



MANONMANIAM SUNDARANAR UNIVERSITY

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HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL METHOD



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Historiography and Historical Methods

UNIT I: Meaning. Nature and Scope of History - Kinds of History and Allied Subjects - Lessons of History: Uses and Abuses of History Role of Individuals. Role of Institutions and Role of Ideas in History.

UNIT II: Philosophy of History Positivist History Marxist Interpretation of History - Annales Paradigm Subaltern History Subjectivity and Need for Objectivity in History.

UNIT III: Historical Research: Pre-requisites of a Researcher Choice of Topic Review of Literature - Hypothesis Sources of History- External and Internal Criticism of Sources- Collection of Data, Synthesis, Exposition and Writing - Use of Footnotes and preparation of Bibliography.

UNIT IV: Development of Historical writing in the West - Herodotus, Thucydides, St. Augustine. Ibn Khaldun, L.V. Ranke, Arnold Toynbee, E.H. Carr. Fernand Braudel, E.P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm.

UNIT V: Historians of India- V.A.Smith, D.D. Kosambi, Romila Thapar, Jadunath Sarkar, Bipan Chandra, Ranjith Guha, K.A. Nilakanda sastri, K.A. Nilankanta Sastri, R.Sathianatha Ayyar. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, C.S. Srinivasachari, K.K. Pillai.

UNIT I

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL METHODS

1.1 MEANING OF HISTORY

Man is by nature inquisitive. He is curious to know about himself and his past. He is also eager to understand the present in the light of the past and anxious to foresee and face the future. The innate ability of the Homo sapiens to know, to understand and to foresee has led to human progress and historical development.

The Greeks were the earliest to give a rational meaning of the word history. In fact the term history itself is derived from the Greek word 'istoria' which means inquiry, research, exploration, information or learning. The German equivalent of the word history is geschichte, which means an intelligent and intelligible narration of past events. The Arabic word 'tarikh' stands for chronology. The Sanskrit word itihasa refers to legend.

In its original sense, history is an inquiry into human events or learning based on ascertained facts. In a restricted sense, history is nothing but strictly the recorded past based on research. In this sense, history can be used to stand either for an well-known genus of researches and writings which usually take the form of historical books. History can also be used to stand for the objects of these researches and writings, that is, for what actually happened or what men actually did at certain particular times and places in a limited sense, therefore, histories are confined to such past events as have been recorded or remembered or as can be inferred or recognized on the basis of partial records and memories. In a broader sense, history means knowing the past with a view to understand the present so as to foresee and predict the future. "The past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past."

Nature of History

1. A study of the present in the light of the past: The present has evolved out of the past. Modern history enables us to understand how society has come to its present form so that one may intelligently interpret the sequence of events. The causal relationships between the selected happenings are unearthed that help in revealing the nature of happenings and framing of general laws.

2. History is the study of man: History deals with man's struggle through the ages. History is not static. By selecting "innumerable biographies" and presenting their lives in the appropriate social context and the ideas in the human context, we understand the sweep of events. It traces the fascinating story of how man has developed through the ages, how man has studied to use and control his environment and how the present institutions have grown out of the past.

3. History is concerned with man in time: It deals with a series of events and each event occurs at a given point in time. Human history, in fact, is the process of human development in time. It is time which affords a perspective to events and lends a charm that brightens up the past.

4. History is concerned with man in space: The interaction of man on environment and vice versa is a dynamic one. History describes about nations and human activities in the context of their physical and geographical environment. Out of this arise the varied trends in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres of man's activities and achievements.

5. Objective record of happenings: Every precaution is taken to base the data on original sources and make them free from subjective interpretation. It helps in clear understanding of the past and enables us to take well informed decisions.

6. Multisided: All aspects of the life of a social group are closely interrelated and historical happenings cover all these aspects of life, not limited only to the political aspect that had so long dominated history.

7. History is a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends. The historian's interpretation of the past, his selection of the significant and the relevant events, evolves with the progressive emergence of new goals. The general laws regulating historical happenings may not be considered enough; attempts have to be made to predict future happenings on the basis of the laws.

8. Not only narration but also analysis: The selected happenings are not merely narrated; the causal relationships between them are properly unearthed. The tracing of these relationships lead to the development of general laws that are also compared and contrasted with similar happenings in other social groups to improve the reliability and validity of these laws.

9. Continuity and coherence are the necessary requisites of history: History carries the burden of human progress as it is passed down from generation to generation, from society to society, justifying the essence of continuity.

10. Relevant: In the study of history only those events are included which are relevant to the understanding of the present life.

11. Comprehensiveness: According to modern concept, history is not confined to one period or country or nation. It also deals with all aspects of human life-political, social, economic, religious, literary, aesthetic and physical, giving a clear sense of world unity and world citizenship.

SCOPE OF HISTORY

EVER EXPANDING SCOPE:

The scope or range of history has been ever changing and ever widening. There was a time when history was a collection and transmission of fables, folktales, legends and mythologies. It was based on imagination, memory and tradition. It may be called "Folkistory! The Greek historians were the first to delimit the scope of history. Herodotus wrote about the wars between the Greeks and the Persians, the Greco Persian wars. Thucydides dealt with the epic struggle between the City-states of Greece, the Peloponnesian war. The scope of history was thus limited mainly to the description of wars between two countries or struggles between city-states.

The Roman historians inherited the Greek tradition and wrote a new kind of history by expanding its scope by narrating the Roman conquest of the world. History was conceived as a form of thought having universal value. With this larger conception of the field of history a more precise conception of history itself".

The Medieval Christian historians confined themselves strictly to the theological interpretation of historical events. Human actions were considered to be the manifestation of the Divine Will. Although the Christian historiography represented the universal character it was essentially theocentric. The Renaissance writers restored the classical humanistic approach and reoriented historical writing. They placed man in the center of historical writing and extended

the scope of history by their secular approach. It was ethnocentric. During the seventeenth century, when Natural Science reigned supreme, history followed the lead given by the Renaissance and freed itself from the mesh of medieval thought and found its proper function. Inspired and impelled by the irresistible scientific spirit the historians were engaged in the reconstruction of the past on the basis of reliable and verifiable data. Bacon, Locke, Hume, Berkeley, Descartes and Vico were scientific dimension to the scope of history.

KINDS OF HISTORY

History is a magnificent mansion. Trevelyan aptly described it as a dwelling place of all subject. It is like a joint - family. In the past, human history was divided into a number of political, social, religious and cultural units. It was only during the nineteenth century that history was treated as universal and all embracing. Even then, the tradition of dividing history into different kinds such as political history, military history, constitutional history etc. still persists thought" said R. G. Collingwood. (Political history was once the story of kings, queens, courtiers and their intrigues, wars, treaties etc. Their deeds and misdeeds mattered most. Conquest was a vital factor in the affairs of a country. People were fascinated by the rise and fall of kings and queens, kingdoms and empires. That aspect of human action within or about or through the state came to be treated as political history. Voltaire, Machiavelli, Guizot, Augustin, Pirenne, Thierry, Macaulay, Droysen, Ranke were all primarily interested in the political history of states In fact, Hegel extolled the state as the noblest of God's earthly achievements! All of them placed the State an artificial phenomenon - in the first rank. But all history is not politics. It is not unidimensional. The new interest in knowing the experiences of the common people has brought about a welcome change in historical writing.

Constitutional History

Though an important branch of political history, Constitutional History has attained the status of an independent discipline. It deals with an aspect of the state organization, viz., the constitution of the government. Unlike the political history, it is not concerned with the struggle for the mastery over the state. On the other hand, it deals with political institutions, which Renier calls "habits of societies". 5 Constitutions are nothing but human habits made concrete; they are the methods, the conventions and the practices adopted by men in governing the state. Written

constitutions and constitutional conventions are the subject matter of constitutional history. However, it lacks self-sufficiency. For instance, Medieval manor can not be considered as the constitutional expression of medieval politics, since it was also a socio-economic manifestation of the medieval life. The constitutional historian has, therefore, to go beyond the confines of constitutional history if he is to provide an accurate and satisfying history.

Parliamentary History

Parliamentary history is a sub-section of Constitutional history. It deals with one particular political institution, which occupies a position of great importance in the governance of the state, viz., the parliament. Parliamentary government provides unique political experience to people in certain democratic countries including India. For instance, without reference to the history of the English Parliament, recognized as the Mother of parliaments, it would be well nigh impossible to know and understand the story of the British people. The so-called 'talking shops' still function in several countries, including totalitarian socialistic states like Russia and China. To write about Parliamentary history is to keep alive a most valuable series of human experiences in terms of Parliamentary activities and achievements.

Legal History

Legal history is an offshoot of Constitutional - Parliamentary history. Yet it differs from them in many respects. The legal historians must necessarily be a lawyer or well versed in law. The connection between the subject chosen by the historian and jurisprudence is apparent. The history of the parliamentary enactments, their interpretation and application is a matter of considerable practical importance. The codified laws of Hammurabi of Babylon, Manu of India, Napoleon of France etc. are of considerable significance to legal historians. In particular, English legal luminaries like Maitland, Blackstone, Holdsworth, Pollock, Jenks and Laski enriched legal history by their creditable creative contribution. Austria, Germany, France, Italy and America can boast of their legal historians like Gumplovicz, Gierke, Duguit, Vaccaro and Homes respectively among others. The legal historian, however, must not dwell exclusively in a world of their own. He cannot afford to remain indifferent to the advance made by certain other branches such as social and economic history.

Military History

Military history narrates the story of Military Operation. It deals with warfare in every form and aspect; technical, tactical and strategic. It also covers military engineering, ballistic, logistics and military transport. The military historian is not merely concerned with military planning but also the impact of wars on the fate of nations and life of the people. Thucydides' The History of the Peloponnesian War is a classic example of military history. Outstanding works have been written on the South Indian Rebellion, the Great Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War and the first and second world wars. A military historian has to collect the past military events through patient research. He has to consult auxiliary disciplines in order to convert events into cogent and coherent military history. He must also draw from Psychology to find answers to questions concerning military morale. He has also to narrate experiences of military societies which form regimental history. At present, military history includes land, naval and aerial warfare.

Diplomatic History

The history of relations between sovereign states is known as Diplomatic History. It is also called International History. A distinction between the two could be made in that the former is limited to the actions of diplomats, while the latter is confined to the factors which affect the course of negotiations, study of inter-state relations. It has assumed importance especially after the first world war. External relations between states are maintained by ambassadors, trained experts in and practitioners of diplomacy. Precedents and previous experience form the norm of their conduct. Hence, historical awareness is a desideratum for diplomats to promote friendly relations between states. Historical knowledge of the past alone can provide necessary historical awareness and antecedents to the diplomats. The diplomatic historian must always keep an eye upon the developments at the world stage, for the actions of statesmen and politicians are likely to be influenced by events outside the embassies. The actions, reactions and interactions between nations are governed by multiplicity of factors and forces. In other words, every diplomatic negotiation has to deal with the legal, political, cultural and economic issues which need not necessarily be diplomatic in nature. In this respect, diplomatic history is not much different from other kinds of history.

Social History

Trevelyan, the well known author of the Social History of England, defined it as "history with the politics left out". The Dutch historian P.J.Blok called it "the thought and the work, the daily life, the belief, the needs, the habits of our ancestors". Auguste Comte demanded that historical facts should be used as raw materials by social historians. Social history excludes the political, constitutional, parliamentary, legal, diplomatic, military and national aspects of history and includes morals, manners, religion, food, dress, art, culture etc. in its fold. In short, social history is the history of human society in its social aspects. It is also concerned with the origin and development of social institutions. Since social history is concerned with the daily life of the inhabitants in past ages it has received the attention it deserves from the historians. In this sense, social history is concerned with historical societies. It is also dynamic because it deals with social change. "...the more sociological history becomes and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for two-way traffic".

Economic History

There was a time when economic history was considered to be a branch of social history. In fact, the Dutch historian Van Dillen identified the two and called the composite discipline Socio-Economic History. Later, when social history became an autonomous branch of knowledge economic history emerged as a distinct discipline. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations was the classical treatise on economic history. Montesquieu was profoundly influenced by it. Karl Marx's economic interpretation of history widened the scope of economic history and stimulated the study of economic factors and forces to an unprecedented extent.

Sir William Ashley defines economic history as "the history of actual human practice with respect to the material basis of life". N.S.B.Gras defines it as "the story of the various ways in which man has obtained a living". German Professor Heeran interprets the history of antiquity in terms of economic relations of the people. The history of economic thought forms part of economic history. The economic historian seeks to know as to what extent economic ideas have arisen out of economic conditions over a period of time. It takes into account the close connection between economic theory and economic history. As a result of these developments the historian increasingly relies on the results of the work of economic historians.

Intellectual History

R.G.Collingwood asserts that "History, like theology or natural science, is a special form of thought"? He considered history as the expression of ideas. He ably dealt with the nature, object, method and value of this form of thought. H.E.Barnes says that Intellectual History seeks "to review the transformations of ideas, beliefs and opinions held by the intellectual classes from primitive times to our own".¹⁰ He is of the opinion that prevailing ideas and attitudes in any age are the most important unifying and organizing influence in the development of human culture. Samuel Johnson considered the progress of the human mind as the useful part of history. Schiller opined that "the genuine history of mankind is its history of ideas. It is ideas that distinguishes men from other beings". In the words of Carl G. Gustavson "ideas may be described as the ultimate giver of history, for organized social movements can not appear and institutions can not function without ideas. They are the cords which bind the minds of men together sufficiently for joint action to occur".

Intellectual history is history of human thought. The historian is interested in the development of ideas as well. He is fascinated by the adventure of ideas. A study of the religious and political pamphlets of the past would reveal the irresistible influence of ideas and ideologies on the pamphlet writers and their impact in turn upon political events. History of ideas have engaged the attention of historians. R. G. Collingwood's *The Idea of History*, H.E.Barnes' *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, J.H.Robinson's *An Outline History of the Western European Mind*, Alfred North Whitehead's *Adventure of Ideas*, Crane Brinton's *The Shaping of the Modern Mind*, Bertrant Russell's *History of Western Philosophy* and Will Durant's *Story of Philosophy* are some of the outstanding contributions to intellectual history. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* belongs to this category.

Biographical History

Thomas Carlyle was categorical when he wrote that "history is the biography of great men". Masson, the biographer of Napoleon, says that every aspect of man who has shaped an historic past, even the most private corners of his personality, are historically important." Bauer considers that a biography places the experiences and characteristics of a person in their right relationship with the economic, political, social and artistic conditions of the period to which he

owes his rise. Has not Karl Marx said "History does nothing, it possesses no immense wealth, fights no battles. It is rather Man, real living Man who does everything, who possesses and fights". Miss Wedgwood considered the behavior of men as individuals more interesting than their behavior as groups or classes and wrote a book "to understand how these men felt and why in their own estimation, they acted as they did".

Biographers sought to explain historical events in terms of success or failure of historical heroes and heroines. The biographical approach to history received unprecedented impetus since Carlyle came out with his assertion that history was the compound of the biographies of great men. A. L. Rowse came to the conclusion that the Elizabethan system broke down because James I was incapable of understanding it. Sir Isiah Berlin expected and exhorted the historians to decry and denounce Genghis Khan and Hitler as bad men. Communism is considered to be the brain-child of Karl Marx. Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is attributed to the stupidity of Tzar Nicholas II. The two world wars were said to be due to the individual wickedness of Wilhelm II and Hitler respectively. Lenin, Mao-tse-Tung and Mahatma Gandhi are claimed to be responsible for the liberation of Russia, China and India respectively.

Biography as history has certain values. It enriches personal experience. It makes easy reading. It enables readers to understand historical events through the deeds of great men. For instance, we can learn something about the history of manners of Elizabethan period by reading Lytton Strachy's Elizabeth and Essex. Similarly, his Eminent Victorians will create an absorbing interest in the period to which they belonged and this interest is likely to kindle the curiosity of the readers and refer them to sounder authorities to know more about the period. Isaac Deutscher's biographies of Stalin and Trotsky are serious contributions of history. However, romanced biography masquerades as history. Many biographies, like the historical novels, belong to literature.

It is, therefore,, necessary to make a distinction between biography, which treats man as an individual, and history which treats man as part of a whole. Lord Acton cautioned: "Nothing causes more error and unfairness in man's view of history than the interest which is inspired by individuals' characteristics". 16 R.G.Collingwood is forthright in his criticism. According to him, a biography is constructed on principles that are not only non-historical, but anti-historical. Its limits are biological event. Biography, as a form of literature, feeds human emotions and

therefore is not history. "At its best, it is poetry; at its worst, an obtrusive egotism; but history it can never be".

Limitations and criticisms apart, biography as a form of history or biographical history has to be recognized. Great men need not be denounced no more than "labels giving names to events". Cult of great men need not be allowed to deflate the greatness of great men. For great men are not always bad men. So they need not be placed outside history. They are not imposters on history emerging "miraculously from the unknown to interrupt the real continuity of history. 18 It is well to remember the ringing words of Hegel: "The great man of the age is the one who put into words the will of his age, tell his age what its will is, and accomplish it. What he does is the heart and essence of his age; he actualizes his age".

National History

Emergence of nation states is one of the landmarks of Modern History. People's expectations and experiences have been concretized and realized within the framework of sovereign national states. As nationalism became the political creed of the people, a nation came to be taken as a unit of historical study. The difficult problem of how a national spirit comes into existence was successfully tackled. National history was treated as the complete biography of a people from its very beginnings.

However, deification of nation states and sacrificing of human lives and honor at the alter of this idol brought disgrace and discredit to the study of national history. It was increasingly realized that nationalism had been the ruin of one civilization after another, beginning with the earliest of them all, the Sumerian. Toynbee rebuked historians for giving their continued allegiance to the sovereign states. "States are not really gods, they are public utilities, like roads and bridges and electricity and water and gas".

The frontal attack on nation states and national history does not diminish the importance of both. It is easy to regret the existence of national sovereignty but it is a wishful thinking to wish away national states. "If we were to abolish national sovereignties tomorrow", asserts Renier, "the story of the struggles between kings and nobility, between kings and parliaments, between burghers and their feudal masters, would continue to form a body of past experience to

which western society would have to refer again and again while fixing its standards and its practice. National histories are a precious aspect of the history of mankind".

Universal History

The idea of Universal history was conspicuous by its absence in ancient Greece - a land of City States. The concept of ecumenical history was created during the Hellenistic period, when the non-Greek peoples became a single political unit, thanks to the conquests of Alexander the Great. However, the Romans conceived universal history as a history in which the hero was the corporate spirit of the people and the plot was the unification of the world under the people's leadership. Livy considered history as humanistic and the history of Rome as narrated by him was looked upon as universal history. But the Greco-Roman universal history was not really universal because its centre of gravity rested either in Greece or Rome. A new universal attitude towards history was developed as a result of the introduction of Christian ideas. Accordingly, the historical process was considered to be the working out not of man's purposes but of God's. History became universal in its scope. The adoption of a single chronological framework for all historical events dating before and after the birth of Christ became the symbol of this universalism.

The idea of Universal History captured the imagination of the eighteenth century historians. The pursuit of inter-connectedness of events led to the historian's dream of a universal or world history. Immanuel Kant thought that writing universal history was a feasible ideal by unifying historical and philosophical thoughts. Leopold Von Ranke's idea of such history may be taken as a classical example. He thought it was possible to connect up all the main threads of historical themes and weave them into an universal history. Schiller treated such a history as the history of progress from savage beginnings to modern civilization. Hegel's philosophical history is nothing but a universal history. The plot of his history is the development of freedom as exhibited in an external system of social relations. Though the Positivists swept aside the ideal of universal history, the impulse towards arranging the whole human history in a single scheme is in the main a nineteenth century phenomenon. Comte and Marx attempted universal history in their own way. Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee found patterns in human history and extrapolated them into a theory of universal history. H. G. Wells' *Outlines of History* and Will Durant's *Story of Civilization* still remain monumental models of universal history.

Local History

At the other end of the spectrum of historical writing is Local History. This kind of history has not received the attention it deserves. It has great potentialities and possibilities. Young research scholars may evince interest in local history and gain experience in the methods of research besides deriving the joy from a knowledge of the past. Local history can be approached from a number of angles. It must, however, be pursued with reference to general history and to larger issues. Or otherwise it will degenerate into 'sterile antiquarianism'. The professional historian may make use of the results of local historical research. For instance, the peculiar constitution of the Dutch Republic which gave much power to the administrators of small towns made local history of the utmost importance for the understanding of the foreign policy of the Republic!²² The study of local history has rejuvenated the history of the French Revolution and liberated it from much irresponsible theorizing. Similar studies will no doubt enrich the history of the freedom struggle in India.

New History

The New History is a post-world war phenomenon. Edward Eggleton's (1837-1902) *Transit of Civilization* contains the seeds of new history. James Harvey Robinson (1863-1936) borrowed the idea from Eggleton and consciously coined the term New History. This attempt is an attack on old traditional history which is considered to be pedantic, irrelevant and neglectful of the human experience. The New History is intentionally present-minded. It is informed by liberal-reformist sentiments. It gives special attention to economic, intellectual and other forces which have a bearing on social problems. In this attempt 'new historians' make use of the discoveries made by social scientists. Thus, the emphasis is shifted from programmes to the manner in which they are implemented.

Edward P. Cheyney, the author of *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England* in 1901 formulated Six general laws of New History: 1) The Law of Continuity. It states that all events flow from immediate preceding conditions. 2) The Law of Impermanence. According to this law all institutions either adapt or perish. 3) The Law of Interdependence. That is no nation can make human aut gains at the cost of another. 4) The Law of Necessity for Free Consent. Coercion provokes resistance. 5) The Law of Democracy. All other systems except

democracy fail. 6) The Law of Moral Progress. People are always more moral than their rulers. Other historians like Charles A. Beard, Arther M. Schlesinger Sr., Henri Berr, Lucian Febure and Marc Bloch considerably contributed to the emergence of New History. It is at best an admixture of traditional assumptions and expressions of progressive historians; old wine in new bottle!

Total History

New History and Total History are like Siamese twins, inseparable. Total History is integrated history. It is the result of co- operative historical research; innovative fruit of collective effort. It represents the fullness and richness of man's life in society. Total History, like New History, seeks to bridge the gap between historical and social studies. It is the half-way house between the study of the past and the study of contemporary societies. Thus, the walls that separated history from social sciences are sought to be pulled down. To achieve this, the liberal-minded progressive historians scrupulously relied on records, strictly dealt with the problems of forgery in them and adopted the critical method. Both New History and Total History truly laid the foundation of Structural History.

Structural History

Fernand Braudel, French historian of repute, carried forward the vision of New History to greater heights. In his historical Magnum Opus *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949) Braudel propounds his concept of Structural History. He discounts historic forces like events, politics and great men, which are superficial and recognizes structural forces such as geographical factors, economic systems and mental frame work, which are more fundamental. If traditional forces are 'Crests of foam', structural forces are 'tides of history'.

Structuralism is a new way of conceiving of social affairs. It is a method of analyzing a subject like social science, psychology, literature and history. It concentrates on the structure of a system and the relations between its elements, rather than on the function of those elements. Moreover, more than men and events impersonal forces - geographical and geological - shape the rhymes and rhythms of history, mould men's lives and determine their destiny. Structural History seeks to uncover these forces, though such forces are beyond the control of man. Since human life is multi dimensional multiple explanation is necessary to understand historical reality. Hence the need for structuralist alternate approach to history.

Braudel's structuralist concept of history has been subjected to carping criticism for the following reasons: 1) It neglects people, political events and heroes of history; 2) Environmental factors are exaggerated; 3) By imputing impersonal forces it fails to offer an alternative conception of historical change; 4) Structuralism is anti-historical; 5) Its approach is deterministic; and 6) Its codes are independent of past development. It may however be noted that Fernand Braudel's structuralist approach fulfills the Fabre and Bloch's vision of New History. As Arthur Marwick writes "The search for meaningful interrelationships is of course a very laudable one".

Pop - History

History became popular in the 1960s. Publishers increasingly realized the importance of the 'marketable quality of history' and published history books which proved to be stunningly successful. Some of the best-selling books were Robert Blake's *Disraeli*, E.P.Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* or Leroy Ladurie's *Montaillou*. According to Arthur Marwick these books are of "the most unimpeachable academic pedigree".

With the publication of H.G.Wells's *Outline of History*, history became immensely popular. Historians started writing books as interestingly as H.G.Wells. One followed the other in succession. Prof.Breasted and Prof. Robinson revised and improved their text books and published under a captivating title *The Human Adventure*. Hendrick Willem Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind* was an instant success. Text books written by professional historians of the caliber of a Palmer or an Elton are considered to be model pop-history.

Subaltern History

Meaning

The word 'sub-altern' literally means any subordinate officer in the army below the rank of captain. The term is taken from Antonio-Gramsci's manuscript writings. Friedrich Nietzsche, the German philosopher, coined the word. The pioneer Annales historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch laid the foundation for subaltern history. E.P.Thompson's master piece *The Making of the English Working Class* in 800 pages is a classic exposition of 'history from below'.

In historiography the term 'subaltern' means inferior or sub- ordinate sub-class, group, gender, caste, age or office. That is to say, subaltern history deals with events relating to the sub-

ordinate or suppressed or marginalized sections of society such as tribals, peasants, workers, women etc. In short, subaltern history is a non-traditional locally-produced sub-history.

A New Kind of History

Subaltern history is a new kind of study. It is primarily concerned with the reaction of the 'under dogs' to suppression as manifested in their protests. Hence it is called 'a history of protest'. This 20th century micro- history represents a new genre of historiography. In India it started as a reaction to the elitist treatment of the history of the nation's freedom struggle. Indian subaltern historians mounted their frontal attack on the lop-sided British imperialist historiography as well as Indian nationalist history writing. These studies concentrate on the role of sub-groups in the grass- root domine of politics.

'Subaltern Studies'

Ranjit Guha is the pioneer in the new venture of subaltern history in India. He ably edited six volumes of Subaltern Studies-Writings on South Asian History and Society. These volumes constitute a commendable compendium of subaltern monographs. A cursory glance of these monographs will give us an idea about the nature, scope and content of subaltern studies.

1) Rebellions of hillmen in the Gudern and Rampa hill tracts of Andhra during 1839 - 1924; 2) The peasant revolts of Awadh during 1912-1022; 3) The condition of the Calcutta jute-mill workers between 1890 and 1940; 4) Forest and Social protest in British Kumaun 1893-1921; 5)Jitu Santhal's movement in Malda, North Western Bengal, 1924 1932; 6) Four rebels of 1957; 7) The Kalki - Avatar of Bikrampur : A Village Scandal in early twentieth century Bengal; 8) The peasant revolts of Awadh during 1919 - 1922 and its impact on Indian Nationalism, 9) The colonial construction of 'communalism': British writings on Benaras in the nineteenth century; 10) Caste and subaltern consciousness.

Criticism

Subaltern studies represent "a formidable achievement in historical scholarship". The distinctive feature of these studies is the adoption of indigenous approach to Indian anthropological and sub-group problems. In doing this, it displaces the central position of the European historian in Indian historiography. Thus it is a new, autonomous and innovative

beginning in history writing in India. The monographs portray the Quit India Movement of 1942 as a dual revolt against an elitist national uprising and subaltern rebellion against the British imperialism. It is pointed out that these mainstream movement and the subaltern revolt were parallel uprisings, though the latter received scant attention from historians. In short, the subaltern studies dispute the significance of main-stream 'high politics' and their leadership.

However, subaltern studies have been subjected to adverse criticism. Critics point out that these subaltern monographs are Marxian in tone, tenor and treatment. The Marxist orientation is pre-judicial to impartial historiography. Further, it is negative in nature, scope and content. It places excessive emphasis on popular militancy, aggressiveness and violence. Moreover, subaltern studies suffer from lack of consistency, connection or sequence. As E. Sreedharan points out "A continuous and sustained narrative is outside its purview". Above all, subaltern historians are reluctant to acknowledge the contributions made by the so-called elitist counterparts. In the words of Judith K. Brown "local and provincial studies in Indian politics emphasize the local rather than all-India drivers behind anti-imperial politics". Though Ambedkar relentlessly fought for the cause of sub-altern depressed classes "the subaltern studies have to pause after six volumes to acknowledge Ambedkar"! Despite drawbacks subaltern studies serve as a memorable milestone in Indian historiography.

Estimate

The division of history into periods or kinds is merely methodological. It has no absolute or final character. Historians cannot afford to imprison themselves within one of its division or sub-divisions or periods. One must be warned against exaggerated specialization. When a German historian was invited to deliver a lecture on the sixteenth century he indignantly replied: "my life-task is the history of Germany from 1525 to 1530!" There is of course no harm in becoming particularly proficient in the history of one locality or one period or one country or one century or one world, but over-specialization should not distort historical perspective. Similarly, attempt at looking for patterns and fitting them into a theory of universal history should not become "the offspring of caprice"²³ or a delusive will - o- the wisp". ²⁴ As G. N. Clark observes, "There is still scope for general historians who bring together of conclusions of specialists and supply all of them alike with a comprehensive view of the inter-related diversity of past times".

HISTORY AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

History is related to several other disciplines, and needs their assistance, just as it is helpful to a number of other disciplines. A historian must use the results achieved by workers in other fields of human knowledge. They are called ancillary disciplines or auxiliary sciences, such as philosophy, chronology, paleography, graphology, sigillography, diplomatic, epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology besides a number of social sciences which have already been examined in the foregoing paragraphs. These sciences provide a historian with what is called 'methodical repertoires of facts'. They are primarily digests of practical experience. The best way to become acquainted with them is to practise them. Auxiliary sciences are departments of knowledge in their own right, and history makes use of them, and hence they become allies of history. The need for these disciplines has arisen because all intellectual disciplines are interrelated. Even medicine requires history, because without a proper background of the case, diagnosis is impossible. The nature of historical facts is such that there are close connections between one fact and the other, and each fact requires special attention to establish its validity for which the assistance of the allied disciplines would be extremely helpful. In other words ancillary disciplines are the handmaids of history. Of these ancillary disciplines, chronology which helps us to fix the time, determines the very framework of the narrative. The time element is central to the concept of history without which its real perspective would be lost. What we appreciate in a child we do not in an adult. Space, time and cause are fundamental to any phenomenon or experience, and these three aspects are not things but modes of understanding and interpretation. In history, chronology arranges the significant events which took place in the past in their time order, and fixes the intervals that elapsed between them. Chronology was probably invented in the early ages for two equally utilitarian purposes, namely the fixation of dates for religious functions and for knowing the dates for agricultural operations. A sound knowledge of chronology has become indispensable for a student of Indian history, as the dates and eras are so confusing in the records that fixation of correct chronology in respect to several dynasties of ancient Indian history has by itself become great research. For example, the chronology of the Ganga kings of Karnataka has created several controversies, and there is literature that has been developed only on this topic. Paleography is the systematic study of old handwriting. The way in which men shaped the letters of the alphabets has varied from period to period and from region to region. Paleography describes the evolution of each letter in time and

in space. A paleographer can not only read old manuscripts or inscriptions but also date them, and he can also tell us the history of these characters and how they have changed over a period of time. In the past, as also today, education had the effect of standardizing the shape of letters used in each centre of culture. Even in the Roman letters used all over Europe there are variations. The Belgians have a different handwriting from the Dutch, and the English write differently from the Germans. In India the problem is still more complicated with scores of different languages and different scripts in use, and with such continuity of its history. Paleography also deals with the abbreviations used by the scribes who were more in demand before the invention of printing. There are dictionaries which list the abbreviations used in manuscripts. Paleography demands concentrated attention to detail. It gives scope to mental alertness, and to the development of empirical capacities. It develops the ability to face difficulties as they present themselves in solving puzzles and problems which do not come under any general principles. A man who has done a good job in paleography is less likely to be carried away by superficial resemblances to take external appearances for granted. Paleography sharpens critical faculties. It is a science which is very much developed by modern technology. A team of scholars is attempting to decipher the script of the Indus Valley civilization through computer science.

Graphology is the science of estimating the character of a person by studying his handwriting. Research has shown that an undoubted connection exists between a person's character and his handwriting, which betrays what sort of a person he is. Systematic study of this science helps a historian to form an opinion about such a person. However, before a graphologist forms a judgment about the character of an person, he should keep an eye on a few factors such as the material used for the writing, the place and the position of the person who wrote, the mood or circumstances under which the writing was done, if the aim is to know the correct character of that person. For example a person travelling in a moving train cannot write properly. Likewise, an agitated mood, insufficient light, bad paper or pen, or ill health, are bound to affect the handwriting. In America the widespread use of typewriters has reduced the opportunity to cultivate good handwriting. Journalism, medical profession and the nature of certain other jobs such as hard labour and mining would make people careless about their handwriting but that does not mean that their character has anything to do with it. The cause for bad handwriting may be excessive and speedy writing or no practice at all in writing. Subject to these conditions graphology gives us certain very useful hints about the psychology of a person, whether he is

hasty or steady or rash or artistic. It may even betray his age, sex or mood. It may even speak about laziness, needless haste, carelessness, avarice, or self-indulgence. A few students who are very frugal with their own paper become very liberal in the examination hall where there is no limit to their demand for paper.

Diplomatic is the systematic study of the form of the official pattern of behaviour and writing. The word diploma which originally meant a piece of writing folded double, came to be used in course of time for a passport or letter of recommendation given to persons travelling in provinces. It further changed in meaning as it also referred to any manuscript or document of legal, historic or literary value, and finally to indicate any kind of official writing. It has currently given rise to such terms as diplomacy and diplomatic purely in the political sense. It was observed as early as the seventeenth century that official bureaux such as the Papal Chancery used in the composition of letters and documents issued by them not only a rigid order of arrangement of the subject matter but also stereotyped formulae for every part of the document. Clearly, the clerks working in these offices possessed formularies to be copied on different occasions. This is the procedure observed even today in the civil service. If a document presents itself as originating from a certain office but does not follow the style prevalent in that office at the date which it bears, it is not genuine, and has to be criticized with the aid of every available auxiliary science. On the other hand our confidence in a document is greatly increased if the findings of paleography and diplomatic coincide. In other words diplomatic is a very useful aid to history in trying to find out the real meaning of a document.

Sigillography is from the word 'sigil' meaning a seal or signature. It also means a mark or sign supposed to exercise occult power. In history it refers to the study of seals and can be looked upon as a department of diplomatic. It is also called Sphragistic meaning the study of engraved seals including their authenticity, age, history, content and so on. It takes into account not only the form and aspect of the seal, but also the manner in which it is attached to the document, and of the material with which it is made. Wax was commonly used and in warm countries like Italy lead was used. The seals of the Indus Valley civilization have remained undeciphered. In Indian history, in particular during the Muslim rule, seals played a very important role in the administration, without which no document was valid. They help us by giving much information about medieval Indian history on the name of the ruler, the title, the

extent of his kingdom, the date of the document, the religion or sect he belonged to, the dynasty with which he was connected, as well as the date and era of the issue. These seals indicate even the level of culture by the type of calligraphy and the material used.

Besides these sciences, we have a number of other disciplines such as archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, physical and cultural anthropology, ethnology and linguistics that help history. Archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics are the hand-maids of history, and unlike the mother-discipline, these daughter-disciplines are scientific in character and precise in their methodology. Ancient Indian history owes a good deal to these three branches for the reconstruction of many of its chapters. We owe the entire discovery of the Indus Valley culture to Sir John Marshall and his band of archaeologists. The exploration of archaeological sites, the method of excavations, the copying and reading of inscriptions, the study of coins, and determining their grains have brought to light numerous chapters in the history of the world, almost in every country and more so in India. Physics is helpful in determining possible archaeological sites. Engineering, chemistry and photography are summoned to the aid of the archaeologist, whose business is to dig scientifically. Archaeology is helpful in the study and preservation of ancient monuments. Epigraphy is the paleography and diplomatic of inscriptions placed upon monuments or given to individuals on copper plates as title deeds of land gifts. The historian should have the ability to read these records or get them deciphered and translated for him by those who know the language. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka there are thousands of such inscriptions, and the history of this region, particularly of the ancient and medieval period is reconstructed with their help. They are a veritable mine of information on politics, literature, warfare, religion, social, economic, and administrative details, interstate relations, heroism of individuals and a host of other topics. One single archaeologist, Lewis Rice, collected as many as ten thousand inscriptions in a part of Karnataka which was then known as Mysore State. These inscriptions are found either on stone or on copper plates. These are deciphered, translated, edited with copious notes, and published in several volumes, such as *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphic Karnataka*, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, and so on.

Philology or the study of languages both in their past and present conditions has conferred on history a lot of advantages. The anthropologist deals with human races and their characteristics. Cultural anthropology studies human institutions, especially in their early stages.

Paleo botany can decide the age of the fossils and of dead wood. Medical science is helpful in determining the nature and possibly the age of skeletal remains, living natural sciences can be extremely useful in historical research as they give a historian an insight into evolutionary processes. Medieval studies have benefited much by the data furnished by botany and agronomy to pronounce upon the possibility of certain vegetables having been cultivated in certain areas. The microscope and certain processes of photography help to reveal forgeries, and medical studies of the morbid symptoms displayed by Roman emperors, French kings and Nazi leaders have given us a better understanding of these persons. Psychology is of great help to history in training a historian in the detection of motives and intentions and in drawing inferences from strange behavior.

Apart from the above, a number of allied disciplines already discussed such as political science, sociology, economics, geography, and literature are extremely helpful to history. Philosophy is so dominant in history that we have devoted an entire chapter to it. History thus requires the help of several disciplines in order to understand its full significance. The knowledge of psychology, philosophy, logic, religion, morals, myths, language, literature and several sciences would go a long way in making history meaningful and useful.

LESSONS OF HISTORY:

Man Learns From Experience

History is the repository of the rich heritage of the past. History offers umpteenth number of examples-good, bad and ugly. History is said to be philosophy drawn from examples. It was Cicero who said that a wise man learns from the experience of others whereas a fool learns from his own! Man learns and improves himself through historical experience. As the Dutch proverb goes "a donkey does not twice hurt itself on the same stone". Had it not been so, we would have had another world war over Cuba issue. America's intervention in Vietnam and Kampuchea, the invasion of Iraq on Kuwait and the American onslaught on Iraq would have since long conflagrated into another global war. Attempts have been made to resolve the conflict between Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) amicably. The racist regime has come to an end in South Africa.

Human Progress

History offers lessons on human progress. History is a record of progress of man from barbarism to civilization. Attempts have been made to avoid human subjection and to alleviate human sufferings. Oppressive social customs and exploitative economic systems have either been abolished or suitably modified so as to ensure social justice and economic freedom. History has witnessed the collapse of oppressive systems which were responsible for inequity, injustice and impoverishment.

Allegiances to Institutions

Mankind has often faced problems involving relations with natural elements. Thanks to the annihilation of distance and man's control over nature the problem now is relations among human beings. In the past institutions - social, religious, economic and political were monolithic. Monolithic institutions demanded exclusive allegiance from their human participants. These were the most oppressive and therefore the most undesirable institutions. This kind of institutional tyranny was more common in the Old World than in Asia. In the Christian States, from the 4th to the 17th century, and in Muslim States until a more recent time, the established religion was given a monopoly. Communism enjoyed similar status till the collapse of the monolithic regime in the U.S.S.R. Mankind has learnt the virtues of multi institutionalism.

Old Order Changeth

The world is not what it was before. It has changed for better. Nations learn lessons from the failures, frustrations and successes of other countries. The world states have now realized that the well being of the people at large is the well being of the states. No state head will now tell the people what Marie Antoinette told the hungry French people before the Revolution. Laissez-faire is no longer justified. Welfare State is the order of the day. Universal adult franchise has reduced the importance of the privileged groups. What is being done in the developed and developing countries for the well being of the under-privileged people has no parallel in any period in the history of the world.

Self-Government is Best Government

The proud product of the Age of Pericles (461-431 B.C) was democracy. But the biggest blot of Athenian democracy was the execution of Socrates in 399 B.C. The greatest benefactor

of mankind fell a victim of democratic injustice! Later Edmund Burke lamented that the French revolutionaries misread the lessons of history to serve their own purpose. Mussolini maintained that blood moves the wheels of history. Since the demise of Socrates mankind has heeded many a warning of history and developed the judiciary, the idea of liberty, the concept of the equality of individual before the law and promotion of popular welfare. Now a nation is justified not only by the material welfare but also by the improvement effected in the capacity and character of the people rendering them fit for self-government. The civilian now is the repository of experience and expertise without which a skilled democracy can not function.

Dictatorship is Disastrous

History stands testimony to the fact that dictatorship is disastrous. Dictator is, in origin, a technical term in the initial Republican Roman Constitution. In an emergency, the constitutionally elected public officers appointed a dictator with autocratic powers! This system worked successfully till 133 B.C. When Rome's emergency was made chronic, a century later, dictatorship became a permanent institution at Rome. Since then the world has witnessed dictatorship in different forms. As a result, mankind has learnt the lesson of averting the danger of the emergence of dictators. Now it is recognized that the alternative to dictatorship is an effective constitutional regime with as many members of the citizen- body as possible participate as actively in the management of public affairs.

Path of Peace

The pages of history are filled with wars, conflicts and feuds between tribes, communities and countries. Fed up with the horrors of wars messengers of mankind come with the message of peace, cooperation and non-violence. Leaders like Buddha, Christ and Gandhi have shown the path of peace. Mankind has learnt a lesson and has been engaged in the pursuit of finding institutional remedies to wars, conflicts and feuds. The organization of international peace keeping agencies like the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization have been the outcome of the lessons drawn from the horrors of wars and mass human suffering.

Free From Fetters

History has demonstrated that no country can keep other country in fetters for long. Tyrants, dictators and imperialistic countries had attempted and even seemed to have succeeded in their attempts to subjugate other countries and peoples. They had all ultimately failed. Awareness among the oppressed people had created resistance to foreign domination leading to liberation movements. Revolutions in America, China and India have been the classical examples. Three hundred and fifty years of colonial rule and apartheid oppression in South Africa have been swept away and a multi-racial democracy under the presidentship of Nelson Rohihala Mandela has finally freed the African Continent of the last vestiges of white, racist domination.

Safeguard Against Fascism

Fascism, like Democle's Sword, had been hanging over the countries all over the world. Fascism often wears the mark democracy. The seed of fascism seems to grow well in the soil of democracy! Modern history proves that the true nature of fascism is innocuous in the beginning, assumes legal platform and perpetuates itself with the support of the people. Nazism, a small right-wing reactionary party in the democratic Weimar Republic, grew into a gigantic dictatorship in Germany employing democratic elections. The obvious lesson is that the best safeguard against fascism in any form is to establish social justice to the maximum possible extent. The closer a regime approximates being socially just, the greater its stability.

Self-Mastery

In the past religion had been a potent unifying force. Religious unification had invariably followed military unification. The Chinese and Roman empires are examples. Confucianism was adopted in the Chinese Empire and Christianity in the Roman Empire. In the Islamic history, religious propaganda and military conquest went hand in hand. Now, neither religious unification nor military conquest is possible. Man has learnt the bitter lesson that he has failed to master the situation because he has failed to master himself. So self-mastery over the twin evils of greed, and pride is the only effective response to the challenge of being human.

Defeats Don't Demoralize

It is often said that defeat in war demoralizes the vanquished people. Innumerable instances are advanced in support of this view. But the post-war remarkable recovery of West Germany and Japan disproves this theory. The economic status which these two badly vanquished people enjoy today had never been enjoyed by any other country who had suffered as heavily in a war. Iran today is not what it was when Alexander defeated Darius. Nor is Greece what it was before Turks over ran it. Such examples can be multiplied.

Means Justify Ends

History has repeatedly disproved the contention that the end justifies the means. Even then people still argue that the application of this principle, i.e. the end justifies the means, is unavoidable and it has been the driving force of many organizations and nations. Hence it is necessary to clearly understand the proper relationship between ends and means. If one is wrong at the outset, it is impossible to reach a right goal. The fallacy of the idea of attaining good ends by following bad means had been amply proved in the careers of two lofty-minded revolutionaries, Robespierre and Lenin.

Both Robespierre and Lenin were utterly unselfish leaders with unblemished record. They had dedicated themselves sincerely, devotedly and whole heartedly to working for the welfare of mankind. But they made monumental mistake of thinking that their aims were so good and the attainment of those aims was so important that violence was a justifiable means! What happened? Instead of creating earthly paradises, Robespierre produced the Reign of Terror and Lenin a Totalitarian Regime! Mahatma Gandhi, the Liberator of India, on the other hand, had decisively demonstrated by preaching and practice, that means justify the ends.

Man Makes History

Whether man makes history or history makes man has been an age-old problem. Splengler tells us that cultures, like organisms, are born, grow, decline and die. The Marxist view of history holds that there is such a thing as dialectical march of events. H.A.L.Fisher, the noted historian, finds no predetermined plan, no pattern, no rhythm in history. There may be play of the

contingent, the unforeseen and incalculable. Nevertheless, history has demonstrated that the human factors determine the course of history. Creative individuals make and mould history.

Hopeful Future

Has humanity really learnt any worthwhile lesson from history? Pessimists may say that man seldom learns and humanity, like the French Bourbon kings, neither learns nor forgets! Stronger nations tend to dominate. Wars recur, alliances, pacts and treaties are made and marred. Nations group and regroup for ulterior purposes. Border disputes are perennial problems. Dissentions and intolerance march together. French Revolution of 1789 could not serve as a warning to a similar bloody revolution in Russia in 1917. Hitler repeated Napoleon's mistake of invading Russia. The World War of 1914-1918 was followed by a bigger World War of 1939 - 1945. Such instances occur again and again like natural calamities.

History has its own course) Times have their own tides. Periods have their own currents. Epochs have their own irresistibilities. And yet, ⚡ history marches on and on. Human society has evolved from the Stone Age to the Space Age. Various civilizations have criss-crossed each other and intermingled in innumerable ways and have left a rich heritage to mankind. So, one need not throw his hands in despair and cry 'wolf! Mankind is resilient enough to learn from history and improve itself. Vital forces like the instinct to live and let live, the trait of tolerance and striving for mutual improvement will lead mankind towards new peaks of achievements.

USES AND ABUSES OF HISTORY

Uses of History The question of usefulness of history depends on the meaning and concept of usefulness. The meaning and concept of utility in history is not explicit. It depends on satisfying a given need in a particular era, period or age. Since the concept of the utility of history reflects the attitude and approach of individuals, institutions and groups to the needs accepted or rejected by them, it becomes complex, complicated and controversial. Many renowned thinkers have also defended and demonstrated the utility of history. According to Herodotus, history evokes interest, instructs delightfully, imparts information and excites curiosity. The Roman jurist Cicero stated, 'Not to know what took place before you were born is to remain forever a child'. According to R.G Collingwood, 'The value of history is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is.' History promotes in us an insight into human

nature. It is a social memory without which society will lapse into societal amnesia. History plays a similar role in society as memory plays in the activity of the individual. History provides precedents. It helps to settle various internal and international disputes. History is a time-tested teacher. It teaches not how to live by it but how to learn from it. History gives us an indelible insight into man's vision and mission, words and deeds, ups and downs. It makes an effort to reveal the meaning of life and unravel the purpose of living. History is a true friend, philosopher and guide. Through history alone one can know, understand and appreciate the world as it is. It is an unending dialogue between the present and the past. History serves and satisfies the need for social education. Knowledge of the past offers a host of examples of socially significant human behaviour. Knowledge of history makes the present intelligible since the past is not self-explanatory. According to Levi Strauss, 'Those who ignore history condemn themselves to not knowing the present'. History is a social necessity since the past dominates human thinking, behaviour and conduct. Decisions are taken on the basis of past knowledge. History helps us to foresee the future. It is impossible to rationally reconstruct the present of the near future without understanding the historical roots.

Abuses of History

History is misused as much as it is used. The scope of misusing history is rather innate in the nature of the subject. Since the historian is concerned with the recent as well as the remote past, he or she is prone to committing errors while recording, reconstructing, writing, narrating and interpreting historical facts and events. Ranke in the 1830s remarked that the task of the historian was 'simply to show how it really was (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*)'. Historical facts have to go through the prism of prejudice, predilection and preconceived notions and during this process they get distorted. In other words, history is misused when there is subjectivity. History is misused when it is written on the basis of belief in the divine creation of universe. Theocratic history fits in this category. It is quasi-history at the best and abuse of history at the worst. History is abused when it is written on the premise that God is the real head of humanity and rulers are its agents. Similarly, mythological history also deals with supernatural characters. In theocratic history, the divine characters are portrayed as the super human rulers of human societies, however, in mythology the divine characters are not concerned with human actions at all. The divine actions are not dated. Mythological history is completely outside time estimation.

History is misused when religious faith is used to explain historical phenomena. Events in history are, therefore, viewed from the angle of belief instead of reason. For example, Christian historiography. It was and still believed that God created people and countries. Historical process is, therefore, the working of God's purpose which ought to be the purpose of man. Fixing the birth of Christ at the centre of chronology, history was divided into two parts-Before (B.C) and after (A.D) the birth of Christ. This type of history has been termed as 'Apocalyptic' by R.G Collingwood. To write history with the objective of justifying a preconceived notion is its misuse. Sometimes vested interests misuse history to justify their own viewpoints. They persistently try to find out the historical materials to defend their cause or to deplore the cause of their opponents. For example, in 1917, the Russian Communists published some secret treaties with the purpose of discrediting the Czarist regime.

History is abused when it is written by writers provoked by the ideologies of their societies and ages. Since a historian is a product of his society, he is predictably influenced by ideological passion shared by his social contemporaries. For example, in the 19th century, when British prosperity, power and self-confidence were at their height, the British historians glorified the cult of progress. Bury explained progress as, 'the animating and controlling idea of Western Civilization'. History is abused when historians propagate theories or patterns in an attempt to explain the historical events. It is misused when it is written with patriotic fervour. Patriotic history is essentially biased as it exaggerates the virtues of the native country at the cost of the enemy country. History is also misused when it is based on the view that what matters in history is the achievement of individuals. It is misused when it is written from the racist viewpoint. History gets distorted when it is written imaginatively and interpreted philosophically. It is abused when the historical evidence and facts are not strictly scrutinized and screened scientifically.

INDIAN NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

1. The Search for National Identity

After an initial phase of shallow imitation of Western life in dress, manners and customs, an urge began to develop among the really educated Indians to make India more Indian and less English. This class did not want Western civilization to displace their own as Macaulay and the

missionaries had wanted; they only wanted the West to revitalize Indian culture as Ram Mohun Roy had desired. They set out to reform their age-old religion and society and rejuvenate their ancient culture. The trend attained the proportions of a renaissance creating among the Indians a sense of self-reliance, self-respect and self-confidence which had been blown out in the Western wind. By degrees India was gaining national self-consciousness which would soon consummate in a desire for freedom from foreign domination. The new consciousness had, however, to be sustained and promoted by a historical consciousness, the knowledge of a people's past.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee asserted that as a means of creating a sense of unity, national pride and desire for freedom, there was nothing more fundamental than the study and writing of history. India was a subject country because Indian history had not been described and interpreted by Indian historians. In his *Bibidha Prabandha* he says:

There is no Hindu history. Who will praise our noble qualities if we do not praise them ourselves? When has the glory of any nation ever been proclaimed by another nation? The proof of the warlike prowess of the Romans is to be found in Roman histories. The story of the heroism of the Greeks is contained in Greek writings. The case for Mussulman valour in battle rests only on their own records. The Hindus have no such glorious qualities simply because there is no written evidence.

Imperialist Attack on Indian Culture and Civilization

The task that the first generation of modern Indian historians had to perform was to defend their culture and civilization against the British imperialist attack. Imperialist prejudice in Indian historiography had first expressed itself in a series of value judgments on Hindu nature and character. James Mill's five-hundred page account of Hindu civilization, the second book of his famous *History*, had the specific objective of proving that it was rude, and that the Hindu excelled in the qualities of the slave. The trend that Mill set was followed by most British historians of India. Even Mountstuart Elphinstone, sympathetic to the Indians, could write passages smacking of those in Mill's *History*. "The most prominent vice of the Hindus," he wrote, "is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East." There were other assumptions. To Elphinstone it appeared strange that "the Arabs should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia." Vincent Smith's works on India carefully maintained the imperialist

assumptions of European superiority in warfare as in his account of Alexander's Indian campaigns. Again, trailing the other British administrator-historians, Smith took pains to prove that endemic political chaos was the normal political condition of India. The inability of the Indians to unite and rule themselves made the permanence of British rule absolutely necessary. They were constantly reminded that freedom had never dawned on their native land.

R.C.Majumdar arrays examples of efforts made to belittle Indian achievements in the past. In the face of the clear testimony of the Periplus, Elphinstone assumed that India's foreign trade was conducted by the Greeks and the Arabs. Often, the lowest possible dates were suggested for the Vedas and the great epics, and works sometimes hinted and often asserted without evidence that the Indians must have borrowed most, if not the whole, of their culture from the Greeks. Where there was no such possibility, the borrowing must have been from the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and so on.

Wherever there was the least similarity between Indian and foreign ideas, Indians were taken to be the borrowers. The Epics were supposed to be indebted to Homer's works, Indian drama, mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy were derived from the Greeks, and even Krishna cult was derived from Christ. The very poor evidence on which such theses were boldly enunciated, even by learned scholars, demonstrated a prejudiced mind rather than bad logical deduction or inference.

Here, an observation made by Joseph Needham, the famed author of *Science and Civilization in Ancient China*, may be read with interest:

We know that the trigonometric sine is not mentioned by Greek mathematicians and astronomers, that it was used in India from the Gupta period onwards (third century)...The only conclusion possible is that the use of sines is an Indian development and not a Greek one. But Tannery, persuaded that the Indians could not have made any mathematical inventions, preferred to assume that the sine was a Greek idea not adopted by Hipparchus, who gave only a table of chords. For Tannery, the fact that the Indians knew of sines was sufficient proof that they must have heard about them from the Greeks.⁶

One method of undervaluing Indian culture and denigrating the Hindu religion and society was to select and treat only their weak points. Christian missionaries in their writings

took special care to highlight the religious superstitions and social abuses of the Hindus. But righteous indignation was one-sided. While justly decrying the barbarous practice of sati, witch hunting and the burning of heretics in Europe were forgotten; when the Hindu caste system was justly condemned, slavery, serfdom and the treatment of the 'Blacks' by the 'Whites' were silently passed over.

The Meaning, Nature and Content of Nationalist Historiography

Indian nationalist historiography, growing partly in reaction to the pretensions and prejudices of British imperialist historiography on India, was at root concerned with national identity in the pre-colonial period. The search for identity took various forms and covered a wide range of attitudes.

Meaning of Nationalist Historiography

'Nationalist historians' and 'nationalist historiography' are only terms used in a comparative sense, in contrast to the colonial or imperialist attitude of foreign writers - particularly British - in the writing of Indian history. Filled with legitimate national pride, a rising generation of Indian scholars sought to vindicate their national culture against the unfounded charges of European writers. Though there were occasional lapses of the true principles of historical reconstruction, the terms in question should not be taken to mean a body of historical writers or writing whose sole object was the glorification of India's past. R.C. Majumdar restricts the term 'nationalist historians' to those Indians who in reconstructing their country's history aimed at examining or reexamining some points of national interest or importance...which have been misunderstood or misconceived or wrongly represented. Such an object is not necessarily in conflict with a scientific and critical study, and a nationalist historian is not, therefore, necessarily a propagandist or a charlatan.

Religion and Society

The imperialist challenge had to be met, and the Hindu religion and its sacred literature, the first target of European attack, were the first to be defended. The defence was perhaps voiced more by reformers than by historians. An extreme school which included men like Rajnarain Bose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Sasadhar Tarkachudamani and others defended Hinduism

in all its forms including religious superstitions and social evils - claiming that, taken in all the aspects of its development, it formed a highly spiritual force, superior to other faiths. But Dayananda Saraswati, that strange amalgam of liberalism and orthodoxy, defended Hinduism on rational lines. He claimed that the true religion and society of the Hindus are only those purer forms described in the Vedas. Idolatry and abuses like caste and sati were later accretions not sanctioned by the original faith. Caste was speciously explained as a kind of division of labor, and women in the Vedic period, and even in later times, were shown to have been enjoying a very high status.

Material Culture

The material side of Hindu culture was also defended with equal zeal against European criticism. The results of the new archeological researches and discoveries of both European and Indian scholars were brought forward to disprove the inferiority of Hindu culture. Romesh Chandra Dutt brought together such data in his three volumes *Civilization in Ancient India* (1889). R.C. Majumdar calls it the first nationalist history in the best sense of the term. The book is distinguished by its scientific and moderate tone keeping at a distance the extravagant nationalist sentiment of the Indians. Following Max Muller, more or less, Dutt assigned the Rig Veda to c. 1200 BC, and his picture of the rude self-assertion and boisterous greed for conquests of the Vedic warriors was one which did not satisfy extreme nationalists and orthodox Hindus. These latter would be content only by the dating of the Rig Veda much further back in time. B.G. Tilak, a very able Sanskrit's, sought to prove from astronomical data that the Rig Veda was composed in 4000 BC, while A.C. Das pushed the composition of at least some hymns of the Rig Veda back to geological epochs. Orthodox Hindu sentiments fancied the Vedic Aryans as a pious and contemplative people. The spiritual superiority Hinduism came to be SO spiritual, of loudly asserted that care had to be taken to present the ancient Indians not as a Tall claim of scientific and technological achievements were species panting for salvation. Made-claims which included knowledge of even firearms and aero planes in ancient India. R.K. Mukherjee's book, *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, was a rejoinder to Elphinstone's doubt whether India's foreign trade was conducted in Indian ships themselves.

While a class of European writers was anxious to prove that Indian culture owed much to foreign sources, some Indian scholars disclaimed with equal vehemence such outside influence.

Some of the latter held that India was the original home of the Aryans and that they spread from this country to Europe.

Politics and Administration

The British had repeatedly asserted that India was not a country but a congeries of small states, and that the Indians were not a nation but a conglomeration of peoples of diverse creeds and sects. Against this, R.K. Mukerjee wrote a scholarly thesis, *The Fundamental Unity of India*, which maintained that the religious unity and spiritual fellowship among the Hindus all over India and their ideal of an all-India empire were the basis of Indian nationalism in the past. Again, it was a time when educated Indians were demanding the establishment of representative institutions and a share in the administration of the country. In this respect K.P. Jayswal had the spurious satisfaction of proving (in his *Hindu Polity*) wrong the thesis of Oriental Despotism. He demonstrated that not only there existed a constitutional form of government, but the entire parliamentary system, including address from the throne and voting of grants, was prevalent in ancient India.

Military

Nationalist historiography likewise sought to explain the easy conquest of India by the British. The explanation offered could not, however, always square up with historical propriety. When the issue at Plessey (1757) was held to be the result of treachery, Buxar (1764) was forgotten. English victory in the Sikh wars was attributed to bribery, but Chilianwala, which was not a British victory, was attributed to the superiority of Sikh military skill. In all this, too forgotten. Points many some prove more had to be forgotten.

Hatred of the British

Nationalist historiography often consciously fanned a hatred of the British government and of individual Englishmen. The calm and moderate tone of Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt in their criticism of the British government on economic grounds was not to be heard amongst the diatribes of historians like B.D. Basu. Basu's books are well documented and his charges, supported as they are by facts and figures, are not easy to refute. But, remarks R.C. Majumdar, his scathing comments had the sole objective of arraigning the British before the bar of world

opinion. Nationalist bias led to wanton criticism of Macaulay's system of education and Dalhousie's policy of annexing Indian native states. In assessing the work of Clive, Warren Hastings and Wellesly, well-deserved condemnation was coupled with unmerited censure. The very title of the book, Clive, the Forger, shows the obvious bias. Siraj ud-Daulah and Mir Kasim became heroes and patriots, Nandakumar a martyr, the Black Hole tragedy a myth, while the massacres of Monghyr were lightly passed over.

Reinterpretation of Indian History

As the freedom struggle developed, nationalist historiography attempted "a deliberate re-interpretation of Indian history in order to infuse enthusiasm in the fight for freedom..."¹² It was the patriot in V.D. Savarkar that renamed the Revolt of 1857 as the Indian War of Independence'. Savarkar's book of that title is a typical example of the representation of history from an extremely nationalist point of view. S.B. Chaudhuri's Civil Rebellions in the Indian Mutiny 1857-59 asserted that the civil rebellions which accompanied the Mutiny gave it the character of a national war of independence. Again, as the British government held out that Hindu-Muslim differences were the chief obstacle in granting dominion status to India, some nationalist historians, realizing the harmful effects of communalism, went out of their way to reinterpret the entire medieval history of India in order to prove that the Hindus and Muslims always behaved like good brothers toward each other, and that they formed one nation. Tarachand's book, Influence of of Islam on Indian Culture is another attempt in the same direction.

Critical Assessment of Indian Nationalist Historiography

Weakness of Nationalist Historiography

Indian nationalist historiography, engaged in an eager search for national identity by meeting European charges against Indian life and culture, at times betrayed a complete lack of historical propriety. Lack of propriety assumed various forms, some of which being inseparable from its nature and content have already emerged in the account given so far. Others may be outlined as:

Methodological Defects

Nationalist historiography in India, as elsewhere, was sometimes guilty of methodological lapses, of deviation from the ideal of objectivity which is the marrow of all true history. It is the inevitable result of making history provide service for current issues. To prove the existence of responsible government in ancient India, Jayaswal put new interpretations on words and passages in inscriptions and literary texts. A.L. Basham tells us of the manner in which Jayaswal arrived at his conclusions in his famous *Hindu Polity*. Other writers and in part a necessary step in the building of national self-respect. The glorious past was also a compensation for the humiliating present.

The Indian origin of the Aryans; the pre-Harappan antiquity of the Vedic culture, denial of foreign influence on Indian civilization, superiority of what was thought to be the essential spiritual quality of Indian culture and art to the essentially materialistic culture and art of the West, and the existence from earliest times of political unity based on a cultural unity were all part of this glorification. The deep conviction in India's past glory sometimes led historians to stretch their arguments to an obnoxious and ridiculous extent. Such is Jayaswal's assertion of the existence in ancient India of constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, voting of grants, and address from the throne. Such, again, was the claim that ancient India did not lag far behind modern Europe in scientific achievements. We are informed that there were firearms and aeroplanes in the age of the Epics.

Self-contradiction

Nationalist historians could at times be seen asserting or justifying contradictory positions: military power and the values of non-violence; democratic traditions and those of imperial glory; the spiritual superiority of Hinduism and the worldliness of the ancient Indians; and the high status of women in the Vedic period and their secluded life and position of inferiority on social, economic, religious and moral grounds.

Communalism

A by-product of nationalist historiography but one which had dangerous potentialities was communalism. Sensational accounts drawn up by Hindu historians of the heroic struggles of

the Raj puts, the Marathas and the Sikhs against the Muslims were a challenge which Muslim historians could hardly afford to miss. It became such that the friend of the Hindu automatically became the enemy of the Muslim and vice versa. Enmity was fanned by drama, poetry and novels. Communalism which was to divide the country had its roots in the writing of history, too.

Strength of Nationalist Historiography

Stimulant of Historical Studies

The weakness of nationalist historiography should not blind us to its positive side. Had the author of the Vande Mataram lived for three or four more decades he would have been happily surprised at the number of his fellow countrymen engaged in the grand quest of their country's past. Historical study in India received its greatest impetus from the sentiment of nationalism. This was because the nationalist spirit disclosed, as in Europe in the nineteenth century, one of the practical uses of history. Indians sought the key of their national development not in the immediate, but in the remoter past. By supplying a powerful motive for historical investigation the national spirit quickened the work of historical research. To meet the imperialist challenge, the Indian savants plunged themselves into a study of the sources, and India was rich in raw historical materials-monuments, epigraphs, coins and a variety of literary sources. Armed with the newly acquired information they proceeded with the zeal of crusaders to refute the Western charges against their nation and culture. Their researches opened the vast vistas of India's hoary past, and the new-found treasure in its turn filled the mind of the Indians with national fervor and pride, enriched nationalism itself, and quickened the struggle for freedom.

Work Done by Nationalist Historians

Weakness of historical works of an extreme nationalist color was only incidental to the time and the purpose of their composition. A good many historical works of the nationalist category deservedly occupy a high place in the world of scholarship. R.C. Dutt's three-volume Civilization in Ancient India, while presenting the nationalist case, is admirably free from the extravagant claims of some of the later Indian nationalist historians. Romila Thapar acknowledges that in spite of weaknesses, nationalist historians played a significant role in the interpretation of ancient Indian history. Because they wrote in conscious opposition to imperialist historiography, the historians were forced to take a fresh look at sources. Once the

study of the past was found to have relevance for the present, historiography ceased to be the antiquarian's collection of mere facts, and became narration and interpretation. Although most of the historical writing was confined to dynastic history, the debate on ancient political and cultural life necessitated the study of social and economic history as well.

Growth of Interest in Regional and Local History

Romila Thapar further observes that a valuable offshoot of nationalist historiography was a growth of interest in regional and local history. This in turn led to the discovery of new source materials in local repositories and to greater archeological work in the region. The result of such studies filled many lacunae in historical knowledge and acted as a corrective to some of the earlier generalizations. Evidence of regional variations in the cultural pattern led to the recognition that it was unwise and unhistorical to generalize about the entire Indian subcontinent on the basis of the history of the Ganges heartland. Histories of smaller geographical areas such as Bengal and Maharashtra became common. Neelakanta Sastri's works have brought the history of south India into national perspective.

Economic History

Nationalist historiography had earlier expressed itself in revealing the exploitative nature of British rule in India. William Digby's *Prosperous British India* had shown the way and Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Dutt did laborious work to show that British economic exploitation ruined India's trade and industry and reduced its people to starvation. They imputed the impoverishment of India to the subordination of its economy to British imperialist economy. The 'drain theory' developed by Naoroji blamed India's poverty to British 'draining' of India's wealth. Romesh Chandra Dutt's two-volume *Economic History of India* (1904) had a revelatory character in that it asserted that the basic cause of India's malady should be sought in the agrarian problem. The economic critique of British imperialism as found in Naoroji and Dutt marked the beginning of economic history in India.

Cultural History

Nationalist historiography had unearthed so vast a corpus of information relating to the multifarious facets of Indian life and culture as to suggest a new approach to the study of India's

past. If the material for a continuous narration of ancient Indian political history is lacking, that for the cultural history of the subcontinent is abundant. The idea abumbrated by Rabindranath Tagore caught the imagination of historians. The essence of the cultural approach has perhaps been brought out by Sardar K.M. Panikkar, a nationalist historian, in his introduction to his Survey of Indian History.

Ever since India became conscious of her nationhood...there was a growing demand for a history of India which would try and reconstruct the past in a way that would give us an idea of our heritage. Brought upon textbooks written by foreigners whose one object would seem to have been to prove that there was no such thing as "India", we had each to "discover India for ourselves." I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that it was a spiritual adventure to most of us to gain in some measure an understanding of the historical processes which have made us what we are and to evaluate the heritage that has come down to us through five thousand years of development.

UNIT- II

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

MEANING OF PHILOSOPHY

The term 'Philosophy' refers to the search for knowledge and understanding of the nature and meaning of the universe and of human life. It is an attempt to know the nature of the reality of the universe. It seeks to explain phenomena which cannot be subjected to direct observations. It endeavours to make "a coherent image of the world and an alluring picture of the good". Philosophy is the pursuit of truth, beauty, goodness and justice the ultimate realities. It is "a hypothetical interpretation of the unknown".³ Philosophy is a study of realities, general principles, system of theories on the nature of things, doctrine of ideas, causality, natural laws, behaviour pattern, regularities, direction of development, relationship between ideal and actual etc. In short, philosophy is an examination of appearance and reality, shadow and substance in order to understand the nature of the universe and the meaning of human life.

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

The phrase 'Philosophy of history' means historical explanation of historical happenings. This expression has changed its meaning and sense in its development. There are at least four different meanings of the term 'philosophy of history':- 1) it relates to the fundamental assumption a historian makes regarding particular historical processes like causation, progress etc; 2) it means historical methodology and the actual process of historical research and writing; 3) it is concerned with high level theorizing about the fundamental currents of history; and 4) it means discovery of general laws governing the course of events narrated by history.

The concept of the philosophy of history is interpreted by western thinkers in different ways. Dionysius of Halicarnassus set the ball rolling by his famous remark that "History is philosophy drawn from examples" By philosophy the pioneer Greek historian meant the process of drawing a lesson and by 'examples' he referred to actual life situations, not imaginary concoctions. Voltaire, the inventor of the expression 'philosophy of history', meant scientific history based upon critical analysis. That is a type of historical thinking in which the historian makes up his mind for himself instead of repeating what was narrated earlier.

Heinrich Rickert claims three meanings to the term 'philosophy of history': 1) Universal history; 2) The doctrines of the principles of historical affairs; and 3) The logic of historical science. Logic of historical science refers to the doctrine of the methods and forms of thinking unrelated to concrete empirical material. Though these three meanings seem to be diametrically different they are in fact based on common foundation, viz., the universal principles of historical being.

The meaning and scope philosophy of history has further been developed by the leading contemporary historians. R.G.Collingwood, for example, treated history as a branch of philosophy. He contends that the historian is concerned with the past by itself, the psychologist about the historians thought about it by itself and the philosopher about these two things in their mutual relation. In other words, philosophy is concerned neither with the past by itself nor with the historian's thought by itself, but with the mutual relation between the two.

A. Danto, an exponent of modern analytical philosophy, reduced philosophy of history to the theory of historical knowledge and methodology of history. He distinguishes between

substantive and analytical philosophy of history. The substantive philosophy of history has the same subject matter as historical knowledge; differences arise because of timer limits. It treats the 'whole of history', including the past, present and the future! It is rather descriptive theory. The analytical philosophy of history, on the other hand, studies events organized and delimited in the context of historical knowing. As it is not possible to write the history of what has not happened, the analytical approach focuses attention on the identification and delimitation of historical knowledge.

H.S Commager, an illustrious American historian, asserts that the philosophy of history is something inherent in the historians. The logic within history was nothing to do with philosophy of history, for history is not the product of logic. Nor is the philosophy of history is product of logic in the historian. It is indeed "the product of the individual experience and personality of the observer".

Philosophy of history lends itself to endless interpretations. To sum up, it is used 1) to learn lessons from history; 2) to formulate doctrines of the principles of historical events; 3) to understand the mutual relation, relation between the past and the historians thought about it; 4) to identify and delimit historical knowledge; 5) to discover general laws governing the course of historical events; 6) to explain human events by exploring of their causes; 7) to separate the speculative aspects from the works of ancient historians; 8) to trace the mind of mass in the process of development from barbarism to civilization; 9) to find out a divine or rational plan in the events that have taken place; and 10) to inquire into the forces and factors that are responsible for social transformations and so on.

BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY

What is the philosophical significance of history? Has history any meaning, significance, purpose, plan or pattern? Is there any logic, or reason behind historical happenings? Can historical events be scientifically analyzed and empirically proved? Philosophy of history is concerned with these questions.

Speculative Philosophy of History

There are two branches of philosophical enquiry, viz.. 1) Speculative philosophy of history; and 2) Analytical philosophy of history. Speculative philosophy seeks to discover the meaning and significance in history. It is as old as Thucydides and as recent as Toynbee. The speculative historians attach meaning and significance to history. They attempt to prove that there is some purpose or plan or pattern-divine or human - in historical events. They consider historical acts as vital links of a process inwardly comprehended by God, Reason or Spirit or Zeitgeist.

Analytical Philosophy of History

Analytical philosophy of history on the other hand, is critical interpretation of history. It is the philosophical analysis of historiography. It is a rational explanation of cause and effect. It seeks to find answers and explanations for myriads of human events in the light of logic and reason. It makes a distinction between nature and history and concentrates on the 'thought-side' of human actions. It draws generalizations in order to explain the fundamental forces that prompted events in the past. It is a cognitive exercise, an intellectual gymnastics! It attempts to recreate past experience in the mind of the historian. In short, analytical philosophy of history views all history as history of thought.

INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Theological Interpretation

Theological interpretation of history is based on speculative philosophy. It is known as teleological theory. It maintains that events and developments are meant to fulfill a purpose and events take place because of that. Christianity views history as a divinely ordained human drama with beginning and end. It goes beyond the Greco-Roman conception of the history of one people and one state system and views the march of mankind as a continuum towards the ultimate meaning. For the first time Eusebius of Caesaria (4th cen. A.D.) created the sketch of a world history that united Biblical history and history of the Greco-Roman world within one context. It is a remarkable achievement. More remarkable than this is the creation of a certain general historical periodisation. It was done by St. Jerome, the Latin translator and continuer of Eusebius' summary. This periodisation is indispensable to grasp and comprehend the external connections and interdependence of events. It "posed the question of the boundaries of the main

periods, called for closer definition of the chronology, and compelled one to think about the peculiarities of these periods and the reasons for the transition from one to the other"

Eusebius laid the foundation and St. Augustine raised the superstructure of the theological comprehension of history. Augustine divided history into six periods corresponding to the age structure of man." The sixth and the concluding period, viz. from Christ and Last Judgment is the Epoch Christianity, preparing the transition from the city of Man to the city of God. Divine providence was recognized as the main cause for the succession of periods. "Just as Alexandria had been built by architects but planned by Alexander, so human history, though created by people, rested on divine purpose".

The theological or teleological approach is a clean departure from the Greek idea of circulation. Dialectics, regarded as the greatest achievement of Greek philosophy, is the continuous motion and change taking place in the world. But the Christian conception of history has a beginning and an end, it begins from Adam and ends with Last Judgment. Christian theology formulated the idea of development and historical progress in its own way. It also expounded the idea of personal responsibility and moral principles of activity as criteria of classification of societies and constructed a historical theory Above all; history was depicted as the struggle of the Devil and God and triumph of light over darkness. But none of these ideas was based on empirical analysis and study of sources.

Secular Interpretation

Secular interpretation of history on the other hand, is based on analytical philosophy. It is called critical history. Ancient Greece was the homeland of philosophy of history. The Greek philosophy of history was in many ways superior to that of other epochs. The development of analytical philosophy of history can be traced back to the Greek conception of dialectics. Greek notions of the unique and the causation of events are indeed amazing. The Greek conceived history as a special, independent phenomenon. Empirical historiography arose in Greece in the 5th century B.C.! In the works of Plato, Aristotle and later Graeco-Roman historians and philosophers the basic ingredients, valuable consideration and information about philosophy of history could be found. Though they do not constitute any kind of regular system as such they contain the seeds of secular, analytical philosophy of history.

The philosophical problems of history too shape gradually. Having begun with the narration of events, say the Graeco-Persian war and the Peloponnesian war, empirical historiography broadened its base, ie. its subject-matter. Voltaire, the pioneer of Enlightenment movement set his face firmly against the repetition of the 'stories' contained in earlier works and strengthened the roofs of philosophy of history. He considered it more than critical history. He exhorted the historians to think for themselves. It is "a type of historical thinking in which the historian made up his mind for himself instead of repeating whatever stories found in old books". It is clearly against the theological interpretation of history. Voltaire wanted philosophy of history to stand for certain ideas and functions to which history alone could be relevant, not any divine will or pre-ordained design.

A host of Enlightenment and Positivist thinkers carried the message of secular interpretation of history to greater heights. Vico, for example, provided philosophical depth to history by proclaiming that man can understand only what he himself has created. In other words, man can comprehend the city of man but not the city of God. An array of intellectuals like Rousseau, Gibbon, Carlyle, Niebuhr, Ranke, Comte, Mill, Kant, Hegel, Buckle, Spengler, Marx, and Toynbee used history to draw generalizations to explain the fundamental forces and factors that prompted historical events. Wilhelm Dilthey, in particular, was the spokesman of critical philosophy in the 19th century. Croce symbolized secular interpretation of history by treating history as the re-creation of past experience in the mind of the historian. The concept of historical relativism is a distinct 20th century contribution to analytical philosophy of history. Since it seeks to examine the relative positions of historical developments, the 'new history' has enormously enriched historical knowledge. In effect, the secular or analytical interpretation of history is an antidote to the theological or teleological explanation of history.

STAGES, AGAINST AND LAWS OF HISTORY

Stages in History

Philosophers of history-theological as well as secular-were concerned with the progress of humanity towards a goal. Voltaire, the Father of Philosophy of History, wanted to know the steps and stages by which mankind marched from barbarism to civilization. Earlier Eusebius of Caesaria ventured to sketch a kind of world history in stages by integrating Biblical history and

history of Graeco-Roman world. St. Augustine divided history into six periods as indicated earlier. The theologians found some purpose or plan in historical events. Their history had a beginning and an end; it began with Adam and ended with Last Judgement. The Hebrews held that the purpose of the plan of history was to lead mankind to a state of freedom and the Christian historians adopted this concept and asserted that the ultimate plan of history was the establishment of the city of God. They identified three stages in the divinely ordained drama of human history, viz., 1) The Age of Bliss; 2) The Age of Depravity; and 3) The Kingdom of the Heaven; These stages corresponded the age before man committed sin, the age that followed it, and the age of redemption.

Secular philosophers of history like Kant, Hegel, Marx etc. outlined the stages of historical progress. Hegel, for example, traced the several stages through which man passed to reach the present level of culture. Man at first lived in the natural life of savagery, then he built institutions and ultimately established a state of law and order. He equated different stages of progress with evolution.

Comte, the Father of Sociology advanced his famous Law of Three Stages, viz., 1) The Theological Stage when man resigned himself to the will of God; 2) the Metaphysical Stage when man used higher philosophy to discover through reason the essence of the phenomenon; and 3) the Positive Stage when the human mind searched for relationships that exists among phenomenon.

Vico's Age of the Gods, Age of the Heroes and Age of Men represented three stages of historical development. Marx identified Primitive Communism, Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism, Socialism and Communism as the different stages in the history of class struggle. Renaissance, Reformation and Reason represented by science are considered to be the three stages in the history of modern Europe. It may be noted that these stages of human progress are not supported by empirical data and doctors disagree about the terminal stages of historical development.

Agents of History

Historical process of progress is possible only through some agents. Philosophers of history have attributed human progress to the work of these agencies. Theological or teleological theoreticians who believed in a providentially preordained purpose or plan thought that divine

intelligence is responsible for the rise and fall of empires and ebb and flow of cultures. History was interpreted in terms of a principle by which historical events are directed and unified towards an ultimate meaning. Divine Will and Grace of God are the motive forces for historical events and agencies which bring order out of disorder.

Great Men of history serve as agents to fulfill the purpose of history. Charismatic leaders like Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Dante, Shakespeare, Luther, Knox, Johnson, Burns, Alexander, Cromwell and Napoleon determine the course of history. This Great Men Theory is attributed to Thomas Carlyle (1795 - 1881), "the greatest of English portrait painters". He unequivocally stated, "...universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here" 16 Theologians held the view that Providence chooses some human agents for the execution of the Divine Plan.

Sometimes State may play the role of the agent of the Providence. Hegel glorified the national state and held the view that each national state was absolute. He believed that history was carrying out God's purpose through the state. The rational will uses the state as its agent to fulfill that purpose, namely, the realization of human freedom. Marx considered the class struggle as instrumental to carry out the purpose of history, namely, a classless communist society.

Providence may also use 'a cunning device' as its agent to realize its plan. Hegel, who formulated his philosophy of history on the premise that 'the real is rational', recognized the role of passion in the reason of things. He asserted that nothing great in the world was ever accomplished without passion. As Zeitgeist or the Spirit of the Age uses individuals, institutions, states and societies as its agents, reason tricks passion into the position of its agents. In other words, reason uses passionate men as its instruments to fulfill its purposes. Like Adam Smith's 'hidden hand. Hegel's 'cunning of reason', sets individuals and institutions believe themselves to be fulfilling their own personal desires but in reality they are an unconscious agent in the attainment of the historical universal aims of humanity.

Laws of History

Philosophers of history look at life and events in their own way. Historians hold a systematic view about the course taken in the past by human affairs. In practice, philosophers

help historians to formulate sets of rules that will help them in serializing the events through their research. Philosophy of history implies a belief that things occur in the human world with some kind of regularity. Such regularities of occurrence are called 'Laws of History'. Each observed regularity is called a law. The law is therefore a descriptive formulation of habits which are believed to be noticed in events. A law of history is at best a hypothesis. The formulation of laws gives concrete contents to the postulate of causation. The laws of history are concerned with perceptible regularities of occurrence. The historian can formulate these laws and use them as tools for narrating their history. If human past is intelligible it is then reasonable. The scientist holds similar assumption, reasonable, not rational. To assume that it is rational will lead to dogmatism! The following are some of the laws of history.

The Law of Elasticity

The law of elasticity is based on the conviction that the world of men is intelligible. Therefore, the human past can not be a welter of chaos and confusion. The law talks of the habit of human affairs to resume their reasonable shape. Historian's sense of congruousness helps him to steer clear of the seemingly conflicting course of events and to know that 'things are what they are'. The Greeks knew it. The Chinese waited for three centuries for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

The law of change

History tells us part of mankind's past experiences. Every experience is an event. History demonstrates that events are impermanent. None can escape the necessity of change. Nothing is immutable. Change is the law of life. Hence it follows a pattern. On this basis the law of change is formulated which can be applied to the world of human societies. There is continual tendency to make concessions to its environment without submitting or succumbing to it. In short, the law of change is based on the principle of impermanence. It is the principle of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Whereas Hegel's dialectical process is transcendental, Marx's dialectic is materialistic. But pragmatic dialectic is neither sacred nor universal; it is in a state of flux. The knowledge of the law of change has given to the doctrine known as 'historicism'. Nothing is permanent in history. Empires dissolve, kingdoms crumble, and rulers are replaced. "To know and to feel the law of change is to realize... that what is has not always been"

The Law of the Appointed Time

Time has its ups and downs. There is an optimum moment for certain occurrences. A particular event may take place before or after the most suitable shape for it to fit into has been reached. There may be fluidity or rigidity before the optimum moment is reached. When a community is ready and well prepared change occurs with a minimum of difficulty, friction or conflict. In Western Europe decentralization and regionalism had to give way before a centralized national government. What the Tudors could do at the end of the 15th and during the course of the 16th century in England, Philip II could not do in the Low Countries. The unification of Germany came along after the appointed time. Statesmanship consists to a large extent in the ability to decide whether the appointed time has arrived before carrying out a given policy. He can at best hasten or delay its departure but cannot alter the appointed time! The law is implied in the use of the expressions like 'moving with the times', 'consonant with the spirit of the times', 'strike when the iron is hot' etc. The Zeitgeist is the personification of the Law of the Appointed Time.

The Law of Momentum

The Law of Momentum is a corollary to the Law of the Appointed Time. In social life energy is applied for the purpose of achieving the result. Energy may exceed its requirements. The achievement of a result liberates certain amount of energy. To achieve a purpose men build an organization, acquire habits, a mentality, loyalties that help them towards the goal. Once the task is achieved the momentum of occurrence tends to maintain itself. Even after giving France the unity and cohesion and safeguarding it from outside interference, Louis XIV continued his absolutist rule and went on with his military conquests. The French Revolution and the career of Napoleon show the Law of Momentum in operation.

The Law of the Class Power

Social classes have always existed. Throughout the world the competition between various social classes provide political and social life with its most striking aspect. The Law of the Class Power describes the occurrence of regularities in the class elements of societies in the past. According to this law the economic factors which determine class interests and class notions are more important in the life of societies than any other factors including ideas,

institutions, religion, psychological conditions and heredity. Political power tends to follow economic power.

The French Revolution began for a number of accidental and superficial reasons, but almost from the start the bourgeoisie which had economic power only struck out for political power. It defeated its competitors of the nobility and of the lower middle class and the proletariat had emerged triumphant at the restoration of 1815!

Each successive class which holds both economic and political power comes nearer to equaling the totality of members of the society to which it belongs. As education spreads, as working class acquires a greater share in the control of production, democratic societies tend to become classless. But Marxian prediction of a classless communist society is an attempt to prophesy. But historians are not prophets.

The Law of Revolutions

A political revolution is different from a social revolution. Though every social revolution is also political, a political revolution is not necessarily social. Every revolution has psychological concomitants. To be a revolutionary is to be mentally unbalanced. Normal humanity is dialectical but a revolutionary is non-dialectical. A revolutionary never compromises and his evolution has been arrested at the stage of antithesis. He remains an eternal 'no-man' and is morbid.

The Gracci brothers suffered from a mother-fixation; Spartacus from an inferiority complex; Cromwell was a depressive maniac; Robespierre an obsessional narcissist; Danton an exhibitionist with an anal complex; Marat a schizophrenic and Fouch an algolagniac! In the course of a revolution a parental figure is dispossessed and the sense of guilt exacerbated. Every successful revolution, in consequence, contains the thesis of justice and renovation and an antithesis of restoration of the parental power. This law was known to the European contemporaries of the French Revolution since they were looking for the appearance of a one-headed government in France several years before the emergence of Napoleon.

There are three different methods of viewing and presenting the phenomena of human life: 1) the technique of history deals with the ascertainment and recording of facts; 2) the

technique of science is concerned with the elucidation and formulation of general laws; and 3) the technique of the novel and the drama is related to the artistic re-creation of the facts in the form of fiction.

History is concerned with the ascertainment and record of particular, significant facts. The elucidation and formulation of laws is possible where the data are too numerous to tabulate and not too numerous to survey. The quantity of data which historians have at their command is inconveniently inadequate for the application of the scientific technique, the elucidation and formulation of laws. Hence the Laws of History are not like the Laws of Science. A law of history is a hypothesis; like every hypothesis it may have to be discarded if it does not work.

CAUSATION AND CHANGE

Nature of Causation

The concept of causation and change comes closer to the philosophy of history. With the advent of speculative philosophy which made great strides from the 17th century, Enlightenment and Romanticism in the 18th and 19th centuries and Historical Synthesis in the 20th century there arose irresistible social demand for blending of elements that were not purely narrative in nature. The historians readily responded to this demand for specific points of comparison taken from past experience. As a result, nature of the historical narrative changed and non-narrative elements became mixed with the narrative. The subjective element could not be eliminated. Any assertion about a person or a thing or an event came to be related to persons, things or events. Observation contains explanation and explanation involves generalization. This implies a belief in causation. All predictions are shorthand registers of causal assertions.

The term 'cause' is derived from the Latin word 'Causa' which means 'a relation of connectedness between events'. A cause is that which produces an effect. It refers to a thing, event, person that makes something happens. It indicates how a certain result, situation or event happens. It is one of the factors which help to explain why a historical event took place. It is a tool useful for the performance of the historian's task of narrating the events of the past.

Causation is one of the ancient beliefs acquired by man after centuries of tentative formulation. Plato and Aristotle thought in terms of eternal recurrences of events. The concepts

of ancient Hindus centered round the idea of an unchanging ultimate reality with the idea of changing yugas, one following the other in a circle. The Chinese conception of historical change is the alternation of order and disorder. But what causes this change? The ancients did not think of inquiring into the cause of an event because it was taken as interference in the Divine Plan!

Whatever happens happens! Events do occur. Some events precede and some others succeed. It is possible that some preceding events are likely to lead to some succeeding events. In this case the preceding events are taken to be the causes and the succeeding events the results. The causes and results are considered to be causally connected. To put it simply cause, change and consequence form a chain. There can be no change without a cause and change is necessary for consequence.

The notion of causation implies that nothing can happen without a cause. An occurrence is nothing but a series of equations between the 'virtue' received by an event from its efficient cause and that transmitted to its effect. Everything in the world moves naturally to a specific fulfillment. The egg of the hen is designed or destined to become not a duck but a chick. Similarly, the acorn becomes not a willow but an oak. Of the varied causes which determine an event, the final cause, which determines the purpose, is the most decisive and important. The scholastics adopted the 'efficient cause' which produces something else by a real activity preceding from itself and elaborated the concept further.

The causes may be patent or immediate or latent or underlying. For example, the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand (June 28, 1914) and the consequent conflict between Austria and Serbia provoked the First World War. Whereas the cold-blooded murder of the Archduke of Austria was the patent cause, commercial rivalries, territorial ambitions, power mongering and mutual fear served as latent causes.

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The causes may be real or unreal. Historical changes may occur "as a result of multiple causes, the changes that happen by a gradual process and the changes that are marked by continuity" 23 To sum up, the characteristics of causation and change are 1) great historical events take place because of 'chain factors', one cause leading to the other ad infinitum; 2) changes in history first germinate then acquire strength, and gain momentum; and 3) the process of change is continuous.

Role of Providence

All philosophers of history agree that historical events move towards a specific fulfillment and are concerned with the final cause which determines the purpose. Aristotle held the view that everything is guided in a certain direction from within, by its nature and structure. That is the design is internal. The egg is internally designed to become a chick and the acorn an oak. He did not attribute this change to external providence. But the later Christian writers made God dwell in history. They firmly believed that the motive force of the historical events in the Divine will. They attempted to prove that history has proceeded according to a definite divine preordained plan. It is the content of the linear theory of history.

Role of Individuals

Historic heroes²⁴ are unique. Because they are unique they are somewhat enigmatic and unaccountable. They exercise enormous social influence. It is not easy to subject them under a formula. They achieve what could not be accomplished by the masses. Historians can neither ignore nor exclude them from history.

Writers like Carlyle, Nietzsche and Oman consider the hero as the ultimate factor that can be reached in a chain of events; the heroes of history are the makers of the past, the present and the future. Outstanding men like Rembrandt, Michelangelo, Dante, Shakespeare, Newton had left their imprints on the sand of time through their artistic and intellectual achievements. Pious men like Thomas a Kempis, St. Augustine, Tolstoy and leading actor like Caesar, Napoleon or Lenin played their roles in the human drama.

Sidney Hook divides heroes of history into two broad categories, Viz Eventful Men and Event Making Men. 25 The former owe their importance to the positions they hold and happen

to be at the centre of historic events. On the other hand, Event Making Men convert the society to their way. They gain control of the situation and drive the society in the direction of their decision. Henry VIII of England and Frederick the Great of Prussia were the eventful men and Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung and Gandhi were the event making men.

Personal ambition, motivation and exertion of the great men serve as the source of energy that brings about the desired change. Individuals get into limelight and leadership positions through dynastic or family inheritance, influence of their ideas, organizational and institutional selection. They may bring about change either through positive means or through negative ways. Peter the Great of Russia and Pitt the Elder of England played a positive role and made their countries great. But Louis XIV of France and Nicholas II of Russia provoked revolutions thanks to their negative rule.

The role played by historic heroes can not be minimized. They may serve as willing agents or instruments of providence or divine will or natural force or spirit of the age. Or they may take hold of the society, convert it to their conviction and decide its destiny. They may be eventful or event making. However, historians are primarily concerned with their impact on the social experiences of their contemporaries and of posterity. The heroes should have influenced and shaped the course of events instead of merely spokesmen of history.

Is it possible to generalize? Lot of material is available about the historic heroes, past and present. But historians differ in connecting the available knowledge about them and determining their influence upon the course of events. All great men of history have attracted the attention of their contemporaries and whose memory is preserved by historians. They have influenced the world in varying degrees. Nevertheless, it is not possible to generalize because the past events in which the heroes are situated are not the same.

But one thing is certain. If the hero follows the direction of the march of mankind, of the society to which he belongs, he may hasten the historic process. He may surmount obstacles; guide his contemporaries along a short cut. In this respect, he carries out a social task and exercises a fruitful and lasting influence upon the course of events. He remains an active influence that affects the course of events in the long run. Most successful among heroes of history is one who reads the signs of the age, who distinguishes lasting from fleeting factors and

who notices the advent of the appointed time. He indeed is 'the key that fits the lock'. In short, besides other factors the role of individuals in history is not insignificant.

Role of Ideas

The role of ideas in causing changes in the course of history is well recognized by historians. Ideas belong to human beings. Human actions are external expression of ideas. History of ideas forms a vast autonomous territory within the circle of history. Philosophy of history is an aspect of a properly conceived study of history and history of ideas forms part of history. Ideas interest the historian.

Historians take a lively interest in the adventure of ideas. For instance, a study of political pamphlets of a particular period will reveal repetition of themes and the influence exercised by one writer upon another. This need not be history. But the study of the interests and groups that inspired pamphlet-writers and of the effect of pamphleteers upon political events provides a story that belongs most certainly to history. The historian has to take an intermediary position between the pan-idealism of Croce and the Marxist denial of the right of any idea to a life of its own. 26

R.G. Collingwood defines history as the history of ideas because historical events cannot be separated from the historian's mind. He insists that the historian must re-think the thoughts of the past. The historian's mind must offer a home to this revived past. Collingwood goes to the extent of excluding from the ranks of historians all those who consider that ideas are the result of historical events!

The variations of philosophical doctrine belong to the realm of ideas. The different theories advanced to explain historical phenomena and to interpret social change centre round ideas. To cite three instances: 1) the Linear Theory is built on the idea that history proceeds according to a definite plan; 2) the Cyclical Theory relates to the idea of repetition, i.e. history repeats itself in succeeding peoples and periods; and 3) the Chaos Theory is weaved around the idea that historical events are formless and chaotic and assumes spiraling advance. "The several theories... have given a lot of interpretative ideas of great originality which opened the eyes of the historians to new thinking"

Karl Marx says that men make history. History is made up of human actions within the world and of nothing else. Equally all history expresses and in a way delimited by the influence of 'the ideas'. The term 'role of ideas' refers to "such dominant trends as can give shape to the aims and actions of successive generations and which we can see mounting to some kind of culmination" 28 The importance of ideas finds expression in the Peloponnesian War, The Annals, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, The Papacy, and the waning of the Middle Ages.

Plato asserted that the essence of higher education is the search for ideas. The idea of a thing or event might be the 'general idea' of the class to which it belongs; or it might be the law according to which thing operates or an event takes place; or it might be the purpose or ideal towards which the thing or event may develop. The platonic idea is all the three-ideal, law and idea - rolled into one. Ideas are indispensable for generalizations, laws of sequence and ideals of development. Historical events and experiences can be classified and coordinated in terms of law and purpose. Ideas help to discover behind things their relation and meaning, their mode and law of operation, the function and ideal they serve and adumbrate.

History is the repository of ideas. History displays a vast vista of ideas; Ideas influence historical knowledge and induce historical writings. Ideas guide human activity. Ideas may be speculative or philosophical; they may be scientific or practical. The former cannot be subjected to test, verification or repetition. The latter, on the other hand, are practical, pragmatic and can be re-enacted. The concepts of fate, karma and divine will are philosophical ideas. Monarchy, Capitalism, Socialism, Federalism, etc. are practical ideas. Renaissance, Reformation, Cartesianism, Anti-Cartesianism, Enlightenment, Romantic Idealism, Utilitarianism, Positivism, Scientific Socialism, Historical Determinism, Free will Doctrine, Historicism, Relativism, Dialectical Materialism, etc. are nothing but expression of ideas.

Ideas germinate in the minds of creative thinkers. Ideas may remain dormant for some time but will dominate when the time is ripe for change. Institutions-social, religious, economic, political, etc are born as a result of action reaction and inter-action of ideas with the social needs and interests. Each institution is an embodiment of a dominant idea. The adherents of an idea create a new institution to fulfill the purpose of the idea. In short, institutions reflect the ideas of those who formed them.

Since history deals with the deeds of kings, queens, statesmen, generals, religious leaders etc. the study of institution was ignored for long. It was only in the middle of 19th century institution as a historical factor representing ideas and values came to be recognized. Since then history has been studied with the help of institutions in order to understand human behaviour, religions, society, economics, politics etc. It is with this end in view institutions like Church, Monarchy, State etc. have been studied.

For instance, the notion of transition has exercised a powerful influence on the contemporary age which has been called an age of transition'. No age can fail to be a transition between that which came before and that which must follow. The idea of transition implies something more: a belief that the old possessions including individuals, institutions, ideas and conditions are being abandoned and that the pace of social evolution has been hastened. The pace of change may be faster or slower than in other ages. Whenever political power rests with the class, which is entitled to hold it, society would appear to possess stability. But ages at which classes entitled to political power on the ground that it holds economic power is in fact still politically impotent can be called ages of transition. 30 Mid-Victorian society was stable whereas England in the 1930s was unstable or living in a state of transition. For Marxists the dictatorship of the proletariat would be the only condition in which economic and political power coincide. All ages-past and present-must therefore have been ages of transition.

Ideas operate through revolutions. The role of the philosophers Le. a group of thinkers and writers like Voltaire and Diderot; Rousseau and Montesquieu in preparing the ground through their ideas to the French Revolution is well known. 31 A study of revolutions reveals that a revolution presupposes. 1) disequilibrium caused by maladjustment of power; 2) the existence of a revolutionary doctrine; 3) unlike revolts and riots, it is not spontaneous; 4) every revolution is not the result of class conflicts; and 5) revolution is the termination by means of force of the continuity of legality in favour of a group or class which is not in possession of political power.

Idealist philosophers and pragmatic methodologists have long since distrusted causality because it can find no adequate expression in terms of rational concepts. The notion of causation is neither a law, nor a canon but a postulate and as such it can either be accepted or rejected. It has no place in the paradise of ontology! The primary task of the historian is to know what

actually happened in the past and not to search for causes of events. And yet, he can look for the anterior event that 'guides' him to the subsequent event. It will be helpful to serialize the events. Causation, if properly understood, will be a guide to the discovery of hitherto unknown events. Though engaged in his critical task, the historian's heuristic quest is not necessarily terminated.

Ideas and History

Idea means thought or plan formed by thinking. Ideas are important because: a) they have influenced past events; b) they influence the historian's interpretation of past events; and c) controversy about proof of the influence of ideas in human affairs still persists. In the life of man ideas are facts. Human activities and institutions are not only determined by geographical factors but also influenced by ideas people hold of their relations with each other. Triumphs and tragedies have been molded by ideas like Divine Rights of Kings, Right, Liberty, Equality, Democracy, Socialism, Nationalism, Social Justice, Empowerment of Women and so on. In a way, the life of civilized man is a history of ideas, which determine the direction of human movement. Philosophers of history and -historians of philosophy are concerned with ideas such as Causation, Continuity, Contingency, Individuals and Institutions, National Character, Progress and similar ideas.

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

YES AND NO

The ancient Hindus and the Greeks believed that history repeated itself and that repetition was necessary and inexorable. They had the vision of history as moving repeatedly round a fixed circular track. The Chinese did not believe that repetition was inevitable but they did believe that repetition ought to be brought about so far as possible by deliberate human effort. The Israelites and their successors the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims held quite a different view. They believed that history was non-repetitive because history was planned by God and that God's will is unchanging and omnipotent. Logically, the Jewish-Christian-Muslim vision of history as moving in a straight-line towards an objective is irreconcilable with the ancient Hindu and Greek views. Actually movements of both these logically irreconcilable kinds can be discerned in man's history. ³² Thus, the answer to the question 'Does History repeat itself is both yes and no'.

History Repeats Itself

History repeats itself because human nature does not change. History is concerned with human actions, reactions and interactions. In the words of Lord Acton "History is a generalized account of the personal stories of men united in bodies for any public purposes whatever" "When the historian portrays men in action he attributes motives to them and finds out causes for their behaviour. This postulate is based upon his knowledge of the way in which men felt, thought and behaved in the past. History would be incomprehensible if human nature and human behaviour had not remained the same.

Human nature seems to be immutable. The historian proceeds on the assumption that human nature has not changed. Human nature is conceived as something static and permanent. This unchanging human nature and human behaviour is the substratum underlying the course of historical changes and all human activities. History repeats itself because human nature remains unaltered. Historical events are alike because men behaved in the past much the same way as they behave today.

Because history repeats itself the historian attempts to predict the future. It is possible because the laws of human nature are like the laws of nature. Even laws of exact sciences do not claim to predict what will happen in concrete cases. 34 The historian, therefore, can with certainty predict the future on the basis of the repetitive nature of history. The repetitive nature of history enables the historian to generalize. Generalisation is possible because historical events are strikingly similar. Stronger nations tend to dominate weaker nations. Alliances, pacts and treaties are recurrent phenomena. Border disputes between countries occur again and again. France faced a bloody revolution in 1789 and Russia in 1917. Napoleon in the 19th century and Hitler in the 20th century committed the same mistake of invading Russia. The Great War of 1914- 1918 was followed by the world war 1939 - 1945. The league of Nation was succeeded by the United Nations Organization.

The purpose of generalization is to learn lessons from history. Because history repeats itself it is possible for man to learn from history. Since historical events occur with some kind of regularity it is possible to formulate laws of history. The Positivist historians like Mommsen and

Maitland framed historical laws through generalizing from the historical facts. Historians like Vico, Spengler, Marx and Toynbee applied these laws in their interpretation of history.

History Does Not Repeat Itself

The conception that history repeats itself is based on the postulate of constancy of human nature and of causation. But is the postulate correct? Will all the circumstances which led to the occurrence of an historical event be repeated? Can we be certain that every single circumstance has genuinely presented itself a second time? The answer to these questions will be 'no'.

The complete repetition of circumstances must remain a surmise or supposition. Hence the concept that history repeats itself is a surmise only. Further, the complete repetition of a set of circumstances is a contradiction in terms. A set of circumstances leaves its traces which will influence succeeding events. In other words, one set of circumstances adds to the next set. So one can not be exactly like another. Therefore, history cannot repeat itself.

History can not repeat itself as scientific experiment can be repeated in the laboratory. This is so because each historical event is unique. Each event involves human beings and human judgment. As human beings will behave differently under different circumstances and human judgment will also differ accordingly no two events can be identical. Did the leaders of the Russian revolution behave and acted in the same way as those of the French Revolution? No. These revolutions may look similar but not identical.

It is true that these revolutions had caused basic changes but the causes, changes and consequences were not alike. That was the reason why St. Augustine reacted from the point of view of the early Christian; Tillamont, from that of a 17th century Frenchmen; Gibbon from that of the 18th century Englishmen; Mommsen from that of the 19th century German; and Toynbee from that of the 20th century Englishmen! The human problems may remain the same but the situations and events and the reactions of men and historians to such situations and events are bound to be different.

Because history does not repeat itself, generalization is not possible and the future can not be predicted with certainty. Prediction is not possible because the dramatis personae who enact the drama of history are different in different times. Since they were aware of the last scene

of the first performance they will not repeat the same in the second performance. Hence there is no possibility of history repeating itself.

If history does not repeat itself how can man learn anything from history? How can past mistakes be avoided, wrongs corrected and injustices erased? Is it not possible to apply the lesson drawn from one set of events to another set of events? No experience is more common than historical experience. The study made by E.H. Carr has led him to the conclusion that the makers of the Russian Revolution were profoundly impressed by the lessons of the French Revolution, of the Revolutions of 1848 and of the Paris Commune of 1871.³⁶ But this does not prove that the Russian Revolution was the carbon copy of the French Revolution. The theory that history repeats itself represents a superficial view of history, is not true to reality and seeks to fit historical events into a pre-conceived scheme. Being a cumulative process history does not move in cycles or in spirals and does not repeat itself. "Historians may repeat but not history"

THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

Expression of Optimism

Man is optimistic. Despite difficulties and setbacks he hopes to proceed and progress. He learns from the past and improves himself so also a society. The cultural cumulation of societies is the common possession of posterity. Even an illiterate villager in a remote corner of Tamil Nadu knows more about the world today than a Sangam Scholar! That happiness is the privilege of the few is the thing of the past. We have become wiser than our forefathers since we have the ability to learn from other's experiences. Witch-craft, intervention of gods in human affairs, the inevitability of sin, slavery, seclusion of women, religious persecution, racial superiority etc. have been relegated as excrescencies. Human wisdom is the basis of human progress. As Bacon says "Histories make men wise". According to the Dutch proverb "a donkey does not twice hurt itself on the same stone".

Meaning of Progress

The word 'progress' is derived from the Latin term 'Progradi which means forward walk'. It means forward or onward movement; advance or development. The concept of progress is based on the hypothesis that humanity is moving forward towards a state of perfection. It

signifies a movement in a desired and desirable direction. So, progress is not mere change. The sense of direction which one discovers in history will measure progress. 38 According to J.B. Bury, progress is both an interpretation of history and a philosophy of action. 39 Among the ideas which have held sway for the last couple of centuries none is more significant than the concept of progress.

Cult of Progress

The concept of progress is conceived on the "constructive outlook over the past 40 The classical Greeks and the Romans were concerned more with the present than with the past or the future. In the absence of the sense of the past or of the future history faced the blind alley. The Jews and the later Christians pointed to a divine goal towards which the historical process is moving. History thus acquired a meaning and a purpose. Will not attainment of the goal put an end to the process of history? The Renaissance threatened this theodicy and asserted the anthropocentric man centered-view of history, giving primacy to reason It was the voice of optimism and pragmatism.

The modern concept of progress had its roots in the 18th century. The Enlightenment historians and scholars not only retained the optimistic view of the Renaissance but also secularized the goal as progress towards the perfection of man's estate on earth. History was considered to be a progressive science. History was interpreted as the continuous progress of the human progress in and towards rationality.

A study of Historiography historians were the most ardent advocates of the cult. In the second half of the 19th century the concept of progress became almost an article of faith the concept of progress was equated with evolutionary naturalism Spencer identified historical progress with natural evolution. Buckle sought to discover historical laws to justify human progress. The progress of humanity meant getting richer and richer. Lord Acton came out with his vision of the march of mankind as an unending progress towards liberty Change is rapid, but progress is slow. Acton conceived history as the record of those events as progress towards the understanding and unfoldment of liberty.

Determinist view of history looks upon social progress as obedience to certain laws. Vico proclaims that history is a regular alteration between progress and regression. St. Simon looks

upon history as a series of oscillations between organic and creative periods. Spengler predicts the decline of the west. Toynbee considers all the surviving civilizations, except the Western, are on the throes of disintegration. These views raise the age-old problem whether man makes history or history makes man! Human beings are not robots, mechanical entities. They are creative human spirits. "History is a creative process, a meaningful pattern. It is brought about by the spirit in man". 42 Human efforts is the method by which human needs are realized and progress made.

Goal of Progress

What exactly is the goal of progress? Is it human happiness? City of God on earth? Realisation of Reason? Expression of geist or World Spirit? Communism through Socialism? World State and World Religion? Pundits ponder and doctors disagree! There is no final answer to the question of the goal of human progress. Progress refers to the progressive development of human potentialities, not perfectibility of man. Perfection in history, as in individual, is not a realizable goal. It is an ideal. The conception of progress assumes that goals can be defined as mankind advances towards them. The validity of the goal can be verified only in the process of attaining them. Without such a conception of progress, society cannot hope to survive. The present generation is willing to sacrifice only in the hope for a better world in the future. Progress consists in the capacity to use the human endowments and the environment. "History is progress through the transmission of acquired skills from one generation to another"

Individuals and Institutions

Like Siamese Twins individuals and institutions are inseparable. In the past, good times and bad times were associated with good or bad

Positivity of History

The well-known saying of Fustel de Coulanges that there are certainly "history and philosophy, but not the philosophy of history," with the following: there is neither philosophy nor history, nor philosophy of history, but history which is philosophy and philosophy which is history and is intrinsic to history. For this reason, all the controversies and foremost of all those concerned with progress which philosophers, methodologists of history, and sociologists believe to belong to their special province, and flaunt at the beginning and the end of their treatises, are

reduced for us to simple problems of philosophy, with historical motivation, all of them connected with the problems of which philosophy treats. In controversies relating to progress, it is asked whether the work of man be fertile or sterile, whether it be lost or preserved, whether history have an end, and if so of what sort, whether this end be attainable in time or only in the infinite, whether history be progress or regress, or an interchange between progress and regress, greatness and decadence, whether good or evil prevail in it, and the like. When these questions have been considered with a little attention, we shall see that they resolve themselves substantially into three points: the conception of development, that of end, and that of value. That is to say, they are concerned with the whole of reality, and with history only when it is precisely the whole of reality. For this reason, they do not belong to supposed particular sciences, to the philosophy of history, or to sociology, but to philosophy and to history in so far as it is philosophy. When the ordinary current terminology has been translated into philosophical terms it calls forth immediately the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis by means of which those problems have been thought and solved during the course of philosophy, to which the reader desirous of instruction must be referred. We can only mention here that the conception of reality as development is nothing but the synthesis of the two one-sided opposites, consisting of permanency without change and of change without permanency, of an identity without diversity and of a diversity without identity, for development is a perpetual surpassing, which is at the same time a perpetual conservation. From this point of view one of the conceptions that has had the greatest vogue in historical books, that of historical circles, is revealed as an equivocal attempt to issue forth from a double one-sidedness and a falling back into it, owing to an equivocation. Because both the series of circles is conceived as composed of identical and we have only permanency, or it is conceived as of things diverse and we have only change. But if, on the contrary, we conceive it as circularity that is perpetually identical and at the same time perpetually diverse, in this sense it coincides with the conception of development itself. In like manner, the opposite theses, as to the attainment or the impossibility of attainment of the end of history, reveal their common defect of positing the end as extrinsic to history, conceiving of it either as that which can be reached in time or as that which can never be attained, but only infinitely approximated. But where the end has been correctly conceived as internal that is to say, all one with development itself—we must conclude that it is attained at every instant, and at the same time not attained, because every attainment is the formation of a new prospect ,

whence we have at every moment the satisfaction of possession, and arising from this the dissatisfaction which drives us to seek a new possession.¹ Finally, the conceptions of history as a passage from evil to good (progress), or from good to evil, take their origin from the same error of notifying and making extrinsic good and evil, joy and sorrow. To unite them in the eclectic conception of alternation of good and evil, of progress and regression, is incorrect. The true solution is that of progress understood not as a passage from evil to good, as though from one state to another, but as the passage from the good to the better, in which the evil is the good itself seen in the light of the better. These are all philosophical solutions which are at variance with the superficial theses of controversialists to the same extent that they are in accordance with profound human convictions and with the tireless toil, the trust, the courage, which constitute their ethical manifestation. Historiography For we find in that conception the origin of a historical maxim, in the mouth of every one, yet frequently misunderstood and frequently violated- that is to say, that to history pertains not to judge, but to explain, and that it should not be subjective but objective.

Misunderstood, because the judging in question is often taken in the sense of logical judgment, of that judgment which is thinking itself, and the subjectivity, which would thus be excluded, would be neither more nor less than the subjectivity of thought. In consequence of this misunderstanding, we hear historians being advised to purge themselves of theories, to refrain from the disputes arising from them, to restrict themselves to facts, collecting, arranging, and squeezing out the sap (even by the statistical method). It is impossible to follow such advice as this, as may easily be seen, for such 'abstention from thought' reveals itself as really abstention from 'seriousness of thought,' as a surreptitious attaching of value to the most vulgar and contradictory thoughts, transmitted by tradition, wandering about idly in the mind, or flashing out as the result of momentary caprice. The maxim is altogether false, understood or misunderstood in this way, and it must be taken by its opposite-namely, that history must always judge strictly, and that it must always be energetically subjective without allowing itself to be confused by the conflicts in which thought engages or by the risks that it runs. For it is thought itself, and thought alone, which gets over its own difficulties and dangers, without falling even here into that frivolous eclecticism which tries to find a middle term between our judgement and that of others and suggests various neutral and insipid forms of judgment

Subjectivity and Need for Objectivity in History

The true and legitimate meaning the original motive for that 'judging,' that 'subjectivity,' which it condemns, is that history should not apply to the deeds and the personages that are its material the qualifications of good and evil, as though there really were good and evil facts in the world, people who are good and people who are evil. And it is certainly not to be denied that innumerable historiographers, or those who claim to be historiographers, have really striven and still strive along those lines, in the vain and presumptuous attempt to reward the good and punish the evil, to qualify historical epochs as representing progress or decadence in a word, to settle what is good and what is evil, as though it were a question of separating one element from another in a compound, hydrogen from Oxygen.

Whoever desires to observe intrinsically the above maxim and y doing so to set himself in accordance to be one of complete decadence, can be nothing but a non-historical fact that is to say, one which has not been historically treated, not penetrated by thought, and which has remained the prey of sentiment and imagination. Whence comes the phenomenology of good and evil of sin and repentance, of decadence and resurrection, save from the consciousness of the agent, from the act which is in labour to produce a new form of life?¹ And in that act the adversary who opposed us is in the wrong; the state from which we wish to escape, and from which we are escaping, is unhappy; the new one towards which we are tending becomes symbolized as a dreamed-of felicity to be attained, or as a past condition to restore, which is therefore most beautiful in recollection (which here is not recollection, but imagination). Everyone knows how these things present themselves to us in the course of history, manifesting themselves in poetry, in Utopias, in stories with a moral, in detractions, in apologies, in myths of love, of hate, and the like. To the heretics of the middle Ages and to the Protestant reformers the condition of the primitive Christians seemed to be most lovely and most holy, that of papal Christians most evil and debased. The Sparta of Lycurgus and the Rome of Cincinnatus seemed to the Jacobins to be as admirable as France under the Carolingians and the Captains was detestable. The humanists looked upon the lives of the ancient poets and sages as luminous and the life of the middle Ages as dense darkness. Even in times near our own has been witnessed the glorification of the Lombard communes and the depreciation of the Holy Roman Empire, and the very opposite of this, according to the facts relating to these historical events were reflected in the consciousness of an Italian longing for the independence of Italy or of a

German upholding the holy German empire of Prussian hegemony. And this will always happen, because such is the phenomenology of the practical consciousness, and these practical valuations will always be present to some extent in the works of historians. As works, these are not and cannot ever be pure history, quintessential history; if in no other way, then in their phrasing and use of metaphors they will reflect the repercussion historical events were reflected in the consciousness of an Italian longing for the independence of Italy or of a German upholding the holy German empire of Prussian hegemony. And this will always happen, because such is the phenomenology of the practical consciousness, and these practical valuations will always be present to some extent in the works of historians. As works, these are not and cannot ever be pure history, quintessential history; if in no other way, then in their phrasing and use of metaphors they will reflect the repercussion of practical needs and efforts directed towards the future. But the historical consciousness, as such, is logical and not practical consciousness, and indeed makes the other its object; history once lived has become in its thought, and the antitheses of will and feeling that formerly offered resistance have no longer a place in thought

UNIT III

Historical Research

The term research is derived from the French word 'recherché, meaning to search back. Re-search means to look again in order to re-examine the facts. Research is undertaken to find new facts or to re-examine the facts already known or to interpret facts to revise or revalidate accepted conclusions in the light of newly discovered facts. Research may be positive or negative. Positive research may formulate new principles and generalizations on a scientific basis. Negative research may dismantle old assumptions and conclusions. Research is a pursuit of truth, a purposeful study and an attempt to provide new insight into the problem selected

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

Research simply means systematic search for new knowledge. It unlocks the storehouse of knowledge to bring to the surface new facts. The objectives of research may be listed as follows, 1) To find out the truth by applying the time-tested scientific procedures. 2) To gain new insights into the phenomena. 3) To study the unique characteristics of a society, culture, a situation or an individual. 4) To investigate the recurring nature of phenomena with a view to

generalize and to formulate laws. 5) To test a hypothesis of causal relationship between events. 6) To contribute to the existing quantum of human knowledge

REASONS FOR RESEARCH

Thousands of students all over the country have been engaged in research for one reason or the other. They are motivated to engage in research for the following possible reasons: 1) To earn a research degree. 2) To fulfill the partial requirements of the course of study. 3) To get Respectability and social status. 4) To derive intellectual pleasure of doing some creative work (5) To be of service to society (6) To satisfy career conditions

Types of Research

There are several types of research: 1) Basic research, also known Pure or Fundamental research, is concerned with some natural phenomenon. Its aim is to generate knowledge for knowledge's safety 2) Applied research is action oriented and it seeks to find a rational solution to practical problem. 3) Quantitative research is based on measurements to quantify a phenomenon 4) Qualitative research is concerned with investigating the underlying causes, motives and desires for human behavior, 5) Conceptual research seeks to offer abstract philosophical ideas and theories about nature and human nature 6) Empirical research relies on experiment or observation, not on system or theory. It is used to prove or disprove a given hypothesis. Descriptive research narrates the state of affairs as it exists or existed. Interpretative research goes beyond the descriptive one and interprets evidences and facts. Descriptive interpretative research is better suited to study historical events.

HISTORICALRESEARCH

Historical research is conducted on the basis of historical data. In a way, all research is historical in nature, since research depends on the findings recorded in the past. But the problem treated in historical research is essentially historical in nature. Since historical facts could not be repeated accurately as can be done under laboratory conditions, historical research necessarily depends on source materials. Only problems that are based on historical records can be taken up for investigation. Historical research is the systematic investigation, evaluation, synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning past events, "Historical research is concerned with establishing the occurrence of unique events. Historical research is not only determining past events but also interprets such events and establishes patterns of relationships. "Historical research is digging into the past in order to re-enact the past

in its entirety... to explain the meaning and significance of the past events, to correct the wrong notions... and to elaborate, analyze, synthesize and philosophize ideas in the light of the knowledge we possess". The aim of historical research is to apply the method of reflective thinking to unsolved problems by means of discovery of past trends of events, facts or attitudes.

LEVELS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research may be primary, secondary or tertiary. The research may be called primary if the researcher is engaged in the task of collecting original documents with a view to find out current information. It is secondary when the researcher goes beyond the level of collecting and selecting sources and interprets the evidences gathered. The research service if its aim is to synthesize the historical knowledge and offer philosophical explanation to the recurring historical events

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

History is unique and therefore its methodology is bound to be special. Historical methodology indicates the nature, character and limits of historical knowledge. Besides being scientific it has its own system, plan and procedure to unravel the complexities involved in historical research. It is difficult and demanding. In short, historical methodology is a process-series of steps-consisting of 1) selection of the topic, 2) collection of sources, 3) analyzing evidences, 4) synthesizing the findings and 5) writing the thesis. Techniques such as statistical analysis, computation, diagrammatical analysis, quantification, ethno-archaeology etc. are being used within the frame-work of historical methodology.

SELECTING A SUITABLE TOPIC

Selecting a suitable research topic is a stepping stone to research art Choosing a viable topic is a challenge to the uninitiated and one must think thrice before selecting it The criteria for selecting a suitable research topic are

- 1) The topic must be selected from an area which is near and dear to the researcher. The topic selected must hold his interest and challenge his efforts. That is, the topic must be appropriate.
- 2) The researcher must satisfy himself about the availability of sufficient source material on the topic selected. Paucity of material will lead him to trouble. Insufficient data will end in inadequate research.
- 3) The topic must be manageable. If a topic is selected carefully, it may be expanded subsequently depending on the availability of material. That is, the topic must be limited in

scope.

- 4) Select the topic which can be completed within reasonable time limit .an MPhil. Dissertation may have to be completed within three months and a Ph.D. thesis within three years.
- 5) The source material required for research must be easily accessible. Material difficulty of access will halt and hamper research work
- 6) Select the topic for which the data are available in a language or languages known to the researcher.
- 7) Select a single subject which can be dealt with directly. Subject of comparative history will cause concern.
- 8) Select the subject which may need further investigation.
- 9) The topic selected should have a unifying theme and must lead to specific conclusions.
- 10) make sure that the topic selected is not researched already. Consult the checklists of research projects completed and projects under progress.

Types of research topic

Research topics are many and varied. They may be classified into the following types: 1) Biographical. 2) Study of families or dynasties 3) Regional studies. 4) Inter-disciplinary research like socio-economic duty. 5) Study of administration. 6) Subaltern studies. If cultural research is attempted one will have to study monuments like temples, stupas, forts and religions and overlapping relationships with archaeological sources and art history. A study of temples will involve iconography and sculptures. Study of religions will require a thorough analysis of literary and philosophical evidences, religious institutions and practices. Influenced by Marxism socio-economic study has gained momentum after Indian Independence. Subaltern study or the history-from-below rely on non-conventional sources like oral or eye-witness accounts and information surveys

Plan of Action

Once the preliminary for research is chosen, a plan or preparatory work is of action has completed to be prepared is time-frame of activities The plan will cover the entire per submission of the thesis. For M Phil dissertation the time table may be three months and for Ph.D. Thesis it may be for three years. The p action will include the time required for 1) identifying the places store sources could be located and tapped, 2) collecting and consulting

some 3) identifying the places for field study, if necessary, estimate, 5) formulating a tentative synopsis, and 6) Preparing an Outline of the proposed research work

What is a Hypothesis?

A researcher is engaged in discovering facts, relationship between facts and explaining events so gradually to lead to rational conclusions and generalizations. The initial stage in this process is the formulation of hypothesis. A hypothesis is temporary assumption that needs to be established before it is accepted is a provisional explanation and a tentative solution. It is a guide to the problem under study. It may be modified during the course of the investigation if necessary

If a hypothesis has been tested and established and a conclusion is proven it becomes a theory. When a theory is verified and firmly established and adopted as the basis of further inferences it becomes a law When the law becomes the foundation of the belief that other ideas in the particular field can be organized around it and makes other ideas deducible from it, the law becomes an axiom. The nature of history is such and its tools and techniques are relatively crude and unsophisticated it is not possible to frame laws or axioms as in physical sciences. But historical hypothesis may be formulated

Purpose of a Hypothesis

A hypothesis is a suggested explanation based on existing knowledge. Its purpose is to indicate the direction of the investigation and to suggest what facts are to be collected. It gives focus to research. It guards the researcher from a pointless empirical wandering The function of the hypothesis is to direct our research for order among facts A hypothesis may offer solution to the problem under study it gives focus to the research Without a hypothesis the researcher may collect non essential, irrelevant and even useless data and may even overlook significant facts As the gathering of data is time consuming expensive and trying part of research, the formulation of hypothesis is most crucial

Working Hypothesis

A working hypothesis can be formulated when 1) the researcher is free from preconceived beliefs and solutions, 2) he concentrates on the nature of the problem so as to enable him to reach relevant facts, 3) he is familiar with the technique of phrasing the hypothesis avoiding vague terms, 4) he reads and re-reads the literature on the subject, 5) he familiarizes

himself with alternative ways of collecting facts; and 6) he keeps himself away from the temptation to select only interesting matter or an isolated inquiry

Is indispensable Is hypothesis indispensable in historical research? In historical research the formulation of hypothesis may be useful but not indispensable. In physical science it is inevitable. But in historical research useful facts may be discovered, organized and presented purposefully even without a hypothesis. This does not mean that there can be no objectives or basic assumptions upon which the study should be based. It must however be borne in mind that the major part of research effort in history could be more useful and purposefully handled with a clear hypothesis at the commencement of research.

COLLECTION OF SOURCES

Collection of sources is the second stage in the process of historical research. As soon as the research topic is finalized the hunt for sources starts in earnest. Source hunting is a laborious work; a strenuous search. To identify and to locate the sources is no easy task. Before locating the sources, the researcher must have a clear conception of the nature of sources. He must know in what form the sources are available; whether they are classified or unclassified, edited or partially edited and so on. He must also distinguish between traditional and non-traditional sources; and material and non-material sources. Greater efforts are required to get hold of non-traditional sources such as eye-witness accounts, survey results, ethno-archaeological evidences, "living traditions etc. More importantly, the researcher should have a clear idea of and complete details about the location of places-archives, libraries, museums, epigraph centers, and private collections-where the source materials are preserved.

What are sources?

Events constitute the material for history. They all happened in the past. The historian cannot have a direct knowledge of past events. He therefore looks for their relics. Relics are traces or features surviving from a past age and serving to remind people of them. The Latin word 'vestigial' means trace left by the sole of the foot. The implication is that there is an intimate relationship between a trace and that by which it was left. The traces may either be left unintentionally by men in the course of their activities or they were intended by them to inform posterity of their deeds. Traces appear in bundles. "A trace is nothing but the still perceptible termination or culmination of a sequence of events or of several sequences of events". The trace is itself an event in the sense that events stand behind traces. By acquainting with a trace one can

comes earlier to the event. This trace is known as source. The researcher in search of events looks for sources that are still there. All are agreed that historical knowledge comes from historical sources.

NATURE OF SOURCES

Sources are the historian's raw materials. The remains which the past leaves behind for posterity to examine are called sources. The historical sources are the remains of man's unique activities in a society. Sources may be historical or non-historical. Historical sources are those which lead the historian to find out through them sequence of past events that would be of value to the composition of history.

Material Sources

The historical sources may be material or immaterial. The material sources may be written or unwritten. In other words, the sources may be classified into 1) Material; 2) Immaterial, and 3) Written. Material sources of the past are objects that result from the activities of men who lived in the past. Monuments, furniture, pictures and portraits, tools and utensils, weapons, coins and all the objects that are brought to light through excavations are material sources.

Immaterial Sources

Immaterial sources could be found in social institutions, the customs of the people, religious cults and doctrines, ethical principles, traditions, legends and superstitions. Faiths and languages are also immaterial sources. They are subtler, intangible and alive. They form part of accepted history. They are the result of a long sequence of events and they reveal the existence of the sequence and may lead together with other sources.

Written Sources

Written Sources Written sources result from the medium of language. They can be reproduced in print. A piece of writing carefully edited and printed may be relied upon as an original source. The written sources are called documents. The documents might be either self-consciously produced or those that were not. They might have been produced with the intention of presenting a point of view to posterity or those that were actually produced in the course of transacting business. Among the documents that are not records are those of a personal nature like diaries, memoirs and letters, certain documents such as medieval annals and chronicles are narrative and might be looked upon as part of the accepted history. The historian is at liberty to

make as much use as he wishes of these sources. Material sources can be handled only by those who have mastered the appropriate technique. Proclaim their message without formal consultation the historian is mainly concerned with written sources. These sources may be consulted at convenient places at a time convenient to the researcher.

KINDS OF SOURCES

Primary and Secondary Sources

Generally historical sources are divided into the primary and the secondary (A primary source is testimony of a witness or a mechanical device like archaeological remains, inscriptions, and coins, correspondence travel accounts etc., which represent the occurrence of an event. It is the raw material for history. It is more meaningful to the historian secondary source, on the other hand, is the finished product it produced out of the primary source, it is an indirect testimony of someone who was not present at the time of occurrence. "The secondary source is the coherent work of history in the form of article, dissertation or book which will widen the general historical knowledge". The secondary sources are the stepping-stone towards reaching primary source. So, the researcher is advised to study the secondary material first.

Primary Sources

Archaeological, Epigraphic and Numismatic Source Archaeological remains are unpolluted primary source. They are contemporary evidence, unbiased and unvarnished. This direct source helps to identify the past without difficulty Epigraphically evidences are contemporary and precise, though often exaggerated. Some of them may be spurious and even forged, yet they are valuable because they are eye-witness accounts. Numismatics or the study of coins is an important primary source as it throws light on the personalities and personal accomplishments of the sovereigns as well as the political, economic and social movements.

Literary source,

Literary sources though embellished and colored by imagination, serves as primary circumstantial evidence to understand the social and cultural conditions of the people. Ballads and folksongs, though imaginary and fanciful, are "the barometers for the psychology and philosophy of the age concerned" Contemporary records such as business and legal papers personal note book diaries and memories stenographic and phonographic matters record of correspondence governmental proceeding and newspapers when their authenticity is tested and an allowance given to personal bias can be profitably utilized as research material

Confidential reports like military and diplomatic dispatches constitute contemporary evidence and hence primary. Since they are written with care and caution these reports are dependable. Personal letters convey the Writer's feelings, impressions, opinions etc public reports, editorials, speeches, pamphlets, newspaper reports and dispatches, public opinion survey reports and dispatch's public opinion survey reports etc fall under the category of primary sources and they can be treated as such provided, they are authentic and could be corroborated

Government orders

Orders Government Orders (GOs) are authentic official documents. They represent the decisions of the government. These documents may be considered as primary evidence and their value can be well appreciated if the circumstances which led to the issuance of these orders are understood Auto-biographies, despite several deficiencies, can be treated as contemporary source. Authorized or official or Court histories, though often biased and one-sided, are contemporary eye-witness accounts All these sources can be used as research material provided, they are used diligently and discreetly.

Characteristics of Primary Sources

A historian recreates the past on the basis of sources available to him. 'Go to the original' is his guiding star. Primary source is the contemporary evidence to rely on. It has a direct bearing on the construction of history of a particular period. The researcher converts the primary evidence into an intelligible secondary source. No researcher who has not worked on primary sources can be considered a sound scholar. The following are the chief characteristics of primary sources: 1) they are original records of information. 2) They are more authentic than the secondary sources. 3) They are eye-witness testimonials. 4) They are raw materials for history writing. 5) They are records in good faith since they are genuine records of transactions 6) They convey instruction to aid the memory of the person immediately involved in the transaction

Secondary Sources,

The researcher starts his work with secondary sources. They are so-called because they are not original and used as materials to primary sources. They do not substitute the secondary sources are generally found in the form of books, journals, periodicals and research publications. These sources also deal with the past, but indirectly. The published materials make use of primary sources one need not bother much whether the secondary sources must be consulted first

or the primary documents. A close reading of the secondary sources will lead the researcher to the primary sources.

The advantages of consulting secondary sources are many: 1) The researcher will be acquainted with the subject similar to his research area 2) He will know about the utilization of previous sources. 3) He will be familiar with methodological variations. 4) He can find a model or adopt a concept to work out a frame work for his research project. 5) He can enrich his research work. 6) He can use them as a stepping stone to move ahead. 7) He may derive the setting into which to fit the contemporary evidence upon his research problem. 8) He can get the lead to bibliographical data. 9) He can get quotations or citations. 10) He may derive interpretations of and hypothesis for his research topic. Secondary sources may be abundant but uncritical acceptance will lead to difficulties. Moreover, the researcher must guard himself from being influenced by the views, opinions and judgments of the authors of the secondary sources. A study of secondary sources is absolutely necessary because it provides knowledge of the primary sources. It provides the key to unlock the store house of original evidences. The chief attributes of secondary sources are that they: 1) provide the background for better understanding of primary sources; 2) enable to fit in the original evidences at relevant places in the thesis in the form of quotations or citations; 3) are mostly in the form of published materials like books, journals, periodicals and articles; 4) are the digested version of the primary sources; 5) are explanatory and interpretative in nature; and 6) are used as supplementary sources

Bibliography

A bibliography is the last part of a paper, and it reveals much about the research process. Indicates the extent of the research, the kinds and types of sources that were used, and the different disciplines that helped inform the study. The bibliographic citation is necessary so that interested readers might find the sources for themselves. As emphasized earlier, bibliographies are valuable for finding sources on particular topics. Finally, the bibliography provides to the research for the paper, while also allowing the reader to make judgment about that research. Having a complete bibliography is therefore essential to a finished piece of research. Beginning researchers should create a selected bibliography. A set bibliography only includes those sources-both primary and secondary-were cited (footnoted)in the paper. Historians do not pad or inflate the bibliography with sources that were consulted but not actually footnoted.

There are three basic types of bibliographies

Standard Bibliography

The simplest is the standard bibliography, which is one of the works used in the paper. It is arranged into subcategories beginning with bringing of primary sources, followed by secondary works. The primary sources may be further subdivided into the following order: unpublished materials, published materials, and newspapers. Secondary sources are often subdivided into the categories of books, journal articles, and unpublished works. In each category and subcategory, sources are arranged alphabetically.

Annotated Bibliography

The annotated bibliography is more useful to study history. Its arrangement is the same as a standard bibliography, but each entry has an annotation or critical commentary. The annotation should be brief, not more than three lines of text. It indicates the author's coverage of the support the historical interpretation, and the overall value of the work the bibliographic essay provides commentary about in a narrative format. Rather than arranging sources in alphabetical the bibliographic essay is arranged by topic or subject in paragraph for beginning researcher determines how the sources are organized essay.

Bibliography essay

The bibliographic essay must be readable, informative and, annotated bibliography, provide critical analysis of the sources. It is to the author of the paper because he or she must have a good sense works in order to write about them in a clear narrative style Constant a bibliographic essay is a good exercise in learning history by writing the essay is also useful to the historians audience because of its topical systematic organization Since students of history know they must prepare a bibliography; it is important that they arrange there quired information as they conduct their reading research Maintaining a computer file of works

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The researcher may not be the first to discover the sources Number of pioneers might have already covered the ground. So, he has to locate the works of his predecessors that are related to his research area of specialization This can be done chronologically, thematically or Review of literature will serve as 1) a standard to indicate what extent the researcher is depending on or departing from previous works: 2) a vital link with related trends, tendencies and phases in the

search area; 3) a model structure that could be adapted to formulate the research work; 4) part of 'introduction' to the thesis.

UNIT IV

Development of Historical Writing in the west

All historical writing in the West rests on the foundations laid by Herodotus and Thucydides whose works marked the decisive transition from theocratic history and myth to a genuine historical literature. Their achievements stand in great relief against the background of two great constraints with which they began. The first of these was an almost complete ignorance of the history that lay behind them, and the second was an anti-historical metaphysics. The classical Greeks had behind them - behind Homer brilliant civilization which we call Mycenaean. But they had little knowledge of it. Of Greek history since the Trojan War, they knew hardly anything and they were astonishingly late in producing any documents at all. The Jewish writer Josephus, in the first century AD, taunted the Greeks for these defects. - Moreover, as Collingswood shows, ancient Greek thought as a whole was uncongenial to the growth of historical thought, for it was based on a rigorously anti-historical metaphysics. History is a science dealing with human actions in the past; Human actions in the past belong to a world of change, a world where things come to be and cease to be. Such things, according to the prevailing Greek metaphysical view, ought not to be knowable, and therefore history should be impossible. An object of genuine knowledge must be determinate, permanent and have a character of its own. This substantialism was anti-historical. Things which are transient do not have the above qualities. Since human actions in the past belong to a world of change, there cannot be anything of permanent value in them for the mind to grasp. True knowledge must hold good not only here and now, but always and everywhere, and history cannot partake of this character.

4. Influences behind Greek Historiography A Period of Intellectual Transition

The sixth century BC was an epoch of intellectual transition in Greece. One great development was the growth of prose by the side of poetry, and with this development the Greek mind began to be more reflective and less imaginative. The new intellectual attitude acted as a check on the imaginative treatment found in poetic thought. Geography and chronology slowly became distinct and the first philosophy and science appeared. In this

intellectual transition, Ionia led the rest of Greece. Ionia was the home of the Iliad and it became the home of Greek prose, philosophy and science. There the scientific mentality, already developed, also applied itself to history.

Development of an Ethnographical Literature

Geographically, Ionia was the meeting place of all the eastern Mediterranean civilizations. Greek historical writing developed to a considerable degree out of the attempt to describe and understand neighboring peoples like the Lydian's and the imperial Persians. As a result of their overseas trade and travel, especially under the Persian empire, the Ionians developed an ethnographical literature.

Logographers

In trying to know about neighboring peoples, the Greeks recognized the importance of first-hand inquiry, which is the root meaning of history. Writers in this style, known as the 'logographers', produced in simple prose the oral traditions and legends relating to the origin of towns, peoples, princes, temples, etc. Of the logographers, the most important were Hecataeus, Hellenics, Charon and Dionysius. The logographers mark the transition from myth to history. Their subject was local history, their source of information local myths. Yet they excluded from these myths what was too incredible. Hecataeus omitted in his Genealogies stories which he thought to be ridiculous. The narrative compositions of the logographers, in part recited publicly on festive occasions, were designed to give artistic pleasure to the listeners. Narrative history is the oldest species of history, one destined to last, for narration of past events is the unchangeable essence of history. Narration meets the enduring need for preserving them Memory of historical events. Logography developed in the fifth century BC into full-fledged history in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides

Herodotus 484-430.

The historical genius of Herodotus and Thucydides triumphed over two apparently insurmountable difficulties, namely, the absence of records, and an anti-historical philosophy which held history to be a hopeless Endeavour. Herodotus was born in an exalted family in Halicarnassus about 484 DC. His uncle's adventures earned him an exile at the age of thirty-two. The future historian profitably spent his undeserved exile in far-reaching travels. These took him to Phoenicia, Egypt. Cyrene, Susa, and finally to the Greek city-states on the Black Sea. Will Durant writes: Wherever he went he observed and inquired with the eye of a scientist

and the curiosity of a child; and when in 447, he settled down in Athens, he was armed with a rich assortment of notes concerning the geography, history, and manners of the Mediterranean states. With these notes and a little plagiarizing of Hecataeus and other predecessors, he composed the most famous of all historical works, recording the life and history of Egypt, the Near East and Greece from their legendary origins to the close of the Persian war.

Theme and Content

The man known as the 'Father of History' announces in his introduction that the purpose of his histories was to preserve for future generations the great deeds of the Greeks and the Barbarians (Persians), and lay bare the causes for which they waged war. Written in nine parts, each of which is dedicated to one of the nine muses, the work has for its main theme the Graeco-Persian conflict which comes to its epic end at Salamis in 480 BC. But Herodotus also brought into his narrative interesting descriptions of the customs, dress, manners, morals and beliefs of some twenty-four different peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. The immense framework of the book makes it in a limited sense a universal history

Method

Herodotus' method was to write of far-off events reported to him at second or third hand. With curiosity and keen powers of observation he tried to know how things happened. He looked for rational explanations, showing the influence of climate and geographical factors. But he was liable to impute important events to trivial incidental causes, the influence of women, and purely personal factors. His belief in supernatural influences led him to introduce into his narrative dreams, oracles, visions and divine warnings of approaching evil. His childlike curiosity sometimes led to childlike credulity. Indeed, Strabo wrote that there was "much nonsense in Herodotus." He thought that the semen of Ethiopians was black; Egyptian cats jumped into fire; Danubians got drunk on mere smells; the priestess of Athena at Pedasus grew a mighty beard; Nebuchadnezzar was a woman; and that the Alps were a river! But he wrote in self-defence, "I am under obligation to tell what is reported, but I am not obliged to believe it and let this hold for every narrative in this history. Herodotus is patriotic in the treatment of fellow Greeks but he just gives both sides of most political disputes and testifies to the heroism, honor and chivalry of the Persians. The father of history is also the father of prose composition and, as a narrator, he has never been surpassed. He wrote in a style which was at once loose, easy-going, romantic and fascinating, satisfying men's need for entertainment, for marvelous stories.

And writing in terms of personalities rather than processes, he presented excellent portrayals of character.

Assessment

Whatever his faults, Herodotus was the first to have sought a perspective of man in time. Cicero called him the 'Father of History', and Lucian, like most of the ancients, ranked him above Thucydides, Shotwell describes him as the Homer of the Persian Wars H.E. Barnes looks upon him as "the first writer to imply that the task of the historian is to reconstruct the whole past life of man and was one of the most absorbing story-tellers in the entire course of historical writing Collingwood credits Herodotus with the creation of scientific history. He puts Herodotus to all the four tests of modern historiography and finds him wanting only in not basing his narrative on rational evidence and interpretation. It was Herodotus who created real history. By skilful questioning he made it possible to obtain scientific knowledge of past human actions which had been thought to be impossible. "It is the use of this word ('history'), and its implications, that make Herodotus the father of history. The conversion of legend-writing into the science of history... was a fifth century invention, and Herodotus was the man who invented it.

Thucydides (460-396BC)

Born to an Athenian father and Thracian mother, Thucydides received all the education that Athens could give. In 430 BC he suffered from the plague but death spared him for history. When the Peloponnesian war broke out, he kept a record of it from day to day. In 424 BC he was chosen as one of the two generals to command a naval expedition to Thrace, but a military failure earned him an exile from Athens. This misfortune proved fortunate for history, for Thucydides spent the next twenty years of his life in travel especially in the Peloponnesus. The oligarchic revolution of 404 BC ended his exile, and he returned to Athens. He died some say by murder - about 396 BC leaving unfinished his History of the Peloponnesian War.

Theme and Content

As a young man Thucydides had heard Herodotus' public readings of his History of the Persian Wars in Athens. Unlike Herodotus who ranged from age to age and place to place, Thucydides confined himself to the narrower scope of the Peloponnesian war, forcing his story into a rigid chronological framework of seasons-the 'summer and winter' system. The History of the Peloponnesian War comprises eight books, the eighth book ending abruptly in the middle of

a campaign in 411 BC. Thucydides wrote to provide information for future historians and guidance for future statesmanship. He wrote for "those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future which, in the course of human affairs, must resemble the past."¹³ The honest and severe Thucydides meant his work "not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time."¹⁴ Since in his view human nature and human behavior would be forever the same, he held that similar situations and problems recur, so lessons of one period would be useful in another. The aim of writing an accurate and trustworthy account called for a rigid method. Unlike the credulous Herodotus, Thucydides subjected his sources to a rigorously scientific methodology and proceeded upon the clearest data. Believing that the historical process was a rational process uninfluenced by supernatural or extra-human agencies, he refused to trust the oracles and ran full tilt at myths and legends, marvels and miracles. He wrote as an eyewitness of most of the events of the war which he described. Herodotus may be the father of history, but Thucydides' conscientious accuracy and truthfulness make him "the father of scientific method in history. And though recognizing the role of exceptional individuals in history, Thucydides leaned rather towards impersonal recording, and the consideration of causes, developments and results. Yet he compromised with truth and accuracy when he put elegant speeches - and this quite often - into the mouths of his characters. It was a means of explaining and vivifying personalities, ideas and events. Thucydides frankly admits that such orations are largely imaginary, but he claims that each speech represents the substance of an address actually given at the time. Thucydides' impressive impartiality is an example to future historians. He recounts the story of Athens and Sparta of his time with fairness to both sides. His desire to impart exact knowledge of the past conditioned his language and style as his scientific method and devotion to truth would not permit romance and exaggeration. However, this style has a dramatic power. Intending his history as a guide of conduct particularly useful to men in power and authority, Thucydides illuminated his pages with many moral maxims. Some of these inform us that nemesis follows upon good fortune; that love often lures men to destruction, and that might not make right the strictly rational basis of Thucydides' historical thinking had important consequences for modern historical thought. The analytical depth which this ancient Athenian historian brought to historiography had an abiding influence. He wished to know not merely the what but the how and why of the historical process, while Herodotus had confined in the main to the first of these

inquiries. Thucydides wanted to probe deeper, discover the motives and explain the processes behind human action. Influenced by the science of the time, he tried to apply the principles and methods of Hippocratic medicine to politics, so that everything could be covered by rational explanation. Analytical power enabled him to separate the deeper causes from the immediate occasion of an event and to proceed to general conclusions, as for instance when he analyzed the relationship between wealth and power, or the remorseless logic behind Athenian imperialism.

Thucydides history is an organic process; it is the study of events that are connected with one another in a rational, systematic and permanent order. The belief reminds us of what in the twentieth century would be labelled historicism. Again, he was the first to employ what modern historical methodology calls constructive reasoning. When positive sources of information failed, Thucydides applied Anaxagoras method of inverse reasoning that is arguing backward in a regressive fashion from the known to the unknown to locate the probable cause or causes of an event. JB Bury rates Thucydides' work as the most decisive step taken by a single man towards making history what it is today. To David Hume the first page of Thucydides was the beginning of all true history. But Will Durant finds fault with him for his absorption in war to the exclusion of culture: Here at least is an historical method, a reverence for truth, an acuteness of observation, an impartiality of judgment, a passing splendor of language and fascination of style, a mind both sharp and profound, whose truth less realism is a tonic to our naturally romantic souls. Here are no legends, no myths, and no miracles. Collingwood compares the two great Greek pioneer historians. Three of the four characteristics of genuine history which we see in Herodotus reappear in the preface of Thucydides, but the latter definitely steals a march over the father of history by explicitly stating that history bases all its conclusions on rational evidence. But the greatness of Herodotus, Collingwood affirms, stands out in the sharpest relief when he is set against the anti-historical substantiality tendency of Greek thought which held that only what is unchanging can be an object of true knowledge. The genius of Herodotus triumphed over this substantiality tendency by showing that, by skilful questioning, it was possible to attain reliable knowledge of past human actions. The British philosopher-critic goes on to show that there is a difference between the scientific attitudes of the two fifth-century giants, a difference reflected even in their styles. The "easy, spontaneous, and convincing" style of Herodotus gives way to the "harsh, artificial, and repellent" style of Thucydides. The latter style, Collingwood attributes, to a "bad conscience." The dominant influence on Thucydides was that of Hippocratic medicine.

Hippocrates was not only the father of medicine, he was also the father of psychology and Thucydides, his spiritual child, is the father of psychological history. Now, Collingwood affirms, psychological history is not history at all, but natural science of a special kind. The chief function of history is to narrate events and facts of the past, but the chief purpose of psychological history is to affirm psychological laws. A psychological law is not an event, nor even a complex of events-it is an unchanging rule which governs the relationship between events. Herodotus was primarily interested in the events themselves; Thucydides was more interested in the laws according to which they happen, laws which are eternal and unchanging. Collingwood cites as evidence for such a conclusion the speeches that Thucydides puts into the mouths of his characters. He asks: "Is it not historically speaking, an outrage to make all these very different characters talk in one and the same fashion.' The style betrays a lack of interest in the question what those different characters actually said on particular occasions.

Herodotus and Thucydides historical sources meant the reports of facts given by eyewitnesses, and historical method consisted in eliciting these narratives. The two historians must have thoroughly cross-questioned the witnesses, as in a court of law, for the ascertainment of the facts. Collingwood attests that this method of using the testimony of eyewitness accounts for the extraordinary solidity and consistency of the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides. But he points out that this method; the only one available then, had three limitations. **1.** It imposed on its users a shortness of perspective. Eyewitness accounts could not go beyond living memory. The method tied its users on a tether whose length was the length of living memory. For this reason, what Herodotus or Thucydides tell us of things beyond living memory - say, about the sixth century BC - cannot be relied upon as scientific, because their sources and methods could not reach remote periods of the past. But this was not a failure. The significant achievement of fifth century Greek historiography was to have definitely brought the recent past, if not the remote past, within the scope of scientific history. Scientific history had been invented.**2**The second limitation in the method was that it precluded the historian from choosing his subject. The only things he could write about were the events which had happened within living memory. The comic irony of the situation is well brought out by Collingwood when he says that "instead of the historian choosing his subject, the subject chooses the historian The historian was not a historian in the true sense of the term; he was "only the auto biographer of his generation".**3** The ancient Greek historical method made it impossible to criticize, improve upon, or rewrite a

history once written. If any given history is the autobiography of a generation, the evidence on which it is based will have perished. It is impossible also for such a work to be absorbed into a larger whole, "because it is like a work of art, something having the uniqueness and individuality of a statue or a poem." An ancient Greek historical work could only be complete in itself incapable of being incorporated in to a larger whole say a universal history

IBN KHALDUN (1332-1406)

Great Maghribi Historian

The Arab Empire encompassed three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. The Arab penetration of Central Africa gave rise to a new thrust of Islamic historiography. The prominent Arab historians of the period were Al Masudi, Ibn Hakal, Ibn Battuta and Ibn Khaldun. Of them the last was the most outstanding historian of rare distinction. He was the greatest Maghribi historian and philosopher. Born in Tunis Khaldun lived, labored and breathed his last in Egypt at the age of 74. Through extensive travels he gained wide experience on men and matters.

His Work

A tree is known by its fruits; an historian is known by his works. Ibn Khaldun is known by his magnum opus Kitab-al-Ibar or Universal History in 7 volumes. The book is in two parts: 1) The first part is Muqaddima or Prolegomena. That is the introductory part of the work. The introduction contains a) a treatise on the science of culture; b) the development of society and culture; c) philosophy of history, and d) socio-logical approach to history. 2) The second part, the main body of the book, consists of three sections: a) Civilization, its essential characteristics and its influence on people; b) the history of the Arabs with reference to the nations from Central Asia to Italy; and c) the North West African Berber dynasties.

On History

Khaldun is the founder of the science of history. He classifies sciences into three groups: a) Theoretical dealing with the knowledge of the truth) Practical concerning the ability for practical actions, and Productive relating to the perfection of things. According to Khaldun the science of history is a judicious mixture of all the three branches of knowledge; all-inclusive and comprehensive. Khaldun views history as a specific body of knowledge encompassing the entire range of social phenomena. It is not simply as record of strings of events but a description of internal and external social relationships. Based on empirical facts, history is an instrument for the acquisition of excellence in the art of ruling and living. History is neither annalistic nor

episodic but continuous development of human society with ebb and flows, rise and fall. The nature of historical growth is dynamic since it undergoes constant changes! The histories of different people differ according to differences in physical environment, climate, character of land etc. In short, history is the history of the world or universal history

On Historian

Khaldun prescribes the following traits or characteristics to identify an historian: 1) He shall have the ability to think to probe, to check and to verify the veracity of source or a statement. Historical accounts must not be reduced to 'nonsensical statements Historian has to be skeptical. 2) He is knowledgeable. He is a knowledge seeker. He seeks knowledge of the 'fundamental facts of politics, the nature of civilization, and the conditions governing human social organization'. 3) He is fully armed with reliable, verifiable, dependable sources. 4) He must know his craft. He must be able to distinguish between truth and falsehood, legend and legitimate account, events based on faith or reason and so on since knowledge of the past is often alloyed or tainted with imagery. He must know how to separate the chaff from the grain; water from milk. 5) He is a synthesizer. He must know that the whole is larger and nobler than the sum total of separate parts. He must combine the physical, geographical, biological, psychological and social factors to determine the development of the history of a society or culture and to offer complete and convincing explanation of historical events in order to form a complex and yet comprehensive whole 6) Above all he may be religious but must refrain from mixing religious faith in writing history. There is absolutely no place for divine intervention or events unusual and the extraordinary in human affairs supernatural stories are incompatible with the facts of history Hence the historians shall always be rational, impartial and objective

On rise and fall of cultures

Khaldun considers history as the science and essence of culture. Culture is the chemical combination of material, political, social, economic, moral and philosophical factors and forces; inseparable. According to him there are three different types of cultures: 1) Primitive culture is the life of survival; people are pre-occupied with the basic needs of life like food, cloth and shelter. 2) Rational culture centers around the life of reason and purposeful living enjoying the fruits of labour and hard work 3). Culture of law based on equity, equality and distributive justice The benefits of work are not restricted to a few but shared by Khaldun proposes a cyclical view of history. Culture, which is the arrow of history, undergoes the cycle of birth, growth, declines

the mice. He identifies four causes for the rise and fall of cultures: Material cause refers to geographical factors like climate, fertility, soil, Vegetation, economy nativity to 2) Formal or political cause relates to the role of the factor and governance. 3) Efficient or social cause to be determined with factors like harmony, solidarity, inclusiveness, moderation and justice 4) Final or Ethical cause is about the goal of common welfare and goods, Khaldun underlines the fact that a culture collapses due to a) war or internal conflicts; b) urbanization; and c) disintegration. Thus, it will be seen that geo-economic activity, political structure, social solidarity, common goal and internal and external exigencies determine the rise and fall of cultures.

ESTIMATE

Ibn Khaldun may be considered as the Thucydides of Islamic world. He inaugurated a new school of thought. Like a seasoned social scientist, he has analyzed historical facts, their relationships and realities, trends and tendencies and their regularities and variations, ebbs and flows. His method is original as his approach is critical-analytical. His classification of branches of knowledge, analysis of nature of states, causes for continuation and collapse of cultures is refreshingly original. In tracing the influence of civilization on man Khaldun anticipated Buckle by several centuries. In analyzing the material factors of history, he foresaw Karl Marx. In dealing with the social causes for historical events and changes he showed the way to Auguste Comte. In estimating the importance of ethical or philosophical factors he was the forerunner of A tracing the stages of development of a given society he ranks with Ranke

Khaldun successfully integrates the science of history with the philosophy of history. He is concerned with the total impact of material, moral, economic, political, social, ethical and philosophical factors and forces on the shaping and reshaping of historical cultures. He is at once a historian, a sociologist, a political theorist, an economist and a philosopher rolled into one. He is a pragmatist, rationalist, humanist and a critical analyst. Khaldun's treatment of history is comprehensive, cumulative and critical. George Sarton regarded him as "the greatest theorist of history, the greatest philosopher of man's experience". Arnold Toynbee rated his philosophy of history as "the greatest that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place". Ibn Khaldun, however, has been criticized on several counts: 1) His exposition is conditioned by the circumstances prevailing in North Africa in his time; 2) It is not for universal application; 3) He does not follow his own instructions and prescription in the Universal History, 4) He has little influence on his immediate successors; 5) His cyclical theory of history is

deterministic;6) His treatment of history is more philosophical and theoretical than pragmatic and practical. Nevertheless, Khaldun, the 14 century medieval historian shines like a star and a silver lining in the dark cloud of theocratic historiography. He is far ahead of his time. For he explains the events, examines their trend, interprets their relationships, analyses their causes, sketches their operations, reviews their regularity and assesses their value. He is a man of many parts: thinker, intellectual, scholar, historian, political theorist, economist, sociologist, critic and philosopher. He has no parallel in the medieval world. He heralds the dawn of modern historiography. "If Thucydides is the inventor of history, Ibn Khaldun introduces history as a science". In fine, Ibn Khaldun' universal history is acknowledged as "one of mankind's important triumphs". He is the Medieval Muslim historian par excellence

RANKE

The nineteenth century German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) is widely recognized as the founding father of the empirical historiography. It was till Ranke established the first scientific political history, in the 19th century, in Germany, that the historians followed a method of evaluation and also a method of interpretations and intuitions. A completely new tradition of history writing started with him directly affecting the conceptual structure. His methods directly affected the way the historians and researchers critically treated the sources of the history. The force for any historical change is considered to be the study of ideology. Historians claim that "political history as a whole cannot exist without the study of ideological differences and their implications." Political history studies most often hover around a single nation and its political change and development. Ranke's Concept: Accordingly, history is considered as a rigorous science which should abstain from metaphysical speculations and value judgments. He further clarified that the historians must put the sources to philological criticism in order to complete the veracity of their findings. He was insistent that any political event should be looked at its uniqueness and not in its generality of occurrence. Political history till then remained more traditional, though other branches of history turned out to be modern in nature.

St. Augustine,

The greatest figure in the early Christian Church, was a pagan to whom Christianity had come as a profound emotional satisfaction. Augustine labored chiefly with his pen. Two of his

books belong to the classics of the world. The Confessions, his autobiography, is written with great honesty and sincerity, and addressed directly to God. The De Civitat Dei (City of God) in twenty-two books composed between AD 413 and 426, is one of the greatest texts of the world. In AD 410 Rome was taken and sacked by the Goths under Alaric. The calamity that the city had suffered was attributed by pagans to Christianity as a punishment for the neglect of the old gods. Augustine deeply felt the challenge to his faith and devoted all the powers of his subtle genius to convincing the Roman world that such catastrophes did not for a moment impugn Christianity. For thirteen years he labored on his book whose 1200 pages dealt with everything from the first in to the best judgment Augustine maintained against the pagan charge that Rome was punished not for its new religion but for its continued sins under paganism. But his more substantial answer took the form of a philosophy of history an attempt to explain the events of recorded time on a universal principle. Here he appears as a political thinker taking for his main theme the contest between temporal and spiritual powers. There are two cities. The first city is the Civitat Dei or the 'City of God'. It is the divine city of the past, present and future worshipers of the one true god. This Heavenly City or Kingdom was founded by angels and its reflection is the holy Church, whose office was to realize that heavenly vision upon earth. The second is the Civitat Terrene or the Earthly City or Kingdom, also the city of man. Founded by the rebellion of Satan, the Earthly City is devoted to earthly affairs and joys. It is evil. The Earthly City is based on physical force, but the City of God is based on Divine Love. The City of Man is relative in importance, limited in scope, and transitory in nature, but the City of God is absolute in power, unlimited in scope, and permanent in nature, a city that enables man to attain higher knowledge and become perfect. Not until the Last Judgment will the two cities be totally separated. "With this book," (the Civitat Dei), says Will Durant, "paganism as a philosophy ceased to be and Christianity as a philosophy began. It was the first definitive formulation of the medieval mind." The book became the basis of Catholic theology and formulated the dominant political theory of the Middle Ages. It was the first effort to propose the relationship between Church and State. The Catholic Church would eventually weave out of Augustine's theories the doctrines of a theocratic state, of the subordination of secular authority to spiritual authority.

The City of God controlled Catholic historiography ever since it was written. It put God in history, declaring that God ruled human affairs. Augustine represented the historical process as a struggle between good and evil, virtue and vice, the divine and the demonic, theocratic and

secular. He saw history, sacred or salvation history, as conforming to a divine plan. The Graeco-Roman humanistic idea made man the wise architect of his own fortunes. But Christian faction based itself on human insufficiency, and held that man's unaided intellect and efforts cannot plan and achieve ends without divine grace. Human action is blind, a blindness derived from man's original sin. The human achievements are not due to forces of human will and intellect, but due to God's grace. God plans human actions and causes them to be executed. Such a view of history, placing God at the center of human affairs, is variously called sacred history, salvation history, providential history, or patristic history. This view of history governed Europe throughout the Middle Ages in the City of God, observes Herbert Butterfield, we the Augustine arguing his way out of a cyclic view of history. He cannot allow that everything that happens will go on repeating endlessly through time.

ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE (1889-1975)

Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975) Arnold Joseph Toynbee was born in London in 1889. After graduating from Balliol College, Oxford, he held many posts until in 1925 he became Director Studies at the Royal Institute of International Studies, London, where he worked for full thirty years. Toynbee died in York, England, in October, 1975. Besides his master work, *A Study of History*, Toynbee published numerous smaller works of which *Civilization on Trial* and *The World and the West* sparked widespread debate. Some of his other publications are *Nationality and War*, *Greek Historical Thought*, *East to West: A Journey Round the World*, *Hellenism: A History of a Civilization*, *Autobiography*, and the year-by-year *Survey of Inter-National Affairs* which are good accounts of contemporary history. The last of this prolific output was *Mankind and Mother Earth*.

Nature and Method of theme of the Work

Following Spengler's, *The Decline of the West*, was another work of its kind, Toynbee's ten-volume *A Study of History*, appearing between 1934 and 1961. It is the most ambitious project in historical synthesis ever attempted by a single author. As Arthur Marwick writes, the immense scope and lofty aims of the work make it a meta history. The writing of meta history seeking laws and patterns of historical development and human destiny belongs to the positivistic traditions of the nineteenth century. Spengler's a priori, mechanistic and fatalistic model did not appeal to the British philosopher-historian; he chose the empirical and inductive method in the best British tradition. The procedure is systematic comparisons of twenty-one

civilizations since, for our author, the intelligible units of historical study are not nations or periods, but societies or civilizations. Toynbee's realization that civilization was threatened after 1914 raised in his mind the problem of its origin and development. Why did some civilizations thrive while others, no less advantaged, fail the specific theme of Toynbee's work investigation into is thus the origin, growth and breakdown of civilizations The monumental study put forward a philosophy of history based forward a philosophy on an analysis of the cyclical development and decline of civilizations .Civilizations are a recent phenomenon in human existence, in human history. The "Unity of Civilization' and the 'Unity of History are misconceptions. Civilizations, for Toynbee, have only one point in common-they are a separate category from primitive societies. He likewise dismisses the idea that there is only one civilization, namely, the Western, as also the 'Diffusionist' theory that all civilizations had their origin in Egypt. He charts the rise and fall of twenty-one Civilizations' or 'Societies' in six thousand years of history. Of these, fifteen are 'apparent' or affiliated to older or predecessor cultures of the same species, while the Egyptian, the Sumerian, the Minoan, the Sinic, the Mayan and the Andean have emerged directly from primitive life. Again, some civilizations like the Egyptian, Babylonian and Minoan, are dead; others like Polynesian. Eskimo and Nomad, are arrested; while some the Western Christian, Orthodox Christian, Islamic, Hindu and Far Eastern –are still alive

Genesis of Civilizations

Toynbee asserts that the genesis of civilizations the transition from a primitive or static to a dynamic society owes neither to the race factor nor to the geographical environment as such. Civilization arises from the specific combination of two conditions the presence of a creative minority, an elite, and an environment neither too favorable as to lead to lethargy and indolence, nor too unfavorable as to negate the necessary impulse to strive for progress. Given these, creation is an outcome of an encounter and genesis is a product of interaction, At this point Toynbee introduces his famous theory of challenge and response, the mechanism by which civilization is produced. All civilizations, according to Toynbee, have emerged from the interplay of challenges and successful responses to them. Challenge means a problem which a society confronts; response is the solution that it offers. Civilization rises when a society successfully responds through its creative minority to each of the series of challenges it confronts. A challenge may be presented by a profound physical change as the progressive desiccation of the Afrasian grasslands in which only one part of the inhabitants those who retired

to the marshes and the jungles of the Nile Delta were able to evolve the Egyptian civilization, by successfully draining the marshes and clearing the jungles. All other civilizations are likewise civilizations that respond to challenges. Challenge and response of history

Growth of Civilizations

It is wrong to imagine, Toynbee cautions us, that once a civilization is brought into existence, its growth would be a matter of course certain civilizations which achieved existence did not grow. They are cases of arrested civilizations such as the Polynesian, Eskimo. Those Nomad ways of life. Growth occurs when a response to a particular challenge is not only successful in itself but provokes a further challenge which again meets with a successful response. The Hellenic society, for example, had successfully met the challenge of chaos by settling down in cities rather than in villages. But the very success of the response exposed the Greeks to a second, this time, Malthusian challenge of over-population. The challenge was met by expansion into a Magna Graecia, i.e., colonization around the eastern Mediterranean. But the expansion was stopped by non-Hellenic peoples and the problem of over-population still remained. In the case of Athens, the required response was made by Athenian statesmen who averted a social revolution by carrying through an economic and political revolution (the Solonian revolution). Now Toynbee argues that for the growth of a civilization, there must be what Bergson calls an vital, a creative minority, to carry that civilization from its birth through a series of challenges and successful responses. The growth of a civilization is to be measured by its progress towards self-determination. This consists of a process defined by Toynbee as 'ether realization', which means progressive simplification of techniques-for example, as telegraphy with wires is replaced by telegraphy without wires. All growth originates with creative individuals or creative minorities. The action of the creative individual is a two-fold motion of Withdrawal and Return-withdrawal for the purpose of enlightenment, return for the task of self-enlightening fellow men. The process is shown in practical action in the lives of great Pioneers St. Paul, St. Benedict, St. Gregory the Great, the Buddha, Muhammad, Dante. The law of Withdrawal and Return is true of creative minorities also. Toynbee cites the example of the behavior of the Athenians in the crisis into which Hellenic society had been thrown by the growth of population. When all Greece went on colonizing for two centuries, Athens hung back only to return as the leader of Greece in challenging the Persian empire. Italy had likewise drawn into herself for about two and a half centuries from the middle of the thirteenth to the end

of the fifteenth only to equip herself spiritually to lead Europe in the Renaissance movement.

Decay or Break down of Civilizations

On Toynbee's showing, all except the Western civilization have either broken down completely or have shown signs of breakdown. He dismisses all deterministic explanations of the phenomenon of breakdown and rejects the economic interpretations of the decay of the ancient world. Breakdowns of civilizations come by what is false within, by an inner malaise, by a process of suicide, when creative minorities exchange persuasion by compulsion and become 'dominant' minorities. Then the mass of the people alienated and mindless proletariat breaks out from the control of its guiding minority in a catastrophic schism and the society (civilization), losing the capacity for self-determination, enters on the road to disintegration. Some of the ways in which the tragedy of suicide or of the loss of the capacity for self-determination presents itself are: (a) the nemesis of creativity of which a notorious example is the error of the Jews in idolizing their spiritual growth of discovering monotheism which persuaded them to believe that they were God's Chosen People. The same nemesis of creativity could be seen in the Hellenistic idolization of the city-state, and Athens' idolization of itself as 'the education of Hellas'; (b) militarism whose tragic irony is well expressed in the saying. Those who take the sword shall perish with the sword. Militaristic Assyria had been committing slow suicide and had become a corpse in the armor' by the time Media and Babylonia, struck their final blow (614-610 BC), intoxication of victory of which an extra ordinarily instructive example is the fall of the Hildebrand In Church with its ideal of a Christian Republic.

The disintegration period would be characterized by Schism in the Body Social and in the soul. The Schism in the Body Social shows itself in the presence of dominant minorities (militarists, legalists, administrators, philosophers), internal proletariats (religions like Christianity and Mahayanist), and external proletariats (barbarian invaders). The Schism in the Soul would be characterized by certain ways of feeling, behavior and life, such as abandon and self-control, sense of drift and the sense of sin, the sense of promiscuity issuing in vulgarity and barbarism in manners and art, confusion in language, syncretism in religion, archaism, futurism, detachment, and so on. In the disintegration stage, creative individuals appear as saviors of the disintegrating society. The Savior with the sword establishes a universal state, but all the works others word proves ephemeral

A Study of History: Criticism and Assessment

Arthur Marwick writes: "Toynbee has been acclaimed by the reading public and denigrated by professional historians. In general, there is professional agreement that whatever Toynbee has written in *A Study of History*, it is not history. "Despite Toynbee's constantly repeated claim that his methods are desively empirical and inductive had then fact, a priori. First abolishing an a priori system, he made the facts fit. History is judged by means of certain general categories like interregnum or time of troubles, internal and external proletariats and Universal state universal Church; and general concepts like kinship and affiliation, challenge and response, and withdrawal-and-return. This owes partly to the fact that *A Study of History* is, as Collingwood informs us, a restatement of nineteenth century historical positivism in that its principles sense are derived from the methodology of the natural sciences. Toynbee's general conception of history is ultimately naturalistic-regarding the life of a society as a natural and not a mental life. The historian is the intelligent spectator of history in the same way in which the theist is the intelligent spectator of nature. By reason of this positivistic stance Toynbee never reaches the conception of post trial knowledge as the reenactment of the past in the historian's mind. History "is converted into nature, and the par instead of living in the present, as it does in history, is conceived as a dead past, as it is in nature. He fails to see that the historian is an integral element of the process of history itself, reviving in him the experiences of which he achieves historical knowledge Professor AL Rows sees in Toynbee's great work a sociological schematics which does harm to the rich unpredictable variety of history. He goes on to say that Toynbee imposes his pattern upon the subject, seeks to be a prophet and provides answers to contemporary problems. But this is neither the province nor the function of history. It is contrary to the nature of history to impose a thesis upon the facts. Thesis history, Rows categorically states, is false history.

Theodicy, rather than a history

H.E. Barnes writes: "Toynbee's suggestive program of comparing the rise and fall of civilizations was ruined by his extreme theological premises which made his work a theodicy, rather than a history. His philosophy of history seems to be no more than the glorification of God and the higher religion. Great moments in history were to him not when empires were built or inventions took place, but those when great religions were born. If the first three volumes depict the rise and fall of civilizations as history pure and simple, the later volumes, especially those

written after the Second World War, portray the cycles of social advance as informed by god's purposes and are marked by a kind of messianic revivalism. Of the creative individuals who are born into disintegrating societies to save them, Jesus alone has conquered death for he is God incarnate in Man! Toynbee seems to hold that civilizations are largely evolved by spiritual forces and that the eventual culmination of history will be the Kingdom of God. Many critics complained that his conclusions were those of a Christian moralist rather than a historian. In fact Toynbee's very thesis statements have been questioned. It is inconceivable for him that a civilization changes into new forms while still remaining itself. If a civilization ceases to be itself and a new one only be do civilizations the self and new not what they only change before their apparent dissolution. How then have, we come to alphabet, the various techniques of control over physical nature, and the arts and the sciences long after the best creators have gone! The heritage of culture is transmitted, it may change in form but not wholly in essence, Civilizations do not experience birth or death.

Determinism

In a debate broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Toynbee refuted the charge of determinism leveled against him by the Dutch historian Pieter Gayle. The fate of human civilizations, he pointed out, is determined by the manner of the challenge posed, and the response is not predetermined. Man has his freedom of will, freedom of choice. Finally, Toynbee's conclusions cannot claim universal applicability. By the time of his death in 1975 none of the central contentions of *A Study of History* was still credible among professional historians.

Merits

Criticism notwithstanding, the merits of Toynbee's great study should not pass unnoticed. A great labour of scholarship, one is astounded by the incredible mass of erudition contained in it. Its workmanship, readability and even poetic quality have been admitted by all. Fritz Stern writes: The scholar boggles at it and sees the unsoundness of it, but he must also reckon with the reasons for Toynbee's success, and in passing he might be grateful that it was Toynbee, rather than another philosopher-prophet with less gentle philosophical commitments, who erected the most popular postwar system. Toynbee's monumental *Study* broke most sharply with the tradition of a Eurocentric historiography. The manner in which he achieved a truly universal history in the place of a narrowly Western-oriented history is all the more significant in the

context of the rise to power of the nations of the underdeveloped parts of the world after the Second World War. Analyzing an impressive array of civilizations from the Polynesian to the Andean, and from the Egyptian and the Babylonian to the modern Western Christian, the British meta historian triumphed over many a limitation of the conventional historian and captured the imagination of the reading public. The Study is a healthy counterpoise to the excessive specializing tendency of modern historical research. Finally, Toynbee's comparative study of civilizations can help men appreciate one another's histories and to see in them a common achievement and common possession of the whole human race. Arthur Marwick correctly assesses Toynbee's work in the following words: We do not have to swallow whole the entire mystical apparatus of the Toynbee system; but we can perhaps agree that, in such deceptively simple notions as challenge and response, Toynbee has in fact made a very genuine contribution towards our understanding of the past. Toynbee is perhaps a great poet, and a not-so-great historian; but in the mansion of history there are many chambers. It is as helpful to say that Toynbee 'is not a historian' as it is to say that Carlyle is not a historian no less no more

E.H. Hobsbawm (b.1917)

The best-known Marxist historian of his generation, Eric Hobsbawm taught history at the Birkbeck College, London, from Hobs class took the interest 1947 found the future of the working class took him to the study of the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the British working class it was followed by the study of the upper working aristocracy of labour. He did not reflect poverty glorify working class culture seeing under oppression. Hobsbawm founder member of Past and Present.

"Hobsbawm 'General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century' is an essay on what the author believes to be "the last phase of the general transition from a feudal to a capitalist economy. Hobsbawm three works proclaim his special interest in the people': Primitive Rebels: Studies of Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century's (1959), Laboring Men (1964) which is a work about the 'working classes as such and Captain Swing (1969), a collaborative work with George Rude, which rescues the great and moving story of England's last agrarian rising of 1830 from oblivion. And Marwick attests that no textbook is a more flawless example of total history than Hobsbawm The Age of Revolution 1789-1848 (1962).

E.P. Thompson (b. 1917)

The works of Edward Palmer Thompson, Britain's leading Marxist historian of the post-war era, have aroused both intense admiration and vigorous criticism. Thompson thinks historical knowledge to be provisional, incomplete and approximate, yet he is determined to write history from the 'bottom up' and rescue the laboring poor "from the enormous condescension of posterity. Thus, came many stimulating and challenging writings about class. Consciousness, class struggle and class formation; about the law as an ideological weapon in the hands of the ruling class; and about the motives of the poor who took direct action to protect their concept of justice and rights. Thompson's perceptive imagination has led to a number of original insights into the lives of ordinary people

The Making of the English Working-Class

Thompson achieved world fame with his *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). The central thesis of the eight-hundred-page book is the growth of a, specifically working Class, our author insists, is not 'structure' nor a 'category' but a theoretical phenomenon which actually happens or human relationships: "when some men as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as among themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs Thompson devoted considerable attention to the impact of growth of agrarian and industrial capitalism in terms of the social, moral and cultural experience of the poor. Where economic historians were content to assess the quantitative gains of the Industrial Revolution, Thompson sensitively explores the qualitative losses. It is "neither poverty nor disease but work itself which casts the blackest shadow over the years of the Industrial Revolution. The great French historian Elie Halévy's celebrated thesis had asserted that the spread of Methodism had saved England from revolution in the early nineteenth century. In a far more subtle analysis Thompson brought out another historical nuance of the Methodist movement: Methodism could act both as an agent of the status quo, and as an agent of inspired political protest. Marwick comments that *The Making of the English Working Class* is a true work of historical revisionism bringing into proper perspective the aspirations and conscious efforts of working people, too often treated by other historians as an inert and faceless mass, passive to the central forces of history. Thompson's abiding interest in 'the people' found institutional expression in the Center for the Study of Social History launched at the University of Warwick. Here he promoted a whole new

approach to the study 'from below' of earlier British society particularly in the matter of crime and law enforcement. Thompson's critics have pointed out that he is not always rigorous in his scrutiny of evidence, that he relies too much on inferences, conjectures and hearsay, that some of his arguments go beyond what his evidence will bear, that his view of class is subjective, and that he both reads the present into the past and uses historical examples to inspire contemporary struggles

FERNAND BRAUDEL

In Fernand Braudel (1902) a protégé of Lucien Febvre the Annals vision of total History came to realization. Bloch and Febvre had written such history for only parts of the past but Braudel's venture of recapturing human life in all its variety proceeded in his masterpiece, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949). A classic, it is the greatest historical work of the twentieth century which instantly author to the top of the French historical profession. The Mediterranean was written in twenty years including the Second World War years which Braudel had to spend in a German prison camp. Already when first published is sought a massive work containing 600,000 words in 1949, it has subsequently been to be an answer to fragmentation of history. James A. Henrietta aptly describes the Mediterranean comprehensive, multi-dimensional cubist portrait of the society.

Influences behind the Mediterranean

The post-war Annals historians always acknowledged a debt to Febvre and Bloch. "What I owe to the Annals, to their teaching and inspiration," wrote Braudel "constitutes the greatest of my debts. In its ideas and plan of construction, the Mediterranean owed much directly to Febvre's *The Earth and Human Evolution* and *Philip II and Franche-Comte*. Starting from the physical environment, the three works move on to economic and social structures and ends with a narrative of events. It was to Febvre, his mentor, that Braudel dedicated his magnum opus with "the affection of a son" And of Bloch, Braudel said, "I think I can honestly say that no aspect of his thought is foreign to me." The two were alike in their concern with long-term historical trends and in their love of comparative history. The sociologist Emile Durkheim's idea of the superficiality of the history of events and the human geographer de Blache's social and historical geography were common sources of influence and inspiration for Febvre, Bloch and Braudel. And from Jules Michelet, the French master, the historian of the Mediterranean learned to indulge his gift for poetic images, and to write of regions as if they were persons.

Sources

The Mediterranean is written on such an immense scale that it is idle to expect the same kind and quality of documentation (in the traditional sense) for the whole. Peter Burke writes that "a large part of the work of the greatest historian of our time is based on secondary sources. It is not in finding evidences but using evidences that Braudel excels." Part Three, the most convention of the great work, is solidly based on documents from the archives of Rome, Genoa, Florence, Paris, and above all from Simancas, where the Spanish state papers are kept Part Two according to Burke, is simply illustrated from archive material, while the main source for the geohistorical of the Mediterranean (Part One) is the landscape itself. View of Time and of Historical Change Braudel is a problem-oriented historian in line with the Annals conception. The Mediterranean had as its guiding principle a new conception of time, and of historical change in relation to space. The author makes the reader conscious of the impact of space by "making the sea itself the hero of his epic," and also by repeatedly reminding him of the importance of distance, of communications, in an age when many goods travelled at the pace of mules and it often took two weeks to sail from Marseilles to Algiers. But it is in the treatment of time that Braudel is most original. He argued that historical time is multi-layered, each layer having its own pace or rate at which change occurs in its various phases. His conviction that historical time does not move at a uniform speed is expressed in its division into long-term, medium-term, and the short-term: "geographical time, social time, and individual time."⁸⁵ Braudel organized his immense work into three such time-layers or phases, each layer or phase typifying a particular approach to historical delineation. In such a Mold of space and time, Braudel tries to see things whole on a global scale, and crossing the disciplinary frontiers, integrates the geographical, economic, political and the cultural into a total history'.

Part One of the Mediterranean, which is the bottom layer of Braudel's three-phased history, spans the immense, timeless phase of human interaction with the natural world. What the author provides here is what he himself calls 'geohistorical' a kind of historical geography devoted to mountains and plains, islands and coastline, climate, land routes and sea routes. Here, man is in intimate relationship with the earth which bears and feeds him. At this level, which Braudel calls *la long durée* (the long run or the long-term), time is almost stationary or moves at the slowest pace. because distance was a reality and communications difficult. This bottom level has a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to his

environment, imperceptible which all change is slow, a constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles. In this span of longest duration, the historian needs the perspective of centuries in order to discern any change at all.

In Part Two of the Mediterranean, Braudel distinguishes an intermediate pace of change which he calls the time of conjectures (conjunctures). This is the medium-term or time taken by the broader movements of economies, social structures, political institutions, civilizations and forms of war, which constitute the subject matter of this second phase. Here the duration is that of cyclical movements in prices and wages the rhythms and phases of demographic, technological and social change; and the trends and tendencies of trade and exchange. Such phases last for five, ten, twenty, perhaps fifty years. Changes in this phase of structures have to be studied in terms of structural changes in other departments of life. Changes in the policy of Spain, for example, need for their proper understanding, changes in the government's financial resources.

Part Three of the Mediterranean is concerned, following the traditional pattern, with 'events, politics and people'. These take the shortest time span. This is the time sector of political events in history as we understand them, and of individual actors in their various engagements, the fast-moving time of micro-history and the usual concerns of the traditional historian. A fine piece of traditional political and military history of the Mediterranean area in the age of Philip II, Part Three is a substantial work in its own right. The key to the whole work lies in the hierarchy of relationships between the three time-layers. The collective destinies and general trends of the second (middle) layer operate within the context set by geography and the ever-recurring cycles. The individual actions and political events which form the top layer, operate within the constraints established in the bottom and middle layers. Braudel believed that this decisive reversal of priorities based on a pluralistic view of time, the slow-paced history of structures in particular, was capable of making a vital contribution to social theory

Relative Unimportance of Events and Individuals

In Braudel's multi-dimensional history events and individual suffer, so to say, a diminution of stature. In Part Three of the Mediterranean, dealing with events, politics and people, the author places both individuals and events in a wider consensus with the of revealing their fundamental lack of importance relative so de of environmental factors. The history of events, although the richest in human interest," is also the most superficial. They "surface

disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history c on their strong backs. As with events, so witch individual particularly great men behind whose inspiration, choice a determination are forces which are separate from them but which fashion what they do. Real history escapes those who fill recognize these structural forces which fashion the actions of great men. The failure of Don Garcia de Toledo, Philip IT's naval commander in the Mediterranean, and his slowness of action against the Turks, according to Braudel, must be seen in terms of the very difficult environmental conditions in which he had to operate. Don John of Austria, the victor of the naval bared of Lepanto, was the instrument of destiny', in the sense that his victory depended on factors which he did not know about. The great battle of Lepanto which the Christians greeted as a glorious victory was, for Braudel, an example of the limitations of the history of events, the Christian victory could not destroy the roots of Turkish power which went deep into the surrounding land masses.

A Criticism of the Mediterranean

The frightening immensity of the Mediterranean makes one feed that 'total history' is impossible beyond the local levels, for example, in Laurie's The Peasants of the Languedoc. Braudel's overarching plan and its execution did not fail to invite criticism.

Neglect of the People as Negation of Historical Process

A serious drawback of Braudel's great history is its comparative neglect of the people. The American humanist-socialist historians Eugene and Elizabeth Genovese find fault with Braudel for failing to allot the people their correct place in his history, and making geography - the Mediterranean region itself its crucial True to the Annals tradition which had never taken political history seriously, Braudel gives to the Mediterranean a Mold which, if anything, is not political. Although Part Three of the Mediterranean deals with political events, and Part Two contain chapters on empires, the author chose not to give political events their due importance. Indeed, historians of the traditional stamp criticized the Mediterranean as history with the politics left out. The neglect of politics in a history which claimed to be "total" is open to question.

Dethronement of the Individual

The dethronement of politics and of events from their place of importance in Braudel's history meant the dethronement of political and military leaders from their place of eminence. If individuals and events are incapable of breaking the structures that constrain them, how can the structures themselves change Some historians are highly suspicious of Braudel's concern with

'collective destinies and general trends' which they see as impersonal forces producing an almost inhuman history. As John Eliot once put it, Braudel's Mediterranean is a world 'unresponsive to human control. Just how important are individual decisions or events? This, of course, is one of the oldest debates in the history of history, the debate between those who believe that men make their own history and those who think that fortune or providence or climate or economic trends play a greater role.

Absence of Link between the Three Layers of Time

In Braudel's history we often fail to see a link between the three-tier conception of time. Braudel himself believed that geo-history, social history, and the history of events are all so causally linked that at any given moment we should be able to see them operating. Simultaneously. But the references in part Three of the Mediterranean to the constraints under which individuals like Do Garcia de Toledo operated do not conclusively prove the point in all other cases. In Le Roy Laurie's *The Peasants of the Languid* we see the way in which the peasants became conscious of the constraints and rebelled against them. Says Peter Burke: "Such link between structures and events can be found for one social group in one region; it may be asking too much to expect anything comparable in a history of the whole Mediterranean world

Neglect of Mentalities

Again, Part Two of the Mediterranean is criticized for its relative neglect of a favorite Annales area of study-collective mentalities or beliefs, attitudes and values of past ages. Braudel is a brilliant historian of material culture, but despite his commitment to total history', he has, unlike Febvre and Bloch, little to say about non-material aspects of human life even in the chapter entitled 'Civilizations'. Beliefs did matter in the age of Philip II, but we do not know from Braudel's work whether, for example, Catholic and Muslim beliefs interacted. Social anthropologists have discovered that the concept of honors is a dominant part of the value system in Algeria as in Spain, in Sicilian and Turkish villages .Static GeohistoryTheThe great trouble Braudel took with geographical history did not save Part One of the Mediterranean from criticism. An anonymous reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement wrote of insufficient attention paid to animals and plants and their effects on the human and natural environment. Instead of giving us a more dynamic Eco history, what Braudel has given us is static geo-history. Determinism Again, the exaggeration of environmental constraints on human life exposes the

Mediterranean to the charge of determinism, of "reducing men to inevitable defeat in their natural world. " This environmental determinism is different from the economic determinism of the Marxists. Like Febvre and Bloch, Braudel is unwilling to assert the predominance of the economic factor even in the long term. Like them, he sees the action of economy, political and cultural factors. However the Annals group shares the Marxists interest in structures and the desire to penetrate the surface of events in search of an underlying historical reality. Braudel fails to offer an alternative conception of historical change to Marx and his work cannot claim to have the dynamism of Marx's base superstructure philosophy.

The Impact of Braudel's Mediterranean Third Generation Annalists

Braudel owed much to the inspiration and example of the but generation of Annals historians, Febvre and Bloch, on his Mediterranean made a powerful contribution to the rise of a new bud of history associated with the third generation of Annals historians. Peter Burke writes that from the 1950s onwards, an increasing number of French historians turned under this influence from political to social history, and from a preoccupation with events to a concern for structures. That influence can also be seen in the way their works pass from a geographical setting to economic and social structures, and end with a study of conjectures, that is, wends over time, usually of a hundred years or more. Outside France, Braudel has led many in Italy, Spain, Poland, Britain and the United States to look at the past in a different way and to interest themselves in his methods. Yet, third generation Anna linter also lamed from criticisms levelled against Braudel's tonality approach that it could possibly not be achieved on such a scale as the Mediterranean world. For this reason, they developed, with the exception of Channu, a micro-history approach to the study of regions. Again, they made inroads into using quantitative techniques besides developing the history of collective mentalities begun by Febvre and Bloch.

Edward Hallett Carr

EH Carr was born in 1892 and educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He joined the Foreign Office in 1916, and, after numerous jobs in and connected with the F.O. at home and abroad, he resigned in 1936, and became Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. He was Assistant Editor of The Times from 1941 a, 1946, Tutor in Politics at Balliol College, Oxford, from 1953 to 1955, and became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1955. Among his many publications are: The Romantic Exiles, The Twenty Year's Crisis 1919-1939, Conditions

of Peace, The Soviet Impact on the Western World, The New Society (1951). The first six volumes of his large-scale History of Soviet Russia have been published in Pelicans, including the Bolshevik Revolution, The Interregnum, and two volumes of Socialism in One Country. Professor Carr's most recent book, a collection of essays, is 1917: Before and After WHAT IS HISTORY? Lest anyone think the question meaningless or superfluous, I will take as my text two passages relating respectively to the first and second incarnations of the Cambridge Modern History. Here is Acton in his report of October 1896 to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press on the work which he had undertaken to edit: It is a unique opportunity of recording, in the way most useful to the greatest number, the fullness of the knowledge which the nineteenth century is about to bequeath.... By the judicious division of labour, we should be able to do it, and to bring home to every man the last document, and the ripest conclusions of international research. Ultimate history we cannot have in this generation; . The Positivists, anxious to stake out their claim for history as a science, contributed the weight of their influence to this cult of facts. First ascertain the facts, said the Positivists, then draw your conclusions from them. In Great Britain, this view of history fitted in perfectly with the empiricist addition which was the dominant strain in British philosophy from Locke to Bertrand Russell. The empirical theory of knowledge presupposes a complete separation between subject and object. Facts, like sense-impressions, impinge on the observer from outside and are independent of his consciousness. The process of reception is passive: having received the data, he then acts on them. The Oxford Shorter English Dictionary, a useful but tendentious work of the empirical school, clearly marks the separateness of the two processes by defining a fact as 'a datum of experience as distinct from conclusions'. This is what may be called the common-sense view of history. History consists of a corpus of ascertained facts. The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fish monger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him. Acton, whose culinary tastes were austere, wanted them served plain. In his letter of instructions to contributors to the first Cambridge Modern History he announced the requirement 'that our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, German and Dutch alike; that nobody can tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down the pen and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison it up!' Even Sir George Clark critical as he was of Acton's attitude, himself contrasted the "hard core of facts in

history with the 'surrounding pulp of disputable interpretation' - forgetting perhaps that the pulpy part of the fruit is more rewarding than the hard core. First get your facts straight, then plunge at your peril into the shifting sands of interpretation that is the ultimate wisdom of the empirical, common-sense school of history. It recalls the favourite dictum of the great liberal journalist C. P. Scott: 'Facts are sacred, opinion is free.'

History, and show the point we have reached on the road from one to the other, now that all information is within reach, and every problem has become capable of solution.' And almost exactly sixty years later Professor Sir George Clark, in his general introduction to the second Cambridge Modern History, commented on this belief of Acton and his collaborators that it would one day be possible to produce 'ultimate history', and went on: Historians of a later generation do not look forward to any such prospect. They expect their work to be superseded again and again. They consider that knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, has been 'processed' by them, and therefore cannot consist of elemental and impersonal atoms which nothing can alter.... The exploration seems to be endless, and some impatient scholars take refuge in skepticism, or at least in the doctrine that, since all historical judgments involve persons and points of view, one is as good as another and there is no 'objective' historical truth. Where the pundits contradict each other so flagrantly, the held is open to inquiry. It sufficiently up-to-date to recognize that anything written in the 1890s must be nonsense. But not yet advanced enough to be committed to the view that anything written in the 1950s necessarily makes sense. Indeed, it may already have occurred to you that this inquiry is liable to stray into something even broader than the nature of history. The clash between Acton and Sir George Clark is a reflection of the change in our total outlook on society over the interval between these two pronouncements. Acton speaks out of the positive belief, the clear-eyed self-confidence, of the later Victorian age Sir George Clark echoes the bewilderment sad distracted skepticism of the beat generation. When we attempt to answer the question 'What is history?' our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live. It had no fear that my subject may. On closer inspection, seem trivial to have broached a question so vast and so important. The nineteenth century was a great age for facts. , said Mr. Grad grind in Ward Times, 'is Facts.... Facts alone are wanted in life. Nineteenth-century historians on the whole agreed with him. When Ranke in the 1830s, in legitimate protest against moralizing

history, remarked that the task of the historian was 'simply to show how it really was very profound aphorism had an astonishing success. Three generations of German, British, and even French historians marched into battle intoning the magic words 'Wieu eigendich gewesen' like an incantation - designed, like most incantations, to save them from the tiresome obligation to think for scandalous for a creed, no matter whether it is Catholic or Protestant, to place its salvation above the integrity of the nation." It was extremely difficult for a nineteenth-century liberal historian, brought up to believe that it is right and praiseworthy to kill in defence of one's country, but wicked and wrong-headed to kill in defence of one's religion, to enter into the state of mind of those who fought the Thirty Years War. This difficulty is particularly acute in the held in which I am now working. Much of what has been written. in English speaking countries in the last ten years about the Soviet Union, and in the Soviet Union about the English-speaking countries, has been vitiated by this inability to achieve even the most elementary measure of imaginative understanding of what goes on in the mind of the other party, so that the words and actions of the other are always made to appear malign, senseless, or hypocritical. History cannot be written unless the historian can achieve some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing great Whig historian George Otto Trevelyan, to Macaulay, incomparably the greatest of the Whig historians. Trevelyan's finest and most mature work, *England under Queen Anne*, was written against that background, and will yield its full meaning and significance to the reader only when read against that background. The author, indeed, leaves the reader with no excuse for failing to do so. For, if following the technique of connoisseurs of detective novels, you read the end first, you will find on the last few pages of the third volume the best summary known to me of what is nowadays called the Whig interpretation of history; and you will see that what Trevelyan is trying to do is to investigate the origin and development of the Whig tradition, and to root it fairly and squarely in the years after the death of its founder, William III. Although this is not, perhaps, the only conceivable interpretation of the events of Queen Anne's reign, it is a valid and, in Trevelyan's hands, a fruitful interpretation. But, in order to appreciate it at its' full value, you have to understand what the historian is doing. For if, as Collingwood says, the historian must re-enact in thought what has gone on in the mind of his *dramatis personae*, so the reader in his turn must re-enact what goes on in the mind of the historian. Study the historian before you start to study the facts. This is, after all, not very abstruse. It is what is already done by the intelligent undergraduate who, when recommended to read a work by that great scholar

Jones of St Jude's, goes round to a friend at St Jude's to ask what sort of chap Jones is, and what bees he has in his bonnet. When you read a work of history, always listen out for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or your historian is a dull dog. The first point the facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation. Indeed, if, standing Sir George Clark on his head, were to call history 'a hard core of interpretation surrounded by a pulp of disputable facts', my statement would, no doubt, be one-sided and misleading, but no more so. Venture to think, then the original dictum. The second point is the more familiar one of the historian's needs of imaginative understanding for the minds of the people with whom he is dealing, for the thought behind their acts: I say imaginative understanding', not 'sympathy', lest sympathy should be supposed to imply agreement. The nineteenth century was weak in medieval history. because it was too much repelled by the superstitious beliefs of the Middle Ages, and by the barbarities which they inspired, to have any imaginative understanding of medieval people. Or take Burckhardt's censorious remark about the Thirty Years War. The third point is that we can view the past, and achieve our understanding of the past, only through the eyes of the present. The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human existence. The very words which he uses words like democracy, empire, war, revolution - have current connotations from which he cannot divorce them. Ancient historians have taken to using words like polls and plebs in the original, just in order to show that they have not fallen into this trap. This does not help them. They, too, live in the present, and cannot cheat themselves into the past by using unfamiliar or obsolete words, any more than they would become better Greek or Roman historians if they delivered their lectures in a chillums et a toga. The names by which successive French historians have described the Parisian crowds which played so prominent a role in the French revolution is all, for those who know the rules of the game, manifestos of a political affiliation and of a particular interpretation. Yet the historian is obliged to choose: the use of language- forbids him to be neutral. Nor is it a matter of words alone. Over the past hundred years the changed balance of power in Europe has reversed the attitude of British historians to Frederick the Great. The

changed balance of power within the Christian churches between Catholicism and Protestantism has profoundly altered their attitude to such figures as Loyola, Luther, and Cromwell. It requires only a superficial knowledge of the work of French historians of the last forty years on the French revolution to recognize how deeply it has been affected by the Russian revolution of 1917- The historian belongs not to the past but to the present. Professor Trevor-Roper tells us that the historian 'ought to love the past'. This is a dubious injunction. To love the past may easily be an expression of the nostalgic romanticism of old men and old societies, a symptom of loss of faith and interest in the present or future