

Weber's Ideal Type and the Indonesian Historical Writing

Arif Akhyat

Universitas Gadjah Mada, ✉ arief.fib@ugm.ac.id

Article history

Received : 2021-09-26

Accepted : 2022-03-17

Published : 2022-04-10

Keywords

Weber,
Ideal type,
Dialectical structure,
Indonesian historiography

Abstract: This paper explains subject-object relations in Max Weber's idealist-structural concept. A sociologist and philosopher of history, Weber argued that social change cannot be separated from structural and dialectic thought as well as the ideal type behind its structural creations. Examining various historical cases offers a perspective on objectivity and subjectivity. Subject-object relations create dialectical relationships that reconstruct knowledge and awareness of historical reality. Historical reality, thus, is the final step in the creation of knowledge that comes from the subject. The paper seeks to understand how Weber's concept of ideal type has influenced historical philosophy in general and Indonesian historiography in particular. This article concludes that historians no longer simply describe and explain facts, but also provide alternative "new constructions": ethical, moral, and super-structural values that determine historical patterns and trends.

Abstrak: Tulisan ini menjelaskan relasi subjek-objek dalam konsep structural-idealisme Weber. Sebagai sosiolog dan filsuf sejarah, Weber berargumentasi bahwa perubahan social terjadi sebagai akibat hubungan struktur dan proses-proses dialektik sebagai bentuk idealisme dibalik semua proses social yang terjadi. Relasi subjektivitas dan objektivitas membentuk struktur dialektik yang kemudian memunculkan pengetahuan tentang apa yang disebut realitas sejarah. Realitas sejarah dengan demikian merupakan proses pengetahuan yang dibentuk dari relasi subjektivitas-objektivitas. Tulisan ini menjelaskan bagaimana konsep Ideal Weber itu dipahami dan pengaruhnya terhadap penulisan sejarah Indonesia? Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa sejarawan Indonesia, langsung atau tidak langsung, menggunakan konsep ideal Weber dalam karyanya yang tidak hanya berbicara deskripsi dan narasi dalam menjelaskan sejarah, namun ada konstruksi baru pengaruh nilai-nilai, etika dan suprastruktur yang kuat dan menjadi cara menentukan pola dan kecenderungan sejarah.

Cite this article: Akhyat, A. (2022). Weber's Ideal Type and the Indonesian Historical Writing. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 32(1), 86-96. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v32i1.32171>

INTRODUCTION

Many studies of Max Weber have framed him as primarily a sociologist. However, he has also been recognized as taking an interdisciplinary approach. John E. Sullivan's book *Prophet of the West* (Sullivan, 1970), for example, states that Weber was not only a sociologist, but also a philosopher, referring to his phenomenological view of social phenomena. For Weber, social symptoms are nothing but expressions of ideas and values. This can be seen in *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilization*, which was first published in 1909. Using economic theory and class values, Weber tried to analyze the agrarian issues in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel, Greece, and Rome, thereby attempting to understand their social structures and the causes of their collapses (Weber, 1979). Through his combination of economics and sociology, Weber produced a comprehensive study of these nations' structure, culture and social dialectical processes (Weber, 2002).

When Weber published his *Economy and Society* several years later, he explicitly ventured out of the world of sociology, which it only a methodological part



Available online at
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of the study of history. Weber began to view economics as a method for understanding social issues, while simultaneously arguing that economic matrices can only be understood through social systems (Lichtblau, 2015). Economic behavior, thus, is actually social behavior. Social behavior is important when people participate in social processes. Weber argued that individuals have their own motives and vested interests. As such, objective truths are actually subjective knowledge, and the development of objective knowledge is nothing but the provision of subjective meanings to objects according to certain rules.

Consequently, Weber began to rethink sociology, which he considered too individualistic as it attempts to deal with subjective meanings using objective perspectives. Sociology's idea of an objective truth is thus unsustainable, and the discipline must thus integrate philology and economics. Sociology and economics are interrelated, with collective models (*kollektivbegriffe*). For Weber, collectivity is important for understanding the processes, causes, and relations that lie at the core of historical studies. Weber thus began to "leave" sociology and look towards a historical philosophy (Roth, 1976).

History offers a tool for analyzing causality, emphasizing interindividual actions within the context of cultural and structural forms that can signify change (Roth, 1976, p. 307). According to Weber, as a discipline, history must answer various questions about the past and the present. It does not merely have diachronic and linear dimensions, but also synchronic-philosophical dimensions that include particular meanings within them. Weber approached sociology, economics, and history with both diachronic and synchronous approaches, an axiological blend of the logic of order, process, and meaning. Weber sought to improve his understanding of sociology and economics through class studies (Weber, 2002; Roth, 1976; Worsley, 1978). In the end, causality can only be understood through the market. *Economy and Society* reveals how social relations can be understood through the production process in the market economy system, which is itself a system full of vested of interests—defined by Swedberg (Swedberg, 2003; 2018) as including sexual interests, speculative interests, class interests, emotional interests, and affective interests.

Weber uses the term 'market' to refer more to structures that are constructed through "labor" and commodities. Labor is a class entity, something that must be present (along with other commodi-

ties) in the market; without labor and commodities, the market would mean nothing. There exists a dialectical process that results in the ownership of production factors in the economic system, with social structures forming as a result (Weber; 2002, pp. 75-76). Capitalist and labor classes dominate the dialectical processes. For Weber, class can cause status, but it can also be result from status; it is heavily determined by the market and by economic benefits.

Weber's paradigm gradually shifted away from its earlier evolutionary sociological model, becoming a structural-idealist one (Swedberg, 2018). This can be seen in such works as *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (trans, 1976), *Economy and Society* (1922), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), and an Indonesian translation titled *The Handbook of Sociology* (Weber, 2002). The first and second books deal predominantly with the emergence and development of capitalism within different interest groups. The concept of idealism is evident in both books, particularly in their idea that a "superstructure" of ethics and values—which may be derived from morality or cultural norms—drive social change in capitalist societies. The third book explores how Protestant ethics are reflected in rituals and worship, and how Protestants are expected to embody the morality and values of the church in all of their actions, including economic ones (Abdullah, 1994); this work is the most widely discussed in explorations of Weber's thought. Finally, the fourth book—a compilation of essays—deals with issues of religion, social psychology, and culture. Two chapters, "Protestantism and Capitalism" and "Capitalism and Rural Communities in Germany", deal specifically with issues of capitalism. In these essays, Weber takes the basic assumption that religiosity and economic issues are related to the boundaries of consciousness and unconsciousness, which give ascetic meanings and values to economic actions (Weber, 1930).

Worsley (1978), in his book *Modern Sociology*, clearly identifies Max Weber as a modern sociologist. This book is interesting because Worsley argued that sociological thinkers do not only use various perspectives to analyze the forms and patterns of contemporary society, but offer new paradigms for analyzing social changes. Weber holds that empirical analysis requires moral choices where science is unable to explain values or, vice versa, when values cannot be involved in science, as values and morality are elements of rationality,

which itself is a basic tool for analyzing social change. Reality is not only in the object, but also in the subject itself. This paper seeks to answer three questions: How is Weber's idealism constructed? How do values and ethos (as subjective reality) become determinant in the social construction of objective reality? To what extent has Weber's idealism influenced Indonesian historiography.

METHOD

This article is written using a qualitative method by reinterpreting Weber's grand theory of the ideal type concept. Some of Weber's works become initial references to find the theoretical linkages between Weber's ideal-type concept and the writing of Indonesian history. The qualitative method in question, as is often used in historical methods, is based on the analysis and interpretation of facts found in Weber's works. Factual linkages can be used to explain, analyze and reconstruct theoretical relations. Theoretical relations in qualitative analysis can function to dialectify one concept to another to find relationships with each other.

This article does not explain all of Weber's works, only a few selected Weber works that have relevance, either directly or indirectly, in the way some Indonesian historians have reconstructed history. The selection of several works by Indonesian historians is also important, especially those with works of academic reputation and who are pioneers in the use of new approaches in historical studies.

WEBER'S IDEAL TYPE CONSTRUCTION

Maximilian Weber, better known as Max Weber (1864–1920), was a modern sociologist. Weber was raised in a Bourgeois family. He was the son of a wealthy lawyer and politician, while his grandmother Emilie Souchay Fallenstein had been a member of the Privy Council. Many in his family were merchants who were heavily involved in trade. However, Weber was later challenged by his Marxist opponents because of this bourgeois background, with his Economy and Society considered an expression of such a paradigm.

Weber was introduced to social matters at a young age. He read a range of works, including the *Goethe-Kalender* as well as works by historian Georg Gottfried Gervinus (a friend of his grandfather's). He also read extensively on American democracy, including Benjamin Franklin's autobiography. Weber completed two doctoral degrees at the University of Berlin, the first (on the topic of

trading companies in the middle ages) in 1889 and the second (on land use systems in Rome) in 1891. During the writing of his second dissertation, Weber—under the guidance of his teacher August Meitzen—recognized the emergence of particular interest groups in the institutional agricultural system, which were formed on the basis of Christian Monastic values. These agricultural institutions later became the early aristocratic capitalist system (Whimster, 2018, pp. 186-211).

Early in his career, Weber joined the German School of Legal Historians, known for its philological studies; this influenced his understanding of the basis for studying knowledge systems in the development of social institutions. Weber was also close to the German "Father of Philology", Theodor Mommsen (Weber, 1976), from whom he learned about the textual relationship that shape social constructs and thereby deepened the hermeneutic understanding upon which he based his "ideal type concept".

For Weber, the empirical world is not objective, but very cultural and attached to ideas and values. The empirical world is shaped by how the subject understands it (*verstehen*); as such, rationality is one key for understanding the ideas and values embodied by objects. Consequently, Weber cannot be classified as a positivist; he also clearly rejects the evolutionism and metaphysics often linked with the world of philosophy. However, in his understanding of social processes, Weber did not reject historicism as a diachronic and synchronous paradigm. As such, sociologists and historians have identified Weber as an idealist-modernist scientist. Weber's idealist and modernist paradigm distinguishes his thought from previous historical thinking. Weber's historicism relies in observation, which leads towards a generalizing viewpoint. Weber did not desire to understand the uniqueness of historical events, but used systems of values and moral judgment to understand the recurrence of events. According to Weber, historicism and individuality are constructions that must be given value through inter-subject relations. For example, when Event "A" occurs, "A" is not the sole cause; there are also factors ("A", "B", "C", through "Z") reaching both backwards and forwards. To obtain a better understanding, Weber thus uses a concept he identifies as "ideal type".

Weber's historicism bears similarities with the premises of Eduard Meyer, who argued that the study of history must be chronological and continuous. Meyer argued that historical studies must be selectively adapted to the interests of their time, the

"spirit of their age" (*zeitgeist*). Meyer's concepts were extrapolated by Weber to elaborate upon facts and events, thereby interpreting causality and drawing concrete links between facts. For Weber, links between facts—falling into a category concept (*gattungsbegriff*)—are very important for understanding the historical rise of concepts and events (Weber, 1976).

Weber saw the historical process not as a fortuitous accident, but a process of general types that can only be explained through general typology. In this, Weber appeared to lean towards an idealist-structural model, distinguishing him from Levi-Strauss and the latter's more universal structural model (Ahimsa-Putra, 2006). Weber rejected positivism, arguing that it denied the presence of the subject, and gave a concept he termed "objective possibility" as an alternative. Objective possibility deals predominantly with human behaviors, actions, and social relations, and thus relies on a wealth of historical phenomena and principles that define the possibilities found (Mandelbaum, 1967, pp. 264-266). Mandelbaum criticizes Weber for this, arguing that Weber's historical phenomena are ill-defined; this is crucial, as when phenomena are poorly defined analysis can produce incorrect categories.

Weber attempted to address this problem using the category concept to categorize undefined objects. This is key to subjectively interpreting and giving meaning to different phenomenon. Object subjection is conducted through Weber's concept of Ideal Type, categories which uniquely configure values and meanings. Weber did not create a series of rules through his studies and analyses, but nonetheless created categories for generalizing patterns and defining previously undefined objects. Weber's ideal type offers a clear means of creating social "models" (Burke, 1992, pp. 23-28). Unlike idealists such as Wilhelm Dilthey, who argue that cultural studies can be conducted through unique formulations and meaningful configurations (Kartodirdjo, 1982), Weber rejects the idea that the social events are isolated. Weber instead argues that sociology and cultural studies are the same as the natural sciences; it is necessary to build "models" based on "causal relationships" between general categories (Kartodirdjo, 1982; Burke, 1992).

Although offered a different understanding of culture, he adopted Dilthey's argument that, in order to achieve objective knowledge, one must integrate aspects of behavior and culture. Weber uses thinking and structure in his efforts to under-

stand the hermeneutic relationships between facts within certain structures. Social structures built solely on the basis of facts cannot find the "spirit" of an event or social phenomenon. According to Weber, the "objectivity of spirit" must be sought; the meanings of all forms of social phenomena are not limited to the subject, but must also affect the object. This enables an object's structure and personality to be interpreted. In idealist groups, the results will be irrational if not accompanied by a deep knowledge and understanding (Hughes, 1964, pp. 50-51). Actual ways of acting, Weber argued, are almost as argued by idealist philosophers such as Benedetto Croce, whose *Philosophy of Spirit* argued that philosophers thought using aesthetic logic (Sullivan, 1970, pp. 125-132).

WEBER AND AGRARIAN HISTORY

As a modern sociologist, Weber was well aware of the distinction between sociology and history. Sociology sought a general uniformity in order to build laws and models in its studies. Through certain concepts and categories, sociologists test, understand, and formulate various categories to see the relationships between facts and thereby create models. As such, sociologists cannot be separated from the empirical phenomena that they consider unique, as these phenomena offer connection points upon which models or even theories can be created (Worsley, 1976). Historians do the opposite of sociologists, beginning with general phenomena and seeking uniqueness. In history, uniqueness contributes strength to analysis and provides further weight to a study; however, they must also integrate models (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

Weber's *Economy and Society*, published posthumously, examined the relationship between economics and sociology. Economic systems and all related processes (production, consumption, and distribution) are social processes involving interests, motivations, and relationships between individuals, between individuals and social groups, and between social groups. The market (capitalist) system is configured through these relationships, and thus resultant from the economic system. On the other hand, as an economic system the market has aspects of transactional knowledge. Weber thus argues that economic relationships are the same as sociological relationships, with the market being controlled by knowledge, what Weber called a spirit, ethos, value system, or meaning system. Weber views knowledge as the purest type of human (Weber, 1976). Likewise, his *Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilization* discusses the his-

tory of European capitalism through the proletarian and labor classes. Capitalism creates social distance, which consequently distorts morality, spirit, ethos, and value systems. Weber began his study by analyzing land ownership models in ancient civilizations, with particular focus on communal land models. He argued that communal land ownership among agrarian social groups has slowed the development of a capitalistic economy. In East Asia, communal lands were used as agricultural land and managed by village organizations. Meanwhile, the Near East developed modern irrigation systems along the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, which historians consider to be the beginning of a hydraulic society that fostered oriental despotism. According to Weber, the agricultural economic model supported by this modern irrigation system fostered the growth of different models of capitalism.

European Feudalism gave rise to a Romano-Germanic feudal system which exerted control through the vassal system. Vassalage was not just a delegation of power, but a social structure with a certain level of prestige, in which vassals were fully responsible for various agricultural activities. Vassals had special rights—especially under the Romano-Germanic feudal system—that gave them an administrative advantage. Owing to their semi-autonomous position, vassals had the flexibility to carry out socio-economic practices that sometimes exceeded their authority. The vassal system, which became a model for rule in the feudal era, was later supported by the emergence of warrior classes (*mercenaries*) who economically became part of the feudal system. Owing to differences in the shape and character of land tenure, feudal practices differed regionally. The classical European (Greco-Roman), Near Eastern, Egyptian, and African models of feudalism were not practiced elsewhere in Europe. For example, Italian feudal models revolved around the landed nobility, the ruling class that held the highest authority in the feudal system. Feudalism in Italy was built around feudal cities, centers of power that became centers of distribution and control under the rule of the nobility. Slavery and the proletariat resulted from this very capitalistic feudal process, with the working class (labor, *ergodotos*) falling under a full ownership model (Weber, 1976; 1939). It has been difficult for historians to examine agricultural or agrarian systems as their main domain (*fronthofsbetrieb*), including free land systems, communal land systems, land transfers and leases, and the emergence of market-based "colonies". Fo-

cus has been given primarily to economic concerns, including the feudal system, including the links between lords, rich farmers (cultivators), and the poor farmers who work the land. In this system, the market system is not a "colony" system, but a capitalist system where labor is not an autonomous actor in the market system, but as an object of it.

Recognizing the major shift from a feudal agrarian system to commercial capitalism, Weber sought to understand these major changes. He saw a process of transition, from *oikos* to capitalism, from *oikos* to basic economics. In explaining the shift from classical to capitalistic agricultural economic system, Weber sought to show how economic processes give rise to very complex social problems. The feudal labor system and slavery were both created through economic feudal agriculture and capitalistic economics, which Weber linked to issues of "ethics" (Sim, 1998, p. 106)—specifically exploitive economic ethics. According to Weber, ethics—with their own substance, logic, spirituality, values, and morality—are crucial in the economic system. As with Durkheim, Marshall, and Marx, Weber viewed "ethics" as affecting social structures, changing ways of thinking, and determining social construction. In the book *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber argues that social construction processes have been directed and carried out upon the basis of "God's Plan". As such, Weber argued that the issue of "ethics" must be used to understand social relations in historical studies.

Weber sees social relations as the ethical constructions of particular interest groups that runs diachronically and synchronously. Whatever history is constructed must be able to explain the model of "ethics" embodied within it (*verstehen*) (Hughes, 1964, pp. 10-11). "Ethical construction" offers a basis for historical reconstruction; as such, all historical constructs are social history, driven by "ethics constructions"—which Marxists identify as "superstructure" (Williams, 1980, 32). As such, Weber argued that historians must conduct comparative studies and select various events that are connected through systems of value and meaning (Kartodirdjo, 1982, p. 50) that are inherent in objects. At the same time, the subject can determine social relations.

Weber's most widely read work by Indonesian social scientists is *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber, 1930), which essentially argues that religion is a source of the spirit, ethos, and values drive capitalist movements

through the exchange of goods and services in a broader economic system. Weber argued that capitalism is driven by singular and plural factors. Singular factors are unique ones, rather than recurring ones. Plural factors, meanwhile, exist at several levels, which Weber identifies as; 1) the construction of rules of experiences, 2) the explanation of causality, and 3) general social and political situations (Roth, 1976, p. 310). The relationship between singular and plural factors crucially affects the evolution of capitalism. For Weber, Lutheran capitalism is perfect capitalism, as it is not only determined by singular and plural factors, but also by a spirit, a system of values, asceticism, and ethos claimed to originate from God. Weber involves God in the social construction process as subjects and objects by their ethics, values, and meanings are always guided in their search for justification (Pissardo, 2019).

As a discipline, history extends beyond what Weber calls general uniformities (*regeln*). It relies on causal analysis that is individual, unique, structural and has

cognitive significance. History not only sees the regularity of change, but also the extent to which the change has meaningful cultural implications. Ultimately, it still incorporates rules (regularity of change) and typologies in its efforts to understand (*verstehen*) and interpret (objective meaning). Historical studies (*wissenschaft*) thus attempt to explain specific cultural phenomena by showing single and unique causality to find historical knowledge (Roth & Weber, 1976). This is considered an actual historical analysis of culture. For Weber, history is nothing but a link between consciousness and unconsciousness, the mutual influences and harmonies of subjective and objective spirits.

Weber tried to see the truth of rationality, the truth that is the main goal of science. Weber's concept of rationalization is similar to Hegel's; they differ in their final conceptualization of history. Hegel argued that, when the dialectic of subjective spirit overlaps with that of the objective spirit, history will end with absolute spirit (ultimate spirit). According to Hegel, history must have a purpose (*telos*), and as such it is teleological (Ankersmit, 1987). Weber disagreed, holding that history means breaking away from the subjective-objective dichotomy, as both are guided by the same ethics and values. Weber rejects the so-called "quasi-organic entity", advocating instead for organic theories built on empirical truths. As the foundation of his historiography, Weber argues

that history must be configurational, situational, and developmental. It must be configurational, using models, themes and structures. It must be written according to scientific laws, what Weber terms "explanatory devices". Furthermore, they must explain patterns and tendencies, making history logical, rational, and observable. As such, writing history must mean understanding the times, the spirit of the age (*zeitgeist*) in order to better understand and identify meaningful relationships between events (objects). This situation determines what meaning historians will build, as it strongly influences historians' knowledge and reconstructions.

Historical studies of processes and change demand models of processual conjuncture, models that differ significantly from those of evolutionism. Weber saw development processes (developmentalism) as enabling the analysis of significant changes without relying on periodic regularities proposed by evolutionists in their attempts to understand long-term historical transformations. Weber rejects evolutionary analysis, holding that it takes too much time and conjecture to understand the changes that occur over a long period of time. Weber agrees with the disillusions' model, which he considers addressing the deterministic shortcomings of skepticism. Weber has thus been identified as a pioneer of idealist historiography, as he refused to be trapped by the desire to objectify history through his analysis.

Weber's ideas are also compatible with Collingwood's idealism, which frames historical issues as dialectic ones. Weber and Collingwood are distinguished, however, in that Weber builds his theory on causal analysis, situational analysis, and empirical analysis. For Weber, empirical analysis involves the analysis of causative problems at the situational level. It is insufficient to explain history empirically and qualitatively; it is necessary to make ethical choices and consider extant values. Conversely, Collingwood acknowledges that history has its own determinism. History is a matter of humanity, but one must distinguish between history as thought and history as method (Collingwood, 1956, pp. ix-x). He sought a metaphysical, logical, and ethical ways of thinking and explaining historical phenomena, and therefore tended to understand history as a way of thinking, the result of thinking, and a dialectic of ideas that he terms ethics. In the realm of philosophy, we must distinguish between historical philosophy with and idealist history. Historical philosophy emphasizes a more cosmological understanding in

its historical conjuncture, while idealist history emphasizes historical analysis using frameworks of subjective-rational and objective-structural epistemology. Weber thus sought to understand history as a way for creating meaning out of chaotic, overlapping and formless phenomena.

Weber's idealism also differed from Hegel's "Spirit" concept. Hegel's thought is dominated by speculative philosophical thoughts, denying all objective and rational actions (Ankersmit, 1987). As such, it gave an exalted place to subjectivity; for Hegel, the subjective spirit, the objective spirit, and the absolute spirit are part and parcel of what he calls the "universal spirit". Weber's idealism also differs from Scott's moral economy (Ahimsa-putra, 2003). Scott understands moral economics as economic actions guided by beliefs, life outlooks, belief systems, and value systems, which can have various results. Morality is an "agent" driving social action, without taking risk into account. Meanwhile, Weber's idealism also differs significantly from religious ethics, as it focuses more on the question of rationalizing the "superstructure" as the foundation of socio-economic actions.

Lutheran Protestantism appears to have had a significant effect on Weber's idealism. Weber sought to end the materialistic view that history involves continuous antagonism, to free mankind from its alienation. For him, idealism offers a history of salvation (*Heilsgeschiedenis*), a history that postulates that human beings and their souls cannot be reduced in any form (Kartodirdjo, 1986). However, even with this strong religious influence, Weber did not seek to sacralize history. He combined profane and sacred issues, desiring to explain the construction of the super-historical by making it historical, by producing more meaningful and valuable concepts, methodologies and theories (Hughes, 1964; van der Meulen, 1987).

WEBER'S IDEALISM AND INDONESIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

Weber explained capitalism as a basic pattern for understanding social relations within which vested interests are incorporated. Capitalism produces different social groups, which in turn causes differences in interests. Weber sought to parse these different interests through his understanding of capitalism, which combined rationalization (the objectification of knowledge) as well as idealistic interests (ethos, values, and meaning). He recognizes a similar system in religion. As with capitalism, religion creates specific interest groups that occupy different social strata. Capitalism and reli-

gion have a synergistic and causal relationship.

Weber—through his combination of economics, sociology, (Protestant) ethics, and capitalism—sought to identify the factors that dominate and determine history. This is where the idealization of empirical-objective factors interacts with the "superstructure", with ethics, values, and meaning, a complexity of structures wrapped in value and meaning (Roth, 1976).

Weber's approach to history viewed all social processes as meaningful and valuable, and the "superstructure" as driving social (objective-structural) changes. For Weber, ethics and values provide a strong foundation for building theories, models, assumptions, and concepts that can be used to analyze social problems. Where skeptics dismissed these factors as myths, Weber argued that they offered a basis for scientific arguments. All things can be explained scientifically, including by using ethics and values. Capitalism, as argued by Weber, is moral and valuable, as it subjectively involves individual consciousness and individual unconsciousness, an ascetic spirit of spirit of religiosity and ethic of rationality. Weber thus rejected both absolute subjectivity and extreme objectivity, embracing not a philosophical idealism but one rooted in understandings of European sociology and history, which he believed had provided significant concepts, laws, theories, and methodologies.

Weber did not limit himself to ethics and culture. He also included philosophical thought, highlighting aspects of subjective consciousness and unconsciousness as determinants of objective truth (Weber, 2002). In this subjective-objective dialectic system, values and meanings form the basis of Weber's idealism and his reconstruction of social changes. "God's Plan" may drive history and be omnipresent in social construction processes, but it is not the absolute "God's Plan" postulated by Hegelians. According to Weber, "God's Plan" is something drained, rationalized, and objectified. How has this complex and comprehensive idealism influenced Indonesian historiography?

In Indonesia, critical historiography first emerged in the dissertation of P.A.A. Husein Djajadiningrat, which provided a critical study of the history of Banten (Djajadiningrat, 1913). Following the first National History Seminar in 1957, critical historiography became increasingly important, culminating with Sartono Kartodirdjo's introduction of a new multi-dimensional approach to historical studies in 1966 (Kartodirdjo, 1966). Five years later, looking at the works of

Minangkabau scholars— and, implicitly, an "Islamic ideology"—Taufik Abdullah suggested the concept ideological domination (Abdullah, 1971). In 1980, Teuku Ibrahim Alfian identified the Acehnese resistance to Dutch imperialism as an ideological (Alfian, 1980), framing their "War on the Way of God" within the context of a broader psychological struggle between Muslims and "infidels". Kuntowijoyo, finally, linked the religious and social divisions of Madurese agrarian communities to the transformation of local elites during the era of colonial capitalism (Kuntowijoyo, 1979). Although these works are not the only ones that have influenced the growth of historiography in Indonesia, they are the most influential one.

This article seeks only to trace the parallels between Weber's idealist paradigm and the historiographies used by Sartono Kartodirdjo and Kuntowijoyo. Although neither explicitly applies a Weberian paradigm, their approach to historical thought bears similarities. Sartono clearly draws on Weber's idealist structural pattern when discussing the shift from traditional authority to legal-rational authority, while Kuntowijoyo referred to Marx in his exploration of the social formation of Madurese colonial society. These two Indonesian historians' dissertations will offer examples of how the Weberian paradigm has influenced Indonesian historiography and prove a "paradigmatic conformity" between Weber's idealism and Indonesian historical writing.

Kuntowijoyo explored Madura's social formation using Marx's modes of production model, Burger and Wertheim's social transition model, and Selo Soemardjan's social change model. In this manner, he recognized upland and lowland areas as having experienced different social changes; upland areas had relatively limited cohesiveness, as many production systems from this area were individualistic, while lowland areas attracted migrants from outside Madura and thus experienced different religio-political orientations.

Traditionally, the highest Madurese authority is the *panembahan* who is in charge of the *paseban*, *kraton*, and *barisan*. The position under the *panembahan* is the *patih*, who has power over the *gedong*, the Palace Court, and the *penghulu*. Below the *patih*, there are the *wedono camat* (district), *mantri-aris* (sub-district), and *kliwon* (village). Each of these traditional leaders has his own duties and responsibilities, as well as its area of authority. According to Kuntowijoyo, this social structure significantly influenced Madura's socio-political changes, as aristocrats played an important role in

managing the transformation of the island's economic structures and influencing residents' social and cultural behavior.

The structure of the agrarian community, according to Kuntowijoyo, provides an explanation of the function of the religious officials in Madura. The positions of the *kyai* (Islamic Scholar), *gebayan-kaum* (messenger to the people), *guru ngaji* (Qur'anic instructor), *imam* (prayer leader), *penjaga kubur* (graveyard keeper), *kaputihan* (instituted religious teacher), *kaum* (village religious official), *modin* (religious official village), *naib* (sub-district pengulu), *marbot* (mosque keeper), *ketib* (preacher), *santri* (Islamic student) and many more that are structured in religious functions are important in setting socio-economic policies (Kuntowijoyo, 1980: 307). When these religious functions are violated, resistance movement often occurs by using various religious attributes and using the supernatural power as the religious as well as cultural ethics (Kuntowijoyo, 1980, pp. 316-323).

Meanwhile, through his *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888*, Sartono Kartodirdjo attempted to provide a new approach for understanding the radicalization of peasants. Sartono sought to use a social sciences approach to map social stratification in Banten, and as such he required appropriate analytical tools; one of these was Weber's ideal type, which offered a means of understanding the transition from traditional authority to legal-rational authority (Kartodirdjo, 1966). Sartono borrowed from Weber to explore the changes that occurred in Banten following its occupation by Dutch colonial forces. Sartono's admiration for Weber is evident in his subsequent writings, including "Bureaucracy and Aristocracy", "The Regents in Java as Middlemen: A Symbolic Action Approach", and the book *Modern Indonesia: Tradition and Transformation* (Kartodirdjo, 1991).

Importantly, Sartono argued that social history is the history of ethics and values, and as such highly ideological and eschatological; such a postulation had previously been made by Weber. According to Sartono, social stratification created special relationships within Bantenese peasant society, where in social and economic conditions could change under the influence of specific cultural ethos. This cultural ethos, according to Sartono, was not derived from Bantenese traditions and culture. Rather, it came from the eschatological values of Islam that had been spread by *hajji* and *tarekat* groups—both the main drivers of the rebellion—before ultimately becoming a new cul-

tural ethos among Bantenese peasants.

Sartono began his study with issues of land ownership, taxation (particularly its burden on farmers), community interventions, patterns of community power under local and regional rulers, and colonial repression. The agrarian capitalism created by Dutch colonial forces overhauled the traditional Bantenese structure, creating "chaos". According to Sartono, the continued practice of colonialism without any regard for communities' existing social structures or welfare, transformed the quiet countryside into a reactive and radical one. Land ownership, transfer, leasing, and taxation—all factors contributing to the rebellion—resulted from the colonial practice of capitalism in Banten. Sartono's argument thus paralleled Weber's study of European capitalism and its role in the fall of feudalism (Weber, 1976; 1978).

Originally, Banten had an agricultural economic structure where in—although lands were owned by a sultan—the people themselves were responsible for their own activities; in other words, it was a closed economic structure that relied on subsistence farming. Bantenese peasants grew rice, relying on particular irrigation systems as well as kinship networks. Despite Banten's common cultural association with the ethnic group, not all of the peasants were of Sundanese heritage. Northern areas such as Anyer and Serang were home to many migrants from Central Java, while southern areas were predominantly inhabited by the Sundanese. Over time, the subsistence economy transformed into a commercial and industrial economy—particularly in Cilegon District (Kartodirdjo, 1966).

After occupying Banten, Dutch colonial forces began transforming its rural social structure. They abolished the Sultan's lands and dismantled the system in which taxes were paid to the Sultan, court officials, and the royal family. As such, even though the nobility were compensated, all of the economic benefits of feudalism disappeared. From this analysis, it is apparent that Weber's concepts informed Sartono's understanding of how land was transferred from its previous holders—i.e. traditional authorities such as the Sultan and his family—to "new" groups under the Dutch-introduced legal-rational system.

When the Regent of Serang proposed returning lands to farmers, providing them with three-year land leases and buffalos, he was welcomed, as was his stipulation that farmers hand over one half of their harvest as rent payments. However, his replacement was unwilling to honor

the agreement, instead considering these lands to be his own. The situation was further exacerbated when the Sultan's heirs, who had been disenfranchised by the Dutch legal-rational government, began sue for these lands. Other actors, recognizing the potential for economic gain, exploited the situation by committing fraud. Peasants were burdened with taxes, with their lease agreements, and with rampant extortion. Facing such as double burden, social unrest was high. This, Sartono argued, ultimately triggered the 1888 peasant rebellion in Banten, where the specter of social conflict had long plagued the agricultural economy.

In this analysis, Sartono clearly uses a Weberian model in identifying the "vested interest groups" that came into conflict under the shadow of feudalism. Dyadic relationships transformed into polyadic ones, and land issues—ultimately a dispute between the Sultan's family and district officials—became colonial ones. Farmers, having been increasingly marginalized owing to ongoing conflict between elites and colonialism, were swayed towards an "ethos" of rebellion.

In exploring the causes of the 1888 Bantenese rebellion, Sartono sought to show the complex land issues faced by rural peasants. It is no coincidence that Sartono saw peasants as suddenly becoming agents of history, who radically challenged Dutch colonialism and local feudal officials. The "spirit of Islamism", thus, had the same role in Sartono's work as Protestant ethics did in Weber's (Weber, 1930). Sartono also understood religious mobilization as a social problem (Kartodirdjo, 1973). Religious institutions were not involved; only religious leaders with protest ideologies—Messianic, nativist, millenarian, and Mahdiist—that supported the rebellion. Calls for a spiritual war, a campaign against "infidels", transformed into a spirit of revolution.

At the apex of resistance to colonialism was the idea of "Ratu Adil". Although Sartono identified his analysis as social history, his arguments resembled those of Weber; social issues can be traced to the economic motives, ethics, and values that contribute to social change. The Bantenese peasant rebellion could not have occurred without a call for "jihad", without a promised "Queen of Justice" (a messiah), or a hope for a golden age (millenarianism). Both Weber and Sartono, thus, explore capitalism in order to understand its ethics and values. Sartono acknowledged that, similar to Europe, Banten had experienced a shift from traditional authority to legal authority, which resulted in the creation of a new class: marginal peasants

who were ready to rebel.

Also similar to Weber, Sartono did not intend to "sacralize" the history of capitalism. As with Weber, he saw capitalism as objective data, a phenomenon that offered empirical descriptions of vested interest groups, exploitation models, resistance patterns, and marginal groups. However, where Weber stopped his analysis with the emergence of marginal and proletarian groups who were victims of capitalism, Sartono continued his analysis, attempting to examine the "effects" of capitalist practice: protest movements, rebellions, and resistances using eschatological ideologies (Kartodirdjo, 1984).

Importantly, in discussing the similarities between Weber and Sartono, one cannot ignore their historical methodologies. Both use comparative theory, concepts, and methodologies in order to understand capitalism and its consequences. Weber compared the history of capitalism in Europe, Africa, and West Asia within the classical period (Ancient Civilization), while Sartono expanded his study from Banten (Kartodirdjo, 1966) to include the northern coasts of West, Central, and East Java (Kartodirdjo, 1973). Both saw social change as structural change, patterns, and "superstructures" (ethics, values, and ideologies). Similarly, they both invoked the idea of "God's Plan" in understanding social change.

CONCLUSION

As a closing note, it should be noted that Weber's comprehensive treatment of agrarian history inspired the writer to seek equivalent concepts and historiographies in Indonesia. Kuntowijoyo and Sartono were the most interesting for comparison, and thus discussed here. Meanwhile, although the works of Taufik Abdullah and Ibrahim Alfian were no less interesting than Sartono and Kuntowijoyo, spatial constraints meant that comparison was impossible. Although finding a conceptual equivalence is difficult, comparing the models and patterns used by Weber, Kuntowijoyo, and Sartono produced several important results. All three authors dealt with agrarian capitalism, as well as related problems; similarly, all three recognized the role of vested interest groups in agrarian issues. Moreover, all three thinkers noted that capitalism created marginal groups—its victims. Most importantly, Javanese, Madurese, and European capitalism shared the same models and patterns. Capitalism in these areas was driven what Weber identified as a particular ethos, value, spirit, and morality. From this analysis, it may be surmised that

Weber's idealist view has strongly influenced Indonesian historiography, resulting in strong idealist-structural tendencies.

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