

HISTORIOGRAPHY, CONCEPTS & METHODS

B.A. (History) – First Year

Paper –I

Paper Code: BAHS1911



PONDICHERRY UNIVERSITY

(A Central University)

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

R.V. Nagar, Kalapet, Puducherry – 605 014

Advisory Committee

1. Prof. Gurmeet Singh
Vice-Chancellor,
Pondicherry University
2. Prof. Rajeev Jain
OSD, C&CR,
Pondicherry University
3. Prof. C.K. Ramaiah
Director,
Directorate of Distance Education
Pondicherry University

Review Committee

1. Prof. C.K. Ramaiah
Director, DDE
Pondicherry University
2. Prof. N.Chandramouli
Programme Coordinator
Department of History
Pondicherry University

Course Writer

Dr.Paokholal Haokip,
Assistant Professor, Department of History
Pondicherry University, Pondicherry 605 014

Academic Support Committee

1. Dr. A. Punitha
Asst. Professor, DDE
Pondicherry University
2. Dr V. Umasri
Asst. Professor, DDE
Pondicherry University
3. Dr. Sk. Md. Nizamuddin
Asst. Professor, DDE
Pondicherry University

Administrative Support Committee

1. Lt Cdr Raj Kumar
Deputy Registrar,
Directorate of Distance Education
Pondicherry University
2. Dr. Arvind Gupta
Asst. Director,
Directorate of Distance Education
Pondicherry University

Copyright

This book may not be duplicated in any way without the written consent of the Pondicherry University except in the form of brief excerpts or quotations for the purpose of review.

The information contained herein is for the personal use of the DDE students, Pondicherry University and may not be incorporated in any commercial programs, other books, databases, or any kind of software without the written consent of the author. Making copies of this book or any portion, for any purpose other than your own is a violation of copyright laws. The author has put his best efforts in preparing this book and believe that the content is reliable and correct to the best of his knowledge.

B.A.HISTORY-SYLLABUS

Papercode: BAHS 1911

PAPER - I

HISTORIOGRAPHY, CONCEPTS &METHODS

Unit 1: Nature and Scope of History: Definition and meaning of History - Nature of historical knowledge – History and other disciplines: Archaeology, Geography, Anthropology, Sociology and Literature.

Unit 2: Historiography: Greco-Roman traditions - Chinese traditions – Ancient Indian traditions - medieval Historiography – Western, Arabic, Persian - Enlightenment Historiography - Marxist and Annals.

Unit 3: Approaches to History - Theological - Orientalist - Imperialist - Nationalist - Marxist – Subaltern and Post-Modernist.

Unit 4: Varieties of History - Economic History - New Social History – Intellectual History – Cultural History – Oral history - Environmental History.

Unit 5: Historical Method - Historical Evidence - Causation - Objectivity - Generalisation in History.

CONTENTS

Unit – I:

1. Nature and Scope of History1

Unit – II:

2. Historiography.....49

Unit – III:

3. Approaches to History.....139

Unit – IV:

4. Varieties of History169

Unit – V:

5. Historical Method201

UNIT - I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF HISTORY

1.1 Objectives

This Self Learning Material (SLM) for the undergraduate course in History Unit 1 (one) is designed to explain History's basic concepts, uses, and importance to all learners. The students, after going through this material, can understand the following objectives without any difficulties, that

- History is a subject well-grounded in philosophy. It has its own methodology, like the natural sciences and allied discipline.
- The whole concept of History and its application.
- Still, at the same time, it also requires the students to make a concerted effort to read it as prospective historians or enthusiasts so that they can be good scholars of History, i.e. how historians could be able to explore the past not by mere conjecturing but with a curious mind and contrasting all the sources, both primary and secondary.

1.2. Introduction

It is needless to repeat, but to make the learners understand the term history, we need to look at the etymological derivation of History. The word history is derived from the Greek word *historia*, i.e. inquiries. Therefore, History is to explore and inquire to solve the existing problem based on the past but not necessarily telling a dream or a story. History is a human activity following rigorous methods and principles, empowered to make choices in the language they use. History incorporates the activities of historians that focus on research activities which are the produces that today's researchers consult; these activities, apart from the production of the research, include the dissemination of information through teaching and learning methods; the communication of historical knowledge follows this through various means in terms of

repositories, libraries most notably in the 21st centuries as digital libraries and internet archives. However, in the late fifteenth century, the restriction to the meaning pertaining to the record of past events and how Herodotus used it began to be in vogue. Encyclopedia Britannica defines History in the broader sense and refers to “all that has happened, not merely all the phenomena of human life, but also includes those of the natural world”.

1.3. Definition and Meaning of History

Let us now examine the definition of History given by various historians. History can be defined as the most complex, inclusive, and multi-faceted social science. The most significant hurdles in explaining the term history arise because people, both present and past, have different preconceptions about what exactly is/was History. To put it in a proper context, let us take a few examples of how various historians used the term history.

The first and foremost that comes to mind is Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who wrote History to describe his travels and observations in the fifth century BC. It has been preserved down to the present, designating the genre he established. Herodotus is said to have drawn his inspiration and traditions set forth by Homer’s epic poetry and also the logographers; in the process, he also added to the narrative the criteria of truth and eyewitness testimony (autopsia) as well as utility, which is considered a path-breaking system of writing during his time. This is how History as a discipline slowly and steadily transformed in the initial stage.

The second historical account worthy of mention here is Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian* war, based on his personal experiences during military adventures and political experiences. Thucydides treated the conflict between the Athenians in terms of its material causes.

Polybius, like Thucydides, also limited himself to a history of actual events, which is considered a pragmatic history.

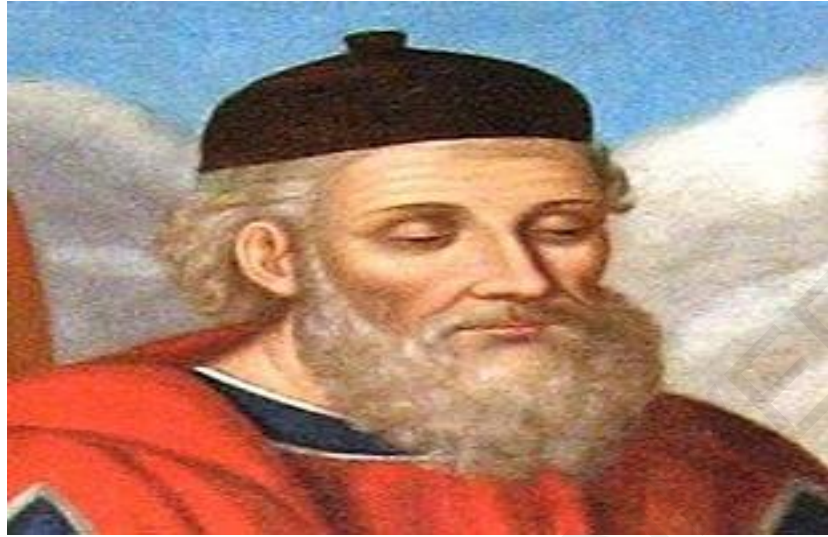


Figure 1:Diodorus

In his *Historical Library*, Diodorus of Sicily gives an account of world history (*koina historia*) from mythical origins down to Caesar's Gallic war. His focus on the practical utility of History in geohistory, mythology and the cultures of Assyria, India, Ethiopia and Greece was well appreciated.



Figure 2:Dionysius

Dionysius, a contemporary of Diodorus, also led in the earliest legends of Rome. *Ammianus Marcellinus's Rerum gestarum libri*, considered the last central historical information of the late Roman Empire, is also considered significantly important. It is a clear, lucid and comprehensively non-biased or objective account of events. Hence considered one of the essential tools in understanding the history of the Roman world during the fourth century.

1.3.1. Why Should We Study History?

The necessities and importance of studying History are crucial to any ordinary people and professional ones. Trained historians here means trained in historical methods and are experts in examining and interpreting the trajectories of historical progress regarding human activities and transformations that a society undergoes over a while. Historians need to unravel these transformations as to how humans have experienced divergent growth through various cultural institution practices and temporal and spiritual spaces. Taking into account all these factors, the adequately trained historians use all the sources available to him, ranging from primary, secondary and contemporary sources, to weave different aspects of life, be it an individual or social level, that eventually put the narrative into critical perspectives the past present and attempts to look even beyond future. Thus the importance of studying history squarely lies in one ability to grasp the complex situation and a state of quandary by first trying to unravel how the past has shaped the global connections that can help one to understand the global interactions, which will eventually be able to positions to see patterns that are seemingly invisible in the present – thereby providing concrete and comprehensible perspective that unravel and subsequently applied to the contemporary and future problems. To quote Tony Judt, *Reappraisal: reflection on the forgotten twentieth century*. Who fervently argued and advocated for the study of History to provide a context against contemporary political challenges might appear more intelligible, which is relevant in the present context.

Now let us address another question, i.e. Is History a necessity?

The answer is, Yes, of course, History is a necessity. The reason is that any individual, community, society, or nation could barely exist if all past knowledge were not retained or memorized. These narratives stored in memory are passed on to the next generation through individuals from time to time. Although there might be interpolations since it is passed on orally sometimes, one might find it difficult to relate to other communities or societies nearby. This might sometimes create a situation where people who are disinterested in history and the future generations would undoubtedly feel insecure.



Figure 3:Eric Hobsbawm

According to Judt, studying History will help us understand the perennial complexity of our current social, political, cultural, ethical, and ideological dilemmas. Eric Hobsbawm (2002), *in interesting times: a twentieth-century life*, has also argued that “most historians, including all good ones, know that in investigating the past, even in the remotest past, they are also thinking and expressing an opinion in terms of and about the present and its concerns. Understanding history is as important for the citizen as for experts”. So taking a cue from the duo, a proper understanding and study of history would be able to read between the lines as such, That Hindsight should not be allowed to hound history, nor you should not prosecute the past in the light of the present. I personally believe that although we cannot predict the future, a proper understanding of History will certainly help influence the future.

Thus studying history will certainly familiarise us with the customs, thought processes and standards of all societies surrounding us. The activities of Historians are compared to that of a scientist who will explore and dig up to build and sanitize upon the discoveries of their predecessors. New evidence is incorporated, new techniques utilized, and new approaches to help them refine the existing belief that corrects if not rejects the existing interpretations, which eventually reaffirms the position that Historians' duties are not just to tell the History of the past is much more complex and challenging.

1.4. Nature of historical knowledge & scope of history

The genre of Historiography is vast and includes other disciplines such as philology, geography, and political science. Moreover, History has been under debate and subject to constant review, scrutiny and challenge by or under different schools of thought; the scope of History often expands and accommodates different views. Let us cite an example to contextualise our current discussion topic. For Instance, According to Donald Kelly and Bonnie G . Smith, Aristotle's Politics presented a developmental scheme of which Polybius's cyclical view was derivative, as are many other modern versions. Likewise, Geography, one of the disciplines that inspired most early historians, was surveyed by Strabo in its link with History and myth. So the scope of History has been altered as the research goes on.

In the same way, History was also defined in relation to literary fields, including poetry, rhetoric, philology, and philosophy and such connections were established after the renaissance. Renaissance made a profound impact and controlled the contours of scientific History. This period is said to have seen the liberation of History from theological and moral angles, hence the secularization and the scientific temperament. Subsequently, the beginning of the critical approach and the veracity of any historical events have been cross-examined, which eventually widened the scope.

Now it appears that all historians define History in their way, and an attempt was made to diversify, but that is well within defined methods. R.G.Collingwood, for

instance, argued that St. Augustine viewed the History of Rome from the point of an early Christian phenomenon. This is implicit in that Certain socio-political and environmental factors often influence historians' definition of History. Lord Acton conceived history as the developmental process toward human freedom and liberty and further opines that the remarkable phase in human history is not necessarily when conquest and empires are achieved but when the idea of freedom was discernible. In his observation of the significance of liberty, Acton opines that the Roman Empire declined because of the absence of space and the new era in French History was turned on by the French revolution.

An eminent historian like A.L Rowse says, "History is essentially the record of the lives of men societies in their geographical and physical environments. Their social and cultural environments or backgrounds arise from the interactions with the society and conditions by geographical conditions". This essentially means that Rowse has left room for all these things and has given them their appropriate place; the reason is that each biography indeed contains historical events; therefore, it requires a proper methodical examination in terms of a periodical explanation, a transition stage that needs to be studied carefully and followed by careful interpretation in a broad spectrum. Thus a proper combination of or marrying the duo, i.e. History and biography, with a critical analysis and proper narratives, he certainly put the historical enquiry within the parameters of historical methods.

In his seminal work, *Outline of a Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind*, Condorcet conceives and opines that "scientific and technological advances will contribute fundamentally to the progress of the human race". In other words, "the progress of the sciences secures the progress of the art of instruction, which again accelerates in its turn that of the sciences, the action of which is continuously increased and led to the improvement of the human race". This, according to Condorcet, is the fundamentals of education that reveal the development of History, the process that leads humanity from barbarism to enlightenment.



Figure 4:Edward Gibbon

For Gibbon, the scope of History is more or less the same as envisaged by Thucydides: “Wars, and the administration of public affairs, he wrote in the preface to his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88), ‘are the principal subjects of history’. However, Voltaire was credited with expanding the scope and nature of History in the realms of social and cultural affairs.



Figure 5:Voltaire



Figure 6: Benedetto Croce

Croce and Giambattista Vico, shared similar viewpoints regarding how and why philosophers should write History. Vico took a philological approach to universal History and true wisdom. His final expression comes in his seminal work *New Science* (1725), which traced humanity cyclically through the age of gods, heroes, and humanity, making his own History. This is called Vico's *Principia* of universal History.

Vico's cyclical theory of History that envisions the growth of civilization, followed by a relapse into barbarism and subsequent rejuvenation, is also interesting. In 1844, Marx argued that "Since, however, for socialist man, the whole of what is called world history is nothing but the creation of man by human labour, and the emergence of nature for man, he, therefore, has the evident and irrefutable proof of his self-creation, of his origins".

Thus, our discussion above squarely posits that Vico and Marx seemingly agreed on four principles related to the nature of History and its knowledge. These

principles served and explained the basis of their theories of historical development and disseminated their views of humans' past and future history.



Figure 7:William Dilthey

According to Dilthey, it is highly desirable to put the experiences of any individual within the limits and context of a socio-historical context; only then can a discursive analysis of the history of progress emerge or be deduced from the interaction or the nexus of relationship. This essentially means the focus is primarily to establish a sound theoretical and methods of enquiry that would lay the foundation of sciences for humankind, such as History, economics, and sociology, although distinguishable from but evenly as scientific as that physics and chemistry.

1.4.1. History and science

During nineteenth-century Germany, two different traditions of history writing were seen. *Antiquarianism* emphasises the databased retrieval of the past through the exploration and experimental investigation pertaining to material remains and those of

the *philosophical historians* who contemplate or hypothesize about historical trajectories. The champion of those historians who increasingly conceptualized the meaning of history while at the same time looking for authentic artefacts that could be used as evidence to build their narratives was none other than Leopold Von Ranke, who was credited with developing the modern historical method and as the fathers of modern history. He was a historian who justifiably emphasised the importance of the use of primary data such as archives and advocated the uses-for the benefit of all available evidence should be studied- encouraged source criticism as methodological norms and stressed the purpose of History is to give it to the audience what actually occurred or happened(*wie es eigentlich gewesen*) and deterred if not admonished an expression of the personal views of the historians while writing History.



Figure 8: Ranke

Therefore, the Rankean tradition profoundly influenced historical research in the 20th century because it was incorporated, and its influence was tremendously felt after it came into contact with empiricism and realist theorists, albeit being criticised for overemphasizing the diplomatic and political History while ignoring the social consequences.

On the other hand, natural science emphasising the scientific method, the critical role of empirical observation, and the idea that laws govern the natural world

profoundly influenced historians of the 19th century. Three main methodological approaches conceive History as a science. *Rankean traditional school of History*: emphasize the use of rigorous methodology and empirical observation. The *positivist paradigm* and *Marxism* underline the existence of discoverable universal laws.

1.4.1.1. Impact of modern science on the scope and nature of history

The growth of modern science profoundly impacted the progress and development of the scope and nature of History. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the natural sciences' methodology was also extended to the realm of the social-historical disciplines. For example, we have seen how Descartes wanted to adopt geometry methods while exploring the philosophy model. In the same way, Kant took the model of mathematical science seriously to look for philosophical vindication and elucidation, if not a justification of their legitimacy. His effort to explain the conditions of pure knowledge and its limits was exemplified in his *Critique of Pure Reason*.



Figure 9: Rene Descarte

The fundamental difference in understanding of what 'science' means from the Anglophone world *Wissenschaft(en)*, i.e. science(s) that essentially means any scholarship that follows a systematic methodology is, therefore, considered 'scientific' *Geisteswissenschaft* or human sciences and that of *Naturwissenschaft* or natural

sciences) both are sciences, but for Ranke, History is the sense of science (but not a natural science). Therefore, although History has a proper methodology, it is neither a pure/natural science in the strictest sense of the term.

From our discussion above, it is evident that; History is not only confined to the study of the past and interpretation of the records, be it ancient, medieval or Modern. Historians must be ready to study everything. For instance, all journalists, diplomats, and filmmakers have contributed to documenting History well within its methods.

1.4.1.2. Marx and History

Karl Marx, A nineteenth-century philosopher, thinker, revolutionaries, theorist and historian, influenced the world and impacted every society. His impressive qualities primarily arose from his attempt to understand human growth laws and explain society's progress. The first question regarding the theory of historical change was inspired by Hegel's dialectic model- "where the resolution of recurrent conflicts produces change and an improvement in societal arrangements, which ultimately leads to a linear pattern of improvement". The most notable quotation often cited for Marx was from his celebrated work, *The communist manifesto*, which states, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle"; therefore, Marx's philosophy of progress in History is best described below.



Figure 10: George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

Karl Marx believed that “the development of History is caused by the contradiction between the productive forces and the production relations of society”. He refers to the production by productive forces, and by production relations, Marx refers to class relations.

Secondly, his (Marx’s) analysis of History should be based on the division between the means and the relations of production. Both these combined the mode of production. For Marx, this mismatch between the (economic) base and social superstructure is a significant source of social dispute and disruption. Society will be stable whilst there is equilibrium between the social relations, the political system and the ideological superstructure on the one hand and the modes of production on the other. However, over time the productive forces begin to be held back from further development because they outperform social relations. In other words, the economic structure can no longer facilitate the development of the forces of production. This creates a tension that manifests as a conflict between different classes and distinct groups defined by their relations to the means of production and their place in the productive system. Then a situation arises, “if the conflict is resolved by revolution, then the previous economic structure will be replaced by one more suited to the development of the existing forces of production; as a result, property and social relations will also be transformed, and a new mode of production will be in force”.

(This section will be dealt in detail in unit 2).

1.4.1.3. Gender and History

The word gender was brought into academic discourse by feminists towards the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s. However, to put in historical perspectives, the diversification of the scope of History, it must be pointed out that although the Rankean paradigm has brought the scientific temperament of history at the same time, the criticism arising out of the Rankean model that laid overemphasis on political and diplomatic history has produced some form of History, i.e. History from below or people’s history that primarily focuses on ordinary individuals and less on great men.

that began to adopt different approaches to writing history and explanation of historical changes, i.e. the concern for people's who have often been excluded from History such as women, peasant working classes, ethnic minorities, poor etc.

We have three well-known schools that adopted the concept of History from below, i.e. Annales, postcolonial and the subaltern, all said to have branched off from the Marxist school of thought. The three schools mentioned above, including Gender and environmental history, all employed history from below incarnating a social science influence, a *constructionist history* that firmly believes in using theoretical concepts to interpret historical evidence and explain human society. They firmly believe that historians' task is not simply to chronicle the primary or essential events into a larger meta-narrative story. One among these is feminist and gender history.

This gender concept in history helped build women equal in the workplace, household etc. Since then, women have steadily occupied an independent individual's position but are still subject to men's domination. This bred new generations of feminist historians influenced by Marx or left-leaning, who felt that women and the family were simply cogs in the global capitalist system. Some left-leaning feminists even conceptualized the term "patriarchy - allegedly the system in which men dominate and exploit women, on the lines where Marxists often projected that capitalists are a system created to dominate, control, and exploit the workers. One of the outstanding critiques and perhaps most influential in this aspect is Simone de Beauvoir, whose *Le Deuxieme Sexe* (1948; *The Second Sex*, 1954) was the first and celebrated book to argue that "femininity is not biologically based but is socially constructed".

1.4.1.4. Feminism to Gender History

Feminist History emerged from the second wave of Feminism demanding equality in the 1960 & the '70s. They seek to democratize the historical discourse on gender equality. They wanted to decentred the importance of men or male-dominated History and rediscovered the participation of women in History. Later, the focus

moved beyond rediscovering women to the discourse on gender to understand power relations and how these relationships changed over time. Thus Feminist History has created an upheaval in how History was reconstructed over time, although some viewed it as subversive/provocative, essentialist and exclusionary.



Figure 11: Simone De Beauvoir

As mentioned above, Simone De Beauvoir's work was the disadvantaged historical experiences and account of women's position in a society that challenged the public-private dichotomy and the perspective of women as 'The other'. Biology cannot account for the ways how society treats men and women. Taking a cue from this view, Feminist scholars and activists have argued that women have been engaging with public discourse for centuries.

Joan Kelly, in her seminal work, *Does women have renaissance*(1977), opines that "events that further the historical development of men liberating them from natural, social or ideological constraints have quite different, even opposite effects upon women" she was the first to articulate the impact of the new exciting movement on women's history. Followed by Joan Wallach Scott's contributions using gender as a tool for discourse on historical reconstruction and analysis, it has been argued that

gender was being used in two ways as more respectable synonyms for women and designating social relations between men and women.

Gender history offered a means of bridging the gap by engendering women and recognising how gender is a critical bloc of power in a society that provides an essential understanding of how society is organized and structured. It is also concerned with problematising the methodologies, periodisation and meta-narratives. The Gender approach was diversified, and later on, some historians on gender started to go beyond this and investigate how gender and sexuality are constructed and have shaped the understanding of the past. Out of which emerged the queer history. The historical reconstruction of Gender or Feminist History was also marred by the idea of colour between black and white. The white feminist and gender historians find more visible platforms, and the black is marginalized.

Thus in our discussion concerning the gender-based scope of history, The entry of a reasonably large number of women in writing History was seen from the late 18th Century. The enlightenment period encouraged prominent women's historians such as Louis Dupin, Catherine Macaulay etc. Still, during the heyday of feminism and reform in the 1960s, women's History re-emerged with its complete professionalism. Therefore we can say that the professional historians of the 70s & the '80s are the product of the feminist movement. One of the most glaring examples is Joan Scott, who employed the methods and techniques developed by Claude Levi-Strauss, Jacques Lacan, Michael Foucault and Jacques Derrida. She claimed that using gender and other theories produced a New Critical history.

As History has taken a considerable transformation in terms of its professionalism, different branches as diverse from intellectual History to that History of science and environmental history, Global history began to emerge. Subsequently, as History began to be taught in the University as a professional discipline, other sub-branches or specialized History such as quantitative, econometric, and cliometric analysis methods in Economic History came to the fore.

Check your Progress

- 1) Discuss the concept of History from below and give suitable examples.

1.4.2. Nature of historical knowledge

The task of the Historians is often considered that they can write an objective truth about the past through a collection of materials and employing different methodologies to construct those events and show the people how diverse are peoples culturally in the present circumstance at one point in time practically one and how in the past they relate to each other. This brings us to the issue of empiricism, i.e. the concept and expression that knowledge of the past can be derived through practical experiences, i.e. the collection of sources. The empiricist holds fast to the belief that the accuracy of a piece of written History can be scrutinized by comparing and contrasting it to the past that it claims to have stood for or represents.

To explain the empiricist position clearer, let us quote C.Bean Mc Cullagh (1998), who succinctly puts it in his *the truth of History* that “The world exists and has existed independently of our perceptions about it- thus there is a clear divide between the knower –*historians*- and the known-*history*”. This relates to the empiricist claim that the past has a form of its own that is observable and verifiable and does not exist simply in a historian’s mind.

R.G. Collingwood’s definition of historical knowledge explains that “historical knowledge perse does not in itself differ from scientific knowledge. Collingwood states that historical knowledge and science emerged from a consistent and organised manner of inquiry and are both scientific. While at the same time, he also believed that historical knowledge possesses some distinguishing features from the rest, such as epistemology. Collingwood’s philosophy of History raised questions like: what are the suppositions that regulate the historical knowledge and discernment of the past beforehand? Furthermore, what would it mean if one had to understand the past historically? He addresses the epistemological issue, i.e. *The philosophical theory of knowledge*. While at the same time, understanding history would mean that history

needs to be written as it is to be, not in terms of looking at the past in the light of the present.

According to R.B.Smith, the study of or reconceptualising past events involves beyond just allowing a text to speak for itself. Therefore, Collingwood's position concerning historical knowledge is that everyone should actively engage with all the source materials, whether explicitly documented or in a vague form. This explains that historical knowledge is the product of the historian's own activity in 'the present.

Thus, history is a discipline that no one can ignore as it is one of the oldest and basic instincts of human beings who are always eager to know about is past. How to explain human agency and human experience in the past? Then undoubtedly, one is confronted with the question

- What is historical change, and what causes it?
- What constitutes the role of the historian in writing History? Should he morally and ethically judge the past?
- Should he be neutral and objective?
- Should he be allowed to measure the past against the values and norms of the present?
- Should he be allowed to prosecute the past in the light of the present?
- How do historians choose or select the material for their work?

These are the fundamental issues one must tackle, and the answer will emerge from a proper methodological approach but not a mere conjecture. For example, E.H.Carr, argues, "History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past. The chief function of historians is to master and understand the past as a key to understanding the present". Therefore, as we understood from the above analysis, so we can firmly posit that history has two main elements while decoding the past i.e

- *Events in Time and*
- *The recollection of these events in mind.*

Both are organically linked to constructing an objective History. For example, one must understand the evolution of the constitution of India. Several factors influenced and shaped India's civilizations, including Nationalism, the Freedom movement, etc., eventually raising the demand for sovereignty and owning the Constitution. The Constitution's First Draft was prepared in 1928 under the leadership of Motilal Nehru. However, the fact of the matter remains how its History is written. Is it through colonial experiences, or was it evolving over a period of time? However, until all the events and incidents are recollected in the minds of the historians, then a proper understanding of Indian constitutional History may be obsolete. So the truth of the events relating to the recollection of events entirely depends upon how the past events were recorded.

In other words, we can say that history can be an authentic record of facts only if the human mind can observe and record facts in how they occur. The reality, therefore, is the basis of historical facts; then, how do we approach facts? For instance, let us assume that three scholars wanted to study the History of a diamond, and the Diamond is placed on the table in an open space. The trio (the three scholars) comes early in the morning, noon and evening but may differ in their interpretations or appreciation of the diamond's beauty. This conflicting interpretation may have been conditioned by factors such as the sunrays or the weather. Therefore the so-called conflict that arises from understanding how beautiful the diamonds are can be called the historians' unwitting biased. The fact remains that diamond is a diamond; it is permanent and accessible to all. So history is a matter of selecting/choosing/rejecting and balancing a point or document. Thus all evidence of facts should rest in the end upon inference. This results in a proper understanding of events in time and a proper recollection of events in mind. If so, why did we fail to understand when the facts were put before in black and white, or Is there anything required beyond an ability to read? Yes, of course, there are two factors, i.e. all literate persons are not educated, and everything we read is conditioned or influenced by the present state of our mind and knowledge. As Shakespeare puts it

A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
Of him, that hears it, never on the tongue
Of him, that makes it.

Thus the mind of the hearer gives colour and form and life itself to the word shaping it into significance after its fashion and interpreting it to its existence. The historians then examine his documents in the light of his own knowledge and from the point of view of his own days. According to Goethe, “ Everyman hears only what he understands. So for a historian who examines facts critically so that he is free from the subjective bias or the present state of knowledge”, Truth in History seemingly does not depend entirely upon just a mere accuracy of documentary evidence but also upon how that evidence is examined. Thus the scientific methods in which historical evidence is cross-examined and by experiment, we can advance our understanding from less accurate to more authentic, which is an accumulative process. To put in the words of eminent economic historian Alexander Gerschenkron(1952), who stated that “Historical research consists essentially in application to empirical material of various sets of empirically derived hypothetical generalizations and in testing the closeness of the resulting fit, in the hope that in this way certain uniformities, certain typical situations, and certain typical relationships among individual factors in these situations can be ascertained”.

The following points can be summarized while addressing the question posed in our discussion:

- First, the task is not necessarily interested in giving conceptual clarification and understanding of events and circumstances of the past. This effort answers the questions that were put above, which means we need to reconstruct and analyse a complex and nuanced story from various historical sources. This may involve archaeological, Numismatics, literary and archival documents.

- Secondly, historians may address issues such as -” why” questions: Why did this event occur? This question is intended to invite the historian to explain the event or pattern they describe objectively. Should he morally judge the past? Or should he be neutral and objective? Should he be allowed to measure the past against the values and norms of the present? Or should he be allowed to prosecute the past in the light of the present? Thus, providing an accurate inference to the above questions demands an explanation or account for the causal relationship as to why this should have happened.
- Thirdly, the historians must also answer or address the question related to “how” these events occurred or happened. To answer such a question, the historian will be tasked upon the gigantic task of correlating many events, perhaps the possibility of the outcome of any unlikely events. In such circumstances, should historians rely on divine retribution? This is one of the most exciting questions of interdisciplinary explanation the historians will have to rely on to conceptualize, problematise, and contextualise the problem. Then, the answer to this type of question will be available.
- Fourth, over and above to the question of how, why and when, now the task of the historians is more challenging than we ever thought; they now need to piece and weave them together all the issues that we have addressed so far, which will eventually translate it into a readable text. This will certainly help the reader comprehend past historical events. Thus, historians need to carefully interpret individual pieces of evidence and coalesce all the available data into a coherent and objective story.

Therefore, the task of a historian is not just about telling a story, but rather it is to problematise the issue, and then the conceptual clarity would follow. He has to describe and contextualize in order to analyse, which is done by interpreting events

with proper historical methods. Their accounts are based on the available historical evidence, whether primary, secondary or contemporary. The explanations and interpretations demand a challenging task of testing hypotheses about all the events that he/she intended to document. Finally, the historian's task would have been said to be accomplished only if he can or can shed light on the past by detailing what, why, and how, based on inferences from the past data but not on mere conjecture.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the role of how, why and when in historical analysis.

1.4.2.1. Reformation and history



Figure 12: Martin Luther



Figure 13: John Calvin



Figure 14: Barthold George Niebuhr

The most remarkable feature of the Reformation and its contribution to historiography is that the protestant reformation also involved historical revisionism on an enormous scale. The Renaissance, too, had a profound impact on historical writing. In fact, led to a critical appraisal and who, when, how, why and what causes things to happen, or the religious and moral principles took back seat. The secular direction was brought to the forefront. Henceforth scholars began to adopt scientific and systematic study and recorded the events systematically. Here mention may be made of the contribution of Niebuhr and Ranke. The former was an eminent Protestant social reformer who developed Christian realism. As a result of his efforts, History became the object of method and attempted to transform it from an art into a science. The most remarkable effort was Jean Bodin's *Methods for the easy comprehension of History* (1566), which attempted to raise the study of History above all sciences and prepared the way for his *republic*, a treatise on modern absolute government and its institutions. His work on historical methodology was the first of many handbooks, such as those of Pierre Droit de Gaillard and Bartholomaes keckerman, Daniel Heinsius G.J.Vossius and Degory Where, down to the present time. At the same time, Henri Voisin De La Popeliniere wrote *the first History of history* (1599) from a poetic predecessor to sixteenth-century perfect History.

Check your progress

- 1) How far do you agree that Reformation paves the way for the secularization of History?

1.4.2.2. Power of History

History has often been the subject of debate regarding objectivity and subjective biases and is perhaps controversial. The only seeming solution to this controversy could be *IF* (because the word *if* holds a significant place while making any concluding assessment in any historical analysis). Historians should dissociate themselves from any subjective, ideological or political interest in their attempt to write History. Removing biases or a subjective approach is almost impossible

primarily because historians are biased either wittingly or unwittingly. Such issues are most notable in Cultural History, and perhaps the link between History and politics has always been made very clear under the Nazis and the Fascist European rule.

The power of history and how it was successfully utilised during the colonial period can be seen in the works of scholars such as. William B. Cohen(1970), in his seminal work “*The Colonized as Child: British and French Colonial Rule*”, explains how the colonial master from Europe considered the subjects in Asia and Africa as children whose mental, physical and psychological growth needed to be taken care of. The colonial administrator closely monitored and followed this policy that appears to have been patterned on the parents and children relationship in the family.



Figure 15: Leopold Sedar Senghor

The metaphor of the colonized as a child even came to the lips of some African politicians. In 1957 Leopold Sedar Senghor, one of the leading African leaders voiced self-rule for the French colonies. He states that usually in Africa, when a child grows and fits himself to settle, they have to leave their parents' house and set up a new hut nearby. This line of argument was also well-conceived by other colonial powers. For instance, a widely read textbook on Dutch East Indian history, published in 1919, argues that the idea of granting independence to the Netherland colony would be suicidal; the reason is if children who are not yet mature enough are allowed to fend

for themselves then it will be suicidal, so the colonial master has the moral responsibility to take care of the colonial subjects.

In the same way, History was used to justify the idea that British colonial rule was beneficial for India's common people. It brought civilization, good government, and efficient and competent administrators to a backwards and lethargic country. To justify this, they have contrasted British rule with pre-colonial India as inferior and despotic. For Instance, Sir William Jones, one of the famous Indologists, argued that Ancient India had a great civilization as ancient Greece. Still, it had declined during the time of Muslim rule, thus necessitating the protection and help of the British. Such was the power of history that a tiny island in the northwest of Europe owned almost 2/3rd of the whole world or the Anglophone. i.e. the British empire where the sun never set.

1.5.1. History and other Disciplines: Archaeology



Figure 16: Gordon V Childe

The etymological derivation of the word archaeology is from the Greek word *archaeos*, which means ancient, and *logos*, literally means Reason, discussion and reason. When we talk about archaeology, it is considered the A, B, and C of history for many of us. Yes, indeed, it is true. However, archaeology is also closely related to anthropology and sciences as well. According to Gordon V childe, “Archaeology studies all changes in the material world that are due to human action, naturally in so

far as they survive”. The fossilized results of human behaviour constitute the archaeological record. An archaeologist must reconstitute the behaviour as far as possible and recapture the thoughts expressed by the behaviour. In so far as he can do that, he becomes a historian. According to K.Rajan, retired Professor from the Department of History, Pondicherry University, Archaeology is a science involving the study and understanding of the human past through material remains, methodically and meticulously investigating to obtain a complete picture of human behavioural and cognitive systems to understand the cultural changes or processes. So, in a nutshell, we can define archaeology as a discipline concerned with identifying and interpreting physical traces left over by humans. A discipline detailing the life history of humans and a discipline that studies the cultures and their model of change to describe the causes and effects of the cultural processes.

1.5.1.1 Difference between History and Archaeology

The fundamental difference between archaeology and history is clear, but they are sometimes intertwined. While archaeology seeks the knowledge of the human past through material remains, History as a discipline seeks information through oral, written and transcribed records. Human history began 3(three) million years ago, but the written records appear about 5000 ago as per the old civilization based in Egypt, Iraq, India and China. However, in some parts of the world like Australia, written records seem to have appeared in 1788 C E. This reminds us that archaeologists and archaeological sources constitute a very specialized branch of History.

Thus the archaeologist goes beyond the period of a decoded textual document. They decoded the undeciphered scripts found on stone, papyrus, pottery and seal and showed them to a historian as a ready text. For instance, we have better understood Mauryan History, especially during the reign of Ashoka when James Prinsep decoded the Brahmi Script in 1837. The latest, perhaps most exciting discovery was the recovered several Brahmi inscribed potsherds from the archaeological excavation in Kodumanal in South India.

1.5.1.2. Archaeology and its application to history

Concerning its application to historical context is concerned, the first eminent archaeologist was none other than V Gordon Childe (1892-1957), who is credited for bringing a revolutionary pattern of European history due to his unflinching thirst for fieldwork during the 1920s. He achieved his stated objectives by successfully applying theory and synthesis, through which he eventually traced transformations concerning the evolution of human society. His most acclaimed works were disseminated extensively through two scholarly works: *Man Makes Himself* (1936) and *What Happened in History* (1942). Childe often adopted a Marxist approach; this manifested in his most outstanding concepts: the Neolithic Revolution and the Urban Revolution. These models eventually impact research scholars and intellectuals, considered the two most fundamental and far-reaching transformations in the human past. Childe argued that they give us valuable assets as long as they reflect and explain human cultures' nature. However, this process is neither a self-evident truth nor allows the material remains to speak for themselves. Therefore, they must follow proper methods and techniques such as identification, classification, ordering and proper dating, and finally, be interpreted. Above all, this requires the appropriate application of theory. This fractious issue has determined the emergence of archaeology as a scholarly discipline and has been responsible for struggles over its soul.

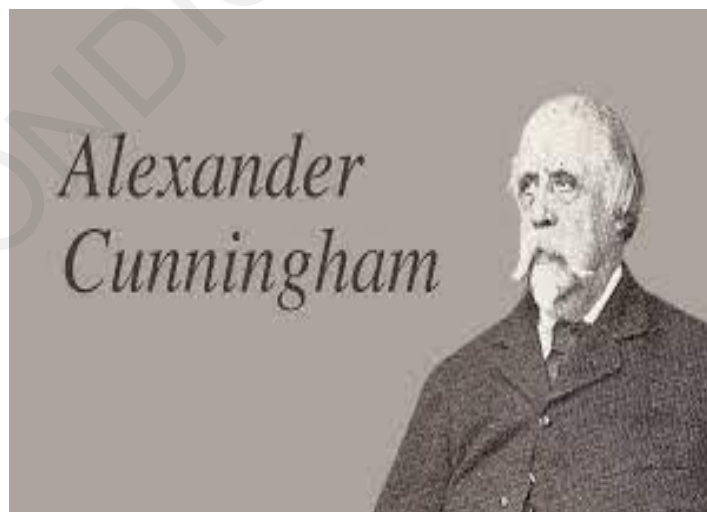


Figure 17: Alexander Cunningham

Some of the outstanding archaeologists during the colonial period in India are Colonel Meadows Taylor (1808–1876), Robert Foote (1834–1912) and Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893), none of whom were archaeologists by profession but combined an interest in India's past with their work as engineers, scientists and military men. Taylor combined an interest in archaeology with science, engineering, art and History studies. While serving as the political agent in Karnataka, he came across megalithic tombs, which, he surmised, were broadly similar to sites in Western Europe and therefore must have been built by Druids, who had migrated to India in ancient times. Such suspect reasoning, however, needs to be seen against genuine advances made by Taylor in the preparation of site maps, the use of the principle of stratification, and the careful drawing of artefacts and skeletal remains, which were years ahead of their time, later influencing the work of Pitt-Rivers and Mortimer Wheeler.

As a military engineer in India, Cunningham developed a lasting interest in archaeology. He approached the governor-general Lord Canning, who in 1861 agreed to set up the Archaeological Survey of India with Cunningham as its director. Cunningham travelled the whole of northern India, preparing detailed site maps and recording evidence of artefacts, including coins and inscriptions, providing the framework for the continued work of the Survey, which remains the leading authority of India's archaeological heritage.

The latest and most influential research in respect of archaeology evolved from a series of dualism approach developed by Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn in their edited book, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*. They are as follows:

- *Explanation vs Description*. Through the explicit use of theory, archaeologists need to Explain the past, not simply attempt to reconstruct it through the collection of materials.
- *Cultural Process vs Cultural History*. Instead of focusing on particular, geographically bound historical experiences, it was necessary to think of generalized cultural processes such as the emergence of farming.

- *Deductive vs Inductive Logic.* Archaeology should not resemble a jigsaw where the pieces are assembled and put together to reveal a picture. We need initially to formulate hypotheses and construct models to test the evidence.

Thus the general understanding of an ordinary man is that archaeologists went to the field to dig. After dating the material through C-14, *Archaeometry applies scientific techniques or methodologies to archaeology, such as radiocarbon dating, statistics, and remote sensing*; he made the material ready for the historian to corroborate with other secondary data; hence this is how history is written. Sometimes, the written documents are unintentionally biased; therefore, close coordination between history and archaeology is necessary to understand History better.

Check your progress

- 1) Define Historical Archaeology
- 2) Bring out the main difference between History and archaeology.

1.5.2. History and Geography

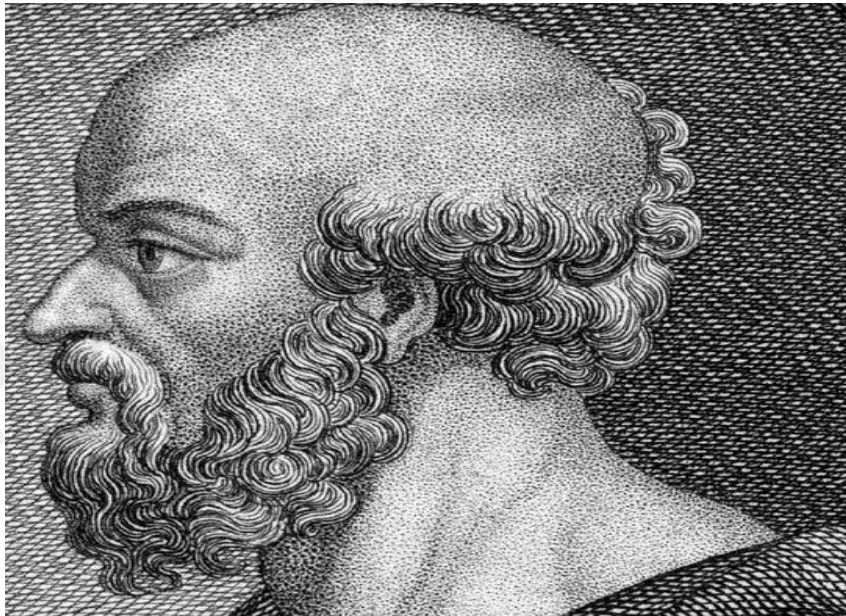


Figure 18: Eratosthenes

Eratosthenes, the earliest geographer during the ancient period of Cyrene, attempted to formulate geographical description's subject-related and methodology (geographia) in his Geographica. He also attempted to create the world map. Strabo and Ptolemy are two eminent personalities who followed Eratosthenes in this regard. The word geographia and geographein remained uncertain throughout History primarily because the terms refer to both the representation of the world and the description of the world in words. Now let us take a look at Strabo, who, in his Geographica, underlines the concept of the geography that primarily dealt with the *oikumene* (inhabited world). Strabo evaluated his predecessor's takes on the concept and definition of geography and lamented and accused them of being improporionately of mathematical-physical orientation. This mathematically oriented geographer wanted to understand his methodology and conception by comparing geography with chorography(*the mapping or describing a region or district*).

The other interesting feature of geography is also related to the orally and verbally disseminating of information about the experiences of voyagers and merchant navigators facilitated by the increase in knowledge due to the Greek imperial ambitions during the early historical periods. Vivid descriptions of the voyages around coastal cities in the Aegean and black seas were noteworthy. Mention may be made of Scylax of Caryanda, credited enormously to the exploration of literature. Then we also have the Ionian Hecataeus of Miletus, who contributed to the growth of historiography and geography. His works on Genealogies are credited with playing an important role, especially in the development of historiography. Mention may also be made of the periplus by an anonymous author who has well documented the historical, ethnographic, and geographic data is also one of the most outstanding works towards the development of historiography.



Figure 19: Scylax of Caryanda

The encyclopedia Britannica defines Historical geography as “the study of a place or region at a specific time or period in the past or the study of geographic change in an area or region over a period of time”. Thus the term Geography can best be defined as a discipline that tries to understand the earth's surface and its essential features, such as the inhabitants and their relation to the surrounding environment. The discipline has been instrumental in understanding the History of yesteryear and is said to have bridged the human and the physical science discipline. The discipline is divided broadly into two branches, i.e. physical and human. Physical geography studies events or circumstances related to the environment, such as climate, oceans, soils, etc. On the other hand, human geography examines the environment particularly. In addition to this, the branches of geography may be further divided into Social geography, regional geography, geomantic, and environmental geography.

Today, Modern geography is said to have included all the discipline that seeks to understand the Earth's relationship and interactions with human and natural resources and that attempt to examine how things have transformed and changed over a certain period. The discipline of geography is diversified to such an extent that it has encroached for good to the realm or domain of the Urban Planning board, geomagnetic and Planetology, etc. As a practitioner discipline, Geography also requires technologically advanced hi-fi and sci-fi, all weathered instruments to collect

data, such as remote sensing, aerial photography, statistics, and global positioning systems (GPS). Today, archaeologists, military personnel, spies, or any human being on earth considered GPS an indispensable part of their lives and subjects.

1.5.2.1. Boundaries and interdependence of History and Geography

To trace the relationship between the two disciplines, it is better to identify the boundaries and then relate the interdependence between History and Geography. Jan O. M. Broek opines that the discourse on the connections between history and geography should begin by defining the duo's discipline separately then the rest will gradually unfold. This means emphasising the differences in purpose and methods to delineate the duo's distinguishing characteristics. Indeed, History and geography are closely intertwined and support each other, and perhaps they resemble each other.

According to Kant, the only distinction between History and geography lies in the different angles of view of the world, namely, time and space. Even this distinction holds good only to a limited extent. Both disciplines, in fact, deal with social life, though striving to apprehend it by selective and simplifying procedures. Both are synthesizing sciences, each drawing its material from many other fields of knowledge. Most scholars of history and geography stand united in their scepticism of universal laws of social behaviour. Causality has only minimal validity; the explanation is usually limited to demonstrating the existence of relationships between different categories of facts. On these grounds, both have been denied time and again the status of natural science: It is hardly necessary to add that despite this, both will live on because of the deep-seated urge to understand the human scene, in terms of time as well as space, cannot be suppressed by dogmatic reasoning.

Therefore the most commonly accepted definition and differentiation of the two disciplines would be that while geography attempts to understand the differentiation of the earth's surface resulting from complex interactions of man and his environments, on the other hand, History is a science that documents the past evidence and analyses. The critical difference with the environmentalist school is that

modern geography has no preconceived notion concerning the role of physical factors. The natural milieu offers opportunities for man's habitat; in some zones (such as the polar regions and the arid lands), very restricted ones, in others, a far wider choice. Still, it depends on the human group how these potentialities will be used. This introduces the concept of the relativity of resources. An environmental element becomes a resource only when man recognizes it as applicable. In other words, not the natural environment but the human spirit is the dynamic factor, and resources are, therefore, a function of culture, often of the prevailing technology.

1.5.2.2. Application of geographical methods to History

Applying geographical methods or tools in understanding the concept of history is very complex but interesting. This is primarily true for those working on the urban landscape, urbanization, and imperial history mapping. This gives us the inferences that a history teacher uses to help the students form a mental picture of the place and landscape. One cannot teach a good History without Maps or geography without history. In other words, History and geography are complementary to each other. Thus we can say that it is impossible to teach proper History without a proper understanding of the geography of that particular region.

The most influential work where the connection between History and geography is best exemplified in the Annales School in France, in which historians have used and mapped the considerable influence of geography, environment etc. In his seminal work of History, Fernand Braudel attempted to understand how the course of events in the Mediterranean was influenced enormously by the region's geographies. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the time of Philip II was an outstanding testimony that traced the connections and interaction between various environmental factors, urban centres and trade, transport and demography, all in the domains of geography, through the concept of *La Longue durée* - long duration -, that is considered one of the most essential historiographical works of the first half of the

20th century, and a paradigm in historical research that continues to influence research all over the world.

1.5.2.3. Cartography

Cartography or mapmaking is derived from the Greek word *chartis*, i.e. map and *graphein*, i.e. write. Cartography can thus be defined as the study and practice of making representations of the Earth's surface. The discipline of cartography helps us better understand technical professionalism and how to show and convey information clearly and instantly.

From the above discussion, If using a map help the students to understand History better, i.e. to say History and geography become indispensable. However, without a proper understanding of Cartography, the importance of geography to History may still be incomplete. When Geography examines the distribution of various facts and phenomena on the earth's surface, cartography, in turn, applies the method of expression and communication of these facts and phenomena in terms of symbols and graphs.

1.5.2.4. Impact of Geography

Scholars in the realm of cartography and history have shown enormous enthusiasm in the works of ancient geographers such as Strabo and Ptolemy, which eventually led to defining moments in terms of inventing new technology and discovering more places. Portuguese and Spanish explorers and navigators were outstanding, ambitious, and highly commendable. The Portuguese conquest of Ceuta, settlement in Madeira and Sao tome and Principe paved the way for Bartholomew Diaz to move into the Cape of Good Hope in search of a sea route to India for want of Indian spices in 1488; ten years later, Vasco da Gama reached the shore of Malabar at Calicut. In 1492 Columbus set off westwards across the Atlantic to reach the prosperous empires in Asia. However, fortunately, or unfortunately, he reached the Caribbean and laid the foundation for distinguishing what is known as West Indies and the East. Soon after, Pedro Álvares Cabral, a Portuguese navigator and explorer,

accidentally discovered Brazil on his way to India. Finally, Magellan circumnavigated the world from 1519-21. These discoveries opened up the world to Europe, transforming its perception and History of the world.



Figure 20: Bartholomew Diaz



Figure 21: Vasco da Gama



Figure 22: Christopher Columbus



Figure 23: Pedro Alvares Cabral



Figure 24: Magellan

The era of geographical exploration is one of the most important testimonies of the concept of map-making, which makes the idea of the interdependence of History and geography(cartography) more exciting. Cartography became a matter of transcribing and measuring the visible world rather than a means of speculating on its nature, form and structure as it was considered previously. Now take, for example, during the 15th century, the History of the world was only in the self imagination, i.e. insular, self-enclosed, and surrounded by the dark, inhuman and unknowable void of the deep waters. It was not that the ocean was empirically unknown, but it was unknowable in principle. So the advancement of cartography resulted in a clear picture of the world and helped understand better historical research.

To put in the words of Jeremy black, who, in his seminal work *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (1997) argues that “maps to some of us are tools to be used; to others, they are works of art to be appreciated aesthetically. Increasingly, however, they are being deconstructed as value-laden texts that render ideologically-driven constructions of the world around us. No longer can we assume that they are unproblematic, objective, scientific statements of fact. For long, they were considered as yet another product of the Renaissance-Enlightenment project of observation, classification and explanation in the search for an objectively realized

truth”. That is, what Jeremy Black argued “by experiencing the world empirically, a complex reality could be rendered in humanly constructed numbers, words, taxonomies, sketches, photographs and maps. The map became this total scientific enterprise's facilitator, coordinator, and spatial container”.

Thus according to Black, “ The visual images -historical atlases- offer are influential in creating and sustaining notions of historical situations, and are particularly appropriate as a theme for inquiry given the recent stress on nations as imagined political communities, on the role of images as a means of creating perceptions of power and, more generally, on iconographic aspects of politics and cultural authority” and continues to argue that “Geography was and is more than a background or backdrop to historical events and processes. The nature of our understanding of space and spatial relationships is of consequence, and historical atlases provide a means for assessing how these have changed over time.”

Check your progress

- 1) Define cartography
- 2) Is Geography essential for colonial exploration? If so, how and why?

1.5.3. History and Anthropology

The word anthropology is etymologically derived from the Greek, i.e. *anthropos* (human) and *logos* (science). That essentially means anthropology attempts to study human beings by living with them with closed observation and finally produces scientific data about a human society called –ethnographic data. Although anthropology is mainly classified under two main headings, i.e. Physical and Cultural anthropology, several branches range from biological, archaeology, linguistic and cultural anthropology. In the words of Levi-Strauss, “it is the science of culture as seen from the outside. If the natives were to study themselves, they were said to produce a history of philology, not anthropology”.

Our concern is mainly if anthropology is the study of man, how does it relate to History, and how indispensable is the discipline to History? To explore this, we need to trace the genesis of the coordination between the two disciplines. Since the 1960s, historians have come to accept anthropological insights and theory in their works, following such works as Robert F. Berkhofer's (1969) *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis*. Thus Ethnohistory (*The History of cultures and their people's customs, esp. indigenous peoples' customs*), once the province of anthropologists, has now entered the mainstream of History in various works. One of those most likely to be familiar to anthropologists and undoubtedly worthy of study is *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (James Axtell 1981).

Examples of such fruitful works continue to multiply (ethnohistory and Historical Method, W. Raymond Wood) Alan Macfarlane (1977) while tracing how History and anthropology could benefit each other. Let us quote Marc Bloch, who once argued that the "good historian is like the giant of the fairy tale. He knows that wherever he catches the scent of human flesh, there his quarry lies" (Bloch, p. 26). A good anthropologist compares them to a cannibal. "What social science is properly about", urged Wright-Mills, "is the human variety, which consists of all the social worlds in which men have lived, are living, and might live" (Wright-Mills, p. 147). So this comparison might be the best paradigm in this section for us to understand the connection between History and anthropology best.

1.5.3.1. Development of anthropology as a professional discipline

The professional growth of Anthropology in terms of its intellectually and institutionally expansion is visible during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It indeed originated in the experience of European imperial expansion. In the article Anthropology and colonialism, Diane Lewis believed that anthropology as a discipline arose during European colonial explorations. In the process, the anthropologist merged with the colonial explorers and eventually worked with the colonial administrators. This was true for Indian experiences as well. The success of the East India Company in establishing a British Empire in India is primarily due to such adventures; for

instance, most of the writing by J.H.Hutton, Cunningham, and Robert Reid are noteworthy by virtue of being colonial officials. However, the first sign of convergence between the two disciplines began in the 1920s in France; in the interdisciplinary journal *anthropologie historique*, eminent historians like Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre combined ethnological, psychological, sociological, geographical and economic enquiry” which eventually bears fructified in term of the Annales School of thoughts. So the impact of Historical anthropology is evident in contemporary approaches to historical research and notions of tracing the past. It also diversified the scope of understanding historical reconstruction.

1.5.3.2. Bernard Cohn -1928–2003



Figure 25: Bernard Cohn

Bernard Cohn (1928–2003), a prominent face and authority in the Indian caste system, wrote “*History and anthropology: the state of play*”. The fundamental issue here is that the interdependence of the two disciplines is where the discursive analysis of history could be understood historically while interacting with anthropology and vice versa. John Adams also strongly recommended that historians adopt anthropology’s interest to be more sensitised to a historical method. This line of argument also found echoes in Peter Burke, a historian who is credited with a profound impact in the realm of historical anthropology has succinctly put forward the influence and utility of anthropological approaches to History by emphasizing several areas of impact:

Historical anthropology put more emphasises the use of imagery, symbolic meanings, and social and cultural processes over statistical and numerical data, which essentially emphasises qualitative over quantitative evidence. That means the quantitative approach is much more and dearly emphasised in the discipline of History. On the other hand, the quality of observation or evidence and its utility for historians, though considered minimal in history, is heavily emphasised by an anthropologist.

Thus, the above discourse on the connection between History and anthropology appears to have a meagre or scant commonality between History and anthropology. This primarily is deduced from the assumption that History examines and study the past, while anthropology deals with and lives with societies in the present. Perhaps there was more of a connection between the colonial master and anthropology as a discipline. This is true as understanding the colonial subject that emerged for the imperial powers was necessary. This will help them devise and design a strategy to control better how primitive societies operated.

In the twentieth century, the connection between History and anthropology got diversified. When Anthropologists steadily recognized the importance of providing historical context, historians also accepted the importance of incorporating anthropological methods in understanding History. This means that although the historians' interests might remain in the past, the importance of how anthropologists approached an understanding of ritual and symbolism that could be applied to the past might significantly alter the understanding of the past societies.

Check your progress

- 1) Bring out the role of anthropology in writing Ethno-History.

1.5.4. History and Sociology

Sociology is commonly defined as the scientific analysis of a social institution as a functioning whole and related to the rest of society. Auguste Comte coined the term sociology in 1838 from the Latin word *socius* (*companion, associate*) and Greek

logia (study of speech). In his attempt to unify the humanities studies, including the disciplines such as History, psychology, and economics, Comte argues that “all human life had passed through the same distinct historical stages. If one could grasp this progress, one could prescribe the remedies for social ills”.

According to Morris Ginsberg(2009), “In actual practice, the relation between history and sociology is very close. The sociologist of necessity derives his material from the data furnished by anthropology and History. On his side, the historian, however eager he may be to confine himself to a detailed and close narration of fact, cannot avoid reference to problems of causation or assumptions regarding human nature or the general course of human evolution, and so is a sociologist *malgré lui*(In spite of himself)”. However, we also have historians like George V. Below (1920), who do not concede a status for sociology as a discipline. Nevertheless, of late, almost all historians and sociologists alike have increasingly realised the close interrelationship between the duo and term it as *Hilfswissenschaften*(historical auxiliary sciences) to each other. But this does not deny that both disciplines have their charms and criticism. For instance, the scope of sociology, without any exaggeration, the sociologists themselves are not in complete unanimity.

So history and sociology are complementary in terms of their research on human society; they differ in their approach and methodology. For instance, a real sense of sociology is that some intellectuals discuss defining sociology as a discipline that talks about history without names of men, events, or people. In fact, positivist or positivism, it was impossible to separate the Philosophy of science from the History of science. This means that if you want to know science, you have to understand history or, in other words, until you understand history, you cannot learn science. To put in the words of an eminent historian, Toynbee, “Societies are the atoms of which history is composed, not individuals or nations but societies that form the components of histories”.

The functions of sociology may be deduced from the works of eminent sociologists such as Hobhouse, Westermarck, Max Weber, and Sombart as follows:

“First, It seeks to elaborate on a social morphology or classify the types and forms of social relationships.

Secondly, It tries to determine the relations between different aspects of social life, such as economic and political, moral and religious, intellectual and social elements.

Last, It endeavours to disentangle the fundamental conditions of social change and persistence, whether biological, psychological, or distinctively sociological, and to relate its empirical generalizations to the ultimate laws of life and mind”.

Check your progress

- 1) Is sociology less critical than History?

1.5.5. History and Literature

The connection between history and literature has been very close since time immemorial. However, the basic difference between the two disciplines is that history objectively examines and records past events, whereas literature imaginatively interprets historical events or daily happenings.

In ancient Greece and Rome, history and literature were recognized as exercises in rhetoric. Still, history was already thought to record actual events and actors, while literature dealt overwhelmingly with imaginary happenings. Aristotle made the classic distinction:

The distinction between the historian and the poet is not whether they give their accounts in verse or prose (for it would be possible for Herodotus’ work to be put into verses, and it would be no less a kind of History with verse than it is without verses). [No] the difference is this: the one tells what happened, the other the sorts of things that can happen. That is why poetry is a more speculative and more ‘serious’ business than History: poetry deals more with universals, History with particulars. (Aristotle, 1997, p. 81)

However, with the consolidation of the discipline of historiography and the rise of the novel, historians devoted themselves to recording things as they happened. At the same time, literature was seen increasingly as the province of authors exploring human fantasies and emotions. Using appropriate methodologies and sources, historians were concerned with events in the past that could be observed and proven, in contrast to novelists, playwrights and poets who conveyed a world of the imagination.

Given this distinction, historians rarely considered fiction a source of historical truth. Instead, when historians and historically minded literary theorists approached the novel, it was to understand the historical context of its production and reception. The literary text is often seen primarily as a mirror image or perhaps a trans-historical process or structure such as imperialism, capitalism, and colonialism. However, a path-breaking in interdependence has come after Harold Veaser's *The New Historicism* (1980). Which claims that since words are an intrinsic part of a culture, not free-floating or devoid of context, any literary work, any text, should be considered a creation of the time it was produced and consumed.

Thus contextualization, the lifeblood of the historian, became essential to literary analysis, which was to change academic studies and, more importantly (for our purposes), the research and writing of History. The New Historicists facilitated a renewed understanding of how 'History and culture define each other. The understanding and interpretation of texts were subject to the ever-altering preoccupations of the here and now.

Moreover, it was recognised that as texts and historical actors comingled and together produced cultural texts, they could not be studied outside culture. This sort of argument was supported by postmodernists like Alun Munslow, who argues cogently that History primarily traced its roots or is essentially a form of literature. That means historians do not resurrect the empirical reality of the past but rather gather and present evidential facts to endow them with coherence and meaning.

While some might devote themselves to discovering the facts as a means of revealing the truth about the past, what in effect they do is to aim to tell a story that plausibly explains what the evidence means:

“ .. the content of history, like that of literature, derives its meaning as much by the representation of that content as by research into the sources, tracing the causes and effects of events and the hidden but discoverable structure(s) of historical change. This approach maintains that history can only represent pastness rather than discovering the most likely meaning to the past by virtue of the evidence and its theoretical underpinnings. (Munslow, 2003, *The New History, History: Concepts, Theories and Practice* p. 6)

Our discussion above clearly shows that history is different from fiction. Historians rely above all on the collection of evidence. They provide reliable accounts of past events, while novelists spin tales based on their fertile imaginations. Except that many historians and literary theorists increasingly recognize that these distinctions do not bear scrutiny. This close relationship between history and literature can also be confirmed by eminent philosophers or historians such as Carlyle, who argues that the souls of the future live in books.

Sometimes it is also vital for a historian to read the text in the original language. Specific issues are lost in translation; what Science meant in Germany, French, and English might differ. Therefore, it is imperative for a historian specialising in Ancient India to learn Sanskrit, Prakrit and Brahmi to write and document good history in the same way a historian who wants to specialize in Medieval south Asia must know Persian or Urdu. Those specialising in modern must know or learn French, Portuguese or Spanish, and other regional languages specific to the region or areas concerned.

Although there is an intricate relationship between history and literature, it must be kept in mind that, Novelist over a period of time, has testified that in literature, once writing commences, characters and plot begin to take over, which deviates the novelist from its original plan .while on the other hand for historians. However, one

can not claim complete objectivity in his approach. The narratives and objective of the study are kept in tune with proper historical methods that are subjected to be devised and revised and tested intermittently to produce an objective account that incorporates a proper narrative, authentic analysis and perhaps a well-documented description of the past. This may best sum up how the duo is interconnected but differ in their approach and methods.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the difference between poetry and History.

1.5.6. Summary

we have defined the meaning and scope of history, and then we embark upon the idea of how the nature and extent of history have been constantly under review and criticism. After a critical analysis of history and its relation with other disciplines, we have understood archaeology and geography, looked into how the domain has been diversified over time and incorporated even the extent of Gender. So, in a nutshell, we can say that:

- Historians cannot consider themselves to possess creative genius, but all the materials are subjected to methodological examination and be tested.
- Historians should read history and allied discipline books for more authentic information and cross-check facts.
- The fundamental duty of historians is to contribute to knowledge about the past in an objective, accurate and well-documented manner. Accurate, well-substantiated through a proper methodology may sometimes be lacking in other disciplines.

Thus learning outcome of students after reading the above explanation can be judged on the following criteria as put forward by Arthur Marwick in the New nature of History:

First, it is clear that History is a scientific discipline that produces a corpus of past knowledge derived after being subjected to various methodological testing. This past knowledge is subject to challenges and reviews in the years after new evidence has been unearthed.

Second, a proper understanding concerning the problems of language as embodied historical concepts such as economy, culture, industrialisation, urbanisation, and class in a proper context of proper historical discourse.

Third, the aptitude and capability to formulate the value of the comparative method in History and apply that method in the research.

Fourth, The ability to put forward one own argument knowledgeably over the historical significance

Fifth, The idea of critical appraisal of sources is of utmost importance. The nuanced and complex understanding of historical events that everything is written about History is not of equal value, and much is written for reasons other than the advancement of historical knowledge.

Finally, Rankean idea of scientific history about the importance of primary data, especially archival sources, becomes relevant here because of the ability to carry out a primary research project where the evidence -Arranged in logical order- and the arguments advanced are considered well documented.

1.7. Self Assessment Question

- 1) Define History.
- 2) Can a historian claim to be 100 per cent objective?
- 3) Describe some commonly agreed-upon procedures for choosing a material in historical research.
- 4) Describe the critical role played by Geography in European colonial exploration.

- 5) What is the historical evidence?
- 6) Define the nature and scope of history.

1.8. References /Reading List

Antoinette Burton (1994) *Burden of History: British feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hills. University of North Carolina Press.

Bloch, Marc (1949) *The Historians Crafts*. New York: Knopf

Childe, V. Gordon (1956) *Piecing Together the Past. The Interpretation of Archaeological Data*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

E. H. Carr (2001) [1961] *what is History?* Penguin

Geoffrey Elton (2002) [1967] *The Practice of History*, CUP

Jeremy Black (1997) *Maps in History: Constructing Images of the Past*. Yale University Press.

Judt, Tony (2008). *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. Penguin Press.

Michael A Flower & John Marincola ed (2002) *Herodotus Histories Book IX*, CUP, Cambridge.

Niall Ferguson (ed.) (1997) *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* Basic Books Publications.

R. G. Collingwood (1961) *The Idea of History*. Oxford, OUP.

Ronald Mellor (1999) *The Roman Historians*. Routledge. London & New York.

Shafer, Robert Jones (1980) *A Guide to Historical Method*, The Dorsey Press.

Simon Hornblower (ed.) (1994) *Greek Historiography*. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

Thucydides: *The Peloponnesian War*, Translated by Walter Blanco and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts (1998). WW Norton and Co. New York.

UNIT - II

HISTORIOGRAPHY

2.1.Objectives

In this unit, i.e. Historiography, an attempt will be made to achieve the following objectives

- This unit will make the students understand the meaning of historiography and how different empires and kingdoms write history.
- This unit will also analyse to help the students understand and comprehend various trends of History writing from Greek to the Annales concept of total History
- The third objective would also attempt to compare and contrast various historical trends to discuss and understand the fundamental distinctions and similarities thoroughly.

2.2. Introduction

Historiography is a branch of study devoted explicitly to examining the various methodological tools historians employ in writing history. In the end, some commonly agreed on principles about writing history by deducing reasoning. Alternatively, Historiography refers to both the study of the methodology and theoretical approaches of historians more generally and how these have changed over time.

According to Carl Becker, The main objectives of historiography are to assess the value of historical works for us in terms of modern standards. That means historiography is intended to give scholars information about past histories and historians. Such manuals have high practical value that is indispensable to candidates for young scholars. From this manual information, he is supposed to learn what were the defect and limitations of his predecessors and the historical gap that needs to be bridged.

Based on the limitations from the manual of information, young scholars or historians have confidence in the value of their research that will eventually give them some form of authenticity.

2.3. Greco-Roman tradition

According to Felix Jacoby, Greek historiography, “since in antiquity, there was absolutely no independent science that exactly corresponded to our ‘History’, specifically dedicated to the research and narration of historical events of the past begins with Hekataios and his two works, the *Genealogies* and the *Journey around the World*, whose origin out of epic poetry is an uncontested and incontestable fact”. They replace Hesiodic’s epic poetry and form a stepping stone because of their scholarship in progress towards history writing. It was believed that before Hekataios, the idea of geographic-ethnographic narratives had already begun in Miletos. However, this seemingly does not translate in the form of literature in the true sense.

2.3.1. Homer, as the primogenitor of the Historian

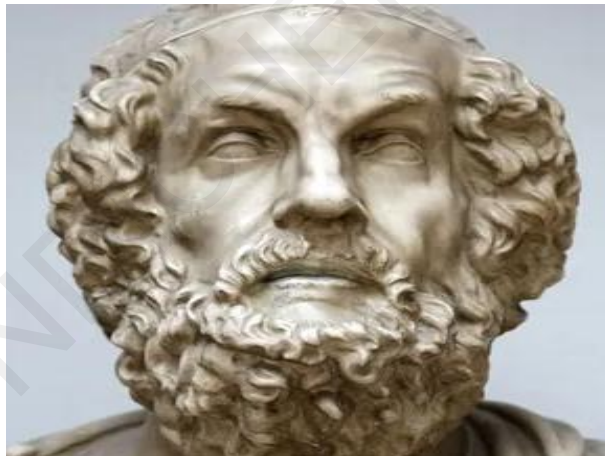


Figure 26: Homer

In history writing, the Greeks were the harbinger whose historical prose was preceded by a long tradition of epic poetry. Sometimes the narratives also say that Homer can be considered the historians’ true predecessor. The most famous works concerning these early narrations of stories were none other than *The Iliad* and *The*

Odyssey by Homer during the eighth century BCE. The *Iliad* narrated the story pertaining to the adventures of Achilles in the context of the Trojan Wars between the Athenians and the Persians somewhere around 1200 BCE, while *The Odyssey* recounted the adventures of Odysseus on his return journey to home from the war. Now the issue is that they both narrated the stories of a war that actually took place; why can't we consider this history? The answer is that these unfolding narratives were dated to the mythological period.

This prompted Collingwood to state the narratives as sub-standards because they were primarily unscientific and non-factual, i.e. to say "theocratic or mythical," which primarily deals with supernatural rulers of human societies predominately located outside human environments of a dateless past. Nevertheless, the Greeks and the Romans knew there was a sea of differences between history and epic poetry. So history was usually written in prose, and an attempt was made to separate facts from superficial or imaginations of the past. Perhaps one of the trademarks of the Greeks is that they usually used text as evidence; this is how they distinguished history writing from that of epic poetry.

2.3.1.1. Greek's five sub-genres of history writing

Another interesting facet of Greek history writing is closely analysed by Prof Jacoby, who divided it into five sub-genres.

First, the earliest Greek history writing genre is *mythography*; here, the issue is the attempt to establish order and consistency in the Greek traditions from the earliest times. The first literature in the realm of mythography was the *Genealogies* of Hecataeus of Miletus. This work attempts to understand the conflicting genealogies of gods, heroes and human beings.

Second, *ethnography* caters to lands, peoples, cultures, and customs. The credit goes to Hecataeus, whose "Circuit of the Earth -Periods or *Periegesis* Ges" is often regarded as the foundation that deals explicitly with the coast of the Mediterranean region and its people. However, the genre of history writing under this trend

blossomed in Dionysius of Miletus' "Persica", dated to the early fifth century BCE. This work deals with the Ionians' desire to know more about Persia

The third sub-genre of Greek history writing is *chronography*. This work began to appear with the Hellanicus of Lesbos' Priestesses of Hera at Argos. The importance of chronography lies in the fact that it details the *local history, a district or a region*. Hellanicus is said to have arranged the events of individual years, not only for Argos but also for all of Greece.

Finally, Jacoby posits that the most significant unique feature of the sub-genre of all was contemporary *history –Zeitgeschichte*". There is a stark contrast between Contemporary History on the one hand and mythography, ethnography and chronography on the other. Following are some of the distinguishing features of contemporary history: A historical narrative that incorporates a proper time and space concept within a given period. Pan-Hellenic treatment history also denotes the embracing events of all the Greek city-states rather than a single locale or unit. This sub-genre's living testimony can be found first in Herodotus Books 7–9.

The kind of transformation we have seen above gradually finds its echoes for the first time in Herodotus, where the narratives of the descriptive element that essentially spiralled around ethnography eventually transformed in the search for historical causation. This work was carried forward to the next generation by Thucydides' whose work on the Peloponnesian War was considered the sub-genres fruition. Therefore, according to Prof Jacoby, this transformation was the - teleological line of development in historiography- i.e. Hecataeus-Herodotus-Thucydides.

In the post-Thucydides periods, the *Zeitgeschichte* are more inclined towards individual wars or continuing contemporary history that focuses on a selected segment of time with a highly specialized one.

Check your progress

- 1) Define mythography

- 2) Write short notes on ethnography
- 3) What do you understand by the term chronography?
- 4) What is horography?

2.3.1.2. Hecataeus of Miletus (550–c.490 BCE)



Figure 27: Hecataeus of Miletus

Hecataeus of Miletus (550–c.490 BCE), whose work focuses primarily on demarcating the world in a spatial term, i.e. geography. In *Genealogies*, he aimed to bridge the time between his and that of gods and heroes. He does this by describing several generations of people till the mythical age. This method of chronological sequencing was diversified during the fifth century by Hellanicus Attic History. The importance of this historical framework lies in the fact that the historical documentation heavily relies on records of cities and places of worship to compute the data. In this way, Hecataeus made two things very clear, i.e. the veracity of data and critical assessment of any facts. He also categorically stated, "I write what I deem true, for the stories of the Greeks are manifold and seem *ridiculous*".

Therefore the Greek historiography was nothing less than a Herodotean narrative, from establishing a narrative framework in terms of documenting the narratives of the conquests leading to the establishment and expansion of the Persian empire. Secondly, its importance also lies in that the rules of factual verification and

analysis were taken care which was considered rational and transcended the boundaries of fictional history. Thus, the narrative reconditeness of Herodotus is that the mechanism that guarantees conformity to the facts, rationality, and truth are the main components that stand out against others. Herodotus' scheme of writing history served as a link between history as rhetoric and history as a human science.

2.3.1.3. Herodotus



Figure 28: Herodotus, The father of History
Courtesy: Britannica

The etymological derivation of the word *historia* -*historie* is traced to the Greek word *historein*, which would literally mean “to learn by inquiry”. Understanding the work of Herodotus’ requires one to peep beyond science and philosophy. This succinctly made it clear that Herodotus not only collected facts and accounts but was himself a participant in the intellectual discourse. So if the word history means investigation or inquiry, then Herodotus, being the father of history, was justified primarily because he used the title *Histories* to trace and check the veracity of past events.

Then the turning point came when an eminent philosopher and historian, R.G. Collingwood (1889–1943), who, in his “*Idea of History* (1994)”, transformed the concept of History into scientific history; that is to say, history was not necessary

narrating the past but was based on original research using the tools of historical methods. The importance of this scientific history is that it considers man at the centre of its concerns, so history was more humanistic than ever before and perhaps rational because the systematic application of enquiry to question any evidence and arrive at a conclusion was hail remarkable.

The reputation of Herodotus (c.484–c.430/20 BCE) seemingly reached its zenith when he was given the title of the *Father of History* by *Marcus Tallius Cicero* (106–43 BCE). Herodotus' approach to the past was remarkably impressive. Unlike other Greek historians interested in chronicling local stories and mythologies preserved by the official interpreters of religious orthodoxy, Herodotus was much more into emphasizing the originality of the past. This approach concerning the originality of the past is achieved by a concerted effort to understand the folklore, cultures, and mythologies in a historical context that considers its geographical setting, history, and ethnography.

The other positive features of Herodotus also lie in that he consistently employed a coherent framework to describe relationships among the many events and developments he identified. This makes Herodotus a father figure who conceived the Global history that transcends the nation-state and identity by expanding the understanding of histories across a broader geographical landscape and recording the cultural differences of people who occupied these strange and distant lands. Thereby providing a much more comprehensive system of writing history than anything attempted by earlier historians.

Herodotus' emphasis on assessing the veracity of sources is another point worth mentioning; this is considered the most distinguishing feature of his works that makes the tallest in relation to his contemporaries and predecessors when one narrates the historical methods. His eagerness to travel was primarily to collect first-hand information, witness the events by himself, and verify the information by cross-checking and corroborating with other events. He was never disillusioned. Even where information is scant, he still insisted on collecting whatsoever was available. His

curiosity propelled his voyages to Tyre and Thasos to Heracles, a living testimony to collecting first-hand information. Such activities have eventually led him to successfully weaves the custom and cultures of different communities about the Persian Wars into a single unified history. Therefore, his role as an inquirer, traveller inspection, interviewing witnesses, and evaluating stories is some vital characteristic that Herodotus can be attributed.

Herodotus never attempted to write a history beyond his first-hand account or data limits. However, it does not negate that he occasionally invoked or referred to gods' will as causal factors in history like his predecessor Homer but more often than his successor. He also emphasized that human beings are culture-bound, and this factor convincingly influenced one's traditions and upbringing. Thus Herodotus was not less than '*Father of History*' */pater historiae* and not more than the founding spirit of cultural history. So Herodotus was all the movers behind History.

Check your progress

- 1) who conferred *Father of History* */pater historiae* to Herodotus?

2.3.1.4. Thucydides

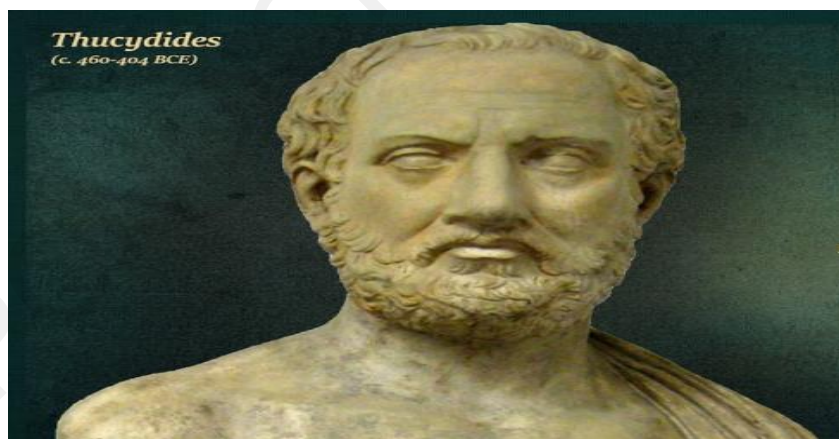


Figure 29:Thucydides

Thucydides (460–c.400/05 BCE) is considered the father of scientific history, primarily because of new standards that he set forth for historians regarding data

collection and an unbiased or impartial attitude towards interpretations. He consistently emphasised some important points in research, such as data collection or fact-gathering, change and continuity trends, and causal factors. These factors made his works more palatable and attractive than his predecessor Herodotus. This eventually influenced later historians such as Edward Gibbon, whose outstanding work documented the decline and fall of the Roman empire in Six volumes.

His attachment to the Sophistic movement enormously influenced his approach. The sophists are practitioners of the discourse on rhetoric, argument, and debate who heavily rely on humankind's mental powers and perhaps the persuasive argument's effectiveness. They assumed that all disputes could be analysed from two perspectives. The disputes over historical interpretation formed the basis of his historical methodology. Then his association with the 'science' of medicine influenced his approach to problems diagnosis, prognosis, and the environment that influenced one approach. So, in a nutshell, the discovery of truth was the principal objective of history. Although 100 per cent objectivity was not possible, Thucydides emphasised that historical truth or being objective attempted, observed, and conveyed. These are some of the criteria when historians tend to describe his work as scientific.

Check your progress

- 1) Compare and contrast the style of history writing by Herodotus and Thucydides.

2.3.1.5. Difference between Herodotus and Thucydides

The similarities between Herodotus and Thucydides are that they both accepted oral tradition and eyewitness accounts or testimony as the primary sources for history writing. Although Thucydides showed enormous respect for his predecessor, he nevertheless situated him in the company of logographers, who are more interested in what they heard than those who speak the truth. So, his systematic "examination (zetesis)" pushes forward the rigour of inquiry in the long run.

2.3.1.6. Ephorus

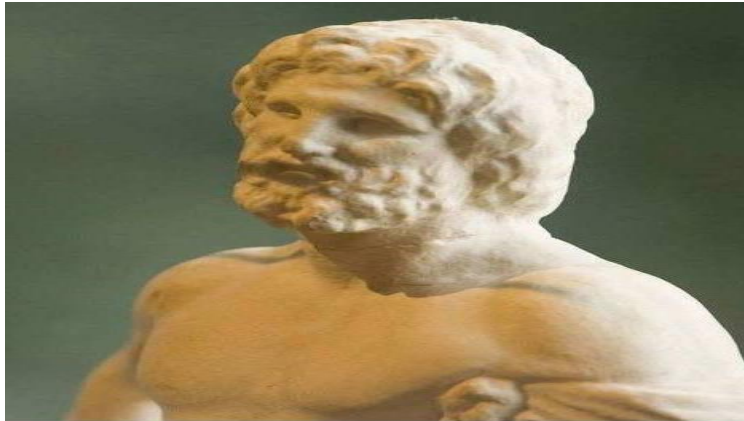


Figure 30:Ephorus

Ephorus's history writing style is considered unique for his time, credited for being the first to attempt to write a *universal history*. The enormous scope of his work brought with it a rethinking of the *opsis*-(what he saw) *ako*-(what he heard) hierarchy but *gnome* –(his judgment) is still missing in the narratives. The methodology that Ephorus followed was solidly grounded on the principles of Herodotus and Thucydides, which means primary accounts were far more reliable than secondary accounts. Polybius and Ephorus' seriously considered that autopsy was a superior method of inquiry; for them being personally present at all events would be the best source of information.

Ephorus also advocated the necessity and legitimacy of his historical method. This may be in tune with Isocrates' defence of "akoe- What he heard" against the superior claims of "opsis-what he saw".

The main importance of Ephorus's work on histories may be summed up in his emphasis on placing written sources and documentary evidence at the centre stage of the historical analysis. It is also important to mention that Ephorus fervently argued for his historiographical praxis, which means *translating an idea into action* while considering the critical reflection on the possibilities and limits of historical inquiry with a conscious mind.

2.3.1.7. Polybius

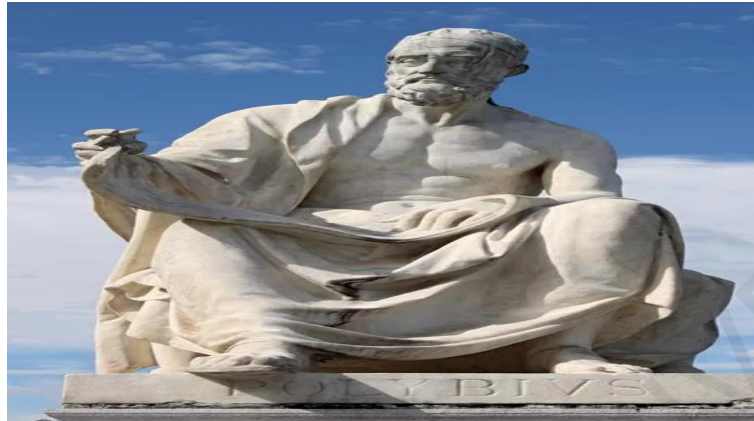


Figure 31: Polybius

Until the emergence of Polybius(c.200–118 BCE), the work of Herodotus and Thucydides was looked up to as impeccable work in history because their works were considered to have laid the foundations for Greek history; since then, the tradition of writing history reached its apogee. Polybius was born into a distinguished military and land-holding family, but he was captured and held hostage by the Romans for seventeen years in mid-life. However, he was taken into their confidence and became a tutor to Fabius and Scipio Aemilianus, later accompanying the latter on his campaign in Africa, eventually returning to Greece. Living at a time when Roman power expanded dramatically into Egypt, Greece, Africa and Spain, Polybius chose the rise of Rome as a relevant topic to write the first universal history published in forty volumes (only five of which survive in their entirety). The *Histories* was an ambitious and laborious account written largely for a Greek audience and, therefore, with a distinctive Greek bias in using evidence and interpretation. The events he described were within living memory and witnessed by Polybius himself. However, this was no chronology of events, for Polybius strove to analyze them within a much more comprehensive historical picture of the rise of Rome.

Probably the greatest one of the Greek historians, Polybius often dislikes the idea of history as a branch of entertainment or drama. However, Instead stressed the importance of fieldwork and research in the archives, which was fundamental to

unravelling the historical cause and effect problem. Based on his experiences, the following are some of the attributes that he identified an ideal historian would possess:

First, Political experience is of utmost importance because this will make one understand the actual practice of politics and evaluate sources around one's domain.

Secondly, Geographical knowledge was also equally important; this will equip one's awareness from his personal travel experiences apart from reliance on earlier historians and experiences in terms of examining documents related to archives sources, inscriptions, and treaties.

While writing about Alexander the Great, Polybius contemplated whether Alexander would have successfully marched on Rome under different circumstances. He employed the counterfactual methods by asking *what if* to analyse the multidimensional analysis to answer the question. Considering all these attributes, Polybius is regarded as the successor to Thucydides and the forefather of scholarly historical inquiry. Even though his work did not impact Europe until the fifteenth century, its influence is reflected in the scholarly works of Machiavelli and Montesquieu and the Constitution of the United States of America.

History writing is said to have entered a new phase in the aftermath of Rome's supersession of the Greek empire. However, Roman historians followed the Greek traditions, but they were seemingly influenced and motivated politically.

2.3.1.8. Polybius method of direct inquiry

As stated above, the emergence of Polybius was a revolution in the historical tradition of the Greeks because Polybius championed the method of direct inquiry. He championed and elaborated on the importance of being personally an eyewitness in most of his works and pride in being actively involved on those occasions. He emphasized the question of autopsy and cross-examining the personal witness accounts. Subsequently, the importance of travel, underlining the usefulness of topographical knowledge to study history, is emphasised. Thus based on his emphasis

on the above point and the steps and methodology put forward by his predecessor, the importance of a clear-cut representation of the historical narrative can only be enforced and authenticated by historians who have personally experienced the kind of events they narrate or describe historians without *apatheia* (the *aspect of learning from experience and possibly the potential for instructing the reader*) they were considered not to have met the indispensable prerequisites for writing history.

Polybius's ideas of historical reconstruction are multi-faceted; while emphasizing the importance of travel autopsy, he also considered proper historical methods of sequencing the critical aspects of, *akoe* took a back seat. However, they still claimed the superiority of *akoe* over *opsi*.

Check your progress

- 1) What are *akoe* and *opsi* in Greek historical analysis?

Table: GREEK HISTORIANS' CONCEPTS AND BELIEF

| S. No. | HISTORIANS | CONCEPT/BELIEF |
|--------|------------|--|
| 1 | Homer | History of the gods central in the affairs of mortals (8th century BCE) |
| 2 | Hecataetus | Brought the gods down to earth, but they remain omnipresent (6th/5th century BCE) |
| 3 | Herodotus | The gods begin to retreat from historical life (5th century BCE) |
| 4 | Thucydides | The gods tend not to interfere with human events (5th century BCE) |
| 5 | Xenophon | Loyalty to the gods is rewarded. Xenophon completed the work of Thucydides (4 th century BCE) |
| 6 | Polybius | Emphasis is placed on evidence-led history with an absence of the gods as a way of explaining historical phenomena (3rd/2nd century BCE) |

Thus evolution and progress of Hellenistic historiography reveal a significant cultural change: the transition from a traditional oral to a more advanced written culture. The living testimony of such advancement was implicit in the Hellenistic library centres, which indicates document-oriented and objective investigations. The emergence of the Lyceum also significantly contributed to the growth and advancement of Greek historiography. The library and Lyceum eventually became the centre of knowledge development. Since then, the written culture has superseded oral tradition as the most preferred and authentic source of information. This laid the foundation of a new form of inquiry based on the critical evaluation of a personal account.

Check your progress

- 1) Bring out the main characteristic of Hellenistic Historiography

2.3.2. Roman Historiography :Quintus Fabius Pictor



Figure 32:Quintus Fabius Pictor

The first Roman historian, Quintus Fabius Pictor, wrote his history of Rome in Greek, followed by almost all his successors. Fabius dealt with the twin objectives of establishing a chronologically coherent network of historical material and

subsequently translating it to build a coherent narrative seemingly dealt with by the poet Naevius with his scant narration in his Punic War – from Romulus the foundation of the city to the Hannibalic War.

This tradition was hailed as the beginning of Roman history. Thus the Roman historiography emerged from and during Punic Wars, considered a very significant period in the history of Rome, primarily Fabius Pictor himself actively involved in the Second Punic War. This also requires one to study the History and epic in conjunction while trying to understand the history of Romans since the genesis of Roman history was written in Greek for the Greek-speaking world, so the term Greco-Roman historiography was used.

2.3.2.1. Cato (Marcus Porcius) (234–149 BCE)

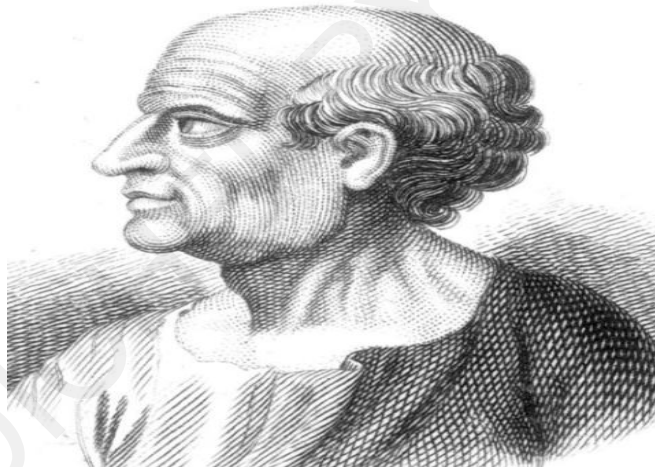


Figure 33: Marcus porcius Cato

Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 BCE), who wrote history around 170, was highly praised for writing a history of the Peoples primarily related to the Roman empire's deeds (legal documents). Unlike other historians, he had a humble beginning and moved up from Tusculum to the highest rank of the Roman aristocracy. Perhaps his personal commitment to the Roman collective was also one of the most important contributions, ranging from attributes like sternness and modesty, which sometimes makes an odd man in the midst of intellectual with an aristocratic outlook. This

persona becomes his trademark that Cato is a paradigmatic figure of virtue (*exemplum virtutis*) in Roman cultural history. Cato's main objectives in *Origines* (Origins), were primarily to do a good job and shine the history he intended with far-reaching impact, unlike his predecessor.

2.3.2.2. Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE)

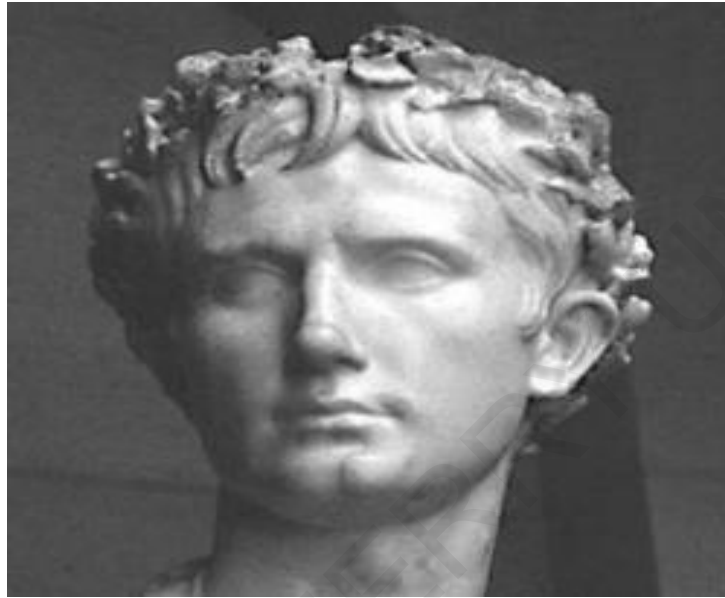


Figure 34: Quintus Ennius

Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE) is remembered for his remarkable contribution to the History of Rome from the downfall of Rome to his time. A Messapian immigrant who accompanied Cato to Rome. The work, written in hexameters, *A verse line with six metrical feet, was called Annales, as it was a fundamental tradition of earlier historians whose works were basically in prose.* This was widely appreciated in the Roman world because many people participated in the recitations, and some interested scholars would memorize the long passage.

The success of such tradition also goes to Ennius, whose innovation in diversifying this knowledge was remarkable and more so because of his foreign origin. Until then, only members of the Senate used to present a written account on that topic. Ennius' genius lies in that he prepared the documents that look like those of the

commentary on the tabulae of the high priest. The other significance of Ennius's contribution is detailing the magistrates' Names and notes on religious matters, information related to public duties, news on campaigns, triumphs and measures related to censorial activities. Thus his work was accorded the authority of an extratextual due to the systematically chronicling and meticulously arranging of the data.

2.3.2.3. Livy



Figure 35:Livy(Courtesy: The historian Hub)

Livy, as a historian, has always had a firm belief in Romanticism and Patriotic. This triggered some historians to argue that Livy constantly put research in the back seat because he believed research undermines patriotism. He believed that research might be sidelined if Roman past glorious days were not ignored on the back burner. Thus for Livy, the primary role and objectives of the historians are to transmit the idea of Roman greatness to the next generation. This is why he is known as Herodotus and Thucydides of Rome.

He was born in Padua and lived most of his life in Rome. He wrote his work under the patronage of Augustus. His first book appeared in 29 B.C. He divided Roman history into two parts, Ancient and Modern. His entire work was divided into 142 books, out of which only 35 books are traceable. Livy made it clear that History is

not just recording the past events but also narrating the story unequivocally and lucidly. It also nurtures the idea of morals and patriotism and eventually disciplines them.

Nevertheless, his works have shortcomings in some self-contradictory statements and chronological errors. R.G.Collingwood best described the ability of Livy to collect the traditional records of early Roman history and weave them together into a unified and consistent narrative. The history of Rome was a clear indication of his(Livy's) ability, but he never claimed originality in his writings. Shotwell, too, rated his work with commendable words. "Apart from its vastness, the conception which underlay the history of Livy was so consistently developed, the outlines of his structure so clear and so harmonious that it is hardly too much to say that it was the impress which he gave to the history of the Republic that lasted down to the days of Neibuhr and the nineteenth-century critics".

2.3.2.4. Tacitus



Figure 36: Tacitus (Courtesy: Britannica)

Tacitus also enjoyed a very prominent place among historians. His works are outstanding, such as Dialogues on Orators, Germania, Life Agricola, and annals. Annals were considered one of his significant works in which he mentioned from the death of Augustus down to 69 C.E. He was a great admirer of the old republican

institution. Although his scholarly works such as *Agricola* and *Germania* are credited for propelling him into the limelight, *Histories* and *Annals* are far more profound in research and scholarly. To his credit, he has around 30 books that booked the history of the empire, from the reign of Julio-Claudians to that of Domitian.

The *Histories* vividly describe the issues about the political upheavals immediately following the demise of Nero and also include the regnal years of the four emperors, Galba (68-69 CE), Otho (69 CE), Vitellius (69 CE), and Vespasian (69-79 CE), ending with the rise of Domitian. In this book, Tacitus postulates that the Flavian dynasty's rise under Vespasian gave a ray of hope, perhaps a promising future. The other interesting aspect was that he served as an envoy in Asia. To put in the words of Donald L. Wasson, "throughout his works, Tacitus regrets the loss of the Republic and speaks of the decline of the empire, which he attributes to the decay of the city's ever-growing decency - something his beloved Cicero saw in his own time".

2.3.2.5. Suetonius Tranquillus

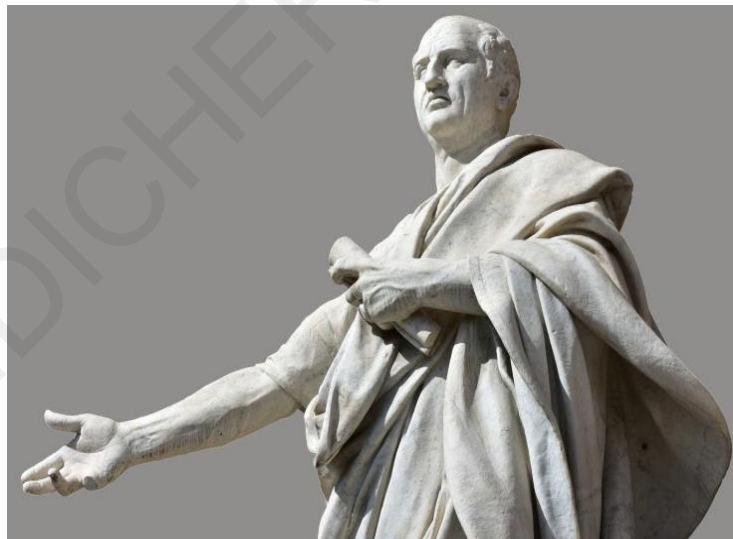


Figure 37: Suetonius Tranquillus

Suetonius was a Roman Historian known for writing the biographies of the first 12 Caesars, popularly known as *The Twelve Caesars* (*Caesares of De vita Caesarum*). The biographies avoid exaggeration and are not even documented or

narrated in proper sequence in chronological order, but their importance lies in detailing the proper accounts of Rome's first citizens. He also served as a Secretary to Septicius Clarus, which gave him access to imperial documents.

His works cover influential personalities from Julius Caesar to Domitian. He followed the same format of narration. He began with a discussion on the person's ancestry and talked about his early life to describe various incidents that made and transformed the future emperor's character. This is followed by describing different aspects of an individual's public life, the war that he fought, and other political reforms the concerned king or emperors carried out. It does not miss out on how the emperors look alike in the physical description. This meant that the intention was not to write a comprehensive history of the ruling elites but was concerned more about providing the empire's strengths and weaknesses.

Suetonius understood the limitation of historical research regarding his approach to interpreting evidence, material collections, and the limits of speculation and generalisation. These principles and awareness made him stand tall in his influence on the scholars. This influence was fructified in the realms of scholarly works of biographical sketches that began to turn into historical writing and eventually served as a model for Marius Maximus and the Augustan History *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

The demise of Tacitus marks an end to the traditions of writing history in the Roman language. The Greeks and the Roman historians were gradually displaced by theologically inspired Christian histories, which set on foot for a new look, if not revisit the way of thinking about the past.

Table: Sources for the Roman approach to the past

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Myth | Explanation of origins | Romulus and Remus suckled by a she-wolf |
| Legend | Connection with noble antecedents | Exploits attributed to historical figures, like the Tarquin Kings |
| Language | Preserve etymologies s otherwise forgotten | Money, pecunia from pecus, and sheep showing the early form of wealth |
| Buildings and urban plans | Civic, military and religious | Etruscan buildings and plans showing previous northern and central Italian civilizations from 700 BCE |
| Objects | Family and community memory | Funeral masks and portrait busts |
| Religion | Social solidarity | Preservation of rituals |
| Lists | Continuities in civic life | Names of magistrate |
| Oral tradition | Family and community memory | Funeral speeches |
| Inscriptions | Continuities in civic and political life | Early treaties |
| Written poetry | Community and cultural memory | Lucan, Ovid, Horace |
| Historical writing | Morality and ethics of the state | Sallust, Livi, Tacitus |

Source: Compiled and adapted from Mellor, (1999) p. 2, Cited in *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice* by Peter Claus and John Marriot.p.61.

2.4. Chinese Tradition

Yu Ying-Shih postulates that Chinese historiography has essentially two significant characteristics: *The first characteristic consists of a long history, and the second characteristic features relate to continuous strain, i.e. not being interrupted by political and social upheavals.* However, these historiographic traditions have been continuously interrupted for good, allowing them to be enriched by new techniques,

theories, and methods such as archaeology. In the realm of archaeology, we have two prominent scholarly trends, i.e. *the compilation of Kaogutu (by Lii Dalii) in 1092, which considered or marked a new era in traditional Chinese antiquarianism. Subsequently, the decoding of the first Stone Age sites in 1920 propelled or opened up the age of scientific archaeological discoveries.*

2.4.1. Traditional Chinese historiography

Chinese historiography has a tradition of explaining things based on morals. Arthur F. Wright, an eminent sinologist, was amazed at the Chinese interest in the historical enquiry of their past, which is primarily attributed to the idea that the Chinese firmly believed in the theory that a proper lesson on history could provide accurate guidance in one's own time, i.e., in other words, *the successes and failures of the past provide sure guidance for one's own time. To study history was to understand in clusters of concrete instances how men had fared when they lived in accord with or in defiance of the moral injunctions of the Classics.*

The underpinning story about this moral purpose is that “*Since history records the rights and wrongs of the past, it guides future behaviour*”. This still holds fast and dear even in the hearts of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) thus far.

2.4.2. Official Histories

From the emergence of Confucianism in China to unchanging orthodoxy, Chinese historiography has become an independent entity. This trend constitutes one of Chinese historiography's characteristic features, with its independent entity as the most significantly authentic rather than an abstract generalisation.

The ‘official histories, usually documented and collected by the court of the respective dynasty, the significant components apart from tablets, charts, and inventories, are biographies detailing the emperors and ministers and merchants and scholars. The main gists of Chinese historiography are that “ *moral teachings are revealed self-evidently as long as historical facts are faithfully recorded*”. Secondly,

they have followed the trend by separating the authors' personal opinions from the facts. Sima Qian said that his objectives in compiling Shiji were: "*Tong tian ren Zhi Ji, jiu gu jin Zhi bian, cheng yi jia Zhi yan,*" i.e. A clear cut delineation between Heaven and Men, and to enquire about *the progress in terms of the change from past to present.*

2.4.3. Generalisation in Chinese History

Arthur Wright argues that in the realm of generalisation, traditional Chinese historiography has its own sets and rules. They are as follows

- **“Regularity Generalizations”:** This explains the dynastic cycle and its inferences, i.e. the period of prosperity is determined by the duration of the individual king, women's influence at the court was regarded as the harbinger of decline, and ordinary men rebel as a result of the oppressive reign.
- **“Labelling Generalizations”:** The most important examples are Zhongguo, referring to Chinese self-centredness. Undoubtedly, these have by no means exhausted the generalizations that traditional Chinese historians do. However, they still point to the historical patterns that traditional Chinese scholars are used to.

Thus it is believed that Traditional scholars do not look beyond the Chinese concept of the world, and their thinking and discussion are confined within the Chinese concept of them being the centre of the universe(Zhuongo); hence history has to take its roots within the Chinese geographic world. Another interesting facet of this line of thought can be inferred from Arthur Wright, who talks about the height of Chinese self-centredness squarely lies in their preoccupation with their country-Sinocentrism or their self-image-. Thus the centre of attention was always on the spatial domain of Chinese civilization, i.e. so-called China as the centre of the earth under heaven.

2.4.4. Sources

As far as the sources for Chinese history are concerned, Confucius edited the Book of History (Shu Ching) and his Spring and Autumn Annals, Ch'un Ch'iu, detailing his native state Lu's main events from 722 to 484 B.C. is of high value.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien (born B.C. 145), the father of modern Chinese history, wrote the Historical Record (Shih Chi) that covers the history of China from the earliest down to 122 B.C. This work served as gospel truth for all subsequent official histories of the Chinese dynasties. However, the Dynastic Histories are said to have begun with the Book by Pan Ku, completed after his death by his gifted sister, Pan Chao, which covers the story from the period B.C. 206 to A.D. 24.

The Ming Shilu, or Ming History, is one of the most authentic and authoritative Chinese histories. The Ming Shilu covers a wide range of literature, art, music, science, military, geography, and ethnography.

Besides the Dynastic Histories, there are several minor classifications of historical works. According to the Chinese bibliographer, this minor work consists of 14 (fourteen in number). Following are some important works related to this category: the Annals and Mirror of History are outstanding indeed.

2.4.5. Official Gazetteers

The Official Gazetteers are classified into two main categories, i.e. the provincial and prefectural gazetteers. They are voluminous and bulky in their content. The smallest official gazetteers, the Hsien Chih or district annals, are also said to consist of ten to twenty books. These gazetteers are helpful not only for the administrative setup and soldiers but also for scholars, for they give maps, topography, mountains, rivers, and essential personalities of the region concerned. The common trends were that those gazetteers are usually revised every fifty or one hundred years, and most of the gazetteers have undergone as many as ten to twelve times. For example, *The gazetteer of the Kiangyin district, Kiang Yi Hsien Chih, was first*

published in 1194 A.D. The fifteenth revision was issued in 1840. These gazetteers constitute one of the vivid accounts of history and Chinese civilization.

The other important issue about Chinese history is that; although Printing began in the sixth century A.D, it did not overshadow the written manuscripts immediately but gradually over a long period of Gutenberg's revolution. The main reason for this could be their obsession with their family institutions regarding the Chinese Law and custom and the examination system; the eight-legged essay and the civil service examinations are considered one of the earliest talent searches of known human history that roped in talents wherever found which precisely means the absence of hereditary aristocracy to monopolize the higher offices that distinguish Chinese state concerning its predecessor and contemporary civilization as the most outstanding of being institutionally strong.

This made the Chinese state possess the most prolific and continuous historical records of any nation known so far. Yes, one might argue that the ancient Egyptians might once have rivalled them, but no other people. Chian's indomitable spirit and unfathomable historical consciousness from the sixth century before Christ till now can unravel the story of the greatest civilization of Asia.

2.4.6. Growth of Chinese Historiography

S. Y. TENG has divided the growth and development of Chinese historiography under the following head:

The first period, from ancient times to the second century A.D., he called this period *“a period of formation when the so-called chi-Chuan and “annal” styles were established”*,

The second period dates from the second century A.D. to the thirteenth century; this period, according to him, *“is the heyday of Chinese historiography, especially in the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279)”*,

The third period begins from 1280 to 1900, and he called it “a decadent period”,

Finally, he posits that the last from 1900 to the present is seemingly on the upswing.

Chinese historiography has seen constant diversification. For example, prior to the Christian era, it witnessed a development from that of the simple narration of the Spring and autumn annals (Ch'un ch'iu), then eventually witnessed a diversified structure of the Historical memoirs, i.e. Shih chi written by Ssu-ma Ch'ien.



Figure 38:Ssu Ma Ch'ien

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, born near Sian, Shensi, was said to have admired and respected recorded documents since his early childhood. He grew up accustomed to habits of textual appraisal, discussion of past events, and the responsibilities in religion and divination traditionally required of dynastic archivists. He inherited the post of Grand Historian in 110 B.C. on his father's death, Ssu-ma T'an. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, like his father, who had studied astronomy under T'ang Tu, continued to serve under Emperor Han Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) as the officer responsible for official records and the custody of old books but also for astronomical studies and calendar. Ssu-ma Ch'ien also supervised government dispatches, which were handled through the office of archives.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who already had studied the classical Book of History at the age of ten, travelled with lively antiquarian interest throughout the empire by age

twenty. He had gone to Kuei-chi to examine King Yü's cave and had climbed T'ai mountain in Shantung. He had walked the coast of the Yellow Sea, sailed the Yangtze and rivers, journeyed deep into central and western China, to Chang-sha, to Chiu-i, the reputed burial place of King Shun, through Szechuan, on to Kunming in Yunnan. He had also visited Kansu and toured the north, along the Great Wall and the Yellow River valley. As still a young man, he rode with hunting parties through areas associated with Mencius in Chou-i and had already lectured in the old Confucian centres in the states of Ch'i and Lu. By the age of thirty-five, he had served as a member of the imperial guard on the emperor's inspection tour of the whole empire and served as an official envoy to Szechuan and Yunnan.

He was a genuine pioneering field investigator. He combined substantial national archives knowledge with a direct observation zest. Fu Meng-Chen commends Ssu-ma Ch'ien's history as a guide to studying ancient books and researching ancient learning.

Nevertheless, Ssu-ma Ch'ien also incorporates materials he has personally collected, as in his visit to Ch'u to examine the palace of Prince Ch'un-Shen (Shih-chi 78. 22) and in his exploration of the Feng and Hsü-chou districts, where he conversed with old residents about the lives of such figures as Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Ts'an and reports, "I was astonished at what I heard about them" (95.35)

2.4.7.1. Ssu-Ma Chien style of history writing

The so-called Sumachien methods in Chinese historical tradition were enunciated in the 130 chapters called Shih-chi, which includes twelve basic annals, ten tables (chronological lists and charts), eight treatises, thirty histories of great families, and seventy biographies. Of these, the annals report significant events in the recognized dynasties. The tables present a chronological record of wars among the feudal states with data on notable lords and ministers. The treatises focus on political, economic, social, and cultural history. The family histories concentrate upon families

with remarkable cultural influence, such as, for example, that of Confucius and his descendants.

The biographies provide a significant sampling of Chinese social history through accounts of 170 representative figures, including public officials, famous, wealthy widows, travellers returning from foreign countries and assassins, fortune tellers, and public entertainers. Ssu-ma Ch'ien systematically collates pertinent political, cultural, and general social history data.

Each chapter includes its distinctly identified introduction and conclusion giving the historian's interpretative comments. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih chi* has become the model for all subsequent East Asian dynastic histories in selecting and collating materials and chapter structure. As the Japanese scholar, Nakayama Kyushiro emphasized, Ssu-ma Ch'ien originated this structural technique, including tables and the ordered data synthesis within the formal framework of the historian's appraisals and interpretations.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien read about ten years to prepare his history, then travelled to verify and correct recorded information, collected new information, read further, and again travelled to correct and verify his data. His written sources included stone chamber rare books, ancient records preserved in metal boxes and state archives, and the few *Shih-chi* chapters drafted by his father.

The methodology that he followed in consulting his sources is marvellous. Ssu-ma Ch'ien frequently cites his sources, for example, *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Kuo-yu*, early historical text consisting of speeches assigned to the ruling and ordinary men ranging from the spring to spring autumn periods, also the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*. He also cites personal witnesses. He is equally specific concerning his field studies and observations; the statement goes like this: I went to Lu state and examined the carriages, costumes, and ceremonial utensils in the Confucian temples, and I have seen the picture of General Chang Liang, whose appearance resembles a woman or a beautiful girl. This testifies to the impeccable methods of Ssu-

ma Ch'ien that testify to the modern approaches to studying history in his judicious use of both orally transmitted and written documents.

His outstanding contribution can also be compared to subaltern history because, in contrast to his contemporaries and predecessors, there is an enormous amount of considerable space dedicated to the lives of ordinary citizens. Ssu-ma Ch'ien further challenges traditional views of historical categories by including in his section on aristocratic families not only the lineage of Confucius but also that of the commoner Ch'en She, who was said to have instigated the revolt against the Ch'in dynasty. Moreover, in the spirit of Confucius and Mencius, he cites the overthrow of Chieh of Hsia and the assassination of Meng T'ien, who supervised the building of the Great Wall by viciously driving forced labour as just deserts for significant abuse of political power.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien also accepts the general Confucian theory that for the survival of both major empires and small nations, the only survival insurance is the consistent practice of benevolent government. Ssu-ma Ch'ien firmly believes that the critical role of history squarely lies in the domain of education. The writing and perusal of history are, in his opinion, to assist in favourable cultivation of character and effective regulation of both families and governments.

He believes that the past is a mirror to comprehend the present. Though he does not assert that history repeats itself, he assumes cycles in history, as in his comment on a three-dynasty sequence: after reaching its end, it starts to circle again from the beginning. He emphasizes practical functions for the study of history: that honest officials serve as models and dishonest officials as warnings; that study of political appointments can supply a prognostic, i.e. A sign of something about to happen “ *when wise men retire, and dishonest officials dominate, the nation is headed for destruction.*

Thus Ssu-ma Chien is also known as the Herodotus of Chinese History. This can be the best sum up in the words of S. Y. Ten - The literary style of Herodotus has

its heritage of admiration and influence in Cicero, Hume, Gibbon, Byron, and Macaulay. The different but equally impressive style of Ssu-ma Ch'ien has its heritage of admiration and influence in Yang Hsiung, Han Yii, Liu Tsung-yiiian, Chang Hsiieh-ch'eng, and Tseng Kuo-fan.

2.4.8. Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92)



Figure 39: Ban-Gu/Pan Ku

Following Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Pan Ku wrote a more detailed work called the Ch'ien Han shu or History of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D), which set a solid foundation for writing dynastic histories. The position of this work in Chinese historiography resembles that of Thucydides' history in the West.

The twentieth century in China is a revolutionary era, politically, socially, economically, and culturally. While many facets of Chinese civilization have become stagnant or degenerate, considerable progress has been made in studying history.

Historical philosophy has undergone dramatic enrichment and upheavals since its inception. Some of the classical scholars were influenced by the Old Text School. Works such as Chang Erh-t'ien's *Profound ideas of historiography* (Shih Wei) and Ch'en Han-chang's *General discussion of historiography* (Shih-hsieh t'ung lun) are informative and show comprehensive learning but contain few new ideas. Those who

believed in the Modern Text School of the classics were more critical and consequently more original.

The exponents of this Modern Text School were Ts'ui Shih, Hsia Tseng-yu, and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. The trio started a new history movement in China. Ts'ui Shih's important work was "the Source tracing of the Shih chi (Shih-chi t'an-yiian Q fi)", in which he questions Ssuma Chien's authority by pointing out some of the anomalies that he incorporated in the works. These revolutionary ideas still served as an excellent guide to studying Shih chi.

2.4.9. Archeological school or K'ao Ku P'ai

The archaeological awakening of modern China is usually dated from 1920, when J.G. Andersson sent his collector Liu Chang-shan to the northern part of Honan, where Liu discovered the first prehistoric village at Yang-Shao in the Mien-ch'ih district south of the Yellow River. The site was subsequently studied and excavated by Andersson under the auspices of the Geological Survey in Peking; this digging was first communicated in a scheduled meeting of the Geological Society of China and later published in the Society's bulletin of 1923.

Archaeology as a branch of academic research won its first government support in 1928 when "the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica" organised an archaeological section as one of the three research units in its official programs.

The "Archeological school" or "K'ao Ku p'ai" considers and accepts the early Chinese history authenticated by archaeological sources. The best representative of this research school on ancient China was Wang Kuo-Wei (1877- 1927), who contributed to the medieval period's early Chinese history and Chinese drama. His careful research spirit and sound scholarship made him one of the best twentieth-century Chinese scholars

From 1919 to 1937, new revolutionary ideas predominated in Chinese history; from 1931- 1937, a solid scholarship was established, and there were two schools of historiography: one was radical, the other conservative. One is the materialistic interpretation of Chinese history according to Karl Marx's theory and Hegel's dialectical materialism. Although communism was introduced into China in the 1920s, the theory was not applied to Chinese history until about ten years later.

The first work noted is Kuo Mo-jo's Study of ancient Chinese society (Chung-Kuo Ku-Tai she-hui yen- Chiu published in 1932. Kuo is a gifted man who received scientific training in Japan and is well versed in Marxist Traditions. On the other side exists the conservative school of historical interpretation. This school, composed of many Kuomintang government workers, puts everything back in its original place, ignoring the work done by Ku Chieh-Kang and others. However, the two schools vary in many respects but agree on -one idea: both tend to believe again in China's ancient past and have blessed the legendary history with archaeological finds and scientific terms. The two extremes, Marxian interpretation and the conservative view of Chinese history, reflect China's economic and social conditions and the world.

Check your progress

- 1) Bring out the main characteristic of Chinese historiography
- 2) Examine the role of Ssumachien in Chinese historiography.

2.5. Ancient Indian Tradition

The earliest traditions of Indian history writing may be placed in the Itihasa-Purna tradition. The term used in early Sanskrit literature was Itihasa, which means telling a story, *so it has been (iti-hi-sa)*. On the other hand, the Puranas is believed to have been derived from one original Purana text or a genus of literature with tales, anecdotes, song, and lore that came down through the ages. They were prepared and passed it orally to the next generation, recorded in the later stage. The term Puranas means old.

The itihasa Purana was composed of priest poets belonging to various tribes. They were transformed into literary form by the sutas, bards, and chroniclers. However, the earliest written evidence relating to itihasa Purana could be dated only to the Gupta period. The three main characteristics of Itihasa- Puranas are

- a).Genealogy
- b).Mythology and
- c).Historical narrative or Vamsavalicharita.

Shankar Goyal classified the ancient Indian writing tradition as pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist traditions. So as far as the genesis of Indian historical tradition is concerned, we will have to rely on literary evidence. Goyal further opines that the historiography of the pre-buddha period of Indian history, usually called ‘ traditional ‘history, has evolved on the following lines, i.e. historians have mainly concentrated on the following problems,

- How far reliance may be placed on the Vedic literature and the two Epics and the Purānas for the history, or rather ‘traditional’ account of the period? Which of these two main categories of literature is more reliable? How far may the Buddhist and Jaina sources be utilized to supplement their information?
- Who were the Aryans? Where was their original home? Were they any ethnic group of ‘ people ‘ who shared a common cultural heritage and language?
- Determination of the date of historicity and the date of the Bharata War on which the reconstruction of the traditional history rest.
- Reconstruction of the traditional history and chronology.

On these four points, historians of the pre-Independence period mainly concentrated. In the post-1947 period, these questions continued to attract their attention, but the emphasis was placed on the following points.

- How to reconcile thus far the reconstructed ‘ traditional history with the cultures ‘ of the Vedic age revealed by archaeology and
- The process of reconstruction concerning the state formation with the help of literary and archaeological data.

2.5.1. Reconstruction of the ‘ traditional ‘ History and chronology



Figure 21: Vasco da Gama



Figure 41: A.B. Keith



Figure 42: D.C. Sircar



Figure 43: R.C. Majumdar

Historians like H. C. Raychaudhuri, A. B. Keith, D. C. Sircar, and R. C. Majumdar opine that Vedic literature belonging to the pre-Buddha period contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties. Raychaudhuri has used the Later Vedic texts to reconstruct the history of the post-Pariksit and pre-budha periods.

There is also another category of brahmanical works. No definite date can be assigned, but large portions which, in the general opinion of scholars, belong to the post-buddha period, the Rāmāyana, the Mahabhārata and the Puranas. It is a fact that these texts evolved gradually and though based on the Vedic traditions, contain material of a much later date.



Figure 44:F.E.Pargiter

F.E. Pargiter, in his seminal book entitled “*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922) and *The Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913)”, used the terms - Brahmanical tradition and Kshatriya tradition in two different senses. Firstly, Brahmanical tradition may be assumed to mean the life pursuits or any other distinguishing feature of the Brahmanas, the main object of its descriptions. In

contrast,' Kshatriya tradition ' may represent those descriptions regarding the Kshatriyas. Secondly, these traditions may also represent works exclusively composed by the Brāhmagas or the Kshatriyas. As far as the first meaning is concerned, the Pauranic tradition may be styled as a Kshatriya tradition since it supplies their ruling dynasties' genealogies and historical actions. However, it cannot be exclusively a Kshatriya tradition because of its treatment of the ' Vamsas ', the families of gods, and the Rishis, who mainly were Brahmanas.

Regarding the second meaning, it is clear that no tradition in India is the exclusive creation of anyone Varga Brāhmaga or Kshatriya, and neither the Vedic nor the Pauranic tradition is an exception in this respect. Pargiter seems to have confused the two meanings. In ancient India, the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas were organic parts of the same body politic. Their functions and interests were not mutually opposed, and they did not pull their respective weights in opposite directions.

2.5.2. Traditional History

The Buddhist Suttas, Vinaya texts, the Jatakas, and the Jaina sacred literature are excellent help for traditional history. Several works of the Buddhist canon are mentioned in votive records at Bharhut and Sanchi assigned to the second and first centuries B. C. Many of them refer to the Jataka stories. The texts of the Pali canon are said to have been committed to writing in the first century B. C. They furnish a good deal of helpful information regarding the pre-Buddha period. They also have the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories.

The source material from the Buddhist text for the reconstruction of the political history of the pre-Buddha period as contained in the Jatakas was utilised by R. L. Mehta in his work *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay, 1939). Mehta accepted the conclusions of Pargiter about the Paurānic genealogies and tried to correlate the Puranic data with the Jataka materials. However, this does not commit to admitting or accepting the historicity or the authenticity of the individual kings or their accounts in

the pre-Buddhist text. The stated facts are rather being compared and contrasted with other sources, and the clues are being given.

Some of the Jaina texts may go back to a period earlier than the second century A. D., But the Jaina canon, in general, was probably committed to writing during the 5th or 6th century C.E. It gives exciting information regarding many Icings who lived during the pre-Buddha Age. The Jain Purāṇas of the classical age claims to draw upon the traditions of the last portions of the Āgamas. In these classical Purāṇas cosmography, the biography of celebrities and religious instructions are joined together in the same manner; they are found in the Brāhmanical Purāṇas. The most popular heroes seem to have been Padma or Rama, Nemi and Kṛṣṇa, Pārsva and Mahāvira. Thus the Jain Purāṇas share some common mythical and legendary traditions with the Brāhmanical Purāṇas, though the accounts are not wholly similar. However, their comparatively late date makes their evidence much less reliable.

The most significant and most interesting regional history of the Vedic age was written by Buddha Prakash in his seminal work, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab, From the Vedic Age up to the Maurya Period (Delhi, 1964)*. In this study, the author does not treat traditional history according to the pattern followed by earlier scholars. Instead, he seeks to interpret it as the story of social movements and cultural formations. Further, his vision is not only concerned with India's Punjab, Haryana and Pakistan's Punjab as one unit but also extends as far as some parts of modern Afghanistan and Sind. This means the concept of political frontiers is an illusory landmark for social and cultural processes.

Buddha Prakash's assertion of the history of Punjab is not necessarily the history of kings but also incorporates those of migrations and a whole range of cultural processes. His interpretation of the Mahābhārata is also noteworthy primarily for the unorthodox approach, i.e. he considers the five Pāṇḍava brothers as the symbols of different tribes and the Mahābhārata as the saga of the Śakas. He considers the history of Punjab as a metaphor for a melting pot of Asian civilization.

2.5.3. Traditional history versus archaeological evidence



Figure 45: D.D.Kosambi
Courtesy: The Wire

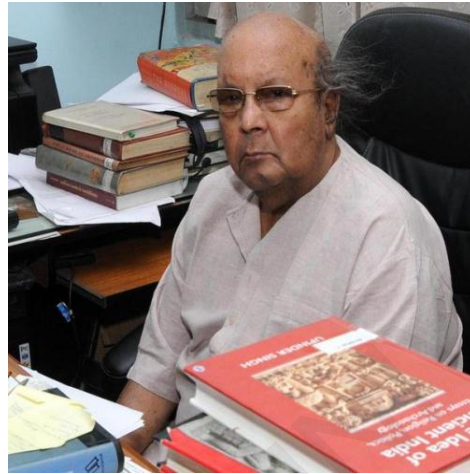


Figure 46: D.N. Jha
Courtesy: Frontline, The Hindu



Figure 47: Romila Thapar

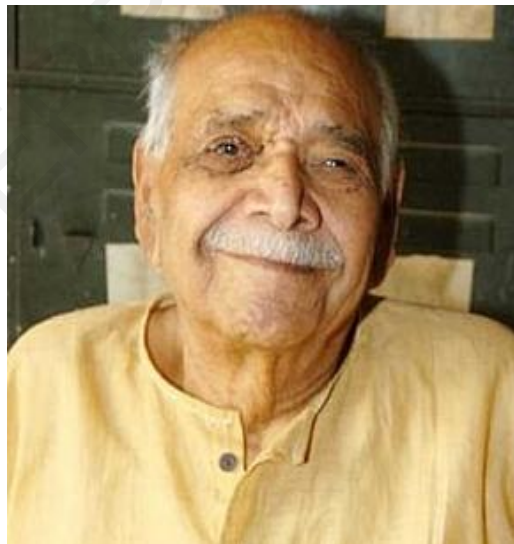


Figure 48: R.S. Sharma

Scholars of the Marxist leaning, such as D. D. Kosambi, D. N. Jha, Romila Thapar and R.S. Sharma, emphasise the correlation between archaeological cultures and traditional ‘ history and the study of the processes of social and state formations as revealed by the two sources. This is a new dimension that the pre-Buddha period’s

historiography has taken. D.D. Kosambi describes the changes in Indian society in the Later Vedic and Early Buddhist periods as *From Tribe to Society*. D. N. Jha *Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1977) also emphasizes the Later Vedic age's social and state formation processes. According to him, “*the Aryans came to India as a semi-nomadic people with a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy with no developed political structure that could measure up to a state in either ancient or modern*”. This subject has been thoroughly debated and nullified by various historians.

Kingship was still a tribal institution in the Vedic period. In the Later Vedic age, the transition from pastoral to the agricultural economy began to witness various forms of arts and crafts, the caste system developed, and the family tended to be more patriarchal - all these developments were reflected in the political system of the period. Now, states tended to become territorial, and kingship became hereditary instead of tribal and elective, deriving strength from the newly emerging taxation system and bureaucratic machinery. The popular assemblies' powers of the early Vedic period declined.

2.5.4. Charitas and Vamsalis

Define vamsa. The answer would be that they are royal genealogies and the line of priestly succession. The fragments of historical works collected and documented in the order are called the vamsacharita. The sources relating to the political issues of the Puranas were seemingly constructed at a later date. Following are the first four dynasties of the Puranas or the Vamsas ;

- Pauravas of Hastinapura
- Ikshakus of Ayodhya
- Brahadrathas of Magadha and
- Pradyotas

Romila Thapar points out that from the vamsānucarita sections of the Puranas, three types of specific information related to ancient Indian traditions can be gathered.

First is the geographical distribution of lineages. Some are relatively sedentary, such as the Ikṣvākū in Kosala and Videha and the early Purus in the Doab. Others tend to migrate and fan out, for example, in the extensive Yadava lineages in western and central India and the less extensive network of the Anavas.

Secondly, the type of information relates to social structure. The early Puru and Ikṣvākū lineages are of unilineal descent based on exogamous patrilineal. (Although the evidence from Buddhist sources may indicate the existence of other patterns in the region). The Yādava lineage, on the other hand, appears to conform more to the segmentary lineage system and the segments associated with western India carry traces of matrilineal forms.

The third category of information that we can derive “concerns economic and political status. A distinction can be suggested between the pastoral agricultural societies of western and central India and the more advanced agricultural societies of the Doab and the middle Ganges valley. The latter suggests stable agriculture and the establishment of the state. The accounting of dynasties coincides with the rise of Magadha as an actual state in northern India. The genealogies would record the movement from tribal and oligarchic forms to the more complex monarchical states”.

So in the words of an eminent historian Romila Thapar, the problem that has confused the study of these genealogies has been the attempt to equate them with Aryans, Dravidians, Mundas and the like, on the assumption that the *vaṃśas* were distinct ethnic groups with primarily ethnic identities which were being recorded. It is essential to remember that these genealogies were compiled many centuries after the events they purportedly to have taken place”. Therefore, “they should be seen as the historical appreciation of a later age of what it believed were its earlier antecedents.

2.5.6. Lineage to State

In her monograph *From Lineage to State* (Delhi, 1984), Romila Thapar dealt with the *gradual movement from a lineage-based society to the emergence of a state system in the mid-first millennium BC. in detail*. Furthermore, for Prof Thapar, the use

of the term lineage society ‘ is preferable to a tribal community, which has been used in the past for Rig Vedic society and made an attempt to *relate the early Indian historical tradition to phases of historical change, which correspond to the transition from lineage to state systems.*

2.5.7. Kalhana’s Rajatarangini

The one exception regarded as the earliest historical documents for early India is the dynastic chronicles’ of Kashmir prepared by Kalhana’s Rajatarangini dated to the 12th century CE. This work consists of nearly 8000 verses and is divided into 8 Cantos. Each Canto is called a Taranga or waves by the author or River of Kings. According to R.S Pandit, This 12th century Sanskrit narrative by Kalhana is a “poem ... of significant scope, a more or less complete picture of society, in which the bloody periods of the past are delightfully relieved by delicate tales of love, by episodes of marvel and mystery”.

Kalhana was a minister of the Harsha who ruled Kashmir from 1089 - 1011. It is believed that Rajatarangini was completed by 1148 AD. He was born at the beginning of the twelfth century. During his early life, he has undergone much unrest in Kashmir. It was during that period that he composed his narrative. This period was marked by political vicissitude, where the birth of new social classes seemingly threatened the existing social and political order. The text traces the history of Kashmir from its origin as a lake and covers till the mid-twelfth century. This text's primary focus concerns the kings and queens who ruled Kashmir during that period. Thus Rajatarangini as a text is enormously enriched with stories of political, social and cultural issues.

The importance of Rajatarangini is so profound that it was translated into several languages; it was translated into Persian during the fifteenth century by Mulla Ahmed, the court historian of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (r. 1423-74). This traces the development of history till the time of the sultan. Abul Fazl, the Mughal emperor

Akbar's biographer, noted in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, "*when Akbar entered Kashmir after conquering it in 1586, he was presented with a book entitled Rajatarangini*".

The earliest European to talk about Rajatarangini was Francois Bernier, A Frenchman who travelled throughout Mughal India, including Kashmir, during the 17th century and vividly described in his travelogue that he was translating "*the histories of the ancient Kings of Kachemire into French*". The British come into contact with this text "Rajatarangini" only after the first translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Francis Gladwin. It was J. C. Dutt who undertook its first complete English translation of Kalhanas. Dutt described Rajatarangini as "an account of a people who lived from the earliest period in the corner of India". According to him, "this translation was the best that could be accomplished as far as recording India's history was concerned, given the absence of reliable sources for the task".

Scholars like Chitralekha Zutshi postulate that rajataranginis status as a national text was established in part by the fact that it was written in Sanskrit and could therefore be seamlessly incorporated into the Indian literary canon, but also by the fact that it was not a religious epic or code of laws, but rather a secular text, which particularly suited a secular nationalist such as Pandit. Zutshi paved the way for scholars to compare Western classical literature while emphasizing its continued value for Indian life and civilization. Eminent historians like Pandit argue that "Kalhana was, unlike Aeschylus or Homer, *"a poet of veracity and universality"*. At the same time, the heritage of India which has come to us through the medium of Samskrta is a living one—asserting the primacy, universality and continued importance of Sanskrit through a secular text".

2.5.8. European contribution to ancient Indian tradition

Kautilya's Arthashastra in Sanskrit was composed and compiled between the fourth century BC E and the third century C E. The Arthasastra is an exhaustive treatise on statecraft and diplomacy, war, peace, intelligence, security, law and political economy. The text was discovered in the early 1900s and then translated into

English and other languages; it is a gem of political theory that stands out prominently in the rich collection of documents but an underexplored indigenous history of India. Johann Jakob Meyer, the German Indologist, postulates that “ *Kautilya’s Arthashastra is a book and a library of ancient India*”.Translations that influenced the European romantic movement into English of Sanskrit classics are available from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, established by Sir William Jones in 1784.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, France and Germany’s translations of Indian literature significantly triggered interest in Sanskrit. The popularity of the Sanskrit text was exemplified by the establishment of the Chair of Sanskrit in Paris in 1814. This was followed by the establishment several chairs in German universities in 1818. Thus the German scholarship has preserved this tradition of Indology which eventually influenced the scholars in America who eventually contributed to the study of the Arthashastra.

The common belief held by European scholarship concerning Arthasatra is that Kautilya forms a part of the political philosophy of the world. The Arthashastra has become a harbinger for spreading Indian culture and civilisation across the globe. Although originally written in Sanskrit, it was gradually translated into various languages.

The Arthasatra and its variation, like Panchatantra, had an enormous impact all over the globe. The word *Pancha* means five, and *tantra* means doctrines of conduct or modes of action. Which literally means the Five doctrines or mode of actions. They are confidence, affluence, earnest endeavour, friendship and knowledge. The Panchatantra also portrays nitishastra, i.e.wise the conduct of life, through stories, mainly of animals. Sanskrit scholar Arthur W Ryder postulates that “*the original text was composed in Kashmir about 200 BCE, and there are 25 recensions of the work in India alone*”. Thus Panchatantra is a nitishastra, meaning wise conduct of life. The book consists of five sections or parts.

Following are the five books that deal with the theme

The Loss of Friends

The Winning of Friends

The Crow and the Owl

The Loss of Gains

An ill Considered Action

Since then, this work has become an excellent educational tool with correct communication strategies for children and moral stories all across the globe. The themes that can be gleaned from Book III, concerning the war of the crow and the owl, six possibilities of sadgunya are quoted, i.e. *peace, war, change of base, entrenchment, alliance and duplicity*.

2.5.8.1. Indology

Indology, also known as Indian Studies, is the scholarly examination of Indian society, culture, languages, history, philosophy, and literature by western or non-Indian scholars. In other words, an inquiry into the current and past details of the Indian society – its people, traditions, values, the background is sustained and corroborated by exploring written work of Indian languages is called Indology.



Figure 49:R.N.Dandekar

Indology emerged as a field of academic investigation during British rule in India. However, Indian culture, languages, and literature were taken up by scholars

even before that. Several ancient literary texts recorded material, and documents can be called upon to trace and understand how far back in time engagement with the Indian society reached. People of all cultural backgrounds and from all over the world have immersed themselves in understanding and analysing India's vibrant and enthusiastic culture and people. According to R. N. Dandekar, "Indology may have come into being when European scholarship discovered Sanskrit. This is generally believed to have happened in the closing years of the 18th century, around about 1784 when the world's first Asiatic Society was founded at Calcutta".

The books related to the Indological studies interest were gradually published in succession. This momentum was followed by the English translations of several important Sanskrit texts such as the Bhagavadgītā (1785), the Hitopadeśa (1787), the Sākuntala (1789), the Ktusamhāra (1792), and the Manusmṛti (1794), through these an exotic civilisation opens up before the west. Till then, the treasures of Sanskrit had remained the sole property of a few Brāhmanas who jealously guarded that sacred trust against all kinds of contamination, whether real or imaginary. Sanskrit learning was kept in private family schools and temple cloisters. Indeed, the birth of Indology not only proved a stimulating experience for the intellectuals of Europe, but it also marked, in a sense, the opening of a new chapter, even in India's own efforts at self-understanding.

Concerning Western scholarship, contributions to the study of Indian Language. Stevens (1549-1619), who began learning the Konkani, is noteworthy. Then mention may also be made of Italian Filippo Sassetti, whose research unravels the linguistic similarities between Sanskrit and Italian. Giacomo Fenicio wrote a book dealing with Indian tradition represented in the Purāṇas. His compatriot De Nobili (1577-1656) was considered the first European to pay undivided attention to buddhist literature.

Though several English scholars championed the cause of Indology, such as Jones (1746-1794), Wilkins (1750-1836), and Colebrooke (1765-1836), the contribution of the German was more profound in this regard. For example, German

romanticists like Herder and Goethe, whose enthusiasm over this discovery of India by Europe was highly significant. Therefore there is often a comparison that -if the Germans were the romanticists of modern times, the Indians were the romanticists of antiquity-.

2.5.8.2. William Jones



Figure 50: Sir William Jones

The keys to Jones' entry into the science of comparative linguistics were his mastery of Twenty-eight languages and his discovery of a common origin for the family of languages called Indo- European. In his formal announcement of this discovery in 1786, Jones praised the excellent structure of Sanskrit, which outweighs the Greek and Latin in its classical traditions of richness; the features and facts were so strong perhaps no philologer could examine them all without having a sense of a belief that the trio could have had a common source of origin or ancestry. However, he was not the first scholar to trace linguistic similarities between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek.

Jones, after founding a learned society in Calcutta on 15 January 1784, could bring together scholars, civil servants, military personnel and members of the British community in a joint effort to gain knowledge of Man and Nature. Admission to the Asiatic Society was open to anyone with a love of learning and a desire to promote research, particularly on subjects related to Asia. Indians from the professional classes

were members by 1829. In the group of founding members, there were no scientists beyond medical professionals and assayers at the Calcutta mint. Merchants were absent from the early meetings. Jones used the Royal Society of London as the model for his organization, having been a member since his twenty-sixth year in recognition of his philological research while still residing in England.

William Jones, in his first address as a president of the society entitled, “Discourse on the Institution of a Society for inquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, Antiquities, Science and Literature of Asia”, Noted and eminent scholars who attended includes Charles Wilkins (1749-1830). They acquired a mastery of Sanskrit and published a grammar of languages in 1779 while superintending an East India Company trading station. Nathaniel Halhed (1751-1830), who collaborated with Wilkins in a systematic compilation of Hindu law and a Bengali grammar; Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), who translated Jones’ book Digest Of Hindu Laws (1798), authored a Sanskrit grammar and, after he returned to England was also the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

These records found their way into growing archives of epigraphical sources as Wilkins deciphered Brahmi characters and Charles Wilkinson worked on the Gupta and Kutila script. However, early Brahmi’s script on free-standing stone edicts remained undeciphered until 1837.

2.5.8.3. James Prinsep



Figure 51: James Prinsep

James Prinsep (1799-1840) was a gifted genius who, within a brief span of life, was able to achieve so much in such diverse fields as civil engineering, meteorology, mining, metallurgy, town-planning, architecture, geometry, mathematics, astronomy, natural sciences, anthropology, archaeological disciplines including epigraphy and numismatics and history, and, what is most remarkable, all this without any formal training and not connected with his given profession. The Assay Master of the Benares mint and later (after its abolition) Deputy Assay Master under H. H. Wilson and then Assay Master of the Calcutta mint made several reforms in the metrology of the rupee.

His scientific attitude brought him into contact with the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded 1784) and, more particularly, with Major Herbert, who initiated Gleanings in Science with the object of making known in India the latest scientific discoveries made in Europe and affording the Indians, especially Europeans in India, with a scientific bent of mind, a means of airing their findings and ideas to the outside world, and James Prinsep was a significant contributor to it right from its start. His writings were one of the most prized and widely appreciated original essays.

In 1931 Prinsep took complete charge of the Gleanings, which he converted into the “Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)”, then a monthly publication, after taking over as the Secretary of the Society (1932), wherein he had already been highly active academically. Through sheer perseverance, he was able almost to complete the process of decoding the two primary Indian scripts, viz, Brâhmī and Kharostī or Kharosthī, in which or in the former’s derivatives, most of the early Indian records, comprising independent epigraphs and coin-legends, were composed. This constitutes his most significant contribution to the study of early Indian history.

The historical deductions and statements of Prinsep are based on or drawn from his observation or study of inscriptions and coins, principally the latter. They cannot be described as independent historical studies in the modern sense. They are thus historical deductions from the study of coins and inscriptions. Naturally, there is

no question of any completeness expected of historical writings based on various sources.

Thus most significant contribution to unravelling early Indian history was deciphering early Indian inscriptions and coin-legends inscribed in Brāhmi and its later derivatives and Kharosti (or Kharosthi). or Kharoshthi). Moreover, after completing the decipherment of Brāhmi, he tried to apply it to coin legends and read other inscriptions beginning with those of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, the earliest known Brāhmi records. He accepted the identification of Piyadasi of these inscriptions with the Maurya emperor Aśoka proposed by Tumour and located in two of his Rock edicts at Girnar and Dhauli, the names of contemporary Greek rulers of Greece, North Africa and West Asia, including Antiochus (Amtiyoka), explicitly referred to as Yonarāja (Skt. Yavanarāja, viz. Greek King) an allusion to Ptolemy (Turamaya), Antigonus (Amtekina) as well as Magas (Maka) whom he dated about 260 BC.

Prinsep also studied the then-known Gupta inscriptions and coins and made dependable observations. He regarded the Gupta coins as the second class of Hindu coins, the first, as we have seen above, being the Kushana series. Concerning the post-Gupta period, He regarded all the kings with Pala-ending names as offshoots of the Pāla dynasty of Gauda or Bengal.

2.5.9. Sangam Literature

The word “Sangam” can be translated as an academy or assembly of scholars or poets. Three Sangams were said to have existed in Madurai, the Early, the Middle, and the Last. Later studies have proved that the first two were merely mythical. The last one enjoyed the patronage of the Pandya Kings. The “Sangam Poetry” is now the body of work created over several years by various poets.

Tolkappiyam is the oldest extant work in Tamil, and Sangam poetry is next only to it. Tolkappiyam offers a critical analysis of Tamil letters and words. It is perhaps the only linguistic treatise that deals with language and the modes of human life as influenced by geographical conditions. The editors or compilers who

anthologized these poems had used a predominantly taxonomic approach. Poems written during the Sangam period, i.e. the early years of the First Millennium, were later collected and compiled into two broad categories, Ettuthogai (Eight Works) and Pathuppattu (Ten Works). The individual works grouped in these categories are identified according to thematic differences. The two main divisions are Subjective, i.e. Personal and Objective, i.e. Social. At the same time, the Subjective poetry of the Sangam period consists of themes such as love, pains of separation between lovers, elopement, a scandal about lovers etc. Objective poetry concerns war, the courage and generosity of kings, ethics of public life, tenets of good society etc. This is why Sangam poems are compact in form and human in content.

The imagery is chiefly from nature and the animal kingdom. They are a valuable source of ancient Tamil history. They can stand the test of any stringent critical canons. They can compare successfully with the best poems in any language.

George Uglow Pope (1820-1907), a British missionary and Tamil scholar, translated Sangam poetry into English. He had translated only a few poems. A.K. Ramanujan's Interior Landscape and Poems of Love and War carry the translation of a reasonably good number of Sangam poems.

Although there is no consensus amongst scholars concerning the period of the compilation of the Sangam works, primarily arising from the period related to the creation and collection, it is generally agreed that these works were written between the 2nd century BCE and the fourth century CE. In fact, from the historical point of view, the Puram songs are more valued than the Akam songs. Purananuru, Pathuppattu and Patitippattu are considered essential to reconstructing the early History of Tamil country/Tamizakham.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the role played by charitas and vamsala in constructing ancient Indian history.
- 2) Explain the historical importance of Kalhans Rajatarangini.

- 3) Critically evaluate the European contribution to Indian History
- 4) Are the Indologists necessarily imperialist Historians?

2.6.1. Medieval Historiography: Western

To properly understand medieval western historiography, it is imperative to list some of its main features.

First and foremost, Medieval western historiography believes in *Universal history*: The Bible is considered and is bound to be a universal history. This traces the origin of man in the book of Genesis. Here historiographical consciousness was shaped, coalesced and combined with theological history. Early Christian historical basic framework was linked with events from scripture in relation to politics that eventually produced a universal history.

Secondly, it also took chronology seriously, i.e. the periodization of History. This is manifested in dividing history into epochs assigning a particular feature or characteristic of its own.

Thirdly it was also significantly influenced by *Providential History*: This providential history postulates that Christian historiography attributed any events not to their human agents but through providence; everything is predetermined. Which essentially means everything is predestined. All actions are from above.

Then we also have *Apocalyptic history*: The apocalyptic Christian historiography believes and attaches importance to the life of Christ. This divided history into two parts, i.e. Life that preceded the birth of Christ is considered forward-looking, where the character looks into the faithful preparation that is yet to come; the second part is commonly known as backwards-looking, depending on the revelation.

Thus, the medieval western historical concept derives its meaning and purpose from Biblical perspectives. It was the church that controlled the beginning and end of history. Therefore this led some historians to argue that Western Medieval

historiography was essentially church history. Undoubtedly, the Bible is still in control of the contour of historical progress at one point in time. In other words, “the idea that history has a direction and a purpose, *a telos* or teleology, has been a powerful force in shaping later ideas of history and how history ‘works’. This is true both in the area of the philosophy of history and in relation to particular historical moments where the idea that history has a trajectory such as that revealed in the Old Testament has played a decisive influence”. So over and above all, these stand an overarching teleological narrative and culminate with the realization of God’s mission on earth. These are the basic tenets of medieval western historiography.

So, in medieval Europe, we can say that historiographical tradition was developed and designed keeping in mind the theological needs of history.

2.6.1.2. Challenges posed to Medieval Historiography

Medieval western historiography also faced various challenges. Following are some of the issues that confront medieval historiography:

The first and foremost challenge is that it had unquestionably adopted the entire ancient pre-Christian and Jewish history—events and personalities mentioned in the Gospel as historical personalities.

Secondly, Church history is closely related to the revelation but without substantiation. Knowledge can be gained through observation, intuition and revelation.

Thirdly, church history made a vicious distinction between ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ history. Religious history was sacred to it, and secular history was profane. It developed such antipathy and resentment for men’s ordinary and worldly deeds that it did not consider them worthy of our attention. Consequently, a good part of human activity, essentially its substance, was excluded from the domain of history. What remained were speculative and hypothetical ideas that could hardly constitute history.

Fourthly, Church history built a ring of false guardianship of piety and authority, defying all scrutiny and logic. It has been a weakness of church history that it never subjected itself to a dispassionate analysis of its sources or interpretations. The solitary branch of history claims exception from a critical investigation of treatment.

2.6.1.3. Bede & St. Augustine

Two influential personalities need to be discussed here. One is the Venerable Bede((672–735 CE)) and St. Augustine's concept of the City of God. During this period, Christian notions of the past were predicated on the idea that since history was moved forward by an omnipotent God, there was an urgent need to calculate the timing of the Second Coming. Bede argued that the concept of a Leap Year was a way of catching up on a calendar that was losing days in relation to the relatively advanced calculations about the motion of the Sun around the Earth and the measurements of equinoxes. This he does by using the sundial and observing the tides in northern England. However, to what extent Bede was a prime mover in this enterprise is highly contested. Indeed, the Muslim world (and the Jews of Iberia) had stolen a march on Christianity with much greater accuracy and complex calendars. At the same time, Bede tends to be placed into contemporary and near-contemporary writers on time and the calendar, especially Irish commentators. More recently, the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Grosseteste (c.1170–1253), has been especially noted for his groundbreaking work on the medieval calendar and his influence on those that came subsequently (Flood et al., 2013)

Bernard Mc Ginn's in his seminal work *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (1985), argued that "Joachim's 'theology of history' was similar in range and method to the better known St Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE). Works by Augustine, such as *De Civitate Dei*, or the City of God, posited ages starting with Adam and Noah and finished with Christ and the present. Before the Christian era, however, historians such as Herodotus (c.490 BCE) had said little about chronology, deduced dating using the reigns of Emperors and Kings".

2.6.1.3.1. Bede



Figure 52: Bede /Saint Bede, the venerable

Bede called his History 'The Ecclesiastical History of the English people' (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*). Bede's primary objective was to follow the path of Eusebius and do something concrete for the church of England, which Eusebius had done in general or as a whole and also follows his footsteps in his choice of subject matter and technique. Thus, putting in perspectives from the words of Gregory and Paul the Deacon fulfilled his desire to make his history a national one. Nevertheless, the weakness lies in that historians seldom differentiate what is considered sacred and profane matters during these periods. The events that occurred from time to time are explained in God's judgement and sometimes as miracles.

Bede was influenced by Gildas, whose emphasis was related to the sinfulness of the Britons and incorporated this theme into History. His attempt was basically to show that fate met by the British resulted from their sinful deed and the punishment was divinely and draw a parallel between Israel and Britain that when God wanted Great Britain to be a strong nation, they underwent several hurdles in terms of severe punishment. Thus for Bede, the European miracles confirm that the English are considered that of Israel, primarily because of their conversion to Christianity, which gives them sovereignty, and the English history is perhaps the depiction of progress towards the unification of the island.

Like other medieval chroniclers, Bede was determined to task the historians with the objective of discerning God's will. He states, "while the task of history was to fulfil providence and determine precisely where we were on the divine journey to the End of Days". Medieval chronicles also believe in Visions, dreams, and hearsay adopted without any factual or evidential basis.

2.6.1.3.2. St. Augustine



Figure 53: St. Augustine

Augustine of Hippo's works *De Doctrina Christiana*, a theory of Christian culture in which the scriptures would take the place of the pagan classics and secular studies would be pursued insofar as they provided material for the Christian exegete (A person skilled in exegesis (especially of religious texts)). Eminent personalities like Prudentius, a great Christian poet, and Paulinus of Nola provided the church with a corpus of poetry and liturgical hymns. The hymns were composed by Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan. They also found support in this area from different quarters through the works of Sedulius, Arator and Venantius Fortunatus.

2.6.1.3.3. The twenty-two books of the city of God

St. Augustine's *The City of God* began in 413 A. D. It was completed in 426 AD. The twenty-two books of the City of God fall into two groups: the first group comprising the first ten books are primarily in the form of reply and explaining the accusation made by the critics of the church who accused the Christians of the evils

that befell Rome. The second section consists of the last twelve that give complete pictures concerning the two cities' history of origin and ends of the two cities.

The work turned out to be just what he intended it to be from the beginning, and each book generally fulfils its definite in the development of the whole. Out of the 1220 Teubner pages of the City of God, about 247 (one-fifth of the whole) contain material that has no immediate or essential connection with the subject. Some may seem that other pages should be added to these 247. The matter is, of course, to some extent subjective. We have marked only those parts which seem clearly to be defects in the plan. These defects may be grouped into the following six classes:

- We find that St. Augustine often digresses to explain some doctrine or morals to the Christians. Such chapters generally amount to short sermons, which, though exciting and instructive, do not contribute to the plan's development.
- Again, we have expositions of pagan views and customs. Sometimes these are necessary to make the preceding or following matter intelligible, but often they are uncalled-for deviations from the subject.
- Augustine makes a constant effort to be clear and convincing. As a result of this, we find here and there superfluous arguments added after the proof is complete. These indicate a lack of finish in Augustine's artistry.
- Sometimes, he becomes prolix (tediously prolonged or tending to speak or write at great length) (prolixitati, IV. 34) as he remarks, and we have discussions and illustrations, apt and valuable but too long and detailed for a perfectly developed theme.
- We find repetitions in the City of God, but they are not very frequent considering the length of the work. We have examples of parts of chapters repeated but rarely of whole chapters.
- Lastly, St. Augustine reveals a fondness for the symbolic meaning of words, especially of numbers. Often these explanations are too brief to mar the plan, but at times they assume more significant proportions and become severe defects.

All these digressions seem to arise from Augustine's eagerness to instruct the Christians in matters concerning which he believed them to be ignorant or in doubt or admonish them to the practice of virtue. They are defects since they are apparent departures from the main subject. Other chapters in the City of God contain similar instructions, but they pertain directly to the argument and are not included with these, which mar the plan. For example, in II. 29, St. Augustine discourses the beauty of Christianity in contrast to the gross licentiousness of pagan worship and exhorts all to embrace it. However, this is a real addition to the main argument that the pagan gods are not worthy of worship.

Theodor E. Mommsen, who peruse the City of God, made a critical observation and posed a question, i.e. "were in the summer of the year 410, Rome fell to a Visigothic army under King Alaric, that the impact this work has had upon the development of Christian thought, it can indeed be said that the fall of Rome in the year 410, which motivated its composition, marks a momentous date in the intellectual history of the western world". He went on to argue that by quoting St. Jerome who was at that time living in Bethlehem. "When he received the news of the havoc wrought in the West and, above all, in the city of Rome, he expressed his feelings in the preface to the first book of the Commentaries on Ezekiel". Moreover, in the preface to the third book of the same work, Jerome asked: "Who would believe that Rome, built up by the conquest of the whole world, has collapsed, that the mother of nations has also become their tomb"?

The main reason and the purpose of this book (city of God) were, of course, stated in several places but nowhere more concisely than in the work entitled *Retractations*, which he wrote after completing *The City of God* in 426. He defined his primary objective was to clarify the theory that the Goths befell Rome under king Alaric, that the Pagan accused the Christians of this act and vilified the Christian much more than ever before, this being the main objective for Augustine to pen down the books on *The City of God* in response to their blasphemies and vulgarity put forward by the so-called Pagan.

Furthermore, he commissioned his younger friend Orosius to write an entire history of the world from the point of view that Orosius himself best describes in the dedication to Augustine of his *Seven Books of Histories Against the Pagans*: “You bade me discover from all the available data of histories and annals, whatever instances past ages have afforded of the burdens of war, the ravages of diseases, the horrors of famine, terrible earthquakes, extraordinary floods, dreadful eruptions of fire, thunderbolts and hailstorms, and also instances of the cruel miseries caused by murders and crimes against man better self”. (*Quoted from J. W. Woodworth’s translation of Orosius’s Seven Books (1936).*

2.6.1.3.4. Augustine’s historical trajectories

He did not believe that this world is eternal but indeed with a true genesis, and further put it in the affirmative that the world was created in time, so shall it come to an end with a definite time; this time and moment is known only to the father in heaven but not even by Jesus during his time on earth. In this connection, when he landed with a controversy over the question of the beginnings of temporal space, Augustine wrote: “The philosophers of this world believed that they could or should not solve that controversy in any other way than by introducing cycles of time, in which they asserted that the revolving of coming and passing ages would always be renewed and repeated in the nature of things and would thus go on without cessation.” Augustine's quotation firmly held belief by citing the cyclical theory of history postulated by Platonists, Stoics, and other Greek schools of philosophy.

Thus he further affirms the context of the passage that the cyclical view was also maintained by Origen, who attempted to support it more authoritatively through quotations from the Scriptures in Ecclesiastes (1: 9): “There is no new thing under the sun”. According to Augustine, it means “history takes its course, not in cycles, but along a line. That line has a most definite beginning, the Creation, and a most definite end, the Last Judgment. Within this substantial period, the most remarkable single event was the appearance of Christ”. Furthermore, contextualised with the life history

of Jesus Christ that Christ died for the sinner who ever believes in him shall die no more, but the soul will be saved.

Augustine's conception of the discourse on history was to say that every particular event in time, human life and human action is a unique phenomenon that happens under Divine Providence's auspices and must therefore have a definite meaning. The roots of this linear conception of history, as distinguished from the cyclical theories of the Greeks, went back to Hebrew ideas which the early Christian theologians had further developed. However, Augustine, who elaborated those ideas, systematically determined the theology of history prevailing throughout the Middle Ages that eventually influenced the philosophies of history in modern times. To him, history was the *operation Dei* in time, God's interventions that follow a unidirectional and teleological process, i.e. directed towards one goal-salvation, "*the salvation of individual men, not of any collective groups or organizations*". They have also maintained that since the time of creation, two cities have existed, i.e. the city of God and the earthly city.

Thus according to Augustine, the computation of the times begins after the two cities(theological doctrine) Rome and heaven have been set forth, the former founded for the earth life of this world, the latter for the believers of God. According to this passage, the history of the two cities has the same starting point, the fall of Adam till the last judgment.

2.6.1.4. Eusebius



Figure 54:Eusebius

Eusebius declares that “the most significant gains made by humankind since the days of Christ and Augustus were the abolition of wars, foreign and civil and the establishment of peace and security, the time-hallowed ideals of the Pax Romana”. But he also saw other improvements. For instance, he declared in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*: “Of the benefits resulting from God’s doctrines which have become manifest on earth, you may see a clear proof if you consider that at no other time from the beginning until now, and not through the merits of any of the illustrious men of old but only through Christ’s utterances and teachings, diffused throughout the whole world, the customs of all nations have been set aright, even those customs which before were savage and barbarous”. This strict discipline of the new faith forced men to lead a just life that is morally adorable that will eventually restrain them from being hostile toward others.

Eusebius concluded his enumeration of all the improvements made in the political, legal and moral spheres by asking: “How, then, can anyone . . . refuse to admit that our doctrine has brought all men good tidings of very great and true blessings, and has supplied to human life that which is of immediate advantage toward happiness?”

So this made Eusebius firmly believe that under divine guidance, humankind continues to progress from the pre-Christian era through the three centuries of the gradual ascent of the new Church to the reign of Constantine in which he lived. He declared in his *Praise of Constantine* (16, 8): that prophesy concerning our Saviour [Holy Bible, Old Testament.e., Psalm 72:7-8, and Isaiah, 2, 4] were auspicated and disseminated in the Hebrew language during that time, so finally we have seen the fruit in our time the ancient testimonies of the prophets stand confirmed. As human beings progress under such kind of divine intervention or operation Dei, the progress will continue. They are stating that such kind of progress was witnessed in Roman Empire. The aims of the Roman empire to unite all nations under one umbrella or a roof has been achieved to a certain extent, but the perfect unification is yet to come

incorporating the habitable world but only under the aid and directives of the Divine Providence, which will facilitate and smoothen the way of the Empire.

In his essay on *The Idea of Progress*, G. H. Hildebrand stated that this idea of progress follows three principles:

First is “the belief that history follows a continuous, necessary, and orderly course.”

Second, “the belief that this course is the effect of a regularly operating causal law” and

Finally, “the belief that the course of change has brought and will continue to bring improvement in the condition of mankind”.

Check your progress

- 1) Bring out the main characteristics of Western medieval historiography
- 2) Discuss the contribution of Venerable Bede and St. Augustine to medieval historiography.

2.6.2. Arabic Historiography

In the period that marked the fall of Rome till the European renaissance, there emerged Islamic Caliphate seemingly bridged the gap in historiography. Islam was politically, culturally and economically a power to reckon with that facilitated its expansion in that very region. The calendar of the Islamic world that marked the foundation of Islam in 622 CE was significant in the Islamic world because it marked the migration of Muslims (hijrah) from Mecca to Medina under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad. However, in order to build historiography, the year 632 instead of 622 might be more sound and accurate primarily because it was the year of the Prophet's death and the election of Abu Bakr as his successor (Caliph), formally “Commander of the Faithful” (amir al-mu'minin). This means that history and

theology are not antithetical but assist and complement each other, but faith is espoused by the country's rulers and conditioned by which branch of Islamic thought.

One of the most authoritative accounts of Arabic historiographers remains Francesco Gabriel, who argues that Arabic historiography is essentially the historiography of Islamic civilization. The political and social fluctuation of the Arabs before Islam can be reconstructed fragmentarily from hints by authors and documents in other languages (Assyrian annals, classical history and geography) and from the many epigraphical documents, South-Arabian civilization has left behind. The fundamental problem in this civilization is that the Arabs possessed some vague notion of history: "historical records are mixed up with legendary material. They are changed and manipulated by arbitrary addition from the historians of antiquity". On the other hand, there are also authentic sources in terms of inscription, i.e. South-Arabian inscriptions. Like the Greek Illiad, they also combine ancient Arabic poetry and famous and ancient traditions while reconstructing their past.

Muhammad Darwazah, in his "Dustur al-Qur'dni, advocated a 'Qur'anic constitution' for the modern world since the Qur'an's world-view is both in-worldly and other-worldly, 'Islam is a religion of the world (din al-dunya), of government, society, morals and order, to the same extent as it is a religion of faith and belief and the next world (din al-akhirah)".

Abdul Hasan 'Ali Hasani Nadawi, one of the eminent and influential Indian authors, wrote in his "Islam and the World", first published in Cairo in 1950 and since translated into Urdu and English, argues that "the Muslim states are exhibiting the same materialistic tendencies which are the hallmark of the Western Social System. The same enslavement to earthly longings is fast becoming the community's creed, the cornerstone whose faith is the idea that real life is the life to come. Its solicitude for after-life is declining day by day. It subordinates its ethical principles to material expediency with great cheerful readiness. In some respects, the Muslims are outdoing the Western races in glorification of material wealth.' . . . 'The secret of a Muslim's strength lies in his faith in the Divine recompense and reward afterlife".

2.6.2.1. Islamic Eschatology

The impact of *Islamic Eschatology* in the Muslim world is profoundly significant. The world is divided into pre and post-Islam. The Jahiliyah denotes the age of ignorance before Islam, where a man was but a pawn of inexorable Time and Death. There is other-worldliness in the Qur'an, too, but whereas the Jahili solution is to recommend hedonism in this life, the Qur'an looks to a future reward for man's present faith and good works.

The Qur'an primarily explicates the ethical nature rather than the philosophical concept of God. As stated in the Quran, God has attributes such as being a merciful yet strict judge, Demanding undivided veneration, and obedience. Judgement day, known as "rawm al-din", is at the same time reckonings day and separation. The Qur'an also underlines the doctrines of promise and threat "wa'd wa-wa'id," particularly concerning reward or punishment on judgement day. The details about Paradise "Jannah" and Hell "Jahannam" are forewarned to those sinners or unbelievers. All of this are explained in detail in "the early Meccan suirahs, 81 - 84, paint swift and vivid pictures of the terrors of that day. The titles of these suarahs alone are suggestive: 'The Darkening', The Splitting, The Stinters, The Rendings".

One of the issues confronting historians while reconstructing Islamic historiography pertains to "the political institutions" during classical and medieval Muslim history. This was pointed out by Manzooruddīn Ahmed, who states that "the Islamic community did not experience such a course of political development. Consequently, the concepts of state and sovereignty did not evolve. These western political concepts made their inroads into Muslim thinking during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the Muslim world was exposed to the colonial domination of the European powers".

The so-called medieval political institutions continued to function until the advent of modern Turkey when in 1924, under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Atatürk and the Ottoman Caliphate came to an end. The period witnessed the

organization of Turkey along the lines of the European political, legal and cultural institutions. This modernisation process unfolded several concepts of republic and sovereignty and allowed the people of the young republic six promising principles such as secularism, nationalism, populism, etatism, revolution, and democracy were adopted as the plank for national reconstruction. This model was a volte-face from the earlier medieval Islamic traditions.

2.6.2.2. The Qur'an and the Sunnah

The two important sources while trying to understand the Historiography of Islam, the Arabs mainly rely on *The Qur'an and the Sunnah*, i.e., the oral Tradition consisting of reports by eyewitnesses and Companions of the Prophet. Particular reference to this traditional literature is necessary to explain the form that came to be adopted for the biographies of Muhammad, the first type of historical literature in early Islam. Although such Traditions' Hadiths, i.e. "oral reports", cannot be considered purely historical literature in the modern sense of the term, they sometimes give evidence of a definite historical sense because of their legendary nature or character. They are classified and authenticated based on reliable transmission chains. This "sequential method" imbibed the Arabs with a sense of critical historical reconstruction as it clearly and vividly implied an awareness of time and temporal space.

2.6.2.3. Hadith

This Hadith scholarship or the gathering of knowledge about Hadith is "*a tradition based on reports of the sayings and activities of Muhammad and his companions- transmitters and genealogy in a broader range*". The "Tabaqat", a collection of biographies, also constitutes important data for historical research of Islam. The interest was triggered by both religious and political and Arab national consciousness. The Arabs began to consider and view themselves from a national-historical viewpoint. This was considered a turning point in Arabic historiography.

The methods of research and approaches to the Prophet's life and Hadith were said to have developed independently, yet they began to be influenced through the lens of Arab Nationalism. The Historical research in these fields was soon translated into universal historical consciousness. Since then, the centrality of the Prophet has been in the historical discourse in the backdrop of the entire world. Though not belonging to historical literature, the extraordinary canonical Hadith collections of the 9th century AD could not be undermined, as they directly or indirectly contributed to the development of Arabic historiography.

2.6.2.4. Ibn Qutayba (889 A.D)



Figure 55: Ibn Qutayba

Ibn Qutayba (889 A.D) represented a new pattern of Historiography, i.e. a complete departure from the previous tradition of “Arabic historiography” His most celebrated “*Book of Knowledge*”, considered an equivalent to the “encyclopaedia of world history” that consists of all relevant matters concerning the Arab-Islamic scholarship. The importance of his works lies in the fact that he consulted and incorporated all available sources such as the stories, Biblical narrative, the Arab's national tradition, the Persian kings, and biographical information about Muhammad apart from some eminent scholars and poets.

2.6.2.5. Al-Tabari



Figure 56: Al Tabari

Al-Tabari is one of the outstanding historians and interpreters in Islamic history. He was shot into the limelight because of his works, Tafseer al-Tabari and The History of al-Tabari. The former Tafsir al-Tabari made concerted efforts to organize the various interpretation stages of time and space. Al-Tabari was mainly concerned with matters related to his sciences in jurisprudence, language, religion and doctrine in his book “History of Al Tabari.- it documents the world from the beginning of creation to the end of the year 302 AH, i.e. from the birth of Adam till the time Al Tabari lived in.

2.6.2.6. Ibn-Khaldun



Figure 57:Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* is his masterpiece written in 1377. His genius lies in his contribution to modern sociology, historiography and economics. He also employs this rationalist tradition's logical apparatus and materialist assumptions as the foundational basis for historical inquiry. Muhsin Mahdi (1957), in his monumental work "*Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*", argues that methodology is well appreciated primarily because Ibn Khaldun relied upon *burhān*, i.e. demonstration or proof, the premier form of deductive logic is based upon absolute propositions.

The importance of the historiographical setting of *Muqaddimah* also lies in the fact that Ibn Khaldun, apart from *burhān*, is also credited with using an enormous range of philosophical concepts and logical procedures. The concepts he used include *burhān* and *istiqrā'*, i.e. inductive reasoning. This inductive reasoning consists of Aristotelian ideas about the intellect, the physical world, and society. So while formulating his methodology by incorporating the ideas of Aristotle and Ptolemy, Ibn Khaldun successfully invented new science or a new subject within "science," the introduction of a philosophical approach to historical writing that even the father of history, Herodotus and Thucydides, the father of scientific history missed out.

In the words of Stephen Frederic Dale, who considered Ibn-Khaldun as The Last Greek and the First Annaliste Historians. Dale further states, "By developing a philosophical methodology for historical research, Ibn Khaldun distinguished himself within the Greco-Islamic rationalist tradition and anticipated the scientific methods of Emile Durkheim and, in somewhat more diffusely ways, that of later historians of the *Annales*". So this is a remarkable feat achieved by Ibn Khaldun in the realm of Islamic historiography.

Ibn Khaldun also made his impact felt in the realm of historical geography. He divided the world into seven climatic zones; based on this, he postulated that the fourth one is the seemingly a comfortable zone to live and thereby evolved the idea of environmental determinism stemming from those zones' in terms of the climate, human behaviour and agricultural produces, this made some scholars equate him with Montesquieu. His mentor, the medieval Arab geographer al-Idrisi (1110-1165 CE),

influenced Ibn Khaldun and was significant. Al-Idrisi created the medieval map, albeit the genesis could be traced from Ptolemy. The French geographer Yves Lacoste's remarks on Ibn Khaldun were stunningly remarkable "Until the nineteenth century. Only Ibn Khaldun had improved upon Thucydides. Thucydides invented history, but Ibn Khaldun turned it into a science."

2.6.2.6.1. Khaldun's Background

Originally a Tunisian thinker whose connection is well-grounded with his culture, reflecting his involvement in his society and civilization is well documented. This extraordinary character enabled him to transcend all the barriers posed by the religious and environmental barriers and eventually propelled him to reach an extraordinary heights and the standards of the classical period of Arabic historiography.

The *Muqaddima* underlines Khaldun's philosophy of history, and the most exciting features are expounded in the introduction to his voluminous work of general history, *Kitab al'Ibar or Book of Historical Examples*. This is valuable by itself and not consistently recognised as such, but it remained undeniably inferior to the high standard of his theoretical introduction. In this work dedicated to human civilization in its totality and to the laws that govern it, Ibn Khaldun compares Beduin society with the settled and urban culture, studying in the latter how the progress of civilization continues. For him, the motive behind history, both for the Beduin and settled population, is the Asabiyya or group spirit (tribal, family and dynastic solidarity, not only natural but also the spiritual and religious aspects of the relationship).

The 'Asabiyya forms and strengthens the dominant group and creates an empire, including the Arabo-Islamic kingdom with unique religious characteristics. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun's thought gets into difficulty over reconciling his new historical outlook with the traditional view on the subject concerning the origins of his civilization. Therefore, many problems remain unsolved, as often happens in such attempts to establish harmony between elements that cannot be reconciled; but on the

whole, Ibn Khaldun succeeds in maintaining the originality of his thought (in which he points out a new science and anticipate Vico).

About four hundred years before Ibn Khaldun wrote his famous Muqaddimah, in which he put forward a profound philosophy of history, Miskawayh (*Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Miskawayh*) had already expounded a theory of history in which he discussed it as a practical discipline. However, this is not to deny the fact that other historians also had before Ibn Khaldun explained the principles of historical scholarship.

As seen by the Muslims or the rationalist Islamic historiographical tradition, the picture of history underwent no essential change during the middle ages. It primarily began as a result of Ibn Khaldun, the only Arabic work dealing with principles of historical scholarship, sociology (human social grouping), and economics, which was undoubtedly unique. The conception related to its questions and theories about states' formation, type and dissolution and the factors working on them might have given Arabic historiography a new and fruitful stimulus. As discussed above, While propounding purely empirical and seemingly evolutionary theories, Ibn Khaldun thinks of evolution in the context of an ideology that is not at variance with the fundamental principles of Islam.

The introduction, which is completed with a general review of the arts, science and industry of Islamic civilization, with particular reference to western Islam, is followed by a history proper narrated on a non-annalistic scheme but with racial and cultural stratification: Arabs, ancient peoples of the Orient, Greeks, Romans, French and at the end Berbers, or the indigenous race of north Africa. The whole Maghribi history is based on the relationship between the Arabs and Berbers, on whom the former had imposed Islam. This last part is vital in Ibn Khaldun's treatment of history. In contrast, the history of the Caliphate and the eastern lands of the Arabs is borrowed from previous sources (Ibn al-Arthur).

Although it is not desirable to compare the writings of a historian of the 15th century with those of the modern positivists yet the contributions of Ibn Khaldun to the philosophy of history are so original, so profound, and so modern that if the said comparison is made no injustice will be done to Ibn Khaldun. He is thus called Ranke of the Islamic Historiography, and some called it Max-Weber.

Check your progress

- 1) How far do you agree that Ibn Khaldun is the Ranke of Islamic historiography and Max Weber of Islam?
- 2) What is Islamic eschatology?

2.6.3.Persian historiography

The basic principle and uniqueness of Persian historiography in particular and Islam underline history's role in linking present rulers with the past, whether with those of ancient Iran or the caliphate- thereby legitimizing the transfer of power to the incumbents is very crucial.



Figure 58: Abu Al Qasim Firdawsi

Abu al- Qasim Firdawsi's *Shahnama*, a lengthy poem which chronicles the Iranian monarchy from its origins to its end with the Arab conquest, and Abu al-Fazl Bayhaqi's *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*, the surviving portion of a long history of the Ghaznavid dynasty, encompassing the reign of Mas'ud I (1030-1041) and ending with his defeat

by the Seljuks in 1040. Firdawsi wrote between 975 and 1010, and Bayhaqi between 1042 and 1077. While both writers share many preoccupations of their age—notably, an interest like the transfer of power and the related issue of kingly ethics marked the differences in their works that raise broader questions relating to the development of new Persian literature and historical literature writing in Persian, in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Tahirids, ethnically Persian but almost wholly assimilated to the dominant Arabic culture, paid slight attention to Persian letters, the Saffarids substantially more,⁹ but the Samanids, who encouraged Persian and Arabic letters, are considered the initiators of the Persian literary renaissance.

Persian national feeling undoubtedly conditions in the east, remote from the centres of Arabic culture and with large segments of the population, facilitated the rise of new Persian (Dari) and its spread as the lingua franca of the region as well as encouraging literary composition in that language.

2.6.3.1. The genesis of Persian historiography

The genesis of historical writing in Persian during the last half-century of Samanid rule is a similarly complex phenomenon. It is marked from the outset by the existence of two separate and distinct narratives of the past: pre-Islamic and Iranian; the other, Islamic.



Figure 59: Abu Mansur Mamari

The first, focusing on the history of the ancient Iranian kings, informs the prose *Shahnama* of Abu Mansur Ma'mari (maturidi) composed in the reign of Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh (954-961) at the behest of the governor of Tus (later of Khurasan), Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq, in 957-58, of which only the preface (perhaps the oldest surviving example of Persian prose) remains. The second, dealing primarily with Islamic history is seen in the translation from Arabic of Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari's universal history, the *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-muluk* (History of prophets and kings), commissioned by Mansur ibn Nuh (961-976) and carried out by his vizier Abu 'Ali Balami.

While the Samanids propagated both the Iranian and the Islamic narratives of history, this was not to remain the case under their successors. The last crucial Samanid ruler, Nuh ibn Mansur (976-997), seems to have taken a particular interest in the indigenous tradition; it was for him that the poet Daqiqi (d. ca. 977) began a metrical version of the *Shahnama*, left uncompleted at his untimely death. A *Shahnama* in the *hazaj* meter was composed somewhat earlier by Mas'udi Marvazi; Biruni mentions a *Shahnama* by Abu 'Ali Muhammad ibn Ahmad Balkhi, perhaps to be identified with Abu al-Mu'ayyad Balkhi. The culmination of this tendency was Firdawsi's *Shahnama*, dedicated to Mahmud of Ghazna.

Thus under the Ghaznavids, the Islamic model gained ground in such works as Abu Nasr 'Utbi's Arabic history of the Ghaznavids ('Utbi 1870) and, later, in Gardizi's history of that dynasty, the *Zayn al-Akhbar* (ca. 1053), and in the anonymous *Tarikh-i Sistan* (1059), dealing chiefly with the Saffarids. These works adopt the Arabic model of the universal history, which incorporated, as the preamble to the history of Islamic rule (embodied in the caliphate or local dynasties), that of the peoples Islam had conquered and whose law had thus been abrogated by its coming. In this context, the history of Iran (as of other pre-Islamic states) was relegated to the status of prehistory. However, 'Utbi and later Bayhaqi concentrate solely on the history of the Ghaznavids; this has, for Bayhaqi especially, important consequences.

Historical narratives thus become very significant. They both validate the present and, by so doing, confirm the universality of history's recurrent patterns. The relationship between states' rise and fall and their rulers' moral qualities is an essential theme in Firdawsi's *Shahnama* and Bayhaqi's history of Mas'ud; however, each construct's exemplary narratives are, however, strikingly different. Firdawsi's vast epic poem has inspired many, often conflicting readings; since the nineteenth century, it has often been read as a lament for the past glories of the Iranian monarchy and as a monument to the Iranian national spirit. Less often is the poem viewed as a work of history, although there is no doubt that Firdawsi considered his primary purpose to be historical.

The *Shahnama* deals with three successive Iranian dynasties-the Pishdadiyan, the Kayanids, and the Sassanians-each of which begins auspiciously, then declines both morally and politically, to end with an outsider assuming rule and ushering in a virtual interregnum which ends, in turn, with the transfer of power to a legitimate ruler. The Pishdadi dynasty begins with Kayumars, who establishes the institution of kingship; it ends with Jamshid, who starts as a just ruler but becomes prideful and turns away from God.

The destruction of Iranian sovereignty is often described as the tragic final scene of Iranian history. More generally, however, it confirms the paradigm of the rise and fall of states, inscribed in the poem's division into successive dynastic cycles.

2.6.3.2. Abul-Fazl Bayhaqi's :Tarikh-i- Bayhaqi

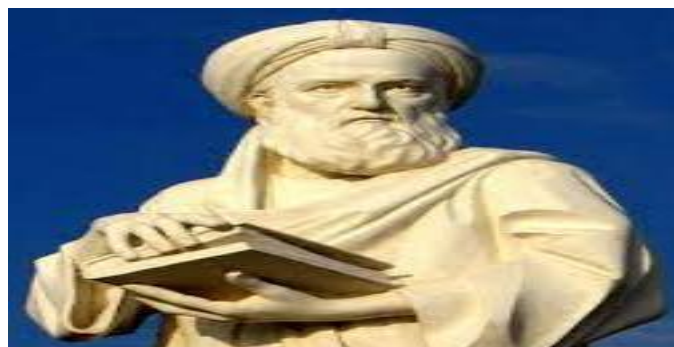


Figure 60: Abl Fazl Bayhaqi

The Tharkh-i Bayhaq begins with a brief introduction where the author, after setting out his detailed genealogy, back to Sam b. Nuh, the second son of Adam, expresses despair about the period in which he is living and contrasts it unfavourably with the conditions when the pursuit of knowledge was possible in earlier times. Many invaluable sciences, he laments, have been obliterated in Khurasan. Among these, Ibn Funduq gives importance to the science of traditions, for nowadays, if someone writes ten isnads, few would be able to distinguish the false from the sound. Furthermore, this is the cause of the tremendous grief and calamity, for, in a radius of 100 farsangs, there are not even two claims which are authorities on the traditions of the Prophet. He asserts that the noble science “of genealogy is likewise neglected”.

2.6.3.3 Ibn Funduq

The incorporation of science and philosophy in Islamic historiography also witnessed a healthy development, which was reflected in the work of Ibn Funduq, who posits that “a third neglected science is that of history, for the age of historians has become extinct. Nevertheless, there are numerous benefits to knowing and writing history. In the next chapter, 64, Ibn Funduq offers a lengthy treatise on the relation of history to the acquisition of knowledge and the benefits of narrative”. The science of history “*ilm-i tavarikh*” is divided into two branches: the science of religions *ilm-i adyan* and the science of the material world *ilm-i abdan*.

Ibn Funduq’s contributions also lie in his treatment of the historical relationship vis a vis human knowledge. He argued that “Intellect (aql) is the faculty of understanding (shinakhtan) and feeling (hiss); observation (mushahada) and audition (masmu- at) are the means of the senses”. However, he still maintains that intellect is not the sole factor in comprehending the world’s knowledge and may not be observable in one life span. So the only way you can comprehend and understand world affairs is through History. He states, “History is also a delightful science rarely occasioning boredom, for the state of the sense of audition upon hearing news and stories is comparable to that of perception upon seeing objects of beauty”.

Thus History, according to Ibn Funduq, is normative and utilitarian. It is didactic, entertaining, and based on strict memorisation, reinforced through its association with current affairs. It lends itself best to learning, unlike jurisprudence, mathematics, grammar, and other sciences. Experience (tajribat), as Ibn Funduq, opines, “can be obtained by three means: personal knowledge, the experience of one’s contemporaries, and finally, through history. One who ponders history becomes the conduit of the total experiences of all the world’s wise men”. This essentially means that History is the mother of everything.

In terms of his contribution to the distribution of several regions’ history (vilayat), he has listed 50 distinct areas extending beyond Iran, India, Africa, Yemen, Khazar, Byzantium, Russia and China, a living testimony to the global dimensions of the world. He divides history into two central folds, i.e. Local history; he put “Tarikh-i Bayhaq” in this category and universal history, an example of Masharib al-Tajarib wa Ghawarib al-Gharaib.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the concept of pre-Islamic & Iranian and the Islamic division of Persian historiography.

2.7. Enlightenment historiography

What is enlightenment historiography? The Enlightenment can best be defined as when a human being and his life are said to be free from the clutches of the forces of intolerance, despotism, and bigotry and conditioned and regulated by an establishment of the rule of law based on democratic values and ethics that promotes the ideals of equality of races, fraternity among men individual liberty.

Let us quote some eminent philosophers to put in perspective and substantiate our definition above. For instance, in Kant’s Political Writings, Enlightenment is defined as “man’s emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one’s understanding without guidance. This immaturity is self-incurred

if its cause is not a lack of understanding but a lack of resolution and courage to use it without guidance. The motto of enlightenment is, therefore: Sapere aude! Dare to know! Have the courage to use your understanding.

This implies that the historiographical trends during this period enabled a person to pursue the idea of freedom and rationality and are committed to democracy, tolerance, and personal freedom. Nevertheless, it may be more interesting to unravel from the radical writers of the Enlightenment who traced and extended the definition beyond these frontiers and sought to understand the anti-colonial movement through the enlightenment itself. Then followed by the modern ideal of a liberal democracy that includes the idea of racial, ethnic, and sexual equality are established and traced their origin from the philosophy of enlightenment-and eventually to the radical enlightenment.

Therefore radical enlightenment was seemingly considered anti-theological and rationalism that ultimately promoted democratic emancipatory process, though not necessarily always anti-religious but minus the religious dogmatism and fanaticism, which can be succinctly put in the words of Baruch Spinoza, an eminent seventeenth-century Dutch philosopher whose idea was basically to reinvent religion shedding its age-old traditions of dogmatism considered more of a quasi-scientific.

2.7.1. Genesis of enlightenment historiography

In the above heading, we have delineated enlightenment and its trend of writing history. Now let us look at the genesis of this historiographical trend. The heart of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment will give you the name of eminent intellectuals. Here mention may be made of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, Montesquieu.

The Enlightenment and its connection with political revolutions are undoubtedly undeniable, exemplified by the ideals manifested in the French Revolution of 1789. During the eighteenth century, the consciousness created and expressed by the intellectuals triggered Enlightenment thinkers to the growing wave of

social unrest in France. This social unrest brought political upheaval that changed the class and traditionally and hierarchically structured *ancien régime* where the monarchy, nobility, and Church were affected. The French revolution was intended to set up a society and political institutions of liberty, equality and fraternity based on reasoning and rationality. Or, in other words, the enlightenment ideals of Liberty and equality. This is why sometimes it is also known as the “the Age of Reason” – “the rise of empiricism, *the doctrine that knowledge derives from experience*, both in the practice of science and in the theory of knowledge, is the main characteristic of the period”.

In this regard, the contributions of Descartes concerning the main expounder of rationalism and Francis Bacon, the empiricist, are noteworthy. Although Bacon’s work dates to the Renaissance, his influence on the enlightenment cannot be ruled out. Bacon is known as “the father of experimental philosophy.” his revolution, enacted in, among other works, *The New Organon*, 1620, defines the new science as follows,

First, it should be founded on empirical observation and experimentation, then it should be, arrived at through the method of induction and Finally, as ultimately aiming at, and as confirmed by, enhanced practical capacities. These principles are later known as the Baconian motto, “*knowledge is power*”.

The birth of modern-day philosophical aesthetics was also traced to the Enlightenment period. The enlightenment is often considered anti-religion, but when analysed properly, it is instead against dogmatism or, in other words, it is anti-religious in terms of some of its features, such as superstition and supernaturalism. Thus the effort to discern and advocate for a religion that advocates reasoning – a rational or natural religion – can be found in the enlightenment. For instance, Voltaire, who was considered to be most vocal in his critics of religion, his tirade and polemics are directed toward the papal authority, i.e. “Catholic Church– *“l’infâme”* in his famous sign-off in his letters, “*Écrasez l’infâme*,” “Crush the infamous”, refers to the Church authorities, but not to religion.

2.7.2. Kant and Enlightenment



Figure 61:Immanuel Kant

As stated above, enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity... The motto of enlightenment goes *Sapere aude! Dare to know!* dare to use your understanding. Kant saw the progress of such ideas in French society in terms of their reaction to the idea of reason rationality. This, according to Kant, does not automatically allow human beings to hope for their improvement, yet it is already a form of progress in itself. He further states that "Even without the mind of a seer, I now maintain that I can predict from the aspects and signs of our times that the human race will achieve this end of giving itself a republican constitution which will prevent offensive wars] and that it will henceforth progressively improve without any more total reversals. For a phenomenon of this kind which has taken place in human history can never be forgotten since it has revealed in human nature an aptitude and power for improvement of a variety which no politician could have thought up by examining the course of the event in the past".

Thus it is sufficient to put in his word; *This enlightenment requires nothing but freedom*--and the simplest form of freedom, i.e., to make public use of one's reason in all matters. Kant's second important issue concerns the rise and development of liberalism in Enlightenment political thought. This political thought became necessary with the rise of the mercantile class in the Marxist terminology might be called the bourgeoisie and eventually came to be known as the civil society, i.e. the society

characterized by work and trade in pursuit of private property. Locke's *Second Treatise* also deals with the political philosophy of serving the interests of the emerging class. Locke claims that the end or purpose of political society is preserving and protecting property, though he defines property broadly to include external property and life and liberties.

An eminent Scottish economic and enlightenment thinker, Adam Smith, describes in his "*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) some of the laws concerning the civil society "as a sphere distinct from political society as such, and thus contributes significantly to the founding of political economy, later called merely "economics". His contributions are advocating Free trade and minimum government interference in Markets.

2.8. Marxism

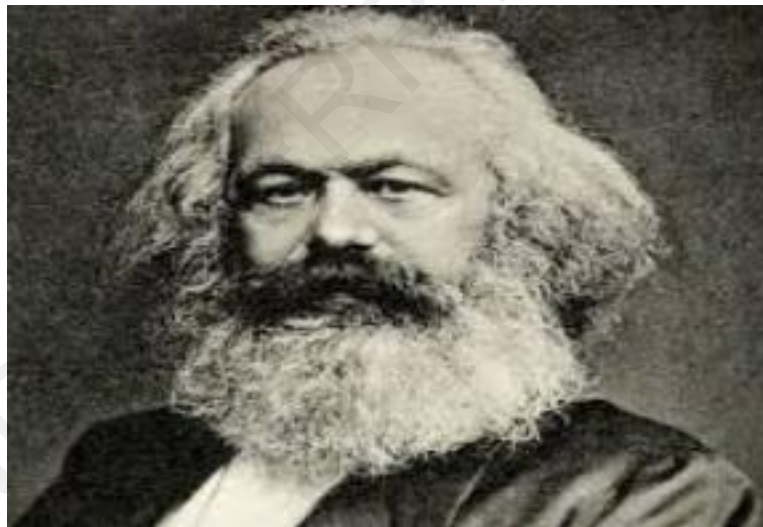


Figure 62:Karl Marx

Marxism is derived from its famous revolutionary thinker and Philosopher Karl Marx. To understand the brief history of Marxism, we will begin with the concept of "Historical materialism". Most straightforwardly, historical materialism can be defined as a systematic approach to historical inquiry/research that attempts to understand society and economics. It was called the materialist conception of history by Karl Marx. This means that the socio-economic development concerning material

changes influences and is directed by how human society and the economies are organized. Thus historical materialism” seeks the causal factor that propelled any form of development and changes in human society, subsequently producing basic necessities for Human beings. These social classes and the relationship between them, the political structures and societal structure are founded on and reflect recent economic activity or, in other words, the Economic base determines the political superstructure.

Historical materialism has been articulated in two paradigms, i.e. the contradiction of the means and mode of production and the determining influence of the form of ownership upon an economic formation. The German Ideology(1845-46) is considered collaborative and critically acclaimed by scholars as the earliest work written by Marx and Engel. It is also regarded as the “cradle” of historical materialism. Here, Marx and Engel attempt to look for a cognitive methodology that goes to the root of human history from its origins and identifies three basic historical premises, they are as follows:

- That people's needs for a living are clothing, food, housing, etc. Therefore, the initial historical activities are to produce materials to satisfy these needs, which is the production of material life.
- That a new need is caused by the production of material life itself, which is the production of instruments, the initial historical activity.
- That the Production of the human being resulting from this (two premises stated above) activity.

Traditional textbooks in Marxist philosophy mention only these three premises. However, The German Ideology sets out the fourth premise of human history. This fourth premise can be deduced from the following sentence: “Only now, after considering four moments, four aspects of primary historical relations, do we find that man also possesses ‘consciousness’”. The fourth historical premise, which includes the

dual relationship of the first three premises, is what Wei Xiaopin, an eminent Marxist thinker in his *Rethinking Historical Materialism: The New Edition of "The German Ideology*, calls the natural-social relationship.

This conception of history stated here reflected in these progressive according to Marx are as follows:

- Material production is required for daily life.
- The mode of production corresponds with the real production progress.
- The form of intercourse of civil society relates to the mode of production.
- The different stages of civil society function as the essential foundation for understanding the different theoretical outcomes and forms of consciousness.

This, in a nutshell, explains the characterisation of human history into four folds of evolutionary stages, i.e. savage, pastoral, agricultural, and market economy or commercial system. Regarding its economic condition, the savage's life was identified with hunting and fishing, followed by pastoral life identified with the cultivation of herds; then, the agricultural period was characterized by farming, an exchange economy; the last stage sustained the modern commercial system.

In the realms of ownership Tribal system of ownership is in its primordial stage. During this period, the mode of existence was hunting and gathering, followed by the domestication of animals. The agricultural stage was considered its apogee. After some surplus production through the agriculture system, the family's division of labour is visible. Then the social structure is seemingly diversified but limited to an extension of the family, Patriarchal family chieftains, the members of the tribe, and finally, slaves. It can best be summarised as follows:

- First, The tribal ownership system is followed by communal and state ownership; that is to say, the clans form into tribes, and tribes enter into a union, but slavery remains part of the system. The development of the private property was another significant development.

- Secondly, Feudalism characterized the third stage.

In “The German Ideology”, in the first chapter entitled “History,” Marx says that Communism is not for us a state of affairs which ought to be established, an ideal in accordance with which reality should be transformed. However, “communism is the real movement abolishing the present state of affairs, a movement whose necessary conditions exist as part of that same state of affairs.

Marx’s understanding of history is based on class conflict. The class conflict that he employs originated from a very nuanced and complex mixture of theoretical traditions over a long period. For instance, in his letter to Weydemeyer in 1852, he denounces any credit for applying the “class conflict” theory in modern society. To substantiate his points, he is clear that his contribution was to prove that:

- First, the existence of classes is confined to particular historical periods in the development of production.
- Secondly, the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and
- Thirdly, this dictatorship constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes to a classless society.

It will be more simple to say that Marx is often represented as having a linear, progressive view of human history in which all social history (the history of class struggle) is finally to be transcended (after the proletarian dictatorship) by the stage of a classless society (communism). This essentially means Human society will undertake six stages of transformation, i.e.

Primitive Communism → Slavery →, Feudalism→ Capitalism → Socialism
Communism.

Therefore, according to Marx, the last stage, i.e. Communism, the rule of the proletarian dictatorship where society is/would be characterized by each according to

his capacity and accordingly received their needs. However, it sounds like a theory of justice that an ideal society could aspire to. Practically what actually happened in the former USSR(Union of soviet socialist Republic) is for you to analyse and decide.

2.8.1. Analytical Marxism

What is then Analytical Marxism? Who propounded this theory, and what are its implications? The answer is analytical marxism is popularly known as “Karl Marx’s Theory of History”, also known in a short form (aka) KMTH by Cohen, the founding publisher of what came to be analytical Marxism and remained its most significant single work.

This analytical Marxism is a comprehensive and empirical theory that underlines a descriptive explanatory-interpretive theory that seeks to provide an explanatory-diagnostic analysis of society meant for emancipator purposes. The idea or theory began with G. A. Cohen’s “*Karl Marx’s Theory of History: A Defence (1978)*”. The eminent thinkers are post-war philosophers such as Karl Popper, H. B. Acton, and John Plamenatz. The main emphasis made by this philosopher is that “Analytical Marxism is designed to test the coherence and science of Marxism as a theory of history and society”.



Figure 63: G.A, Cohen

However, “Analytical Marxism” began to disappear in intellectual discourse after 1990. The collapse of the USSR has given some food for thought; the reason is

that some eminent thinkers in this field seemingly agreed that the Marxism they had set out to interrogate and defend was not theoretically and politically feasible and perhaps odd to defend. This belief slowly and steadily diverted their intellectual arsenal and attention to other productive areas. The fructification was seen in Roemer employing the “orthodox economic methods and conceptualizations” to carry forward substantive Marxian positions. Then Erik Olin Wright focused on sociology, and Elster with “rational choice theory was a noteworthy contribution of the erstwhile Analytical Marxist thinkers.

The most interesting feature of the analytical Marxist exhibit was that, unlike other intellectuals and theorists, their concern for high standards of clarity and rigour is commendable. Alternatively, in other words, the commitment to the empirical analysis, not just narratives, and the concern for proper conceptualization and clarity in their exposition are remarkably sound.

2.8.2.Louis Althusser

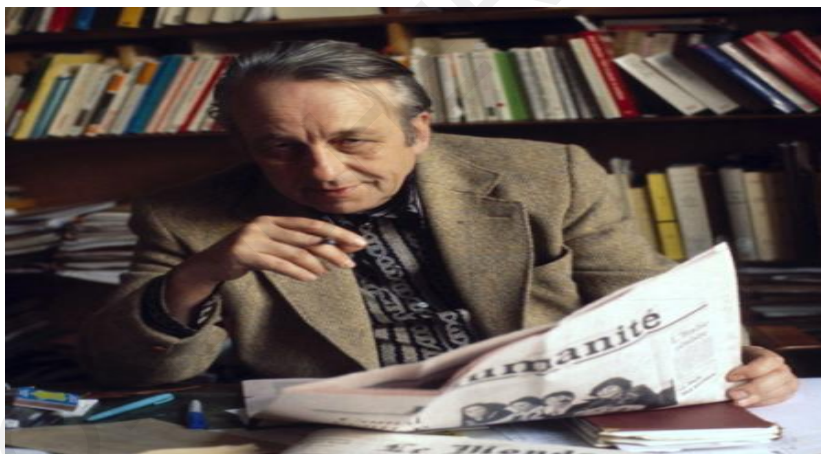


Figure 64:Louis Althusser

Louis Pierre Althusser (1918–1990) is distinguished and considered the most influential Marxist philosopher of the 20th Century. Born on October 16th, 1918, in Birmandreis, a suburb of Algiers, his work can be divided into four categories.

- The first category consists of essays written from 1946 to 1951. In those essays, Althusser attempted to explore possible connections between Christianity and Marxism. In the first of these essays, “The International of Decent Feelings”, Althusser's arguments originated from the Christian conception of truth and the human condition's misery, guilt, and alienation are equally experienced by all subjects.

According to Althusser, “this existentialist diagnosis is a type of idolatry: it replaces recognition of our equality before God with our equality before the fear of death. In that it does so, it is twice anti-Christian”.

He further points out that in addition to the sin of idolatry (death equals God), it fails to acknowledge the existence of a particular class, the proletariat, for whom anguish is not its lot and who is capable of delivering the emancipation from fear by re-appropriating the products of human production, including the atomic bomb.

- Followed by an essay written in 1947, “*A Matter of Fact*,” he still holds his faith in the above positions that suggest “the necessity of socialist means for realizing Christian ends”. This work also includes a Hegelian tirade against the papal authority and the church during this period. These essays intended to suggest and recommend that review and reform will augur well for a more rational and authentic Christianity.
- However, by 1949, Althusser was disillusioned by his own belief in the transformation of the church. This was reflected in a letter to his mentor Jean Lacroix, who wrote that the only chance of realizing Christian values is communist action.
- After his disillusionment, he wrote two essays in the mid-1950s. Unlike his previous essays, this essay was a volte-face because it was exclusively on Marxist philosophy.

2.9. Annales



Figure 65: Marc Bloch



Figure 66: Lucien Febvre



Figure 67: Fernan Braudel



Figure 68: Jacques Le Goff

The annales school was founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in 1929 at the University of Strasbourg under the rubric *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. They subsequently moved to Paris in the mid-1930s. Unlike earlier historians who are mainly concerned with political history, Bloch and Febvre seek to create more open forums that will pave the way for interdisciplinary research and promote collaboration that can liberate itself from the traditional 'positivism' historical scholarship, especially in France. This progressive scholarship saw a remarkable feat by the mid-1950s, into an alternative establishment institution in its own right.

While imprisoned by the Nazis during World War II, Fernand Braudel (1902–85) began his work. In 1949 his labours fructified in the form of a book, "*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*", one of his most outstanding works that integrate various disciplines that try to understand history over a long period, i.e. "*La longue durée*".

His genius resulted from his stint as a teacher before the war in the French colony Algeria that eventually shaped his association with the Annales group, influential groups of historians organized around the journal *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, who attempted to understand history in a more open and interdisciplinary way. They are determined to promote a new, dedicated history accessible to audiences worldwide. They also denounced and condemned the traditional historical approaches to history.

2.9.1. Braudel's concept of world history

The Annales school also took a great leap from the 1960s and 1970s. This is primarily because he conceptualised the Mediterranean region and its surroundings as a model of world history. This method of world history that ignored national or cultural boundaries but embraced the ancient regions of Iraq and Egypt, the Sahara, Europe and Russia were remarkable.

This model kept traditional approaches to historians more interested in the wealthy, powerful elites at the back seat and broadened his approaches by

incorporating the lives of commoners that changed slowly but over long periods. The other interesting facet of Braudel's new model or methodology is his focus on the relationship between humans and the environment over a long period that he called "*la longue duree*", Then, he went on to seek as to how "how economic systems, states, societies, and civilisation and finally described how these deep underlying currents shaped the lives, decisions and behaviour of individual men", which is indeed a revolution in the realms of historiography.

Braudel's extraordinary concept also lies in his combination of both institutional and intellectual influence professionally. To put in the words of Febvre, who called "La Mediterranee et le monde Meditteranean (published in 1949)", The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world as a revolutionary new way of looking at history... a historical mutation of the first magnitude"

Braudel's impact on the intellectual community is so profound that it spreads across the Globe; for instance, the second generation of the Annales was commonly known as *The Age of Braudel*. Then in 1977, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations was inaugurated at Binghamton's State University of New York. Over and above this, Braudel's works are collectively known as "*geo-historical structuralism*". Thus, in a nutshell, the success and influence of Braudel in the historical methods can be credited to his three-tiered conception of historical time, i.e

- First is the *structure (the long-term) at the base*,
- Secondly, *the conjuncture, medium-length units of ten, twenty, or even fifty years*, and
- Finally, *evenement or the event or short-term*.

2.9.4. Achievement

Marc Bloch exemplified the Annales breakthrough and achievement in its discourse on human geography and historical demography. They were followed by

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, who, in 1960, made a systematic study of climate based partly on the imaginative use of the dates of the wine harvest from the late sixteenth century. This one area concerning the demography, the Annales could take to its credit.

Their contribution and research are facilitated by the parish registers that provided complete data on baptisms, marriages, and burials from the mid-sixteenth century onward in a rural society where geographic mobility was at a minimum, French demographers led by Louis Henry and Pierre Goubert were able to move beyond aggregate statistics to the reconstitution of the rural family. They were also blessed by “Paris’s demographic team” that helps them to serve readily available, perhaps well-documented data arranged by region and village wise through a proper sample technique.

In his Annaliste Paradigm? the Geohistorical Structuralism of Fernand Braudel (1981), Samuel Kinser remarked, *"if the Nobel prize were given to historians, it would almost certainly have been awarded to Fernand Braudel"*. Nevertheless, such recognition came only after his work was translated into English, i.e. “The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (1972-73)”. Thus the contributions and achievements of the Annales group are rated by almost all intellectuals alike, put in the words of J.H.Hexter in 1972, who rated the Annales school as the most productive and lively school of historians practising their art today.

AS Robert Forster puts it, “Whatever reservations one might have about Braudel’s *histoire totale*, it was under his editorship and direction since 1957 that the Annales perfected several auxiliary historical disciplines”.

2.10. Summary

we have begun this unit by explaining what we meant by historiography. Then we also delineated the Greco-Roman historiography, followed by the Chinese historiography and ancient Indian tradition. In between, we discuss how medieval historiography, be it the Arab or the European, was entirely influenced by the church and liberated by Renaissance, Reformation and the enlightenment period, to a certain

extent liberating the influence of religion on historiography Enlightenment, not anti-religious perse and eventually fructify in the form of a new school of thought called the Annales.

2.11. Self Assessment Question

- 1) Discuss the main feature of enlightenment historiography
- 2) Explain the main gist of Ibn Khaldun's muqaddimah
- 3) Discuss the importance of Shahnama
- 4) Elaborate on Braudel's concept of world history.
- 5) What is historical materialism?
- 6) Examine the contribution of the Indologists in Ancient Indian Historiography

2.12. Reference/ Reading List

A. M. Sellar (ed.) (1907) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England*. A Revised Translation with intro, life and notes. G.bell publisher, London.

Braudel, Fernand (1992) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Collins. New York.

Chase F. Robinson (2003) *Islamic Historiography*, CUP.

Edward Gibbon (1998) [1776], *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. and annotated Antony Lentin and Brian Norman. London.

Giambattista Vico (1999) [1744] *Principi di Scienza Nouva*, translated by David March. Milano: Dela tipdi Giovanni silvestri.

Jonathan Woolfson (2005) *Palgrave Advances in Renaissance Historiography*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Karl Marx & Frederich Engel(2004) *The German Ideology. Part I* (Ed) C.J.Arthur. International Publishers, New York.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (2002) [1844] *The Communist Manifesto*. Penguin publishing group.

Marc Ferro(1984)*The Use and Abuse of History: or, How the Past is Taught* Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul,

Paolo Delogu (2002) *An Introduction to Medieval History*, Duckworth.London.

UNIT - III

APPROACHES TO HISTORY

3.1. Objectives

The following are the main objectives of this unit: Approaches to History.

- To understand the approaches adopted by Theological, Orientalist, Imperialist, Nationalist, Marxist and Subaltern and do a critical survey of how Postmodernist challenged historical writing is successfully defended.
- This unit will also critically analyse the respective school of thought, especially the Theological approach, one of the most influential in medieval Europe that continues to shape and influence the world.

3.2. Introduction

Proper research methods and approaches are critical in improving and bringing out the best outcome of any research; for this, a more profound and clearcut-understanding of the most suitable techniques to understand the data and test theories in the realm of historical methods is imperative. For instance, a critical assessment of all sources, be it primary or secondary data, will be subjected to a series of analyses through comparative methods across periods and space or internal and external criticism.

Thus a proper understanding of approaches to history is a very pertinent issue in this unit. Let us first begin with the theological approaches to History.w

3.3. Theological: Dialectical Theology

In order to understand the theological approach to history that influence all historical research till the advent of the Age of Reason. Let us first understand different Branches of theology and conclude its achievement and decline. Dialectical theology is also known as “crisis theology and theology of paradox”. This theological

approach primarily referred to the “movement of neo-orthodoxy initiated by Karl Barth”, precisely between the two world wars.

The main emphasis is that any sinful person cannot know God, which is beyond mortal human beings' comprehension; thus, this limitation is possible only through divine intervention. Thus the importance of Barth's approach to history is that he “stressed the absoluteness of God as the starting point of salvation”.

In contrast to the Hegelian dialectic, i.e. “*Any formal system of reasoning that arrives at the truth by the exchange of logical arguments*”, dialectical theology's approach to paradoxes and ambiguities is beyond human knowledge. The question concerning the tension, paradoxes and ambiguities are reasoned out through the rational process in the Hegelian paradigm.

This concept of paradoxical tension of dialectical theology” can be traced back to early Greek patristic, i.e. “of or relating to the writings of the early church fathers tradition.

Then, two different strands can be found in the notion of paradoxical faith. First, there is a difference between the infinite nature of God and the finiteness of human creatures.

Second, there is an unbridgeable gap between the holiness of God and the sinfulness of human beings. This unbridgeable gap between the finite human and his sinfulness and infinite God and his Holiness was made possible to be bridged only after Jesus Christ, the God who took birth as a human being, which is the central theme in the so-called “paradoxical situation.

One of the Christian thinkers during the medieval period, French scholar Pierre Abelard's approach was a path-breaking in this paradigm in that he employed intellectual perspectives to dialectic theology.

3.3.1. Karl Barth (May 10, 1886 – December 10, 1968)

Karl Barth (May 10, 1886 – December 10, 1968)? Considered the most prolific Protestant theologian from Switzerland who has changed the discourse on Christian theology. Several scholars equated him to Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Calvin and Schleiermacher. In fact, his belief in divine intervention is also known as Providential theology.

The significant contribution was the challenge he posed to nineteenth-century liberal theology. This liberal theology asserted the unity between God and the world in human terms. So his task is to liberate God from liberal theology to make him a faithful God. Thus he posits that, as revealed to us in our faith, a faithful God has the dual characteristics of freedom and love, although the element of divine love here does not make God's act of creation necessary. Based on this concept of his understanding of God, Barth reconstructed a true unity between God and humans in the realm of grace.

3.3.2. Original Sin

The idea of original sin means that everyone is born a sinner. This original sin has been traced to the creation of Man from the Eden Garden, where God Forbid Adam and Eve, not the touch a fruit of knowledge. Since they disobeyed God's command, they were condemned to leave Eden Graden. In the theological approach to History, the most prominent was Augustine(for further detail, please see section 2.6.1.3.2), although he cannot be acclaimed as the first to talk on the issue. There are church leaders and eminent fathers, including Tertullian, Cyprian, and Ambrose.

Nevertheless, Augustine took it more in an earnest manner and pointed out that original sin is the sin of disobedience committed by Adam when he fell to temptation by his wife through the evil snake. It affects all his descendants because the whole essence of human nature is contained in him. Thus Human beings have fallen short of God's glory and mercy. The original sin includes guilt and corruption.

Therefore, according to Augustine, “everyone is both guilty of Adam’s sin and corrupted in our human nature. The original sin is transmitted from generation to generation”. The panacea to this original is through Divine intervention, i.e. the grace of God.

3.3.3. The dual aspect of progress

What are the dual aspects of Progress in the theological approach to History? Concerning actual progress, Augustine opines “that there is no real progress to be found in human history”. Augustine was, in fact, aware that human knowledge has been invented and put to practical use in many great arts. Human genius has made many things extraordinary and sometimes stupefying advances. Nevertheless, he also points out “the fact which has been often overlooked by believers in the blessings of material progress, the fact that the ingenuity and the inventiveness of man also have their destructive aspects, *And for the injury of men, how many kinds of poison, how many weapons and machines of destruction have been invented.*” This is what he meant by dual aspects of Progress.

The dual aspect of progress in human history primarily stems from the very nature of the forces determining its course. Thus in this world, Augustine said, “toward the end of The City of God, two things run the course together, the evil which is derived from the parent [Adam], and the good which the Creator bestows”.

Thomas Aquinas believed that for the knowledge of any truth, and man needs Divine help, God may move the intellect to its act. However, he thought that human beings have the natural capacity to know many things without special divine revelation, even though such revelation occurs from time to time, especially regarding [topics of] faith.

Therefore some scholars equate Aquinas to Aristotle and an empiricist. He made a profound impact in this realm. Aquinas firmly held that truth could only be revealed through reason (natural revelation) and faith (supernatural revelation). Divine or Supernatural revelation is routed through the prophets, reading Holy Scripture, and

the Magisterium(*the authority of the Roman Catholic church to teach the faith*), all of these are collectively known as tradition. Thus there is a clear-cut division between revelation through divine intervention and the so-called Natural revelation. Every individual has the potential to attain a specific form of knowledge and truth but is subject to correct reasoning.

3.3.4. Luther Reformation

Although numerous religious reformers preceded Martin Luther, Luther stands as the outstanding and pivotal figure of the Reformation. It was Luther who brought the reformation to a logical conclusion by overcoming all religious and spiritual hurdles. Today the whole world owes him in one way or the other to the ideas of religious freedom. The causal factor for the counter-reformation in European history that rectifies some of the papal authorities' anomalies owes a great deal to Luther. In other words, his reformation movement reshaped catholicism and ushered in the modern world.

Many historians also drew a parallel between Luther and ancient Jews prophets such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, who were responsible for the return movement after the Babylonian exile and construction of the Talmud and rebuilding of the Temple; Luther was credited with restoring the Christian's foundation of faith following what he termed *the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. His efforts helped reform the church of corruption and led to political upheaval in many European countries. Certain corrupt practices like indulgences were sold. Luther was a strong proponent of Christian liberty, but it also unleashed forces that accentuated ideological chaos, the triumph of nationalism and religious intolerance resulting from the reformation movement.

The most significant contribution of Luther's reformation was his doctrine of *justification by faith alone*. Where God can only give salvation, not by anyone else, he defined salvation as a new relationship with God, not human merit based on work or

contribution to the church. The only thing absolute in this world is Christ's Divine promise of forgiveness.

As a result, Luther was a pioneer in reviving the Christian faith from the clutches of the papal autocracy that held that God's word trumped all else. Christianity had become Hellenized to Luther, subject to philosophy and humanistic interpretation. He believed that works-based righteousness could not guarantee in the heavens after one's life; this makes salvation impersonal, which means an individual who achieves salvation can be attained by an individual alone through a direct encounter with God's word. The main break point came after a long thought process resulting from intense personal encounters with scripture. Thus, Luther restored the very essence of Christianity and liberated it from the feudal clutches of the papal authority.

3.3.4.1. Impact of Luther's Bible translation

Beyond theology, Luther's translation of the Bible was foundational in the development of modern Germany in particular and the world in general. Luther translated the Bible into German to make it more accessible. He began translating the New Testament alone in 1521, during his stay in the Wartburg Castle. It was completed and published in September 1522. The entire Bible appeared in a six-part edition in 1534 and was a collaborative effort of Luther, Johannes Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Caspar Creuziger, Philipp Melancthon, Matthäus Aurogallus, and George Rörer.

Luther worked on refining the translation for the rest of his life, having a hand in the edition published in the year of his death in 1546. Because of its widespread circulation, the Luther Bible facilitated the emergence of the modern German language by standardizing it for the peoples of the Holy Roman Empire, encompassing lands that would ultimately become the nation of Germany in the nineteenth century. The Luther Bible is regarded as a landmark in German literature.

Luther's 1534 Bible translation was also profoundly influential on William Tyndale, who published an English translation of the New Testament after spending

time with Martin Luther in Wittenberg. In turn, Tyndale's translation was foundational for the King James Bible.

Luther's Bible influenced the most widely used English Bible translation. In the King James version, the ambiguities in Luther's legacy are finally rooted in his core theological doctrine of justification by faith alone. Though saved, Luther held that Christians are simultaneously sinners. He expressed the condition of the Christian as being simul Justus et peccator (*at once righteous and sinful*). He promoted marriage and the family but sanctioned divorce in exceptional cases. To reduce dissonance and ambiguities, subsequent reformers supplemented Luther's doctrine of justification with that of sanctification, seeking to sanctify society, as in the case of Calvin, or individuals, as in the case of Wesley. They, with Luther, established the primary foundations of modern Protestantism.

Luther was an earthy man who spoke his mind in blunt language. Many of his comments, recorded in Tabletalk, were down-to-earth and provocative. This endeared him to the German public, who regarded him as one of the best orators of his day. Many of his comments grew out of specific circumstances, and Luther never intended them to be turned into systematic dogmatics, which other Lutherans did, beginning with Philipp Melancthon.

Furthermore, Luther emphasized human fallibility, both of priests and believers, and therefore through constant preaching, hearing the Word, and continual study of the Bible, God would reveal himself in fragments. Hence, many feel there is a big difference between Luther and Lutheranism, just as between Christ and Christianity. Luther would probably not recognize the Lutheran Church that was (against his wishes) named for him and had never intended his legacy to be turned into a type of orthodoxy.

Therefore, the historical significance of the Reformation lies in the fact that it paved the way for the modern democratic world, combined with the Renaissance. While demanding obedience to his teachings and his princes, he planted the idea that

people are ultimately accountable to God and should glorify him through their work. This unleashed a productive work ethic and self-reliance, leading to great creativity and prosperity. Of course, the footprints of Protestants' legacy are visible initially in the Netherlands until the United States, where there was and is religious freedom exists.

Check your progress

- 1) What is dialectical theology?
- 2) Examine the impact of Luther's reformation on the German nation.
- 3) Elucidate Luther's concept of Justification by faith.

3.3.5. Calvinism

Calvin seeks to understand history from the perspective of providential progress. This means the purpose of human existence is a process through which God's purposes are progressively realized—followed by the idea of Faith in Jesus' second coming and his death on mount calvary to relieve the sinner from dying no more. This can be achieved by sanctifying our lives, which will eventually help establish an authentic relationship with God.

Calvin talks about the rejuvenation of people as God cleanses them and consecrates them to himself as living temples, renewing their minds to true purity so that they may practice repentance throughout their lives and know that this warfare will end only in death. Calvin called this a quickening; it brings believers back from death to life and makes exertion in God's service possible and a joy.

Certain theorists attempted to argue that, Capitalism results from Calvin's emphasis on hard work and his idea that all work represents a calling. Surplus wealth should thus be invested to create more wealth and fund philanthropic acts. Since God reigns everywhere, he can be served everywhere in the church, business, science, and the arts.

Calvin's view that God reigns everywhere and over everything led him to develop the biblical idea that man can serve God in every area of life in the church, civil government, education, art, music, business, law, journalism, and so forth. People did not have to become priests, monks, or nuns to get closer to God. God is to be glorified in work activities and family life.

Calvin was a systematic thinker. His writings and sermons are logical but aimed to speak to the heart and the intellect. He stressed the power but also the love of God. His was not an angry but a gentle, kind God and Calvin believed that only the Bible gives access to the truth about God. Calvin did not dismiss general revelation, that is, knowledge of God communicated through the world of nature. He wrote: ...in reading profane authors, the admirable light of truth displayed in them should remind us that the human mind, however much fallen and perverted from its original integrity, is still adorned and invested with admirable gifts from its creator”.

Calvin, however, took the Fall of the man very seriously, which according to him, separated human beings from God's warmth, love, vitality and power, which at the same time also neutralized men's and women's abilities. This means man experiences darkness, which resembles a form of death because God's light is no longer in him. This means that the Devil consistently will keep us in darkness, to remain sad and unhappy. Therefore “Sin,” according to him, means ... the perversity of human nature, which is the fountain of all vices, and the evil desires born from this.

Check your progress

- 1) Are Calvinism and capitalism complementary?

3.4. Orientalist

The etymological derivation of the word “Orientalism” is traced to the Latin word *oriens*, “meaning east, i.e. *literally rising sun*”. This is based on the opposite of the term “occident”, which means the west. In the minds of the old world intellectual, Europe was considered the West.

Thus the term occidental and the easternmost of the world was the Orient. However, the discourse on Orientalism is said to have begun in the church history, to be precise, since the “Church Council of Vienne in 1312 to establish a series of chairs in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca”. Nevertheless, its penetration in academia began only after focusing on geography, culture, linguistics and ethnicity.

Orientalists were prominent Biblical scholars, students of the Semitic languages, Islamic specialists and Sinologists until the mid-eighteenth century. The contributions of sir William Jones opened up its focus on Asia after they discovered Zend and Sanskrit. Since then, orientalism has spread far and wide.

There are two outstanding achievements in this regard: One is the encyclopedic description of Orientalism roughly from 1765 to 1850 given by Raymond Schwab in his *La Renaissance Orientale* (1950). Furthermore, the virtual epidemic of Orientalia affected every major poet, essayist and philosopher of the period.

3.4.1. Orientalism in intellectual discourse

One of the most prolific writers Edward Said perceived Orientalism as a constellation of false assumptions underlying Western attitudes toward the East. The most vocal and intellectually penetrating critique was his “Orientalism (1978)”, where Said described the subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice against Arabo-Islamic peoples and their culture. He argued that “a long tradition of false and romanticized images of Asia and the Middle East in Western culture had served as an implicit justification for Europe’s and America’s colonial and imperial ambitions”. Then he also denounced the practice of Arab elites who acclimatized the Anglo-Saxon orientalist’s ideas of Arabic culture.

The said book indeed had a profound influence on postcolonial studies. In Orientalism, Said applied Michel Foucault’s “discourse analysis technique to produce knowledge about the Middle East”. This has given a new methodology or tool in terms of its innovations and the discursive practices employed to interpret, analyse and

evaluate knowledge of the East. Alternatively, in other words, Said's new paradigm helps scholars of non-eurocentrism to deconstruct literary and historical texts to understand how they reflected and reinforced the imperialist project.

Following are some of the terms that Edward Said uses for Orientalism:

Firstly, Orientalism is a specific field of academic study about the Middle East and Asia, but sometimes it encompasses the field of history, sociology, literature, anthropology and especially philology.

Secondly, He also identifies it as a practice that helps define Europe by creating a stable depiction of its other, constitutive outside. Orientalism characterises Europe by drawing a contrasting image or idea based on a series of binary oppositions, i.e. rational versus irrational, mind versus body, order versus chaos, that manage and displace European anxieties.

Finally, Edward Said opines that orientalism is also a mode of exercising authority by organizing and classifying knowledge about the Orient.

3.4.2. Summary

Spivak(1988), in her work entitled, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Put up a question about the “idea of transparent subaltern speech”. Does that mean the subaltern represents and speaks for those they seemingly represent? So the main idea in this essay claims that “representation has not withered away”. Yes, they represent, but honesty and sincerity towards the interpretation work are seemingly lacking because they are accused of being an elite group.

Scholars- like Aijaz Ahmad believed that “despite Spivak's claims to be working within the Marxist tradition, her essays exhibit contempt for materialism, rationalism, and progress, the core features of Marxism (Ahmad 1997)., which means Spivak is concerned primarily with narratives of capitalism but not the institutional mechanism, structures and material effects of capitalism as a mode of production.

Spivak's sharp criticism of movements that essentialize subaltern subjects casts doubt on the basic premise of Marxist politics, which privileges the proletariat as a group with shared, true interests produced by the capitalist system.

Another interesting facet of this issue is revealed in the most influential book "provincializing Europe" by Dipesh Chakrabarty, who argues that distinctively European concepts such as disenchanted space, secular time and sovereignty inform the social sciences. The third world is seen as incomplete or lacking when these standards are treated universally.

Check your progress

- 1) What is orientalism?

3.5. Imperialist

The etymological derivation of the word Imperialism is rooted in the Latin term "*imperium*, meaning to command". That means imperialism draws attention to how one country exercises power over another through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect control mechanisms. Yes, indeed, Imperialism has been a huge history-shaping phenomenon.

Scholars like Drayton Richard (2009) Define Imperialism as a regime through which external entities derive maximum gain from the labour and resources within a territory. A foreign power, usually with the help of local collaborators, secures a protected and privileged sphere for its economic actors". In other words, it can simply be defined as the forceful occupation and imposition of its rule of one's territory or over other peoples can be called imperialism.

In Britain, imperial history emerged as an academic subject in about 1900. The imperialism was indeed rooted in its national chauvinism. It remained a patriotic enterprise and lent support to British expansion. Therefore imperialism, according to the policymakers, historians intellectuals alike in Britain, assumed that "British history

was the story of the progressive spread for the cause of justice and liberty, that their role in the world was essentially a peaceful one, that their government protected the existing empire, that their trade and culture prevailed because of intrinsic merit alone, that their country resorted to force only in self-defence”. Later on this line of historical trajectories came to be known as “the Whig historiography”. The common belief is that the white men's concept of justice, benevolence and humanity could eventually be transmitted to the colonial subject as the foundational basis of a democratic nation through the rule of law and democratic governance.

Edward Said, one of the critics of Imperialism, has successfully undermined and exposed in his *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) how these polarized the world. They thrived on the concept of othering, i.e. the countries in the Orient and Africa as needing a child and parent relationship; they needed guidance on the line of European modernity; this is how they morally justified their rule on the colonies. This essentially means that the colonies were a territory that could be mapped, explored, exploited, and governed on the white men's burden theory.

Edward points out that such policy “produced a picture of the racial, religious, and cultural –Other- that rarely corresponded closely to reality and served Europe's economic, political, and even academic interests”. A sense of personal destiny or the white man burden theory could have influenced them.

Once the imperial project was established, the subject's technological and cultural advancement were acknowledged, yet their morality was condemned as paganism. This is primarily aimed at conquering the mind that power and authority lie with the imperial master, however good their colonial subject might be.

This was exhibited in Africa, where the colonial subject was seen as a child to be tame and civilised. The Atlantic slave trade enormously helped fuel the Industrial Revolution. Subsequently, then Colonial economies were systematically designed to serve the interests of the Master. This was followed by reinventing and implanting

education through Western educational institutions, and finally, roads and railways were constructed.



Figure 69: Vladimir Ilych Lenin

In his celebrated work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Lenin argued that Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. Nevertheless, capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its essential elements began to change into their opposites when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves in all spheres.

Patrick Wolf, an eminent scholar on the History of Imperialism, states that *Imperialism Resembles Darwinism*, where many scholars use the term but could contextualise what it means. He further argues that “in its stricter Marxist-Leninist applications, the word imperialism dates from the end of the nineteenth century. It minimally connotes the use of state power to secure (or at least attempt to secure) economic monopolies for national companies”.

He further argues that imperialism is not necessarily an extranational project, distinguishing it from colonialism. So often is the term in today’s parlance; it is often used by the left-leaning scholar in U.S. foreign policy during the cold war and more so

of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation(NATO) military advancement and its unilateralism.

In the 21st century, Historians and other social scientists in Britain and the US lent their support to bringing old myths to the market. They attempted to legitimize empire as a necessary form of rule and civilizational progress.

At the end of 2002, Naill Fergusson, who emerged as an outspoken advocate of empire, published his *Empire*. He argued that British colonialism brought valuable experience in parliamentary and economic practices to the colonies. Furthermore, he thus portrayed colonialism as a modernizing, state-building, centralizing, developmental and secularizing force. In his book *Colossus* - published two years later, he suggested that the US could be the vehicle for this new order. Another historian, John Darwin, argued that the British Empire, whose most important parts were the metropole, India and the Dominions, was the core of a much bigger world system whose fate was governed by the global economy and world politics. The new notion of empire stems from the new configuration of the world that has emerged in which the US and its allies(NATO) have assumed the right to determine the outcome of events in different regions, ostensibly to promote democracy and political stability.

Check your progress

- 1) Compare and contrast Imperialism and Darwinism

3.5.1. Indian Context

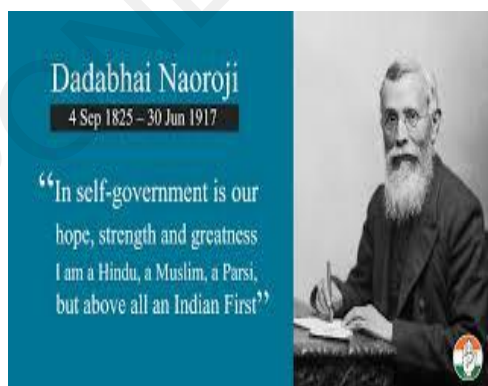


Figure 70: Dadabhai Naoroji

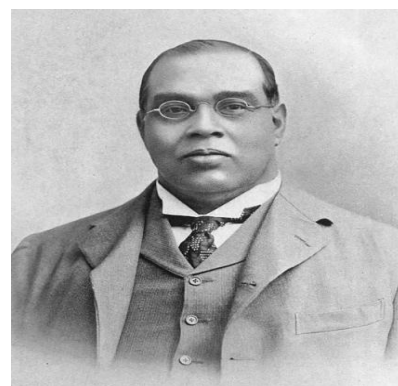


Figure 71: R.C.Dutt



Figure 72:M.G.Ranade



Figure 73:G.K.Gokhale

In India, the economic aspect of imperialism was first critiqued effectively by various nationalist leaders. Beginning with Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and the writings of R. C. Dutt, M. G. Ranade and G. K. Gokhale, India's intelligentsia created a systematic indictment of government policies over taxation and economic and social neglect through scholarly works, articles in newspapers, pamphlets and speeches at a public platform.

Much of India's surplus was drained to Britain to maintain the army, interest payments for railway loans, and civil servants' salaries. In fact, from the cost of maintaining the army to every penny spent on administration down to the wages of ladies who supplied charcoal to keep the India Office warm, the cost of suppressing the Uprising of 1857, gifts to the Zanzibar mission, the expenses of the diplomatic establishments in China and Persia and part of the expenses of the Mediterranean fleet, the cost of the telegraph lines from England to India, even the maintenance of a lunatic asylum at Ealing, were laid at India's door.

Trade and investment in India proved very lucrative. British firms made a significant profit in many subtle ways and deposited it in England. The size of this profit realized by the importers, financiers, shippers or insurers has been obscured by

the conventional methods of calculating the value of foreign trade. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, the two most well-known historians of imperial history, who sought to show that Britain's main goal for a scramble in Africa was not economic but to defend routes to India, and that Britain did not acquire colonies in Africa as outlets for surplus capital, accept that Britain's policymakers were clear that much of the value placed upon India lay in the highest levels of British trade and investment in the subcontinent.

3.6. Nationalist

Nenad Miscevic (2020), who articulated the word Nationalism in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, argues that “the term nationalism has a variety of meanings but can be explained under two phenomena:

- First, the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their identity as members of that nation and
- Secondly, the actions that the members of a nation seek to achieve (or sustain) some form of political sovereignty.

Based on the above, the question immediately comes to mind is the concept of a nation or national identity; what belongs to a nation? How much one should care about one's nation. Then how does one define the concept of Nations and national identity? The answer can be stated that it may be defined in terms of shared ancestry, ethnicity, and cultural ties.

Nevertheless, the main problem that still confronts us is that if common ancestry and cultural ties define nations and national identity, how do we deal with those who renounced a national identity and sometimes voluntarily adopted it? The answer is that Citizenship and national identity may seemingly be identical but not the same.

This raises questions about whether sovereignty requires the acquisition of full statehood with complete authority over domestic and international affairs or whether something less than statehood suffices. Although sovereignty is often meant full

statehood, possible exceptions have been recognized. Some authors even defend an anarchist version of patriotism-moderate nationalism foreshadowed by Bakunin.

According to B.C Upreti, in his “*Nationalism in South Asia: Trends and Interpretations*”, postulates that Nationalism has been a strong force of political expressions in the Western World and further argues that, The impulses of nationalism gave way to the formation and reformation of states in Europe in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The rise of nationalism led to the breakdown of many political entities, which derived their homogeneity and unity based on ethnicity, language, and culture. Subsequently, These homogenous cultural groups consequently emerged as independent nation-states.

So, in a nutshell, in the western world, nationalism played a significant role in liquidating great empires and forming new states. However, regarding the emergence of Nationalism in the third world, nationalism was borrowed from the west in the rise of indigenous movements to fight against colonial rule.

However, according to the Marxist intellectuals, the concept and the emergence of Nationalism are the results of class struggle. However, many scholars refuted the Marxist lens of class struggle that shaped nationalism in third-world countries; instead, they traced the roots of nationalism to the nationalist movement against colonial rule.

3.6.1.Nationalism in India



Figure 74:Anil Seal

The Cambridge historian Anil Seal, whose 1968 book “*The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*”, pictured nationalism as the work of a tiny elite reared in the educational institutions the British set up in India. These tiny elites, according to Seal, competed and collaborated with the British in their search for power and privilege. This opinion was carried forward in a book entitled “*Locality, Province, and Nation* (1973)”.

According to the Cambridge school, the incursion, if not the invasion of the colonial state into the local structures of power in India propelled by the expansion of capitalism rather than any civilizing or selfless sacrifice or philanthropism that eventually drew Indian elites closer and, finally, part and parcel of the colonial administrative system. This means that the involvement of Indians in colonial institutions set off a scramble among the indigenous elites who combined opportunistically and around factions formed along vertical lines of patronage in contradistinction to the so-called horizontal affiliations of class. In the history of Indian nationalism (1973, 2), this work traced Indian nationalism as essentially evolving from the rivalry between Indian and Indian, its relationship with imperialism that of the mutual clinging of two unsteady men of straw.

Thus the roots of Indian nationalism can primarily stem from the participation of the Indian middle class against the colonial master, followed by the Indianisation of the bureaucracy and the gradual democratisation of the Indian legislatures.

3.6.2 Indian Marxist and Indian Nationalism



Figure 75: Bipan Chandra

Bipan Chandra, an eminent historian, often conceived Indian history during the colonial period as the struggle between the forces of nationalism against that colonialism. He is influenced by the Marxist approach and perhaps the dependency and underdevelopment theory working in Latin. In his words (Bipan Chandra 1979), “colonialism was a regressive force that distorted all India’s society and polity developments. Social, political, and economic ills of post-independence India, including those of mass poverty and religious and caste conflict, could be blamed on the political economy of colonialism”.

Bipan Chandra also conceived Nationalism as the antithesis of colonialism, which is regenerative that unites and mobilizes the Indian masses to fight against the Raj. Nationalist leaders like Gandhi and Nehru embodied an anti-imperial movement for the nation’s unity. One of the driving forces for the nationalist movement was the conflict of interest and ideology between the colonial masters and the Indian masses. The other aspect was that disputes concerning class or caste were secondary to the said principal contradiction, i.e. the conflict between the ideology of self-rule or government as well as white men's burden.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the Indian Marxist approach to Indian Nationalism
- 2) Discuss the Cambridge school approach to Indian nationalism.

3.7. Subaltern



Figure 76: Ranajit Guha

The journal subaltern studies started in 1982 its editor, Ranajit Guha, clearly stated that the new historical approach challenged India's dominant historiography, which was elitist. It portrayed the Independence movement and Indian nationalism as the work of key bourgeoisie figures.

The journal was intended to explore the history of the lower caste and the peasants, the tribals and the ordinary people left out by the standards narrative of the Indian historical discourse. This primarily happened because the subordinate classes left very few written documents, requiring an alternative means where their voice ideologies and grievance could be heard and redressed. This essentially involves some sort of deconstruction. The subaltern, in fact, was primarily influenced by the Marxists.



Figure 77: Antonio Gramsci

Historians and intellectuals borrowed this term from Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). During his imprisonment by Mussolini from 1926 till his death, he conceived notebooks on politics, history and philosophy. In that same notebook, “He declared that the subaltern was the underclass in a society where the dominant power exerts its hegemonic influence”. This means they are inferior in status or rank, subordinate in position, power, authority, or action.

The subaltern studies group focuses on the working class and mainly peasant historical accounts in post-colonial and post-imperial South Asia, specifically India.

The subaltern scholars first appeared at the University of Sussex, and the most prominent are Ranajit Guha and Eric Stokes.



Figure 78:Eric Stokes

Some eminent subaltern scholars are Shahid Amin, David Arnold, Gautam Bhadra, Dipesh Chakrabarty, N. K. Chandra, Partha Chatterjee, Arvind N. Das, David Hardiman, Stephen Henningham, Gyanendra Pandey, and Sumit Sarkar.

In 1982, these groups of scholars produced the subaltern Studies journal, writing on South Asian history and society in a way that they felt had not been done, thus was born the subaltern studies that began the writing of the peoples' history whom history supposedly ignore them or does not address their issues. Following are some of the basic tenets of the subaltern scholars who accuse the existing scholarship of being,

- First and foremost, they accused, criticized, and attacked Indian Nationalist and Orientalist Schools' methodology and approach.
- Secondly, they accused them of representing only the elitist history alone by ignoring India's oppressed and tiny voices.
- Thirdly, they focused on the power-knowledge relationship and the marginalized sections of the society, omitted throughout history writing.
- Fourth, the subaltern scholar took its roots from two prominent theorists, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. While the former

emphasizes that the working class should be given importance as revolutionary intellectuals originate from within rather than from above or outside it. The latter gave significance to power and highlighted that power works through institutions which demand subjugation and obedience.

The critical break concerning the said historiography came with how Guha sought to redefine colonial India. He accused Cambridge and the nationalist historians of conflating the political domain. Thus, according to Guha “, In all writings of this kind, i.e., elitist historiography, the parameters of Indian politics are assumed to be or enunciated as those of the institutions introduced by the British for the government of the country... [Elitist historians] can do no more than equate politics with the aggregation of activities and ideas of those directly involved in operating these institutions, that is, the colonial rulers and their dominant groups in native society”.

Ranajit Guha, in one of his celebrated works on subaltern studies, “*Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*”, Indeed “pluralizes the discourses of power by refusing to conflate capital and modernity in the extant histories”. According to him, “capital and power can be considered separate variables in understanding systems of subordination in colonial India”. Dipesh Chakrabarty discusses how the initial configurations of the subject in subaltern studies worked from an understanding of subjecthood as driven by social justice and political rebellion. Thus Subjecthood in subaltern scholarship is of great concern in their analyses of colonial society.

3.8.1. Summary

A retrospective analysis of the emergence, achievement and decline of subaltern historiography squarely lies in the fact that it began as the historiography of the protest for not being inclusive of the existing scholarship. Nevertheless, it could not defend itself when it was subjected to a critical appraisal of its objectives, i.e. they were accused of failing to write the story of the downtrodden or the grassroots people that lack the concept of natural or objective history.

However, the subaltern scholarship works on various issues: indigenous resistance, tribal movement, and women's history. As stated by Dipesh Chakrabarty, the Subaltern Studies intervened in this situation. Intellectually, it began on the terrain it was to contest: historiography that had roots in the colonial education system.

To sum up, the subaltern school started as a critique of two contending history schools: the Cambridge school and nationalist historians. Both of these approaches were essentially elitist. They wrote the history of nationalism as the story of achievement by the elite classes, whether Indian or British. For all their merits, they could not explain the contributions made by people on their own, independent of the elite, to the making and developing of this nationalism.

Although the subaltern made a rapid stride in its initial phase, pushing its agenda ahead will still be challenging. There is a subaltern in every state, region, country, and continent. To quote bell hooks(1990) in the article "*Marginality as a state of resistance*",

- "No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself.
- No need to hear your voice; only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way.
- Tell it back to you so that it has become mine, my own, re-writing you I write myself anew. I am still the author and authority.
- I am still colonizer the speaking subject, and you are now at the centre of my talk".

Check your progress

- 1) explain the main reason for the emergence of the subaltern school
- 2) Briefly analyse the success and failure of the subaltern school

3.9. Postmodernist

The origin of the term postmodernist can be traced back to the English painter John Watkins Chapman, who was arguably the first to use “postmodernism in the 1870s. He was followed by Federico de Onis, who, in 1934, used the word postmodernism as a critique against modernist poetry. Then in 1939, British historian Arnold J Toynbee employed the term in a different tone regarding the end of the modern Western bourgeois order of the last two or three-hundred-year period.



Figure 79:Arnold J Toynbee

However, in 1945, Bernard Smith an art historians used the term to hint at the social realism movement primarily reflected in the painting. Then Charles Olson used the term in poetry. But the term seems to have gained academic legitimacy only from the 1960s and 1970s onwards

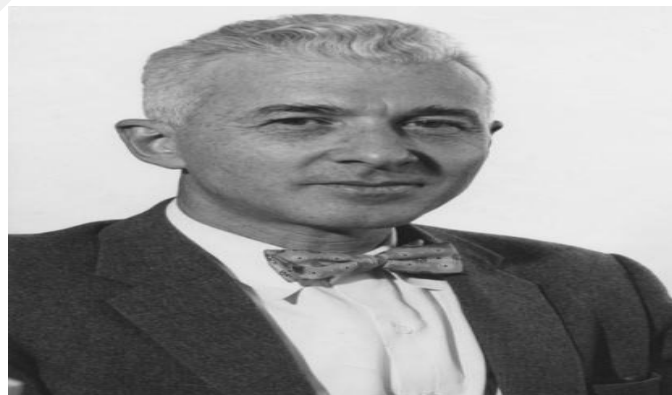


Figure 80: Bernard Smith

The term postmodernism emerges as an architectural movement. One of the most eminent scholars is Lyotard. His celebrated work, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, contains all the central postmodern thought and modernity themes. Some of the eminent scholars or the postmodernist thinkers includes French philosophers such as Jean-François Lyotard, Michel Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, and Jacques Derrida.



Figure 81: J.F. Lyotard



Figure 82: Michel Foucault



Figure 83: Jean Baudrillard



Figure 84: Jacques Derrida

Thus postmodernism can best be defined as a genre of history writing, which essentially is an interdisciplinary intellectual movement that differs in significant aspects, but that has in common the belief that “the philosophies, assumptions and theories underpinning post-enlightenment modernity, in particular, empiricist epistemologies, realist ontologies and correspondence theories of truth and language, are no longer helpful or relevant for us in continuing to make sense of our world”. We believe that we cannot use the past as a foundation for historical knowledge because we cannot directly access it to check whether there exists a correspondence between this past and our historical narratives.

3.9.1. The Postmodernist vis á vis History

The postmodernist argues that whatever we have in history is derived from the interpretations of the sources. Historians cannot escape the interpretative frameworks and explanatory concepts nor distance themselves from values, prejudices and assumptions. This primarily boils down to the fact that subjective and personal biases will necessarily condition the interpretation of these sources. Therefore, the postmodernists believe that the concept of an accurate account of the past independent of its own does not exist, i.e. we have to reconstruct based on interpretation. But Instead, there are multiple possible accounts of the past, written from different perspectives.,so the question of objective history is irrelevant.

Theorists like Hayden white argue in terms of differentiating historical reports based on aesthetics and moral preferences. White posits that the language we use while writing historical narratives does not simply reflect meaning but that its figurative nature is what ultimately leads to the creation of meaning. So to turn the facts that we extract from primary sources into historical narratives requires an enormous degree of subjective interpretation. We first have to select the facts that we will include. White further argues that We never include in our narrative all the possible true facts that we could construct from the sources, so we choose only those facts that relate to the story we want to tell. This means the past itself does not have a story: we impose one on it and choose different stories to emplot our facts.

Therefore instead of a single factor or theory, A postmodern social theory intends to examine the social world from the multiple perspectives of class, race, gender and other identifying group affiliations. While at the same time, they would refuse the totalizing claims of grand narratives like Marxism that attempt to identify axial structural principles explaining all manner of disparate social phenomena, such as Marx's theory of the logic of capital.

Michel Foucault (1976, 1980) insists that knowledge must be traced to different discourse practices that frame the knowledge formulated from within. Postmodernism firmly believes that every knowledge is contextualized by its historical and cultural nature. At some level, a universal social science is judged impossible because people's and groups' different subject positions cannot be measured against each other: For example, there is no way to adjudicate the issue of who is more oppressed-women or people of colour. Instead, it is essential to recognize how their differential world experiences are framed by the discourse and practices constituting the experience of being a woman or a person of colour at a given historical moment.

Baudrillard is considered an eminent postmodernist thinker whose highly commendable sociological approach to postmodernism is noteworthy. Capitalism, according to Baudrillard, is the commodities that acquire a particular value that people covet in a consumer society, which means people buy them for their sign value. The most interesting thing here is that Baudrillard suggests that reality, he calls it hyperreality, is increasingly simulated for people, constructed by powerful media and other cultural sources. This analysis resembles the Neo-Marxian Frankfurt analyses of false consciousness and suggests lines of research in the sociology of culture, media, and advertising.

3.10. Summary

From our discussion above, we can conclude that various schools of thought appeared from time to time, trying to find alternatives for a better or proper historical reconstruction. For instance, the Subaltern studies emerged as a critique of elite

historiography such as Nationalist, Colonialist and orthodox Marxist”. Instead, they tried to offer a new paradigm to historiography devoted primarily to the history of the commoners, a grassroots history or, in other words, “a perspective from below.

However, subaltern scholars have, in the end, become another elite group in their own domain of consciousness. For Instance, even in the Indian context, the sixth volume of Subaltern Studies, an essay entitled “Caste and Subaltern Consciousness, “ employs a Marxist approach to explain subaltern consciousness among castes. This, in a nutshell, suggest that the Subaltern branches off from the Marxist instead of setting up a new or entirely new history.

Despite all these odds, the concept of historiography and historical methods has been broadened in the last few decades. The reformation and perhaps enlightenment successfully challenged western medieval historiography. The subaltern, although initially successful, has almost lost its charms in the 21st century. By and large, when the western academic thus far dictates the common academic discourse, it will still be challenging to push through the original agenda of the subaltern studies.

3.11. Self Assessment Question

- 1) What was the fundamental challenge of postmodernists towards historical truth?
- 2) Discuss the role of Ramachandra Guha in the emergence of subaltern school
- 3) Discuss the main characteristic of Imperialist historians

3.12. References /Reading List

Arnaldo Momigliano (1990) *Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*. California University Press Ltd, London, England.

Arnold, David and David Hardiman (eds) (1993) *Subaltern Studies, VII*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Edward W Said (1995) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin Random House India.

Fergusson, Niall, (2004), *Colossus: The Rise and fall of American Empire*, London, Penguin.

Keith Jenkins (ed.) (1997) *The Postmodern History Reader*. London, Routledge.

Peter Childs and Patrick Williams (1997) *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, London. Routledge

Richard Drayton (2009) Imperial History and the Human Future. *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 74, Issue 1, 1 October 2012, pp. 156–172, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbr07>

Robert J.C. Young (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, UK.

Robinson, Chase F. (2003) *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Cambridge UK.

UNIT - IV

VARIETIES OF HISTORY

4.1. Objectives

Followings are the main objectives of this unit

- To understand and analyze the varieties of history, their origin concepts and usage in history
- An attempt to integrate these varieties into the historical methods will be made.
- This approach aims to introduce students to the concepts of the varieties of History, i.e. economic, New social history, intellectual history, cultural history, oral history, and environmental history, which will; help them to understand and look at how these models have tried to define and explain concepts of understanding past events.

4.2.Introduction

The genre of history has diversified over a period of time. The foremost among them is political history, which is considered the oldest genre of history and has many branches or subdivisions: local, territorial, provincial, and national. The history of power lies in the centre of most historical narratives, but the concept is hardly interrogated or analysed as an autonomous body.

The history of communication and language's origin might be 50.000 years ago. The first sign of writing is traced back to the middle east, i.e. Babylonian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphics, followed by Chinese ideograms and the pictograms of the Mayas.

Then Administrative history seeks to understand the progress of various branches of government and their systematic function, which is more or less related to political history.

Diplomatic history: this branch of history deals with the interrelationship between and among states(a country); their activities range from studying alliances and alignments to understanding the origins of wars, peace negotiations, and signing treaties.

Military history primarily concerns the organization, training and arming and employment and deployment of soldiers during peace or war. They also undertook to study a specialised branch such as grand strategy and battlefield tactics, and in the 21st century might include the art of cyber, biological, and chemical warfare.

Defining commerce in the history or history of commerce is challenging and complex; the reason is that some may even include economic history under the rubric, which deals with the exchange of goods.

Intellectual history seeks to comprehend and analyse the evolution of ideas and their expression in texts, particularly concerning the cultural environment of their era.

Although relatively a new sub-discipline of late, the histories of science and medicine have become one of the most sought-after and essential disciplines, they seek to examine and put into perspective how scientific knowledge evolves and influences society has developed.

Environmental historians are those whose concerns are to reflect on and make aware the humankind the clear and present danger concerning the global ecology and the planet's future.

Then, global history looks into the emergence of civilization and empire through cross-cultural interaction over a long period. It also ignores the political boundaries of a nation-state in its historical analysis.

4.3. Economic History

In a layman's understanding, economics may be defined as the science of man's effort in the pursuit of a living; or as the science of the production and

distribution of wealth; or, more fully, as the science of the organization, management, adjustment, and readjustment of ways and means available for attaining or realizing the ends of a rational existence individually and collectively; or adhering more strictly to its original Greek meaning, as the science of the organization and management of business or industry. Then what would be Economic- History of the application of Economics in History? To understand and answer this question, let us first examine the definition given by various eminent thinkers and philosophers.

Harold F. Williamson states that three general approaches to history may be economic history on logical grounds:

- If economics studies man's wealth-getting and wealth-using activities, then economic history is simply a study of these activities over time. According to this definition, the attention of the economic historian is centred on the evolution of economic institutions. He starts, in effect, with such specific subjects as the manor, a banking structure, a commercial system, and they are like. His task is to describe the changes that have occurred in the institution under examination, explain the factors that have affected its evolution, and show its influence, in turn, on economic life.

Nevertheless, the person who writes economic history from this point of view must be more than a competent economic technician with a historical perspective, for he is faced with the problem of explaining the results of numerous influences, many of which are not encompassed within the meaning of the term economics.

- Secondly, in contrast to the abovementioned approach, the economic historian should reverse this process. As an expert on financial matters, he should be specially qualified to show how economic factors have acted upon other branches of history. One way of doing this would be to analyze and describe the effects of a single economic factor, such as the introduction of credit or the building of a railroad, upon economic life,

political institutions and philosophies, social customs, and religion to the point where the impact is no longer noticeable.

A standard method is to focus on the economic factors that influenced the development of institutions and ideas that are essentially non-economic. A large part of historical development has been affected by economic factors, and their place, among other causes, needs to be analyzed and established.

- The third approach, the definition of economic history, combines the two broad types described. It involves a description and an analysis of the reciprocal relations between economic factors and institutions on the one hand and social, political, philosophical, or similar fields on the other.

A more simple definition is found in Isaac A. Loos, in his seminal work *“Historical Approach to Economics”*, argued that when the attention of students of economics is directed so frequently to particular branches of economic study and when the tendency toward specialization in these branches seems to lead almost to the exclusion of the broader basis of economic theory, it is well to call attention anew to the essential unity existing in the study of history, politics, philosophy, and economics.

Understanding this “ requires the study of economic theory and economic institutions from the evolutionary point of view. On this account, the student of economics who aspires to actual knowledge of his subject must approach that study through historical methods”.

Economic history essentially aims to give an account of human progress from the earliest forms of the economy of primitive man, from the simplest animal forms of man’s economies to the highly complex structures of man’s civilization”. Or in other words, “economic history aims to trace the story of economic progress from the simplest early forms of man’s organized existence in the pursuit of a living to the highly complex structures of modern life.

4.3.1. The genesis of economic history as a professional discipline

From the above explanation, we understand that Economic history emerged not from history but in the field of economics, which significantly changed the organization of the world from the second half of the 19th century and increased significantly evermore.

In layman's language, we can say that economic history seeks to understand the general industry and industrial organization development. The primary objective of studying economic history is to examine how and why industry or business tends to organize itself and the successive stages of economic achievement.

Then Economic progress is taken as progress in inventions representing the growing mastery of man over nature, i.e., progress in producing and distributing goods. The former is central to producing economic interests; the latter is in their ownership and distribution. These two factors are combined in economic organization.

Economic organization coordinates the means of production with some strategy, of distribution taking form in custom or law authoritatively sanctioned or administered by society or the state. Economic organization passes through significant transformations in successive cultural epochs. Long-time periods must be considered to draw inferences respecting economic statutes and tendencies. Hence the importance of economic history for an appreciative understanding of the principles of economic science.

The economic interpretation of history, considered a phrase for the designation of a philosophical view of history, is comparatively new. Still, considered a doctrine from time to time applied to the explanation of social phenomena, it is old, dating back at least to the Greek period of the beginnings of social science. It follows naturally from the fundamental importance of economic life, from the fundamental importance of industry as the condition of sustaining that life, and most of all, as the condition of sustaining the plans of ample and complete living, not to live merely but to live well.

4.3.2. Pirene Thesis



Figure 85: Henri Pirenne

Although Henri Pirenne profoundly impacted economic history, When Pirenne began his career in the second half of the 19th century, economic history as a separate discipline just saw the light of the day. History as a discipline was concerned with political and institutional history issues. The political history was followed by Judicial history, still closely connected with romanticism and nationalism. At the same time, during this period, economic history as a discipline was taking its root precisely during the late 18th century out of moral philosophy, then popularly known as the political economy”, till the late 19th century. The term was diversified only involvement of neo-classical economists who are “working on mathematical and axiomatic bases.

The primary focus of Pirenne’s Thesis was the urban economic life, which engaged a more significant part of his attention. Above all, the fundamental question: how did towns come into existence in the Middle Ages, and how did they become, economically and politically, organisms distinct from the surrounding countryside?

His solution is based principally upon economic phenomena. The towns came into existence during the revival of commerce, which re-awakened western and central Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their origin is to be found neither in local markets, nor in prosperous villages, nor yet in castles or ancient Roman “ cities,” but

in the *portus or faubourgs*, that is to say, in the permanent settlements of merchants which were formed against the walls of this *castra or civitate*. The customs of the merchants and the necessities of their way of life determined the character of urban institutions and law. The fact that the population of the town lived essentially by commerce and industry which differentiated it from that of the countryside: such at least is evident if the problem is studied in large mercantile cities and not in large rural bourgs, which were able to obtain the legal status of the city” without fulfilling a city’s economic role

The trend since the 1990s saw various economic and cultural historians have turned down and dissociated from the Eurocentric approach to economic history. The impact of Pirenne could eventually be felt till now concerning the approach to global history, total history and the world-systems approach. Thus, the core of this global history and its genesis can be traced back to Pirenne’s contribution to the study of comparative history involving different disciplines.

4.3.3. Importance of Economic History



Figure 86: VICO

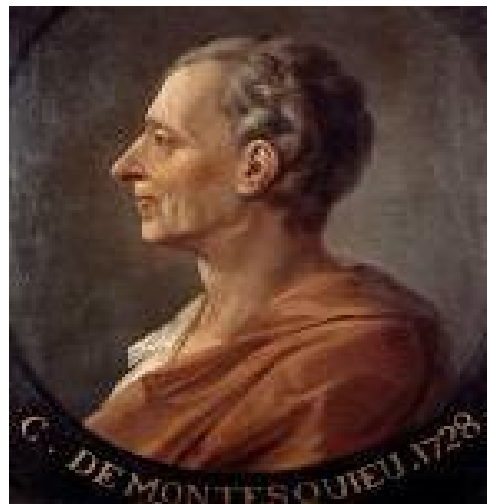


Figure 87: Montesquieu



Figure 88:Aristotle

Among modern writers who have emphasized the importance of economic factors in the account of progress, Marx stands out prominently. He sought to explain how the physical forces may be analysed in all social movements. The physical environment conditions them. The same thought is found in writers before Buckle, Vico, Montesquieu, and Aristotle. In his time, Buckle had the advantage of his predecessors in so much as the natural sciences were more fairly advanced and developed.

In the second chapter of his *History of Civilization in England*, entitled “Influence of Physical Laws”, Buckle analyzed “the effects of climate, food, and soil’s impact on social improvement and the relations of accumulated wealth”.

Nevertheless, he(Buckle) does not claim that all history must be explained by external causes alone. He and Montesquieu recognised that the influence of the physical environment is a diminished factor as the achievements of civilization are amassed to counteract the powerful check on the progress that nature in the early stages of society offers. This contrast may be epigrammatically stated in the spirit of Montesquieu: *In the infancy of a nation, the environment makes the man and in their maturity man makes his environment.*

The Marxian economic interpretation displaced this older materialistic interpretation of history. Other writers, contemporary with Marx, both socialists and non-socialists, have posited the economic interpretation of history. The nineteenth-century school of historical jurisprudence, and the German historical school of economics, have founded their exposition of history on objective bases.

4.3.4. Critical appraisal of economic history

The chief objection to the economic interpretation of history is that it somehow disregards ethical and moral agency. Alternatively, it can be stated that the economic factor is not the sole criterion in social life and historical progress. This objection, as usually framed, rests upon an old metaphysics which assumes that ethical and spiritual forces are wholly unrelated to the economic order or stand distinctly in opposition to it. So the modern social sciences disciplines insist on and offer an entirely different procedure for documenting and inquiring the social and institutional progress.

Therefore to study economic science as social science, which we should preferably do or should, the seemingly antagonistic interaction between a social interpretation of history and an economic interpretation largely disappears. Considering social history, much of the so-called economic interpretation of history would be more correctly done. This is one important reason why some illustrious history chooses the socio-economic interpretation over a purely economic history to explain the progress of history.

The economic interpretation of history points out that in an explanation of the course of social evolution, that is, in any interpretation of the development of human institutions, we must begin with those which come first in the order of time, namely, the economic in distinction from the political, religious, and ethical.

In an economic interpretation of history. We may insist that the material preceded the ethical and spiritual in social development: the word good was initially used in a material sense, a good; the distinction between good and evil in the ethical and spiritual mind came much later. To esteem, a man has initially placed a monetary

value on him (*estimate*, from *aes*, copper, money). Ethical and religious idealism can affect itself only within the limitations of economic conditions. Human life and progress factors would be numberless if reduced to detail, but speaking broadly. In terms of the general classification of the sciences, we may say they are physical, biological, psychical, and social.

It may be argued that the philosopher Hegel may be regarded as the connecting link between the old metaphysics and the new sciences; his contemporary, Goethe, is the best expression. Hegel's doctrine of development has a profound influence on the German founders of historical criticism and scientific socialism, as Malthus' theory of natural selection which has played such an immense role in speculative biology.

The economic historian and the sociologist work on the same problem and methods. Therefore, economic history is a contributory science to sociology. The economic historian gathers material that the sociologist may employ as data for his inductions. For the social sciences student, studying economic or industrial history by employing a proper historical method and principles of criticism is one of the best possible preparations for the broad and benevolent study of existing social conditions and problems.

4.3.5. Economic history as a professional discipline

To put it in perspective, until the appointment of the English scholar William James Ashley to chair the economic history in 1892 at Harvard University, Economic history as a professional discipline has not emerged as a respectable discipline. The increasing availability of economic and demographic statistics eventually facilitated the increasing awareness and its decisive influence on economic developments. Thus, economic history has developed gradually in France, England, and the United States.



Figure 89: Lord Acton

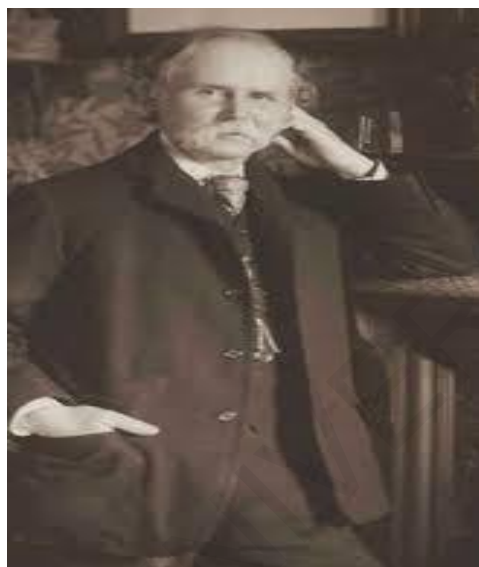


Figure 90: Alfred Marshall



Figure 91: J.H. Clapham

In Europe, the influence of the Trio -Lord Acton, Alfred Marshall and Sir John Clapham (1873-1946)- was enormous. Clapham's popularity began with the publication of his celebrated book "The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914 (1921)", and the shot in the arms was his masterly three volumes "An Economic History of Modern Britain, (1926-1938)". Eventually, Cambridge University appointed him as its first professor of economic history in 1928. He was supported by Eileen Power, who contributed to the growth of the Cambridge Economic History of Europe, where he took up as an editor after the demise of his collaborator.



Figure 92: Thomas Malthus

The impact of economic history on the population's realm was interesting. The political economist Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) was the first to examine the connection between population and economic activity. In an essay on the principles of population (1798), Malthus argued that the population would rise inextricably. Still, the means of maintaining that population would not keep up, which would lead, in turn to an economic crisis. He continued that under such circumstances, population increases should be prevented by robust checks such as moral restraint. The most dramatic intervention into this “historical demography” area came from E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield. in their work *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (1989), measured fertility, mortality and migration as the essential components of population change, concluding that population growth led to a fall in real wages over this period.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the importance of Economic History

4.4. New Social History(NSH)

The concept of New Social History took its birth in the United Kingdom. The forces that propel New social history are the strong political motivations in various ways. They express concepts like individuals and groups who claim to have found

space and eventually developed concepts like ideology, hegemony, morals and above all, social control.

Germany also witnessed a unique form of new social history under the rubrics of “Strukturgeschichte (structural history)”. Werner Conze was the first to impact credited with organizing a Working Circle for Modern Social History at Heidelberg and perhaps edited a serial publication called *The Industrial World*. Subsequently, Reinhart Koselleck’s *Prussia between Reform and Revolution* was published in Stuttgart in 1967, sharing with Conze a common idea that the fundamentals of social history must be to address the issue and concept concerned a particular era. The main contributions of Conze and his collaborators lie in their significant contributions to developing a dictionary of basic historical concepts to understand the industrial world through its language.

The rapid stride in the realm of New social history was that, In 1968, one of the journals, *Daedalus (a special issue of the journal of American History devoted to a critical assessment of where history stood)*, convened a group of historians. The group included eminent philosophers and thinkers, including Felix Gilbert, Frank Manuel, Eugene Genovese, Lee Benson, and David Rothman, who had been exploring new techniques and materials or attempting to employ in historical analysis ideas and procedures had grown up in the social sciences”. They all ended up as a thinker of *the New Social History*.

4.4.1. Lawrence Stone



Figure 93: Lawrence stone

Lawrence Stone, who in 1972 wrote *Historical Studies Today*, displayed cautious optimism and argued that “If historians kept their heads and hearts, he suggested, prosopography could sharpen their eyes”. He further states that “prosopography, collective biography, or multiple-career-line analysis all referred to a rather old procedure that had simply acquired a new range of applications”. It investigated the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history utilizing a collective study of their lives.

Thus the new social history emerged in the 1960s seemingly as distinct from Marxist history; Its canons may be summarized as follows,

- They argued for a historical enquiry from the perspectives of the processes that are more inclusive during a particular period of a given time, and perhaps special emphasis be given to the oppressed and the lower rung of the society or the downtrodden and
- They also emphasise that historians should use the literary source with exceptional criticality or be intensely sceptical of literary sources of evidence so that any discursive analysis of historical progress logically represents the social and institutional structures under discussion.

4.4.2. Impact of Annales on NSH

The French Annales school greatly influenced the new social history in various ways. The realm of “Quantification” has affected it most unevenly, least of all in women’s history and many ethnic groups. The novelty and distinctiveness from the other discipline have been the point of criticism which states that much the same version of history had been put forth by such American figures under the very label of the new history.

4.4.3. Achievement

Another indication that this new approach or New Social History (NSH) is thriving may be the proliferation of journals devoted exclusively to social history

phenomena. No less than a dozen are being published with such familiar titles as Social History, Journal of Ethnic Studies, Social Forces, and Journal of Family History. Another dozen are devoted to the history of blacks, women, and agriculture. Even the traditionally-oriented Journal of American History and American Historical Review has been publishing NSH articles. In addition, articles on social history and announcements concerning social history conferences and workshops appear in almost every issue of the “American Historical Association (AHA) Newsletter”. Furthermore, the titles of recent dissertations, articles, and conference papers indicate that NSH disciples have taken over the field of social history.

Table: Comparison between Traditional approach and New Social History

| Traditional Approach | New Social History Approach |
|--|--|
| Contributions of leaders, great men, and elites (classes) | Ordinary people in groups; changes in their environment, customs, values, status, economic well-being, and the institutions they set up (masses). |
| Usually focused on a specific incident, issue, or time period | Focused on changes over a period of time. |
| The end product is based primarily on literary sources such as correspondence or diaries | Systematic use of quantifiable data that can be interpreted statistically |
| Narrative, descriptive accounts. It may be a bit intuitive or impressionistic | Studies the structure and process of societal change to produce accounts that are analytic and comparative |
| Immigration history from the perspective of the melting pot. Stresses assimilation of groups and their efforts to get along in a new environment. Accommodationist shows the influence of Frederick Jackson Turner and | stresses resistance to assimilation, self-assertiveness, and conflict with the mainstream. The persistence of ethnic culture is regarded as an important measure of the “success” of a group. Often praises cultural pluralism, but some |

| | |
|---|---|
| William A. Beard, who stressed the rapidity of assimilation and how the result was better for all. Indians and Mexicans, sometimes seen as being obstacles to progress and given short shrift, | awareness of danger in uncritical acceptance of all cultural traits. |
| Themes include political-economic, military, diplomatic and traditional cultural and social history approaches. Interest in groups confined to voting behaviour and labour union activity, and growth | Group experiences, intergroup conflicts, intrafamily and intragroup relationships, social mobility, community structure, cultural landscapes, and regional studies |
| Fields of investigation are growing (generally in a chronological scheme, i.e., recent diplomatic, political, and military history) but relatively well established in contrast to NSH. | Fields are still evolving rapidly, with new areas being opened up. Considerable interest in examining interrelationships between the principle themes, especially in cases of labour, family, and women's history |

Source: *American Archivist* / Vol. 48, No. 4 / Fall 1985

Thus the main achievement of the new social history helped produce this broader perspective, but, like all previously existing historiography or history, it now shows signs of losing its initial thrust. Although it has bred a gigantic task and seemingly shed a volte-face from the earlier historical methods, it lost its vigour and enthusiasm while leaving its follower in the lurch to be critiqued and weary. This is seemingly true when some eminent figures intend to follow conventional sources.

However, the central focal point, i.e. the need for every historian to be consciously concerned with problems of representativeness in evidence, will not become blurred, for in it lies the most significant single hope of a generally improved standard in historical writing since the emergence of Germanic scholarship in the

nineteenth century, still stands out as a living testimony of the NSH contributions and achievements.

Over and above the points mentioned earlier, the significance of the NSH methodology also includes various innovations from the current historical research. It utilizes a different approach to source materials and is perhaps exclusively new in its orientation, emphasising history from the bottom up. Thus, new social historians moved away from studying some excluded few elites but are much more focused on the commoner, everyday struggles and experiences of groups of ordinary people. This contradistinguished them from the earlier historical methods or philosophy of history.

The desired end product is a factual analysis based on quantifiable data processing, not just a dry narrative. They thus claimed this is being derived and regarded as intuitive, impressionistic, and lacking objectivity and precision.

4.5. Intellectual History

What is intellectual history? Hayden V. White opines that “Intellectual history is the attempt to write the history of consciousness-in-general, rather than discrete histories of, say, politics, society, economic activity, philosophical thought, or literary expression is comparatively new as a scholarly discipline. Still, it can lay claim to a long ancestry”. It can also be defined as the unique enthusiasm in the history of ideas and thought formulation, which appears when the existing traditions in thought and talents seem no longer relevant or have lost their presumed coherency.

According to Robert Darnton(1980), intellectual history encompasses the following characteristics,

- The History of ideas is the philosophical formulation concerning the study of systematic thought.
- Intellectual history that formulates the study of informal opinion, climates of opinion and literary movements,

- The social history of ideas, i.e. the study of ideologies and ideas diffusion, and
- Cultural history is the study of culture employing ethnographic data. Alternatively, cultural history is related to ethnographic accounts of a particular society.

Intellectual historians do not consider disciplinary boundaries as a watertight compartment, but only when they study someone's idea do they take the discipline's boundaries very seriously. The reason is that the ideas expressed by this group of historians are never entirely political, philosophical, economic or theological in orientation. Accordingly, practitioners of intellectual history can be found in departments of history, philosophy, government and politics, international relations, classics, divinity, English, foreign languages, economics, administration, sociology and anthropology. Therefore the identity of intellectual history is seemingly fluid and contested and derives from a particular approach to historical ideas rather than a commitment to specific philosophical methods.



Figure 94: R.G. Collingwood

R.G Collingwood, who once argued, 'All history is the history of thought', in his posthumously published *The Idea of History* (1946), that history became a science when historians recognized that individuals were free to act, in the sense of thinking through the options open to them in a rational fashion constrained only by the

ideological context in which they found themselves. History became a science when historians recognized that individuals were free to act, thinking through the options open to them rationally and constrained only by the ideological context in which they found themselves”. While the history of thought could be applied to any period of history, all forms of historical inquiry should be considered a branch of the history of thought or what we now call intellectual history.

4.5.1. Intellectual history and its application

John C. Greene, in his essays “*objectives and Methods in Intellectual History*”, has laid down a few principles and methods, although specifically directed to the American intellectuals that

- Firstly, it created a separate field for the intellectual historian, with nonporous boundaries but not a watertight compartment defined subject matter related intelligibly to the subject matter of their disciplines. The assumption here is evidence that the intellectual historian might work used and shared the data used by the other interrelated discipline, but his approach and techniques are clearly discernible for the rest.
- Secondly, it seeks to understand and place ideas in proper perspective, thus setting off their uniqueness and originality. That is to say that they are against any unsophisticated or uncritical attempts to explain intellectual developments regarding the frontier or some other peculiar influences. Alternatively, it discourages parochialism in its analysis of any historical events.
- Thirdly, it emphasizes a more balanced approach, especially to American intellectual history.
- Fourthly, they systematically attempt to analyze the structure of thought in given periods and account for fundamental shifts in the intellectual discourse.

- Finally, adopting a more analytical approach to intellectual history encourages the intellectual historian to participate more effectively in an interdisciplinary paradigm. Most importantly, Historians have been urged to adopt scientific methods to study history. So does intellectual history must also follow in their spheres.

Miller, in 1939, published his *New England Mind*. He said that this book was primarily designed to be the first volume in the intellectual history project of New England. In 1904, James Harvey Robinson offered a course called “*The Intellectual History of Western Europe*”.

In Italy, in 1953, the term *Storia intellettuale* had not gained currency in the historical discourse. For even the German it was just or only *Geistesgeschichte* or *Ideengeschichte*, and not yet an *intellektuelle Geschichte*. However, a clear picture of Intellectual History emerges in concrete form in the United States of America.

Check your progress

- 1) Examine the importance of intellectual history

4.6. Cultural History

Cultural history can be defined as a Historio-anthropological approach to society's progress in the simplest form. The most distinctive features of the practice of cultural history can be witnessed from the 1960s to the 1990s, perhaps its focus on anthropology. The turn was confined to cultural history, but economic historians have studied economic anthropology.

However, we are sometimes caught up in differing cultures to define cultural history. According to Burckhardt (1882), cultural history is considered a vague concept. It was used for high culture. Then again, it penetrated the grassroots level to include popular culture. Furthermore, the term culture is also used to refer to the arts and sciences.

The anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski primarily defined culture in the Social Sciences Encyclopaedia as ‘inherited artefacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values. In 1871, Edward Tylor, in his Primitive Culture, tried to define culture in a similar fashion “in its broad ethnographic sense, as that complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.

However, the genesis of the term Cultural history is not spontaneous nor a sudden outgrowth or invention. A perusal of the literature convinces us that the uses of the term can be traced back to Germany under that name (*Kulturgeschichte*) more than two hundred years ago.

Then from the 1780s onwards, the uses of the term were diversified as the histories of human culture began to connote the history and culture of particular regions or nations. During the 19th century, the term Culture or Kultur gained more currency in Britain than in Germany, while the French still insisted on “civilization”. The period from about 1800 to 1950 was the age of what might be called classic cultural history.

Following are some of the themes that cultural historians are usually engaged with:

- They would make an attempt to seek to understand the connections between different arts.
- They are more interested in examining the whole rather than the units, discussing the relation of these various arts to what was often called the ‘spirit of the age’, or *Zeitgeist*,” based on Hegel's philosophy.

Understanding hermeneutics becomes imperative here; as discussed in the scope of history and science in Unit 1, it refers to interpretations of texts, especially the Bible. This term expanded its usage in the nineteenth century to interpret artefacts and actions. The most notable in this domain is Jacob Burckhardt and Johan Huizinga. However, in Prussia, it took a different turn; cultural history was not taken seriously

primarily because the the impact of Leopold Von Ranke's scientific history was so profound that they dismissed cultural history as merely a product of marginal or amateurish history since it was not based on official documents from archives.

Thus from the discussion above, what comes to our mind is that history culture discourse implies the idea of tradition pertaining to certain kinds of knowledge and skills handed down from generation to generation. To conclude, in the words of Historians such as -Aby Warburg and Ernst-Robert Curtius, cultural historians were mainly concerned with tradition and the fate of the classical tradition in the post-classical world.

Check your progress

- 1) What do you understand by the term Historio-anthropological approach?
- 2) What is being classic about cultural history?

4.7. Oral History

The definition of oral history can be found in the “The Oral History Association” statement. According to them, “Oral history is a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events”. Therefore, oral history can be considered the oldest type of historical inquiry, predating the written word, and one of the most modern, although it was not taken seriously.

In his essay “Doing Oral History”, Donald Ritchie explains, “Oral History collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews”. So in this type of personal interview related to oral history, the methodology is often well-structured interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording their exchange in audio or video format and also different forms of interview such as traditional, unstructured etc. In contrast, for the unstructured, a random question was posed and based on the answer, another question would be formed. Thus the above techniques of interviews were supposed to be followed by the

transcription of the recordings and summarised, then placed before the historians to reconstruct the history.

4.7.1. Is oral history the oldest method?

When all history in the past has been handed down to the younger generation, it can be said that it is one of the oldest traditions of History. However, the oral history methods can be a means for transforming both the content and the purpose of history in some of tribal societies where no written records are available, but the veracity of its originality is highly doubtful. Therefore it has to be corroborated by other sources too.

Nigel Cross and Rhiannon Barker, in their article entitled “*The Sahel Oral History Project*”, have underlined a fascinating concept and methods of Oral History. One of the most exciting case studies will be contextualised here, i.e. in the “The Sahel Oral History Project”, to explore how oral history techniques can assist the development process. The Sahel project used an oral method by talking and mixing with farmers, pastoralists, and refugees in order to understand several issues pertaining to their life and livelihood and surrounding environments, perhaps to comprehend a complete understanding of the Sahelian life.

The significance of this method rests in the fact that they incorporate and record indigenous knowledge, which was translated and transformed into practical purpose while incorporating all those recorded pieces of knowledge, which served as a basis for development planning, project implementation, and evaluation in the said area.

Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, in their seminal work “*The Oral History Reader*(1998)”, argue for the importance of Oral history that successfully challenges the traditional historical narrative while at the same time emphasising the necessity of Oral historians to learn scientific skills required for the creation of recorded interviews which will, in turn, be subjected to rigorous methodological test by incorporating

interdisciplinary approach and to incorporate other social sciences disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology and linguistics.

When the proper methodology is followed and utilized systematically, oral history will certainly help transform the historical reconstruction successfully. There is also the need to understand that the narrator recalls the past and acts as a living historical source. Oral history can also resurrect the past glory or sometimes romanticise individuals or social groups by recollecting, remembering, and reinterpreting the past.

Having said and discussed all the positive outlooks of Oral history, the issue remains: Is Oral history reliable? If so, then the answer goes! Historians must be evident in the “memory, and the nature of the interview relationship, especially about the connections between memory and history, past and present and most importantly, bringing together some of the best practitioners” in the domain is required.

Michael Frisch has states that it involves exploring what it means to remember and what to do with memories to make them active and alive, as opposed to mere objects of the collection.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the importance of oral history
- 2) Is oral history reliable?

4.8. Environmental History

Environmental history can best be defined as human interaction with the natural world. In other words, environmental history seeks to understand the interaction between culture and nature. Environmental history also looks into the past's systematic interaction between humans and the environment. It went on to explore the relationships between humans and the surrounding environments and the world.

To understand this concept, we need to look at the mechanism as to how the interaction between the two is at work. Thus to put it plainly, the main objective of an environmental historian is to intensify research on a deeper understanding and connections as to how human beings in the past are affected by the environment, how human beings have impacted their environment, and what are the result and consequences of such interactions?

To comprehend and elaborate on the above question, let us quote J.R. McNeill, who defines the environment history as the history of the relationship between human societies and the rest of nature on which they depended and suggested three broad areas of enquiry:

- First, humans should understand the human involvement with forests and frogs, coals, and cholera. This involves the study of human impacts on the rest of nature and vice versa, which according to him, is the “material environment history.
- The second one is purely related to policy formulation. This form of enquiry essentially relates to human efforts to regulate and formulate a policy which will help better the relationship between society and nature.
- The third broad area of concern is the cultural and intellectual discourse on the relationship between society and nature; for example, aborigine rock paintings in Australia show what humans in the past have imagined and thought about their surroundings, which was reflected in their paintings.

4.8.1. Origin of environment history

Although it attained significant importance in the 21st century, the beginning of Environmental History is considered a comparatively new discipline that came into being during the 1960s and 1970s. The growing awareness propelled this among human beings regarding their environmental problems, such as water, air pollution, and depletion of the ozone layer. Historians' fundamental contribution is how it will make the society understand the origins of the contemporary problems, drawing upon

the knowledge of the past and presenting it to the environmental activist and policymakers and scientise the magnitude of the problems.

To understand the question such as What is ecology and geography in the context of proper understanding of Environmental History? The concept of ecology is used to understand and analyse past environments and geography, which would mean the earth's surface undergoes changes and reshaping conditioned by factors such as geological, climatic, biological and human actions, which is also a reminiscence of historians of the Annales school who are credited with uncovering the influence of the environment on historical progress in terms of the impact of the physical environment on civilisations to describe the long term developments that shape human history, i.e. *La longue duree*.

Some notable environmental historians were Roderick Nash, John Opie, and Donald Worster. Nash's *wilderness and the American mind: an intellectual history of an environment* was considered to have employed environmental history for the first time. The spread of this discipline in the US was attributed more to the Institutional factors than the enthusiasm it evoked as a discipline *per se*. The American society for environmental history in 1976-7, followed by regular conferences. The most important achievement was the ASEH's Journal called Environmental History in 1976.

Although it has spread worldwide, its enthusiasm for professional history varies from region to region. On a larger scale, be it from Latin America, Southeast Asia, to Europe, almost all the issues of environmentalism were visible only from the 1990s. Hungary and Czech have also started small initiatives such as Environmental History communities since 1989. Mention may be made of the 1967 French Historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's studies on French and Western European climate, followed by Christian Pfister, who unearthed a close connection between the vagaries of climate and agricultural fortune.

One of the most remarkable books on a Global scale was *Environmentalism: A Global History*. by Ramachandra Guha. This book attempts to understand the origins

and growth of environmental issues and its problem through a global lens on a global scale. Here the author explains the two waves pertaining to Environment issues from the 18th century to the present under two strands. Now coming to the Indian sub-continent, it began as a micro-level study on land use and forest access, water uses, and canal construction during colonial rule. Then slowly, the focus shifted to wildlife management.

4.8.2. Approaches to Environmental History

Humanities or social science-oriented environmental historians use sources, methodologies, and approaches featured in their specific discipline. Some individuals, approaches, or schools of thought tend to concentrate on cultural or intellectual issues, while others focus on material, technological, or economic ones; still, others focus on political policies, laws, or judicial interpretations. Often, scholars specializing in analytic methods examine the source material of a particular type about a specific topic, e.g. forests, water, cities, railways, agriculture, or one animal species, in a particular language and from a particular region and period.

For instance, historians of religion and literary scholars often use distinct bodies of written or oral sources that reveal how those communities valued the living and nonliving world around them. Some commentators argue that today's movements or public policies incorporating reverence for sacred rivers or groves or understanding their religion as inherently environmentalist will prove more effective than secular ones.

Sociologists often work on contemporary resource allocation in social classes or cities. At the same time, anthropologists focus on the village or family level, e.g. how women of particular communities engage with resource collection.

Political scientists tend to focus on the recent formation and application of state policies about the environment through contentious interaction among various competing interests either within society or internationally, e.g. where human or national development seems to clash with the conservation of endangered wild

animals and habitats in forest-dwelling communities. Perhaps, many environmental forces and ecosystems cross those political borders, even though these new nations have significant similarities and differences in their environmental histories.

4.8.3. Stages in the progress of environmental history

- The first wave of formal environmental historians broadly defined, starting in the 1970s, noticed and celebrated local movements that resisted government-backed commercial interests' exploitation of natural resources. For instance, many commentators have lauded the Chipko (*tree-hugger*) movement in India's western Himalayan foothills. However, a perusal of different sources also made another interesting that predates the 1970' in the present Uttarakhand: the Chipko type of movement dating back to 1730 AD in a village called Khejarli Rajasthan, the Bishnoi tribe have sacrificed their lives to save trees.

However, writers such as Ramachandra Guha (1995); Shiva and Bandyopadhyay (1986); Weber (1989) have attributed the prime motivation for Chipko using a range of analytic ideologies, including Marxism, feminism, and Gandhians. of course, they do sensitize the intellectual community to the importance of Environmental History.

- A second wave developed as scholars within South Asia and internationally, using an array of methodologies and emphases, added historical depth to studying the subcontinent's environment and diverse people's knowledge and interactions with it. Some scholars analyzed the historical development of ecological awareness, scientific and technological means of assessing and controlling natural resources and their degradation, and governmental policy formation.

This kind of environmental history writing concentrates on the British Raj period (1858–1947) since the volume of written records and the level of exploitation of India's resources by the government and for-profit companies both dramatically increased.

- Third-wave of environmental historians challenges and deconstructs all such categories, often analyzing the discourse of influential people who created them to control non-elites culturally. Some scholars reveal internal divisions, such as power inequalities based on gender, class, or caste within communities of villagers or tribals or ideological conflicts among colonizers or other elites.

Approaches considering comprehensive ecological webs or interspecies relations question human-animal binaries, for instance, showing how forest-dwellers incorporate unique fauna or flora as ancestors or members of their communities. Nevertheless, other scholars show how people move among social and economic categories, like settled farmers moving into forests to escape famines or state-control and taxation, or forest-dwellers migrating to cities (permanently or just during one life-stage); activists argue that to move forward environmentally, cross-cutting alliances and appreciation of multiple and shifting identities must be formed.

4.8.4. Importance of environmental history

The importance of environmental history is raising questions for us all to consider and to act accordingly.

- Many people today might identify groundwater in aquifers as natural. Nevertheless, what about that same water, unchanged chemically, pumped out and commercially packaged in plastic bottles with a printed label asserting it is natural? After being consumed and voided as liquid waste into a river, for instance, the Ganges? Today, many in India identify the Ganges from a religious perspective as eternally pure. Many natural scientists would label it unnaturally polluted using chemical and biological perspectives. Nor are rivers naturally stable.
- Meander frequently shifts its channels and beds over time, even without or despite human intervention. Such different perspectives hold significant implications for implementing government programs, for example, the Indian government's massive, ongoing Ganges Action Plan to clean up that river.

- Big dams and reservoir project and their supporters present these projects as triumphs of human engineering, harnessing nature to channel vital irrigation water to arid lands, prevent devastating floods, and produce pollution-free hydroelectric power essential for national development and poverty reduction.
- Some environmentalists condemn these dam projects as causing the unjust displacement of local human populations, submergence of rare flora and fauna habitats, drowning of sacred sites, distortion of siltation and fish migration patterns, land degradation from salinization and waterlogging with waterborne disease proliferation, and, overall, long-term irreversible ecological damage.

To put it in the words of Guha, While Wordsworth and Gandhi perceived it in terms of simplicity, George Perkins Marsh and Dietrich Brandis transformed it into an ideology of scientific conservation. This so-called new ideology of rational management eventually brought forests and other natural resources under state control.

In an exciting essay titled “*The Age of Ecological Innocence*,” Guha argues that the ideas of environmentalism failed to influence the mad rush for development after World War II. Between 1945 and 1962 is designated as the *age of ecological innocence*. The transformation took place in the United States and then spread to the rest of the world.



Figure 95: Rachel Carlson

The New York Times Review on Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* was amazingly interesting, indeed, *How 'Silent Spring' Ignited the Environmental Movement*, which apparently exposed the hazardous impact of herbicides, pesticides, and carcinogens like DDT. Carson systematically showed how laboratory-manufactured chemicals in food production were poisoning the food chain and causing the death of humans, animals, fish, and birds, Hence the grim title *Silent Spring*.

Thus, Carson's role, which created a tremendous environmental consciousness, was so profound that "Silent Spring presents a view of nature compromised by synthetic pesticides, especially DDT". Carson argued that once these pesticides entered the biosphere, "they killed bugs and made their way up the food chain to threaten bird and fish populations and could eventually sicken children". Although the data that Carson used were not a new invention, the importance of Carson's works lies in his genius and skilful tactics to pieced together all the essential issues and make them readily available to the public. This is how Carson created a Revolution in the realm of environmental history.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the importance of Environment History.
- 2) What is chipko movement?

4.9. Summary

Thus, in a nutshell, we can argue that though there are varieties of History ranging from Political history to Global history that we have mentioned in the introduction, the bottom line is that "History is a specialist discipline with methods of its own commonly accepted by the majority. It is not simply based on common sense and is not a branch of literature. It is not a craft, and historians do not attempt to reconstruct the past based on dry narrative.

The discussion in this unit taught us that however varied the scope might be, History is based fundamentally on the evidence drawn from the primary sources by

those who are adequately trained. At the same time, they also rely on and corroborate the evidence provided by the secondary works of other historians and other disciplines if necessary.

4.10. Self Assessment Question

- 1) Define economic history. Discuss the role of Pirenne and J.H. Clapham
- 2) Bring out the main difference between traditional and New social history
- 3) What do you understand by the term cultural History?
- 4) What is oral history? Can oral history be taken as authentic sources
- 5) Discuss the importance of Environmental History
- 6) Bring out the salient features of Intellectual History

4.11. References /Reading List

Donald J. Hughes (2006) *What Is Environmental History?* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Economic History Society website: www.ehs.org.uk/ehs/refresh/default.as

Edmund Burke III and Kenneth Pomeranz (eds) (2009) *Environment and World History*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Fernand Braudel (1972) [1946] *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. New York, Harper & Row, New York.

<https://www.hetwebsite.net/het/home.htm>

Jan Vansina (1985) *Oral Tradition as History*, Oxford, OUP.

Peter Burke (2008) *What Is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ramachandra Guha (2016) *Environmentalism: A Global History*. Longman publisher, the University of Michigan.

Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson (eds) (2006) *The Oral History Reader*

Sally Alexander (1994) *Becoming a Woman: And Other Essays in 19th and 20th Century Feminist History*. New York University Press. Washington Square, New York.

UNIT - V

HISTORICAL METHOD

5.1.Objectives

While considering all of the central problems that affect historical writing/reconstructions from unit 1 to unit 5, i.e., nature, scope, sources, approaches, objectivity, evidence, causation and generalisation, this unit intends to familiarize the students with the following objectives:

- To understand the concept of causation, evidence sources and its application to historical methods
- Minimising bias will also be discussed when students comprehend the above concepts and methods.
- Then students will be able to make a proper generalisation without merely conjecturing.

5.2.Introduction

Historical methods are commonly agreed to ground rules for researching and writing academic or professional history. In other words, it is a well-defined rule agreed to and used by all professional historians in handling their sources and justifying their interpretations. Although historians differ in terms of how the methodologies are applied in deriving the truth about the past nevertheless agree that there is a need to observe specific protocols in conducting research. In any university, historical methods are an essential part of its curriculum, either at the undergraduate or postgraduate level but most importantly, when you embark on a research plan.

Then the researchers will have to look for sources in archives, museums, or any secondary sources. To bring out well-documented research articles or Dissertations/Thesis, it becomes essential to produce sources that corroborate and conform to the conventional protocols. Whether it is datable, locate the sources as to

how, when and why it was written, thereby putting and interpreting in proper sequences after perusing the sources with minute scrutiny.

Since the readers are always eager to check the authenticity of the sources; hence, professionally trained historians with standard historical methods will be required to properly footnote the sources apart from the bibliography that he/she has to maintain in the end. Following are some of the commonly observed and agreed upon by historians, i.e. The standards operating procedures(SOP) for conducting a research

- First and foremost, when a historian embarks on research, his primary task is to formulate a research problem; this will make him look for a relevant document related to his area of research.
- Secondly, external criticism, i.e. to determine whether the sources documents employed are authentic.
- Thirdly, Internal criticism, i.e. to determine the credibility of the sources' materials
- Fourth, being well documented or having the ability to organise reliable information into a proper narrative.

However, the commonly agreed ground rule for Historians is that the following factors must be kept in mind before one embarks on his/her research. They are as follows

- First and foremost is the issue related to the availability of source/materials/data, which will undoubtedly impose constraints on the inquirer, as no historian can create raw data.
- Secondly, the scope of the research, i.e., the delimitation of a broad topic to a narrower segment. Here Marc Bloch's assertion becomes relevant, where he fervently put forward the status of being true to life in its intertwining actions and reactions; we need not pretend to seize it as a whole. Although the task can

be a gigantic one like that of the systematic approach to history differs from the typical reductionist stance of social sciences, which, according to him, detects a set of dependent and independent variables in the quest for explanations of causal chains and the possible establishment of nomothetic insight.

- The third point to note is that Historical methods must undertake the principles of complexity rather than simplicity, starting from the premise.

Thus the coherence and sequencing of the source material are significant, i.e. either the source is the first-hand account or cited by someone already; if it is the latter, then it has to be cross-checked because the meaning and context might change. Critical appraisal of the source materials, whether primary or secondary, is of utmost importance.

Gilbert J. Garraghan and Jean Delanglez, in their work on “A Guide to Historical Method”, have rightly said, The historical method may be regarded as an application of epistemology -a science that deals with the nature of human thought and the circumstances that condition its truth or validity. Just as epistemology establishes the mind’s general capacity for knowing the truth and the conditions under which it must work to attain it, the historical method or technique demonstrates the correct procedure to be followed in achieving a specific kind of truth, namely, truth in history.

5.2.1. Sources

The material necessary in research is often referred to as “sources”; it can be primary, secondary or contemporary. The sources are crucial for historians, kings, leaders, and commoners. For example, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the attributes and objects, values and institutions that bear witness in today’s world are derived from historical sources. Therefore, these sources are powerful because all sources depend on the inquirer’s aim to gain historical insight, which consists of a steady, dialogic confrontation between the researcher and authorities.

As discussed above, professionally trained historians will maintain a proper footnoting system and bibliography at the end of the book or Thesis. The Bibliography will be mainly divided into two parts, i.e,

- Primary and
- Secondary.

The primary sources are considered more meaningful and authentic than the secondary ones, but this does not mean that the secondary sources are unimportant. The primary data may consist of archives, archaeological data, film footage, basically a first-hand account or raw data. That is why they are considered authentic compared to secondary sources. Perhaps the father of modern history, Ranke argued that modern historians must adopt the critical reading of original sources/documents in the archives, which is essential for professionally trained historians.

5.2.2. Importance of sources criticism

As we have discussed the importance and power of sources, it is also necessary to look into the sources' veracity or authenticity. All sources must be subjected to "criticism", i.e. critical assessment of sources primarily aims to verify and testify sources. The project is characterized by two separate methodical stages which follow different rationales but are still necessarily inter-twined—i.e. external and internal criticism. While in the former, the methodology is concerned with examining the authenticity of a source, the latter is concerned with questioning credibility.

In the context of the reliability of the sources, let us make little inferences from the work of R.G. Collingwood, in his seminal work *The Idea of History* (1993 [1946]), who postulated that "that all history is the history of thought and, therefore, historical processes are not processes of mere events but processes of actions which have an inner side, consisting of processes of thought [...]".

Accordingly, these thought processes are the essential and primary objectives historians should aim to uncover while laying their hands on the subject. This means

the source selection and verification question would be much more complicated and nuanced than we expected. Collingwood's conception of his "two-sided conception of events provides an explanatory basis for the impossibility of objectively recognizable facts in the past, i.e. an attempts to define historical processes objectively can at the most comprehend the outside of an event and thus fail due to negligence of the inside of the event – the subjective thought processes of an individual (Collingwood 1993: 190)".

5.3. Historical evidence

To better understand the above explanation about historical methods, let us now shift our focus to Historical evidence. So any historical inquiry begins with the attempt to unfold for a body of evidence. This means any researchers will narrate issues and stories about what brought them to their subject but not necessarily their interest in or curiosity about the past. They are basically interested in knowing just what happened, but some historians are also interested and believe that the past knowledge can be put into practical use in dealing with contemporary problems. So, whatever the personal motives of historians, the point inquiry begins with a body of evidence; thus, the historian's main task is to interpret the evidence.

It is often understood that the historian's primary objective is to tell a story about what, when why this happened. In the process of such inquiry, historians believed that historians could reconstruct the past objectively through various sources or evidence. As Leon J. Goldstein(1962) puts it, "The philosophical issues of history, however, are by no means limited to the explanation of events. We shall want to consider just how events are established".

Thus, it is here that historical methods enable us to get to the past, that the traces provide some forms of connections between the past and the present. The importance of being professionally trained in historical methods is reflected here. Although carried out in the present, historical inquiry results in uncovering some aspects of the actual past before our eyes. Still, it does not mean we can confidently

discuss having contact with the past. The result is subject to scrutiny conditioned by various historical facts that may later come in archaeological excavations.

5.3.1. Historical evidence contextualised

Let us assume that a person goes for a morning walk near the beach and discovers rocks of various shapes. The Rock perse need not be considered evidence, primarily because everyone on earth, human beings and every object, has an age. Hence, before considering the rock as evidence, the geological character of the area in which they are found or the material culture of prehistoric communities that may have used them needs to be verified. Finally, geological or archaeological theories must be considered, formulated and applied. So historical evidence does not guarantee or provide an automatic source of knowledge until it is subjected to historical hypotheses, tested and corroborated.

Therefore, historical evidence is that anything, an object or substance, seen and of interest to ordinary people is not necessarily historical evidence. If, in any case, history as a discipline has made progress over the years. It is likely due to the growing sophistication in treating historical evidence seriously. For instance, we cannot write Roman history by reading the great historians of antiquity-Livy, Tacitus and their confreres-and recasting the events they describe in a new narrative form in the 21st century without looking at corroborating with other evidence and sources; otherwise, it would be just be re-narrating a Roman history. Therefore, If the historian's narrative is considered a creative and original act, it would be conditioned by its need to conform to historical evidence and other sophisticated methods.

There are three commonly agreed-upon methods that investigators must learn to function effectively. They can be done much better with the method than without it.

- The first concern with understanding and learning the categories of evidence.

- The second is “gathering evidence”. This involves bibliographic search, description, control, and analysis or annotation. This method also means recording evidence, deciding what to record, and how to process the material. Taking good research notes is also one essential tool of historical methods, using well-understood concepts and techniques; therefore, note-taking rationalization of events is an art that will pay handsome dividends when finalizing the research project/thesis.
- The third is “the communication of evidence”, which may be delineated through lucidity and unambiguous expression. Without these operations, only miraculous intercession will contrive the same result. The opportunities for ambiguous expression in historical studies are appallingly numerous; the need for training and method is critical.

The handling of evidence may also involve specialized knowledge in the subject domain. The concerted effort in studying these manuscript sources has given birth to specialised disciplines such as Numismatics, palaeography, epigraphy, philately, sphragistics, and heraldry. The paleographer, who specialised in handwriting, the historian, owes the use of many unnamed, undated, and sometimes undeciphered manuscripts, which would have been closed codices.

The study of epigraphy facilitates deciphering the inscriptions. For example, James Prinsep’s role in the History of Mauryas, especially during the reign of Ashoka, is noteworthy. Likewise, philately, numismatic palaeography has contributed to their file.

Johnson (1926), in “*The Historian and Historical Evidence*”, succinctly puts it that “the results achieved by these laborious studies are often excellent”. The German historian Giesebrecht, for example, “points out that detailed chronicles of the eleventh century drew their information from a common source that was no longer available”, which exemplifies how well established his knowledge of the writing of the period in

question. Thus, historians are said to have discovered a kind of convergence due to the corroborative results from the various ancillary disciplines.

Therefore, the sources and the object must be testified to ascertain their veracity on the following questions, i.e. what, where, when, who and why?

- What applies to what a historian is looking at in an ordinary person's understanding?' Will this question certainly help researchers to do an initial examination of their evidence and give a good starting point for further questioning of Where?
- Where are these artefacts gathered?' or for an old piece of pottery, 'Where was this found?' This question will make historians understand better where a piece of evidence came from and build a prominent picture of its history. Then the third question is related to When?
- When is very a fundamental question to answer? So this question becomes significant only when you have a date for the evidence because it will help you place it into a timeline in your work and help you put it in the context of a more comprehensive history. Once you complete this sequence, then the fourth question is who?
- Who is depicted? Who used this?'Who created? Who founded? Thus, when you can answer this question, you are better positioned to offer an answer, even if you cannot provide a concrete solution.
- The last but not the slightest question regarding this Evidence is why? Nevertheless, it will also depend upon the situation and the evidence you want to interpret. So all the above, when fruitfully contextualized, the issue of biases in interpretation may be solved, but remember that there can be no 100 per cent objective in historical research.

Robin W. Winks's *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (1969) is an excellent book to follow. It contains many valuable lessons in method and is equally fascinating as literature. The historian-detective connection links mainly to how each gathers, evaluates, and makes inferences from the evidence.

Historians who conceive of their sources as evidence rather than authorities take us back to the detective metaphor. That view situates authority not in the documents themselves but in the historians who use them to answer questions they have posed about the past. Here sources are seen as incomplete, mere fragments of past worlds, and thus the emphasis is to reconstruct a sense of the whole from parts.

In the late 1930s, R.G. Collingwood distinguished this stance from the earlier one that viewed sources as authorities. The latter produced scissors-and-paste history because it merely read documents primarily to find out what they said. On the other hand, the historian who views sources as evidence, Collingwood, terms scientific. This approach frees the historian from depending on the purposes and overt objectives of the creators of documents but finds helpful information in them. However, they are ostensibly about something quite different.

5.3.2. External criticism or testing the integrity of a document

We have slightly discussed the issue concerning sources, External criticism, which is essentially concerned with determining a document's authenticity. This step deals with the document itself, not its content or meaning. In other words, is the document we are using what it purports to be? The idea of authenticating documents is simple, but its application is sometimes quite complex. Authentication generally focuses on the author and date of a document and establishes the most precise text reading. Ideally, a document's original must be used for study until one has verified that a published source is an accurate and reliable transcription. It usually is best to avoid using the term original in any detailed discussion. Instead, discuss the genesis of a document or the source's source.

Credibility deals with the meaning of statements in a source and provides a means to evaluate a document. Credibility concerns the individual statements within a document, not the complete reference. So it is assumed that the sources are usually divided into two parts: those produced by eyewitnesses to an event, and the other is those written by individuals who were not present when the description of events took place.

5.3.2.1. Internal criticism or reliability of an authenticated source

Once the document's authenticity is verified, i.e. external criticism, it is followed by internal criticism. Internal criticism looks at the reliability of an authenticated source after being subjected to external criticism. One of the most important rules is that for every data, establishing credibility should be separately undertaken regardless of the general credibility of the author.

Thus a historical fact may be defined as a particular body of evidence derived from historical documents and subjected to due process of rigorous testing under the commonly agreed rules of historical methods to ascertain its credibility. In Ethnohistory and Historical Methods, Raymond Wood has listed several rules for testing the veracity of historical evidence. How sources can be appraised are almost infinite, and no brief essay can elaborate on them. Some of the fundamental that needs considerations are:

- Temporal proximity to the event is essential because it is believed and assumed that “the more the time lapse between the observation of an event and its documentation, the greater the potential distortion in the record,
- What was the document's purpose, and what was its intended audience? Was it written for the author's eyes alone, others, or special interest groups?
- How competent was the witness? Expert and amateur witnesses differ widely in their ability to report such “as numbers”.

The credibility is often ascertained if it can pass the following three tests:

- Was the primary witness able to tell the truth? Was the person an eyewitness? If not, what was the source of information? Gottschalk (1958:150) repeats: “the primary witness and the detail are . . . the subjects of examination, not the source as a whole.
- Was the witness willing? Egos and unconscious biases often are involved. Is the account internally consistent? Is the author an interested witness, grinding axes, protecting his interests, or pleasing a superior? We can place greater confidence in details that are of little consequence to the author.

For example, early explorers likely had nothing to gain in reporting matters such as housing details or kinship, so these non-controversial matters are usually reported accurately, given inevitable cross-cultural misunderstandings. In other words, one must probe the writer's covert agenda and examine the document's overt purpose. (Please read “Shafer, Robert Jones (ed.)1980, Guide to Historical Method, for further details, that provided a Guide for a helpful checklist of internal criticism).

- Is there independent corroboration of the detail? Even by an unimpeachable source, a single statement can never be accepted without reservation. Memories are fallible, and slips of the pen are common. Accept details based only on the independent testimony of more than a couple of reliable witnesses. Independence of testimony is critical; as Gottschalk said, we confirm a lie.

However, it should also be remembered that “when historians want to discover what happened in the past, they feel constrained to find evidence that will enable them to draw inferences about the people and events which interest them. This constraint seems reasonable because it has long been thought both the necessary and sufficient means of discovering the truth about the past”.

Thus, the art of writing history involves not simply identifying, transcription, and summarising sources as statements of historical fact. The writing of history consists of making judgments too. An accurate historian's inferences can also be relatable to a sound judgement made by a judge. The route to these journeys is arduous and requires a considerable amount of patience especially concerning and identifying the motive of historical actors, causes and consequences through historical processes.

5.3.3. Hypothesis

A hypothesis can be defined as an idea or statement that can be proved wrong or right after research is conducted. In other words, the hypothesis is a statement formed in advance for a project yet to be tested, i.e. unproven in its original form. So, the hypothesis of any subject matter is seemingly problematic on philosophical grounds because the hypothesis is primarily formulated to test the subject, which can be falsified or proven correct.

Every historian starts with identifying a problem, and then a proper methodology would be looked into because he assumed that the current and previous statements are unsatisfactory; hence solution or proper documentation is required.

The problematisation is contextualised in a specific question-oriented solution. Then the formulation of a hypothesis followed, which provides the historian with a criterion of relevance, where it is not yet necessary for him to answer the question. There are also chances that a historian might accommodate the facts to his hypothesis, but this can be preempted by using alternative hypotheses. So even if that goes wrong, the next step in historical research consists of testing by reference to evidence. Thus the chances of falsification are ruled out when rigorous methods are followed.

Like scientists formulate and test hypotheses, so thus the establishment of historical facts assumes two necessary steps.

First, in any given circumstance, the historical; inquiry results are tentative and subject to further investigation.

Secondly, it is commonly agreed that the process of historical inquiry from evidence to the fact is possible only based on certain general assumptions or presuppositions. Consequently, statements of fact are correct only if these presuppositions are correct.

Rolf Gruner, an eminent historian, posited that When a historian establishes a fact, it is not his purpose to solve a problem or use evidence to confirm a hypothesis. The main objective is to state the case and support his statement as best as possible by evidence. Of course, one can demand that historians formulate problems and hypotheses for clarity of intersubjectivity.

5.4. Causation



Figure 96:E.H.Carr

The first and foremost book that comes to a scholar's mind who deals with causation in history remembers E.H. Carr's book *What is History*, which asserts that "The study of history is a study of causes is. The historian continuously asks the question, why?" So any topic related to the past will indeed contain the causes. For example, what are the causes for the decline of the Harrapan civilization, the causes of the 1857 revolts, and the causes of the Indian National Movements? These are

essential aspects that no historians will or can run away from answering. Before we unravel the causation in History, let us now look at the etymological derivation of the word cause.

The word cause derives from the Latin *causa* or Causality. Thus, a causal relationship is characterised by the relationship between cause and effect or the result that cause things to happen. This may provide a logical explanation when trying to understand how, why, and when this happens. Thus eventually believed to have delved into natural philosophy through the analogy of nature to historical progress.

The Greek, as well as the modern historians, used a variety of expressions for the causal relation, e.g., an antecedent led to, gave rise to, brought about, made, produced, created, or influenced a certain consequent, or the latter was due to, resulting from, came as a consequence of, or was conditioned by the former.

As the word causation in historical methods has occupied a central place. There are Naturalists who “argued that reality is exhausted by nature, containing nothing “supernatural” and that the scientific method should be used to investigate all areas of reality, including the “human spirit, have taken it as axiomatic that historiography can become scientific, i.e., give us verifiable knowledge free from bias or superstition, only if it submits to the methods of natural science which operate with causal laws”. It will also address bias in history or the statement, Can Historians be objective?

Morris R. Cohen, in his article entitled, *Causation and its application to History*, opines that The Greeks, as well as the modern historians, used a variety of expressions for the causal relation, e.g., an antecedent led to, gave rise to, brought about, made, produced, created, or influenced a particular consequent or the latter was due to, resulting from, came as a consequence of, or was conditioned by the former.

Polybius drew explicit distinctions “between the motive force, the excuse or reason, and the beginning or origin” in German *Ursache*. Aristotle’s famous doctrine of the four causes, i.e. *the material, the form, the efficient cause, and the purpose or*

end, deals with what we would call today the grounds or reasons why anything whatsoever takes place in the way it does. It is thus not much different from the modern standards of conventional wisdom except that we restrict the causal relation to changes or phenomena in time and space in the interest of clarity. So, In general, we all assume the question of human existence, like events, is interconnected, and there is a concrete reason why things move or happen.

According to K J. Teggart in *Causation in Historical Events*, “History is not unitary but pluralistic. Every region and area has its history, and the investigation of causation becomes possible when it is seen that the activities of men under different conditions may be compared”. So it means an attempt to find for causes, in the end, is derived from the search for means to the fructification of results that we are interested in.

Historical phenomena do not come to us in classified forms. We classify them in diverse ways according to the purposes of our inquiry. The scrupulous historical investigator professed the rigorous test of causality, often applied by critics of proposed causes for known events. Similarly, we reject the greased cartridge as the single factor for the 1857 revolt because multiple factors arose from the British government’s socio-economic and related policies.

Some historians called it sepoy mutiny, 1857 revolts or the First War of India’s independence. In the words of R.C Majumdar, The Revolt of 1857 is neither First, National, nor a War of Independence. So the point here is primarily that the historian, as a narrator of what happens, is determined to tell a coherent story based on his observation of the movement’s spread and various factors that eventually burst out in the form of a sepoy mutiny. Alternatively, it can be said that this is the sum total of the British misrule.

So a professional historian will always be eager to engage in lively arguments about the most critical or fundamental causes of particular events. His inferences will be based on a perusal of minutes of scrutiny of all sources available to him.

Thus far, history has taught that objectivity in historical narration will eliminate and avoid repetition. This historical knowledge is disseminated to understand the present by examining the possibility of repetition. This process is meant to develop critical thinking in the minds of scholars that will help them formulate questions synthesizing the argument. In fact, History is an essential tool to enhance a Nations' self-esteem.

5.4.1. Causation in historical perspectives

Looking back from the earliest time concerning the uses of Causation, medieval scholarship in historiography believed the prime force behind causality to be God's plan. Nevertheless, the Scottish philosopher David Hume questioned the belief that a necessary relationship was involved in causation.

Every historian will undoubtedly agree that the objective of historical inquiry is to tell what took place. The historian then must give something more than a record of events regarding the connection between one event and another with proper sequencing.

As Hegel remarked, the rise and fall of empires are that of change. So historical explanation of causation explains the world in terms of change. The term history implies a process of significant change or progress, and we investigate the causes behind that change. To quote Professor Bury, every historical event is a moment in a continuous change process.

Mc Cullagh, in his article "*Bias in historical interpretation*", argues that "an excellent causal explanation describes all the events that significantly altered the probability of the occurrence of the event being explained". A significant description would cover the significant causes, and a deeper analysis will cover minute details of the causes.

Regarding the question of biases in Historians and their interpretation. This can be explained in two ways, i.e. wittingly and unwittingly. No historian can claim that

he is cent per cent objective or unbiased. This kind of bias often occurs while selecting the sources.

One of the outstanding examples of this can be inferred from A. D. Moses' works on the Holocaust. Moses offers two theoretical explanations for this, i.e. "ideological-intentionalist and structural-functionalist". While the former is identified with "the Holocaust to Hitler and the German people", the forces behind it can be ascribed to "anti-Semitic ideology", and the latter puts the "blames on the patterns of obedience found in bureaucracy or army". In such a bureaucracy, the administrator and the army fail to uphold the morality and ethics of the policymakers, thus conscientiously implementing as a call of duty.

Eminent scholar Hugh Stretton convincingly explicates the issue of bias in historical interpretation in his book "The Political Sciences". He tries to address the issue of bias concerning various factors for the outbreaks of World War I, where he points out that "Liberals blamed it upon a failure of diplomacy in the months before the event; Marxists attributed it to capitalism and the competitive imperialism it generated, whereas conservatives thought the war resulted from innate human avarice or *Extreme greed for material wealth, ambition, aggression*". Moreover, the tension between the Great Powers had increased during their competition for colonies.

5.5. Objectivity

The word objectivity in History or Historical objectivity stands for what is authentic. However, the issue of "truth and being in the state of authenticity" are relatives. The question of objectivity in historical research is determined by a well-defined historical method commonly agreed to by all as standard operating procedures one must follow while doing historical research. It implies the state of being free from personal bias and a sentimental approach and not being one-sided, subjective and partial.

5.5.1. Being objective or on a higher ground

Eminent historian David Earl Bohn argues “that there is no superior approach to history from which historians can defend their views; he chose to use the word higher ground or superior approach than being objective”. He posited that “since there is no objectivity, there is no truth, no rationality”. So the question remains: if there is no objectivity and truth in historical research, what do historians do and look for in such a scenario?

So the reference to a higher ground assumes significance here, which means there is a valid reason on which historians, scientists, and others can ground their claims to truth, objectivity, and rationality. In Bohn's words, “The illusion of higher ground is true, seductive. Suppose the ideal of neutrality and objectivity cannot be approximated. In that case, the historians’ distinction between good history and bad evaporates. The secular historians claim that somehow his account is of a higher order can no longer hold”. This assumption led us to another area required for deciding what is subjective and objective, good and evil. Since Everything becomes relative to the people who assert this or that position, scepticism, relativism, and cynicism rule the day. For example, when George W Bush, the then President of the US, attempted to invade Iraq, the statement -if you are not with me, you are against me-.

This logic implies that it would make historians necessary to follow the dictate of the state. So in the 21st century, when the term good and evil have become much more relative than ever before to every nation, religion, or ethnic group. Then how does one become an objective historian or write history in the way it should be.?

Eminent historian Richard P. Cecil uses fairness instead of an objective to answer the above question. When we assume that a person is objective, conventionally, he is considered to have made an honest attempt. So would the fairness and accuracy of the term mean honesty? Nevertheless, it is not necessary to describe the degree of being fair as necessarily objective but relatively more transparent through a comparative analysis. Therefore, the idea that we can put forward here is that every

paradigm has its particular merits and demerits, perhaps limitations, and these paradigms and perspectives will determine whether what has been learnt and understood is objective and appropriate.

Furthermore, if we could see things from multiple perspectives or view the question of objectivity, fairness may undoubtedly be obtained on higher ground. In the end, a multi-faceted or interdisciplinary approach will also be necessary here. Thus, the objectivity in the historical analysis would require a metaphor of “the seven blind men and the elephant”.

5.5.2. Does perspectives condition objectivity?

Richard P . Cecil distinguished bias and prejudice to make our explanation more transparent and lucid. He argues that “bias refers to the inevitable limitations that every human being suffers because of his perspective; it is a limited approach to and comprehension of the object of knowledge”. While at the same time, Prejudice “occurs when the subject does not establish contact with the object of knowledge but sees only his preconceptions”. Such a display of prejudice in one’s writing helps us understand the author’s psychology.

Therefore it is imperative that “the historian cannot but approach the past from one particular perspective, which means that an event for him will be determined ultimately by this perspective”. The perspectives of historians are also conditioned by several factors, such as the environment. Thus it is impossible to know the event apart from our changing perspective, but the objective reality of the event is in no way dependent upon our knowledge of it.

Mark Bevir, in his *objectivity in History*, argues that “Many philosophers have rejected the possibility of objective historical knowledge because there is no given past against which to judge rival interpretations”. Yes, indeed, the reasons for doing so are well taken. The basic argument is that we cannot have objective historical knowledge because we do not have access to a given past against which to judge rival interpretations.

Hans-Georg Gadamer has argued that “there is no understanding or interpretation in which the totality of this existential structure -the historicity of being- does, not function, even if the intention of the knower is simply to read ‘what is there and to discover from his sources how it was’”. Nevertheless this does not necessary argues for and convinced us that “we must give up the concept of historical objectivity”. But instead our argument squarely lies on the idea that “Objectivity in the historical analysis must be determined by an idea based on comparison criteria, not on a given past. Objective interpretations best meet rational criteria of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness, and openness”.

The argument put forward by empiricists is that historians often resort to the logic of vindication or refutation to justify their stands. Then the question arises what does the Logic of vindication means? This primarily emphasises how one should ascertain the validity or genuineness of any historical analysis, while the logic of refutation explains how one should determine the veracity of research.

In light of the above discussion on Empiricist logic on vindication or refutation, we can now say that Gadamer, Foucault, and Derrida are right to reject the idea of a given past. This means perception's ideas and nature are conditioned and depend on the perceiver. In other words, when sensation can become the object of perception only when our senses identify it as a particular sensation distinct from and from other phenomena.

Mc Cullagh, in the article *Bias in Historical Description*, points out four possible ways for historians to commit biases in their interpretations so that we can take care of them in the future. They are as follows:

- First, historians often misinterpret evidence, so they are not justified in asserting that the inferences they draw about what happened in the past are accurate. For example, they might attend to evidence that suggests that a particular event occurred but ignore evidence that shows it to have been impossible.

- Second, when historians compile an account of a historical subject, be it a person, an institution, or an event, what they say about it might be justified and credible, but the account might omit significant facts about the subject so that it is unbalanced,
- The third kind of bias is a general description of the past that relies on available evidence but proves false in the later analysis. For instance, a Marxist will explain evolution in terms of a class struggle, but this might not necessarily involve class struggle or classes were not involved.
- A fourth phenomenon occurs in providing causal explanations of historical events when some but not all of the crucial causes are mentioned. The reader gets a misleading impression of the process by which the event came about.

Understanding the above principles clearly states that “historical inference failures” can all occur accidentally through an oversight, *An unintentional omission resulting from a failure to notice something*.

This means that we cannot judge them as biased but just wrong or unjustified, through some omission in applying the standards operating procedures in historical methods or unwittingly biased.

Then the question still confronts here, i.e. How does one minimize the possibility of bias? The solution is that historians are advised to peruse all data and documents cogently to check and verify that their descriptions, interpretations, and inferences are well supported by the data consisting of all relevant primary and secondary data.

Nevertheless, specific issues need proper deliberations or should be well thought out beforehand. Such as,

- First, the evidence that has survived has often been preserved according to past archivists' interests; if it is written, it reflects the preconceptions and interests of its authors.
- Second, the problem with the question is that when historians interpret evidence, they do so according to their preconceptions and interests, so some think the conclusions they draw from it must be biased.

Thus we can, of course, convincingly sum up as per Marc Bloch's summation or arguments, i.e.:

The evidence vocabulary is, in its way, only another form of proof. It is undoubtedly precious but imperfect and subject to criticism like all evidence. Each significant term, each characteristic turn of style becomes a valid component of knowledge-but not until it has been placed in its context, related to the usage of the epoch, of the society or the author; and above all, if it is a survival of ancient date, secured from the ever-present danger of an anachronistic misinterpretation(Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*,1954:168”.

The inferences we can make from the above discussion on objectivity squarely lie in the fact that “In any event, historians do have some theory, implicit or explicit, contradictory or systematic, as the basis of their particular approach to the past. Nevertheless, it will not be very reasonable for the historian to call himself and his interpretation 100 per cent objectives”.

5.6. Generalisation

A generalisation can be defined as the methods by which historians examine testimony and other evidence, so the unique historical fact for generalisation comprises a set of rules. What is extraordinary, segregated or unique cannot be understood except by comparison with the average, the normal, the aggregate and the general or Vice versa. In other words, a generalisation is a linkage of disparate or unrelated facts in time or space. It can also be summarised as the process of formulating general concepts by abstracting common properties of instances. Their grouping is their rational classification.

As Marc Bloch puts it, “an explanatory relationship between phenomena. It results from the effort to explain causation, motivation and effect or impact. More widely, generalisations is how historians understand their materials and try to understand facts to others”. The “Analysis and interpretation of events is invariably done through a process called generalizations”. This means for a historian “, Generalisation is involved as soon as we perform the two most elementary tasks: classify facts or data or phenomena, compare and contrast them, or seek out similarities and dissimilarities among them and infer from them”.

5.6.1. Is generalisation applicable to other disciplines?

In his article *Historical Generalization*(1980), Gordon Geoffrey Partington argues that generalization is indispensable in historical explanation. For example, the concept of a period is impossible without our employing an implicit generalization. The human experiences encountered within a given period have more in common than earlier or later events. Otherwise, we could only employ reigning dates, years of the horse or the dragon, or other devices which are non-descriptive. Periods are not entirely homogeneous, and rarely, even one of the features we characterize a period, cannot be found earlier or later. Still, we may avoid the deepest pitfalls as long as we realize this is the case. To quote M.I Finley, “even the words applicable one time may occur without context, misled when applied to another time”.

Usually, Historians often differentiate generalisation into two-level. According to the “*Committee on Historical Analysis of social science research council’s*” reports concerning generalisation, historians can be divided into two groups.

- Descriptive Historians attempted to account for the events or situations under consideration in their own unique settings and
- Theoretical historians try to find it in their subject matter, a basis for comparison classification, interpretation or generalisation.

Eminent historians like Chester G. Starr, in the article *Reflection upon the problems of generalisation*, explain that generalisation is commonly the summation by the historians of those views of historical explanation and causation, which has exhibited less obviously in the selection and arrangement of his facts. He further argues that “When one links a mass of events in different places or times by a connective tissue of generalisation, the uniqueness of such historical events is thereby limited, for generalisation is possible only if we can establish the process of valid similarity”.

5.6.2. Steps in generalisation

Louis Gottschalk has given a fascinating explanation and grouped the historians based on the model they followed concerning the generalisation

- Unintentional generalisations are those who make generalisations only if they are unaware that they are doing so and try to eliminate those they are aware of.
- Intentional generalisations make deliberate efforts to go beyond historical subject matter to indicate its interrelations with antecedents, concurrent and subsequent events and thus risk broad interpretative synthesis but still limit their interpretations to interrelated trends.
- Some generalisations are based on the assumption that there is a tendency to go beyond the subject matter to draw parallels and analogies to it in other times or places of the past, whether they are related.
- Generalisation is made by those who venture prepositions about past trends or analogies in such general or abstract terms as to leave the implications if they do not explicitly state that their propositions may well be extrapolated to events in the future and finally.

- Generalisation is made by those who invoke and put forward philosophies that are intended to provide a philosophical understanding of the course of human events past.

Based on the above observation, Gottschalk talks about the group of historians as follows:

- *The school of unique* maintains that historians' purpose should be to emphasize differences rather than similarities, to deal with the special and unique rather than comparative and general.
- *The school of strictly limited generalisation* are purely Narrative-Descriptive historians.
- *The school of generalisation based on Trends*. They are basically interpretative historians who strive to establish some hypothesis or theory that will help explain several interrelated historical events.
- *The school of generalisation on the basis of comparisons*, this school of thought are collectively known as comparative historians.
- *The school of generalisation with validity for prediction or control* is known as nomothetic historians.
- Last but not least, *The school of cosmic philosophies of history*. This group of historians are also known as the philosophers of history.

5.7.Summary

A retrospective analysis of the above discussion squarely brings us down to the fact that students will now be able to understand and comprehend:

- The capability and aptitude for evaluating and analysing evidence of all kinds, secondary and primary, including all written documents, may include a variety of cultural artefacts.

The question of how to write coherent and well-organised reports of various types, address precise problems and develop balanced and well-substantiated arguments.

The capability comprehends how historical knowledge is acquired and disseminated to facilitate continuous development in learning history and, thus, a steady enhancement of historical knowledge.

The aptitude to understand “cliometrics and counter-factual econometrics” will be highly beneficial when quantitative and qualitative analyses are considered.

Therefore generalisation helps historians to suggest a comprehensive understanding of old facts, which in the process uncover new issues that the authenticity and veracity of historical analysis for confirmation concerning the existing opinions. They improve a historian’s perception and increase his ability to grasp by broadening his horizon. This generalisation will allow historians “to analyze, interpret and explain his data”.

Thus, generalisations lead the historian to look for new facts and sources. No serious historians none would be able to avoid the trends in Generalisation, i.e. even if they try hard to but, they will be compelled to test somehow his facts or evidence for its authenticity and credibility by some set of well-defined principle or historical methods that are set forth from time to time.

5.8. Self-assessment questions

- 1) What is generalisation?
- 2) Discuss the importance of evidence
- 3) Examine the importance of the collection of sources
- 4) What is causation in history?
- 5) Can a historian claims himself to be objective? If so, how and why?
- 6) Discus bias in history
- 7) Discuss the power of History.

5.9. References

Croce, Benedetto (1921) *Theory and History of Historiography*, G.C Harrap and Co Ltd. London.

E.H.Carr(1961) *What Is History?* London: Macmillan, 1961; revised edition ed. R.W. Davies, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986.

Garraghan, Gilbert J.(1946) *A Guide to Historical Method*, edited by Jean Delanglez. New York: Fordham University Press.

Gottschalk, Louis(1958) *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*. NewYork: Alfred A. Knopf

Hayden White(1978)*Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Louis Gottschalk, ed.,(1963) *Generalization in the Writing of History*. A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963.