ready to flower to produce fruit.

Historical methodology as a seed is a part of the fruit that can grow historical events. Like a historical theory, the seed is the key to understanding natural, social, and cultural events or phenomena. This historical research departs from historical theory, so historians try to understand general things to understand specific things. Historical theory reflects the rules of historical science obtained from the fruit or work of historiography produced. The departure from a theory or theoretical thought in historical research is the application of logical and systematic deductive logic to examine specific events or the main characteristics of science. It can produce new knowledge or theory (Suriasumantri, 1987).

Suppose Kartodirdjo (1992; 2014b) strongly emphasises the social sciences approach in historical research. In that case, it is a narrow categorization because history is incomplete when it only concerns society (social), economy, and politics. This categorization should be expanded

and deepened with a cultural sciences approach (Priyadi, 2015) so that its human roots are more prominent in the movement of history (Ali, 1981). This means that cultured humans will have firm characteristics, especially in responding to all challenges. Humans always react at all times, both social, cultural, and natural. Nature is an environment or living space that becomes the stage of history. Therefore, historical research and writing cannot ignore the natural sciences approach. Theoretically, all sciences can flow into historical science, or historical science is the mother of all sciences because they must have their history. Science is like a tree with branches, twigs, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Inside the fruit are new seeds as theories that will also develop into a new tree of science. Historians who have so far ignored the approach of natural sciences should immediately end it because comprehensive history should take a multidimensional approach, meaning multidimensional from social sciences, multidimensional cultural sciences, and multidimensional natural sciences to lead to a comprehensive approach (Kartodirdjo, 1988). Essentially, the social and cultural sciences approach is no different from that of natural sciences (Gardiner, 1985). Ali (1981) states that a flexible historical methodology can unite other disciplines or sciences integrally, including social sciences, cultural sciences, and so on. What is meant by and so on is the natural sciences in the same spirit as the social and cultural sciences disciplines. The dialectical analysis and synthesis provide new possibilities from the natural, social, and cultural sciences to historical facts (van der Weij, 1991). Scientifically based on accountable methodology is the primary work of historical science and the basis of the philosophy of history typical of Indonesia (Ali, 1981).

Of course, historians rely more on deductive logic with theories; they rely more on inductive logic with historical data or facts (Gardiner, 1985). When subjective historians interpret objective historical facts, the theories explain events that occur chronologically in a chain. The interconnected events are an important methodological issue (Renier, 1997). Historians must avoid using admired theories because only some are relevant to events. Historians must examine the theories based on events or events that can control theories (Renier, 1997). Suppose the theories are not relevant because they cannot explain the facts or the facts cannot be used to support the theory. In that case, they must be

abandoned (Nursam, 2008), and other theories that are more useful in constructing the theory must be sought. Relevant theories will guide historians in explaining the facts, in addition to their personality and outlook on life. Historical research with deductive logic has placed theories and concepts as sacred, so the results tend to be monotonous. On the other hand, research with inductive logic can shape a historian's creativity to find new theories based on new data and facts.

Suppose the theories find their meeting point with events. In that case, deductive logic based on theory or hypothesis (Nursam, 2008) and inductive reasoning based on data and facts will form a hermeneutic circle (van Peursen, 1989). In this case, the formulation, arrangement, and problem-solving of theory with its practice around history as science will include all auxiliary sciences (Ali, 1981). Thanks to this circle, history as a cultural science or human science (*geisteswissenschaften*) reaches the hermeneutic stage (understanding and interpreting) through the stages of *erlebnis* (personal experience), *ausdruck* (coherence in *erlebnis*), and *verstehen* (understanding). *Verstehen* (understanding or deep learning) is a more complete knowledge than *erklären* (explaining) in the natural sciences (Ankersmit, 1987) because it can put oneself in the position of the object being studied (Rudner, 1987). However, the involvement of natural science (*naturwissenschaft*) in historical methodology will complement the knowledge of *erklären*, *erlebnis*, *ausdruck*, *verstehen*, and hermeneutics.

GROUNDING RESEARCH AND COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

Historical research can also be done with linear inductive logic with critical historical philosophy because it focuses more on historical data or historical sources, making national history scientific (Nursam, 2008). Inductive logic does not require theory directly because historians focus more on data and facts as the basis for critical historical studies (Abdullah, 1985; Gardiner, 1985). This means that historians understand specific events or phenomena, which then understand general things. Inductive logic is the backbone of qualitative research, and Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss developed the grounded research method. Grounded research can be offered as another methodology so Indonesian historians can better understand and appreciate the research location as a historical stage that includes the physical, social, and cultural environments. Historians who have

only been involved in documents or archives on the table have been uprooted from the roots of historical knowledge. This means they do not master historical geography, are foreign to cultural geography, and are even blind to geopolitics. Historians who write at the desk are similar to Dutch historians who wrote history from the decks of ships or in VOC lodges. Alienation from the historical stage certainly makes it challenging to reach the level of *verstehen*.

When applying the grounded research method in the field, for example, in a local historical space, historians are accessible from the constraints of theory and concept. On the one hand, theory can guide work. Still, on the other hand, theory also interferes by limiting movement and thinking so that historical sources or data irrelevant to theory are sometimes ignored or abandoned. Research that begins with theory often produces monotonous and unsatisfying historiography. All historical sources have a network of thoughts (*mentifact*) that can build comprehensive historical knowledge. Therefore, historians with grounded research must be free to move to collect and examine all sources found. If this is done, the historical sources will be easier to obtain. Here, historians race to secure various sources to conduct further research even though they are irrelevant to theory. Historical sources from grounded research can be collected and built into a historical data bank. Historians are not disadvantaged when collecting sources or historical data irrelevant to the theory, but they benefit significantly because they are open to conducting research with other themes. Thus, continuous follow-up research will be able to run so that historians, working little by little, will obtain unexpected results. Kartodirdjo wrote a dissertation at the Universiteit van Amsterdam (1964-1966) based on documents in the form of affordable Dutch archives, which, of course, could be better when field research is carried out. Kartodirdjo's dissertation research is certainly historical research on paper or a desk, not on a research location due to time constraints after completing his thesis in 1962-1964 at Yale University so that the actual conditions in the field are less readable. Lapien (1987) examines the conditions after the eruption of Mount Krakatoa in 1883, which changed the ecology of Banten, especially the transfer of the centre of the *afdeling* from Anyer to Cilegon. It was in Cilegon that the Banten incident occurred.

Hoesein Djajadiningrat's research is undoubtedly more *verstehen* towards the text of Banten History and the socio-cultural conditions of

Banten, especially understanding the historical behavior patterns of the community (Abdullah, 1985). Likewise, Carey (1986a; 1986b; 1986c; 2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2014; 2017) who studied the Java War by relying on the *Babad Dipanegara* and archives. Carey also did not do grounded research in Jawa, so he often made mistakes regarding toponyms in the Banyumas area. Carey could not explain Banyumas as part of the Kasunanan Surakarta in the overseas *kilen*. Carey's repeated mistakes show that he does not master the geopolitics of Kasunanan Surakarta, cannot distinguish between Remo Kebon, Remo Gunung, and Remo Kamal (Priyadi, 2021c), and does not even understand the *Pekiringan* in *Perdikan Cahyana* with the *Pekiringan* in the Gombong area. Like Kartodirdjo, Carey also produced history on paper. Grounded research in the future will be necessary for historians who do not just sit reading archives at ANRI, manuscripts and newspapers at PNRI, or artifacts at the National Museum of the Republic of Indonesia.

In grounded research, historians at the research location seek and collect as many historical sources or data as possible. Immediately verify the data or criticize the sources, analyze, synthesize the facts, and build a new theory as a draft report (Alfian, 1977). As Einstein stated, science begins with facts. It ends with facts, whatever the theory. The facts can be derived deductively, producing logical consequences from a statement (Suriasumantri, 1987). Grounded research in historical science can obtain a new theory when specific events can be understood as general events. This is based on the principle that understanding historical facts cannot be separated from understanding theories or vice versa (Nugroho, 2002). The new theory produced can be in line with theories from auxiliary sciences so that it is inevitable that historical theories and auxiliary science theories, which originate from natural sciences, social sciences (social scientific), and cultural sciences (cultural scientific), will lead to a marriage of theories. The marriage of theories will enrich the treasury of historical theories so that historical science will develop rapidly. Theories of natural sciences can explain historical events through natural phenomena related to human life as theories of social sciences and cultural sciences have so far contributed in their respective approaches. The approach of natural sciences, social sciences, and cultural sciences will form a comprehensive historical explanation. Finally, a comprehensive historiography can be obtained, which encompasses all activities of Indonesian

people in various dimensions, such as economics, society, politics, and culture, which are based on the natural environment, social environment, cultural environment and rich historical sources or data so that Indonesian national history will be built into a comprehensive history. Comprehensive history must be supported by continuous research activities so that the body of knowledge of Indonesian national history will be filled with various historical activities of the Indonesian nation as the leading actor (*dramatis personae*). Of course, comprehensive history does not involve the role of the Netherlands in it (Nursam, 2008)

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS OF INFLUENCE

Kartodirdjo's (1982, 2014a) thoughts on Indonesian historiography were first presented in the journal *Lembaran Sejarah* (Historical Sheet) at the Faculty of Literature and Culture, Gadjah Mada University, and later published in book form as *Thoughts and Development of Indonesian Historiography: An Alternative* (Green Book). These thoughts were narrowed down in historical methodology discussions entitled "Social Science Approach in Historical Methodology" (Kartodirdjo, 1992, 2014b). The Blue Book is Kartodirdjo's work, which specifically discusses historical methodology with a social science approach from the Annales school, particularly Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), with the concept of long-term social history or structural history (Kuntowijoyo, 1987b). This social history is actually derived from a multidimensional approach based on his thoughts in the Green Book. The social sciences approach applied in Kartodirdjo's dissertation (1984a) encompassed four approaches: sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology. Two approaches were later added to the Blue Book: geography and social psychology. Kartodirdjo's historical methodological thinking began with the application of historical methods based on historical methodology, employing a multidimensional approach, which culminated in historiography. The social sciences' fixation on the six approaches outlined in the Blue Book is a stagnant phenomenon that, over time, will lead to the formation of a new, conventional history.

Kuntowijoyo (1994a, 2003) offers his thoughts through thematic works on historiography, analyzing the historical methodologies employed by historians. Kuntowijoyo's historical methodology is broader, more in-depth, and easier to understand than Kartodirdjo's, which is more complex and sophisticated, with its wealth of theo-

ries and approaches. Kuntowijoyo provides numerous examples presented based on themes, thus giving rise to various thematic historical methodologies. However, neither the Green Book nor the Blue Book received much response, discussion, or criticism in the form of new books from students and colleagues, as Kartodirdjo was seen as a capable scientist and remained in an ivory tower until the first quarter of the 21st century. Kuntowijoyo was the only student who deviated from his teacher's thinking, as postmodern thought critiques modern thought. The debate between non-narrative history and narrative history, and even the convergence between the two. Postmodernism also critiques subjectivity because interpretation is very dependent on the historian. It can be said that Kuntowijoyo uses deductive logic, which is then supplemented by inductive logic to explain historical methodology, while Kartodirdjo only uses inductive logic.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Sartono's historical methodology began with his dissertation in 1966, which presented a sociological or social sciences approach that included sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology (Kartodirdjo, 1984a). This dissertation is a monumental work that is detailed and displays a solid methodology and a social sciences or multidimensional approach. Kartodirdjo's book, *Modern Indonesian Tradition & Transformation: A Socio-Historical Perspective* (1984b), documents his international scholarly activities from 1973 to 1983 in 15 chapters. These writings reflect an interdisciplinary approach to social and cultural themes, including banditry and political change in Java, social stratification in colonial society, bureaucracy and aristocracy, the dynamics of personality structures, social consciousness, and the processual and structural aspects of social change. Kartodirdjo does not present a historical methodology internationally.

Kartodirdjo's partners include Dahm, Drooglever, Teeuw, Fischer, Ricklefs, Legge, Fasseur, R. van Niel, Mackie, Carey, B. Baried, Lombard, Wisseling, Sutherland, and Bree, or his students, Ibrahim T. Alfian, Taufik Abdullah, A.B. Lopian, Djoko Suryo, Abdurrahman Surjomihardjo, and Mukhlis contributed an article to an international seminar forum entitled *The Development of Interdisciplinary Approaches in the Study of History in Indonesia and Southeast Asia* in the context of the retirement of the professor of History at Gadjah

Mada University on Sunday, November 1, 1987, which was reported in the Kompas Daily, November 2, 1987 with the title They Come from Various Corners of the World Honoring Sartono Kartodirdjo. Kartodirdjo, a highly regarded historian, received a festschrift entitled *From Babad and Hikayat to Critical History* from colleagues, friends, and students, both within and outside the country. In turn, Kartodirdjo (1987b) donated the book *Culture of Development in Historical Perspective* to UGM (Kompas, 1987).

However, on the other hand, the literary category is one of Sartono's shortcomings, as highlighted by (Teeuw, 1987), so the joint research of Kartodirdjo, S., A. Sudewo, and S. Hatmosuprobo (Kartodirdjo et al, 1987) entitled *The Development of Priyayi Civilization*. Ricklefs (1987) sees that literary works have an autonomous structure, but historians can find history in them. This is in line with Legge's opinion (Legge, 1987). Methodologically, literature or literary studies are one of the disciplines that support historical science. Teeuw, Ricklefs, and Legge are three international scientists who were contemporaries of Sartono. They, in Ibrahim Alfian's language (Alfian, 1987), are not parrots or parasites; in fact, they fill objects that Kartodirdjo does not touch; for example, Fasseur (1987) reconstructs the Lebak event from the Javanese cultural side, while Mackie (1987) focuses on the beginning of the plantation system in Indonesia. Lapien (1987) offers an ecological side when reviewing the Banten event from the eruption of Mount Krakatoa in 1883, which caused the capital city to move to Cilegon. In terms of the historical methodology book from (Kartodirdjo, 1992; 2014b), there is an explanation regarding the insight into space and time (Lombard, 1987), some progress from colonial studies in the Netherlands (Wesseling, 1987), and quantitative and qualitative approaches (Sutherland & Bree, 1987).

Kartodirdjo (1987a & 1990), who resigned as editor-in-chief of Indonesian National History in the 1984 edition, produced two volumes: *Introduction to New Indonesian History: 1500-1900 From Emporium to Imperium (Volume 1)* and *Introduction to New Indonesian History: History of the National Movement From Colonialism to Nationalism (Volume 2)*, which are methodologically problematic. Volume 1 cannot be generalized as Indonesian national history because Indonesia as a nation had not yet been formed and might be more appropriately termed the history of the archipelago. Similarly, in Volume 2, the naming of Indonesian national

history is more accurately described as the history of the archipelago during the colonial and independence periods. Since 1945, the history of the archipelago has been labeled the national history of Indonesia. Labeling Indonesia as a national history is indeed difficult because, in reality, by the mid-20th century, Indonesia as a nation had truly existed, so that the response that the two volumes of the book from Malaysian historian, Syarifah Noor Aini, called Kartodirdjo's work a history that was very Javacentric or had a Javanese perspective. Syarifah also considered that the national integration model presented by Sartono, in terms of the hierarchical order of the center and regions, was insufficient; however, the interregional network should be prioritized with intensive local historical research (Nursam, 2008). The two volumes above demonstrate the consistency of Kartodirdjo (1984a) with the approaches applied in the dissertation, namely political science, economics, sociology, and anthropology. However, matters related to auxiliary sciences and approaches were less addressed by Syarifah Noor Aini. Meanwhile, the echo of historical methodology, both from Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo, faded in connection with their deaths. Domestically, their thinking is still evident in the works of Sjamsuddin (2007) and Suhartono (2010), which will be discussed in a future opportunity. It appears that Kartodirdjo's publications are stronger, as his dissertation was published in the Netherlands and his papers are written in English, making them more global (Nursam, 2008), whereas Kuntowijoyo's books and papers are in Indonesian. Publications about Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo at the global level in the past two and a half decades show a decline because the history written is not only with a social science approach and a cultural science approach, but also natural sciences, such as environmental history (Nawiyanto, 2012), health history (Pols, 2025), and others. However, the diversity of social science themes is their contribution.

CONCLUSION

The published books on Historical Methodology, including the works of Sartono Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo have become something that is accepted as adequate knowledge, even though it has caused prolonged confusion as a result of the overlap between historical methodology and historical methods. Sartono's thoughts on historical methodology are based on the book *Thoughts and Development of Indonesian Historiography: An Alternative*, especially the second part, entitled

Methodology and Interpretation of Indonesian History, which contains three chapters. The first part includes issues of Indonesian historiography, while the third and fourth parts discuss historical methods. The fifth part contains Indonesian historical didactics as a supplement. The first book is emphasized by the book Social Science Approach in Historical Methodology, especially Chapter Two, Historical Reconstruction and Chapter Three, with the title of History and Social Sciences, which contains the social sciences approach as auxiliary sciences.

Furthermore, Chapter One explains historical concepts and perspectives that function as terminology. In contrast, Chapter Four, the historical category, discusses significant historiography themes that can be broken down into sub-themes. Sartono is a historian who began to display historical categories, namely social history, political history, mental history, intellectual history, agricultural history, cultural history I, and cultural history II. Kuntowijoyo followed Sartono's historical categories into nine chapters (1994) or 15 chapters (2003). There are five thematic histories that are the same, but Kuntowijoyo has ten thematic historical creations.

Kuntowijoyo examines historical methodology in reverse with historiographic themes as the starting point, namely national history, oral history, social history, city history, rural history, rural economic history, women's history, cultural history, religious history, political history, history of thought, biography, quantitative history, and history of mentality. Discussion of thematic history, on the one hand, will involve historical methodology and, on the other hand, will be connected to both deductive and inductive methods. Kuntowijoyo takes historical methodology from each thematic history, so that oral history methodology, social history methodology, city history methodology, rural history methodology, women's history methodology, cultural history methodology, local history methodology, religious history methodology, history of thought methodology, biography methodology, quantitative history methodology, and history of mentality methodology can be formulated. This specialist thematic history methodology can provide a comprehensive and general historical approach. Kuntowijoyo, who initially used deductive logic with various themes, has supplemented it with inductive logic.

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