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**CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION
(CDOE)**

M.A HISTORY

SEMESTER - II



**CORE - VI:
HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL METHODS**

(Candidates admitted from 2025-26 onwards)

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M.A History 2025 admission onwards

CORE VI

Historiography and Historical Methods

Prepared by:

Dr.N.Sethuraman
Associate Professor
Periyar Arts College
Cuddalore- 607 001

Scrutinized & Verified by:

BOS Members,
Centre for Distance and Online Education (CDOE)
Periyar University
Salem - 636011

UNIT I

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF HISTORY

Meaning, Nature and Scope of History – Kinds of History and Allied Subjects – Lessons of History; Uses and Abuses of History – Role of Individuals, Role of Institutions and Role of Ideas in History

After completing this unit, learners will be able to:

- Understand the meaning, nature, and scope of history from both Indian and Western perspectives.
- Identify and differentiate the various kinds of history and their unique approaches.
- Explore the interdisciplinary connections of history with allied subjects such as archaeology, epigraphy, and museology.
- Examine the lessons, uses, and potential abuses of history in shaping public memory and identity.
- Analyze the roles played by individuals, institutions, and ideas in the development of historical narratives.

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Section 1.1: Meaning, Nature and Scope of History

History is not merely a collection of dates and events; it is a dynamic, interpretative discipline that helps us understand the evolution of human societies across time and space. Rooted in the Greek word *historia*, meaning “inquiry” or “investigation,” history represents both the memory and the mirror of humanity. It enables us to make sense of the present by studying the complexities of the past - its causes, consequences, continuities, and changes. Far beyond the political accounts of kings and wars, history encompasses the lived experiences of individuals and communities, the growth of ideas, institutions, cultures, and the shaping of identities.

The nature of history lies in its dual character - it is both empirical and interpretative. While it draws from a wide variety of sources such as inscriptions, chronicles, artifacts, oral traditions, and archival documents, the historian’s work involves careful selection, analysis, and narrative construction. Interpretations may vary based on the historian’s perspective and context, which is why the same historical event may yield multiple understandings. The discipline of history includes various schools of thought - positivist, Marxist, Annales, subaltern, feminist, and postcolonial - which illustrate the diversity of methods and viewpoints used to examine the past.

The scope of history has significantly widened in modern times, making it an interdisciplinary and inclusive field. It now incorporates the study of marginalized communities, environmental changes, gender dynamics, everyday life, and global interactions. History interacts closely with disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and archaeology. Educationally, it builds critical thinking, empathy, and analytical skills. For a postgraduate learner, recognizing the meaning, nature, and scope of history provides the essential foundation for engaging with historiography and historical methods, and for appreciating the relevance of history in contemporary academic and policy discourse.

1.1.1 Meaning of History

History is the critical and methodical study of the human past, aiming to understand, interpret, and explain events, institutions, and cultures across time. Etymologically, the word “history” comes from the Greek *historia*, meaning “inquiry” or “investigation.” From its early roots as a narrative of heroic deeds and political events, history has evolved into a rigorous academic discipline, drawing from sources, evidence, and analytical frameworks to explore the multiplicity of human experiences.

The meaning of history has undergone transformation through time. In the classical Western tradition, Herodotus, often called the “Father of History,” defined his role as a recorder of great deeds so they may not be forgotten. His approach was narrative and descriptive. In contrast, Thucydides, his successor, focused on rational analysis, causality, and the motivations of political actors, laying the foundation for critical historiography. This dichotomy between storytelling and analysis has continued to shape historical writing.

In the Indian tradition, historical consciousness existed in texts like the Puranas, Itihasas, Buddhist chronicles, and inscriptions. While these texts were not “history” in the modern sense, they reflected collective memory, genealogies, dynastic records, and moral instruction. The *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana (12th century CE) is often cited as India’s first “historical” text in the modern sense, for its attempt at chronology, use of earlier sources, and critical commentary on rulers. Kalhana stated that the historian should be impartial and guided by truth — an idea remarkably similar to modern principles.

With the emergence of professional historiography in 19th-century Europe, historians like Leopold von Ranke emphasized the need to rely on primary sources, such as letters, state documents, and eyewitness accounts. He aimed to represent the past “as it actually happened”. However, critics such as E.H. Carr argued that

Ranke's vision was too naive, since the selection and interpretation of facts are influenced by the historian's context. In *What is History?* (1961), Carr argued that history is a "dialogue between the historian and the facts," where both selection and interpretation are essential components.

In the Indian postcolonial context, D.D. Kosambi revolutionized the study of Indian history by applying a Marxist framework and emphasizing material conditions, class struggle, and social change. He defined history as "the scientific study of society through time," advocating for the use of archaeology, numismatics, and literature alongside texts. Romila Thapar expanded this tradition, stressing that history is not a static narrative but an evolving interpretation shaped by new evidence, changing questions, and historical consciousness. She critiques colonial historiography for its Eurocentric bias and argues for a more nuanced, multi-perspective understanding of India's past.

History also serves various functions in society. It helps construct collective identities, legitimizes or questions political power, and provides insight into human behavior. According to Eric Hobsbawm, history is often a contested terrain, used to shape national ideologies and collective memory. In contemporary times, the discipline has expanded to include subaltern perspectives, focusing on those traditionally left out of mainstream historical narratives — women, peasants, Dalits, Adivasis, and others. The Subaltern Studies Collective, led by historians like Ranajit Guha, redefined history from below, challenging elite-centric narratives and highlighting resistance and agency among the marginalized.

The nature of historical sources and methods further complicates the meaning of history. Hayden White emphasized the literary and narrative structure of historical writing, arguing that historians, like novelists, make choices about plot, emplotment, and tone. This view highlights the constructed nature of historical writing and the role of language and representation. History, thus, lies at the intersection of fact and interpretation, memory and evidence, and objectivity and subjectivity.

In conclusion, the meaning of history is not fixed. It has evolved from chronicles and religious accounts to scientific inquiry, and from court-sponsored narratives to critical analyses of structures and voices from below. Today, history is a vibrant and multi-disciplinary field that draws from archaeology, anthropology, sociology, and literary theory, engaging with both the lived realities of the past and the questions of the present. As Carr rightly noted, history is not just about the past; it is about how we make sense of the past in light of the present.

1.1.2 Nature of History

The nature of history is complex, dynamic, and constantly evolving. History is not merely a record of past events; it is a critical interpretation of the past, reconstructed from evidence through inquiry, analysis, and narration. It deals with the study of human societies, actions, institutions, ideas, and transformations over time. Unlike the natural sciences, history does not work with repeatable experiments. It depends on narrative reasoning, source-based inquiry, and interpretative analysis of evidence - often incomplete and fragmented.

One of the fundamental characteristics of history is its selectivity. Historians do not, and cannot, record everything that happened in the past. Instead, they select events based on relevance, significance, and available evidence. This selective nature makes history interpretative and analytical, rather than merely descriptive. According to E.H. Carr, the facts of history become meaningful only when a historian selects and interprets them. Therefore, history is not a mechanical process of gathering data but a dialogue between the present and the past. This positions the historian as an active participant in shaping historical knowledge, not a passive recorder.

Another key aspect of the nature of history is its contextuality. Historical interpretation varies according to the time and perspective from which it is written. What one generation may see as progress, another might see as exploitation. For instance, colonial historians once portrayed British rule in India as a civilizing mission, while postcolonial scholars have critically examined it as a system of

economic exploitation and cultural domination. Romila Thapar argues that history must be understood in its specific temporal and cultural contexts, avoiding anachronisms and generalizations. This calls for a multi-perspective approach that respects diversity in sources and voices.

History is also both objective and subjective. Objectivity is achieved through the critical use of evidence, corroboration of sources, and rational argumentation. However, total objectivity is often elusive, since historians bring their own cultural, ideological, and methodological frameworks. As Marc Bloch, the French historian and co-founder of the Annales School, pointed out, a good historian must constantly question sources and remain aware of their own biases. Thus, history lies in a delicate balance between fact and interpretation, evidence and imagination, and documentation and narration.

Furthermore, history is interdisciplinary in nature. It draws insights from economics, sociology, political science, anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology. For instance, D.D. Kosambi emphasized the importance of integrating scientific and materialist approaches to understand the structure of ancient Indian society. The Annales School in France advocated for a *longue durée* perspective, encouraging historians to focus on long-term social, economic, and environmental structures rather than merely political events.

In modern times, the nature of history has broadened to include people's histories, gender histories, Dalit histories, environmental histories, and oral traditions. These approaches challenge the traditional elitist and text-centric views of the past. Subaltern Studies, pioneered by Ranajit Guha, highlighted how peasants, tribes, and marginalized groups have shaped history in their own right. Such developments demonstrate that the nature of history is inclusive, self-critical, and open to constant re-evaluation.

In sum, the nature of history is multifaceted. It is a human science rooted in evidence, driven by inquiry, and animated by interpretation. It seeks not only to

reconstruct what happened but also to understand why and how it happened. History is therefore not static, but a dynamic discourse shaped by changing questions, new evidence, and emerging methodologies. It is both a discipline of knowledge and a way of understanding human experience, helping societies to learn, reflect, and evolve.

1.1.3 Scope of History

The scope of history is vast and ever-expanding. It encompasses not only the political events and dynastic changes that were once its primary focus, but also the social, economic, cultural, environmental, and intellectual dimensions of the human past. History today is not confined to kings and battles; it includes the lives of ordinary people, their ideas, beliefs, institutions, and material culture. This expansion in scope reflects the evolution of the discipline from a narrative of elites to a comprehensive study of human civilization in all its complexity.

From Political History to Social and Economic Realms

Traditionally, history was primarily focused on political events such as wars, successions, treaties, and leadership. This event-based history, often called chronicle history, dominated until the 19th century. However, historians like Karl Marx and Fernand Braudel broadened its scope by emphasizing economic structures, social classes, and long-term historical processes. In India, D.D. Kosambi pioneered the use of Marxist materialism to explain historical development, particularly in the context of class relations and productive forces.

As the field developed, social history began to examine caste, class, gender, family structures, and institutions like marriage and kinship. Women's history, Dalit history, and tribal history emerged as vital subfields, particularly through the influence of Subaltern Studies in South Asia. These approaches questioned dominant narratives and brought marginalized voices into historical discourse. For example, historians

like Uma Chakravarti and Gail Omvedt emphasized how gender and caste shaped historical experiences differently across communities.

Expanding Cultural and Intellectual Frontiers

The scope of history also includes cultural history, which investigates art, literature, religion, philosophy, customs, and collective memory. Cultural historians ask how symbols, rituals, and language shape identities and power relations. Intellectual history, on the other hand, explores how ideas evolve over time. Thinkers like Quentin Skinner and Sheldon Pollock have shown how texts and traditions must be read in their historical context to understand their social and political implications.

Environmental history has recently emerged as a vital area, analyzing how human societies have interacted with the natural world. In India, Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha contributed significantly to understanding ecological changes and resource management through historical lenses. Similarly, history of science and technology explores how scientific knowledge, tools, and innovations evolved over time and influenced human development.

Interdisciplinary and Global Dimensions

The scope of history is not limited by national or regional boundaries. Comparative history, world history, and global history seek to understand transnational phenomena such as trade, migration, colonization, revolutions, and pandemics. For instance, the Columbian Exchange and Silk Road trade are studied to trace global interactions. Environmental, maritime, and diaspora histories are all part of this globally connected outlook.

Moreover, history is inherently interdisciplinary. It engages with anthropology, archaeology, economics, political science, sociology, linguistics, and even geography. Archaeological evidence, inscriptions, coins, and oral traditions all serve as historical sources. For example, archaeological excavations at Harappa and

Mohenjo-daro helped historians reconstruct aspects of Indus Valley Civilization, while Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions inform us about ancient Tamil culture and politics.

Contemporary Relevance and Utility

The scope of history is not merely academic. It has practical relevance for policy-making, identity formation, cultural understanding, and ethical reflection. History equips individuals with critical thinking, analytical skills, and a deeper appreciation of human struggles and achievements. As Eric Hobsbawm observed, understanding history is essential to comprehend the present and shape the future. In a multi-cultural democracy like India, historical awareness fosters social cohesion, tolerance, and respect for diversity.

In conclusion, the scope of history has transformed into a pluralistic, inclusive, and global discipline. It encompasses every dimension of human activity—past and present. As the tools of analysis and available sources expand, so too does the historian's capacity to ask new questions and offer deeper insights. History today is more than a record of the past; it is a vital tool for understanding the human condition in all its complexity.

Let Us Sum Up

In this section, we explored the meaning, nature, and scope of history as a discipline. History is defined as the systematic study of past events, and it can be understood through different perspectives, ranging from factual accounts to analytical interpretations. The nature of history is both scientific and artistic, as it involves methodical research and critical analysis while also requiring creative narrative skills. Its scope has expanded beyond political events to encompass social, economic, cultural, and intellectual history, making it a multifaceted field. Through this, history helps us understand not just the past but also the forces that shape present-day societies and human experiences.

1. What term did Leopold von Ranke emphasize in defining history?

- a) Philosophy of history
 - b) History as art
 - c) History as it really was
 - d) History of civilizations
- c) History as it really was

2. According to E.H. Carr, history is:

- a) A series of unconnected facts
 - b) Merely a list of events
 - c) A continuous process of interaction between the historian and the facts
 - d) A description of ancient monuments
- c) A continuous process of interaction between the historian and the facts

3. Which one of the following areas does NOT fall under the scope of history?

- a) Political events
 - b) Scientific theories
 - c) Social movements
 - d) Economic changes
- b) Scientific theories

4. Who among the following promoted a Marxist approach to Indian history?

- a) R.C. Majumdar
 - b) Irfan Habib
 - c) Jadunath Sarkar
 - d) H.V. Sreenivasa Murthy
- b) Irfan Habib

5. The term "Historiography" refers to:

- a) Historical fiction writing
- b) Study of coins
- c) The philosophy and methodology of writing history

d) Ancient architecture

→ c) The philosophy and methodology of writing history

Section 1.2: Kinds of History and Allied Subjects

History, as a discipline, has evolved from a mere chronicle of events to a broad and complex field that encompasses diverse themes and methodologies. The development of historiography over time has led to the emergence of different kinds of history, each focusing on particular aspects of human activity. Political history, which once dominated the field, has gradually made way for social, economic, cultural, intellectual, and gender histories, among others. These various kinds of history help historians understand the past from multiple perspectives and make sense of human experiences in a more nuanced and holistic manner. The diversification also reflects how history is interconnected with the social sciences and humanities, drawing from disciplines like sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science.

In addition to thematic diversification, the study of history is also enriched by its engagement with allied subjects. These include archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, paleography, and geography, all of which serve as essential tools for the historian. While archaeology helps uncover the material culture of the past, epigraphy and numismatics offer textual and monetary evidence respectively. These allied disciplines provide critical primary sources that supplement and often correct literary accounts. Understanding the kinds of history and their relationship with allied subjects enables students and scholars to adopt a multidisciplinary approach and critically analyze the past using a variety of methods and sources. This section aims to introduce the main branches of history and explore how allied subjects enhance the discipline's depth and scope.

1.2.1 Kinds of History

The discipline of history is no longer confined to the narration of political events, battles, and the deeds of rulers. Over time, it has expanded into multiple specialized fields that explore various dimensions of human life. These “kinds” of history provide different lenses through which we can understand the past, catering to diverse interests and methodologies. While traditional historians focused mainly on political and diplomatic history, modern historians examine a wide range of social, economic, cultural, and intellectual phenomena.

Political History

Political history is one of the oldest and most traditional branches of historical writing. It primarily focuses on the study of rulers, governments, state formation, wars, diplomacy, policies, and legal structures. Political historians analyze the rise and fall of empires, revolutions, power struggles, leadership styles, and administrative systems. This kind of history was dominant during the 18th and 19th centuries and remains crucial for understanding governance, political ideologies, and institutional evolution.

Social History

Social history shifts attention from the elite and powerful to ordinary people and their lived experiences. It studies family structures, social classes, caste systems, gender roles, customs, and community life. Social historians are concerned with how societal norms were constructed and transformed over time. This approach gained momentum in the 20th century, particularly with the Annales School in France, and plays a crucial role in understanding historical change from the bottom up.

Economic History

Economic history explores how people and societies produced, distributed, and consumed resources through time. It examines systems of agriculture, trade, industry, labor, taxation, and wealth accumulation. This branch of history intersects

with economics to understand the rise of capitalism, colonial economies, industrial revolutions, and financial systems. Economic history helps us trace the material conditions and economic structures that influenced human decisions and historical transformations.

Cultural History

Cultural history investigates the beliefs, values, symbols, artistic expressions, and traditions of a society. It focuses on literature, music, art, religion, festivals, and rituals to understand how culture shaped and was shaped by historical processes. It also considers how meaning is constructed through cultural practices and how these reflect power and identity. Cultural historians often draw on sources like poetry, visual arts, and folklore to interpret the psyche of past societies.

Intellectual History

Intellectual history deals with the evolution of ideas, philosophies, ideologies, and systems of thought over time. It studies influential thinkers, texts, and intellectual movements such as the Enlightenment, Marxism, or Indian philosophical schools like Vedanta and Buddhism. Intellectual history reveals how ideas about humanity, governance, science, and morality changed and influenced events and institutions across cultures and epochs.

Gender History

Gender history examines historical experiences and representations of men, women, and non-binary individuals. It explores gender roles, norms, identity formation, patriarchy, and feminist movements. This field emerged out of women's history and gender studies and critiques the male-dominated narratives of the past. Gender history challenges historical biases and brings visibility to marginalized gendered experiences.

Subaltern History

Subaltern history, inspired by scholars like Ranajit Guha and the Subaltern Studies Group, focuses on the voices of the oppressed, colonized, and marginalized. It

critiques elite-centric historical writing and brings attention to peasants, workers, tribals, and other underrepresented groups. Subaltern historians aim to write history “from below” and challenge the dominance of colonial or nationalist narratives.

Environmental History

Environmental history examines the interactions between humans and their natural surroundings across time. It considers how geography, climate, natural disasters, forests, rivers, and animal life influenced societies and how human activities altered the environment. This field has gained importance in the context of ecological crises and seeks to provide historical perspectives on sustainability and environmental change.

Diplomatic History

Diplomatic history is concerned with foreign policies, treaties, international relations, and the conduct of diplomacy between states. It explores alliances, conflicts, negotiations, and the role of ambassadors and foreign missions. Diplomatic history is key to understanding the causes and consequences of major wars, colonial expansion, and the global order.

Military History

Military history focuses on wars, battles, strategies, weapons, and the organization of armed forces. It includes the study of both ancient and modern warfare and assesses their impacts on societies. Military historians examine causes of wars, leadership in battle, logistics, morale, and the evolution of military technology and tactics.

Legal and Constitutional History

This branch deals with the evolution of laws, legal systems, and constitutions across different societies. It studies the origin and development of judicial institutions,

customary law, codified legislation, and constitutional reforms. Legal history helps understand how societies regulated behavior, enforced justice, and institutionalized governance.

Oral History

Oral history captures the voices and experiences of people through recorded interviews and spoken testimonies. It is particularly valuable for communities with limited written records, including tribal societies, women, and war survivors. Oral historians emphasize memory, storytelling, and subjective experience as legitimate historical sources.

Art History

Art history explores visual culture, including painting, sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts. It considers styles, themes, techniques, patronage, and symbolism in artworks across periods. Art historians contextualize artistic production within political, religious, and social settings, providing insight into aesthetic and cultural values.

Religious History

Religious history traces the origins, spread, doctrines, practices, institutions, and influence of religions and spiritual movements. It examines sacred texts, religious reformations, pilgrimage, monastic orders, and interreligious encounters. This history is vital for understanding conflicts, conversions, sectarianism, and cultural synthesis.

Urban and Local History

Urban history studies the development of towns and cities, urban planning, municipal governance, and the life of urban populations. Local history, on the other hand, focuses on the history of specific regions, communities, or villages. Both highlight

micro-historical processes and provide grounded understandings of broader national or global phenomena.

Big History

Big History is a modern interdisciplinary approach that studies history on the broadest possible scale - from the Big Bang to the present. It integrates knowledge from astronomy, geology, biology, anthropology, and traditional history to explore how complexity has increased over time. Popularized by scholars like David Christian, it traces cosmic, planetary, and human evolution in a unified framework. Big History helps situate human history within the grand narrative of the universe, challenging historians to think beyond national or civilizational boundaries.

Total History

Total History (Histoire Totale) is an approach championed by the Annales School of French historians like Fernand Braudel. It emphasizes long-term structural factors - geography, economy, social customs, and mentalities - over mere events. Rather than isolating political or military history, Total History attempts a holistic view of the past by combining different kinds of data and timelines (short, medium, and long durée). It encourages using interdisciplinary tools like geography, demography, and anthropology to reconstruct complex historical realities.

Cliometrics

Cliometrics, or the "new economic history," refers to the use of quantitative methods and statistical models to study historical phenomena. Developed in the 1960s by economists like Robert Fogel and Douglass North, cliometrics applies economic theory, data analysis, and mathematical tools to topics like slavery, economic growth, and labor markets. While initially controversial, it has now become a respected branch of economic history that brings scientific rigor to historical interpretation.

Prosopography

Prosopography is the systematic study of common characteristics within a historical group, through collective biography. Rather than focusing on individual lives, it analyzes patterns in careers, social networks, education, kinship, and status among elites, clergy, bureaucrats, or other defined groups. Used by historians of ancient Rome, medieval Europe, and early modern states, prosopography uncovers the social fabric and institutional workings of societies by studying groups instead of just individuals.

1.2.2 History and Its Allied Subjects

History, as a discipline, does not exist in isolation. It shares deep interconnections with several other academic fields. The interdisciplinary nature of historical inquiry enriches our understanding of the past by incorporating insights, tools, and methodologies from allied subjects. Historians often rely on these disciplines to construct, analyze, and interpret historical narratives. The relationship between history and its allied subjects is both complementary and dynamic, allowing for a more holistic reconstruction of the past.

History and Archaeology

Archaeology is one of the closest allies of history. It provides material evidence of past cultures, including tools, pottery, buildings, and inscriptions. When written records are absent or limited, archaeology becomes indispensable. For instance, much of our knowledge of the Indus Valley Civilization comes from archaeological excavations rather than written texts. In early Indian history, archaeological data bridges the gap between prehistory and recorded history.

History and Archival Science

Archives are the backbone of historical research. Archival science refers to the systematic collection, preservation, classification, and management of historical

records and documents. Historians depend on archives for access to primary sources such as manuscripts, official records, letters, court documents, and administrative orders. Institutions like the National Archives of India or the British Library hold vast repositories of such materials. The training in archival methods equips historians to verify the authenticity, provenance, and context of historical documents.

History and Museology

Museology is the study of museums—their organization, curation, and public education roles. Museums are not just storage spaces for artifacts but dynamic institutions that preserve and interpret material culture. For historians, they provide tangible connections to the past, especially when written records are scarce. A bronze Chola idol or a Mughal miniature painting in a museum can reveal much about the art, religion, technology, and aesthetics of its time. Understanding museological practices helps historians engage with artifacts critically, considering both their cultural context and the ethics of display.

History and Epigraphy

Epigraphy, the study of inscriptions, is a vital source for understanding ancient and medieval history. Inscriptions found on rocks, pillars, copper plates, and temples provide direct evidence of political events, royal decrees, land grants, social customs, and religious practices. The Ashokan edicts, Allahabad Pillar inscription, and Tamil-Brahmi records are primary examples. Epigraphists help decipher languages and scripts like Brahmi, Kharosthi, or Grantha, thus allowing historians to access information that might otherwise remain obscure. Epigraphy is particularly essential in the Indian context, where inscriptions often fill gaps in literary sources.

History and Numismatics

Numismatics is the study of coins and currency. Coins are rich sources of historical data, offering insights into economic conditions, trade networks, political authority,

iconography, religious symbolism, and metallurgy. The issuing authority, portraiture, legends, and weight standards of coins help historians date events and trace the geographical extent of empires. For example, Indo-Greek coins reveal syncretism in culture and economy, while Gupta coins highlight the imperial grandeur and religious orientation of their rulers. Proper numismatic analysis often serves as corroborative evidence for literary and archaeological sources.

History and Anthropology

Anthropology helps historians understand the cultural practices, social customs, and belief systems of communities, particularly those without written records. Cultural anthropology, in particular, enables the study of myths, oral traditions, and rituals, enriching social history. For example, tribal histories and folk traditions are better understood when approached through an anthropological lens.

History and Sociology

Sociology contributes to historical understanding by offering frameworks to analyze institutions, class structures, social change, and collective behavior. Historians studying revolutions, reform movements, or caste dynamics benefit from sociological theories. The concept of "social stratification," for instance, is crucial to understanding varna and jati systems in Indian history.

History and Political Science

The intersection between history and political science is long established. Political history, governance, state formation, and diplomacy are central themes shared by both disciplines. Political theories such as Marxism, liberalism, or realism provide useful lenses to interpret historical events. Moreover, institutions like the Mauryan state, Mughal administration, or British colonial governance are studied with reference to political theory and statecraft.

History and Economics

Economic history studies how past societies produced, distributed, and consumed goods. It analyzes trade, taxation, agriculture, labor systems, and industrial development. Economic tools like statistics and models, along with concepts such as feudalism, capitalism, or globalization, help explain historical transitions. The decline of the Roman Empire or the Great Depression of 1929 are best understood through both historical and economic approaches.

History and Geography

Geography shapes human history by influencing settlement patterns, agriculture, trade routes, and warfare. Historians use geographical knowledge to explain why civilizations flourished in river valleys or why certain regions became strategic centers of power. The concept of environmental determinism and the study of climatic shifts—like the Little Ice Age—also show how geography and environment have influenced historical processes.

History and Literature

Literature—both fictional and non-fictional—serves as a vital source for historical study. Ancient epics, poems, dramas, and biographies offer insights into the values, ideologies, and daily lives of people. Texts like the Mahabharata, Shakespeare's plays, or Kalidasa's works provide context for understanding the culture and emotions of the time. Historians, however, must approach literary texts critically, analyzing them for bias, exaggeration, or symbolic meaning.

History and Philosophy

Philosophy contributes to history by offering perspectives on time, change, ethics, and the nature of knowledge. Historians often engage with philosophical debates on objectivity, truth, and causation. Thinkers like Hegel, Marx, and Michel Foucault have

deeply influenced historiography by proposing dialectics, materialist conception of history, and the power-knowledge nexus.

History and Law

Legal history helps trace the development of legal systems, rights, and governance structures. Studying ancient laws like the Manusmriti, Arthashastra, or Magna Carta sheds light on societal norms, justice systems, and political authority. It is also instrumental in understanding colonial legal frameworks and their lasting impact on postcolonial states.

History and Psychology

While not always central, psychology plays a role in interpreting individual and collective behavior. Psychohistory, though controversial, attempts to analyze the motivations of historical figures using psychological theory. It also helps explain mass behavior during events like revolutions or genocides, blending insights from social psychology and history.

The richness of historical inquiry is magnified when it interacts with its allied disciplines. The interdisciplinary approach not only enhances factual accuracy but also broadens interpretative frameworks, allowing historians to produce nuanced and comprehensive accounts of the past.

Let Us Sum Up

In this section, we examined the various kinds of history and the disciplines allied to historical studies. We saw that history is not monolithic but encompasses many branches such as political, economic, social, cultural, intellectual, gender, environmental, and diplomatic history, along with newer fields like Big History, Total History, Cliometrics, and Prosopography. Each kind of history offers unique perspectives and methodologies, enriching our understanding of the past.

Additionally, the allied subjects—such as archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, museology, archival science, anthropology, and sociology—play a vital role in supplementing historical knowledge by providing tangible evidence, interpretive tools, and comparative frameworks. Together, these approaches deepen the scope, accuracy, and relevance of historical study in both academic and applied contexts.

Check Your Progress

1. Which type of history focuses on the study of human interaction with the environment over time?

- a) Political History
- b) Cultural History
- c) Environmental History
- d) Military History

→ c) Environmental History

2. Total History is a concept primarily associated with which historian or school?

- a) Leopold von Ranke
- b) Annales School
- c) Arnold Toynbee
- d) E.H. Carr

→ b) Annales School

3. Which of the following is an example of a quantitative method in historical research?

- a) Hermeneutics
- b) Cliometrics
- c) Iconography
- d) Historicism

→ b) Cliometrics

4. The study of coins and currency to understand historical aspects is known as:

- a) Epigraphy
 - b) Palaeography
 - c) Numismatics
 - d) Stratigraphy
- c) Numismatics

5. Which kind of history focuses on governmental institutions and administrative systems?

- a) Economic History
 - b) Political History
 - c) Intellectual History
 - d) Diplomatic History
- b) Political History

Section 1.3 Lessons, Uses and Abuses of History

History as a discipline offers both intellectual enrichment and practical applications. By analyzing change over time, history enables us to identify patterns, understand causation, and learn from successes and failures. Whether studying revolutions, reforms, or scientific advancements, history provides a framework for understanding the complex forces that shape human societies. It teaches critical thinking and evaluative skills essential in many professions.

The uses of history extend into governance, diplomacy, education, and conflict resolution. Policymakers study historical precedents to design better strategies; educators draw upon historical case studies to teach values and ethics. In the digital age, even data scientists and technologists explore historical trends for predictive modeling. History is a bridge between the past and future, helping us make informed decisions in the present.

However, history can be selectively used to serve political or ideological agendas. Nationalistic interpretations may erase uncomfortable truths, while colonial narratives

have historically marginalized subaltern voices. Misuse of history fuels xenophobia, communalism, and revisionism. Therefore, students of history must be vigilant in distinguishing evidence-based interpretation from biased storytelling.

1.3.1 Lessons of History

Understanding the Relevance of the Past

The study of history is not merely the recollection of past events; it is a systematic endeavor to derive meaning, patterns, and insight from humanity's journey through time. As E.H. Carr famously stated in *What is History?*, "The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present." History offers lessons not by prescribing ready-made answers, but by revealing the consequences of human choices across different times and societies.

The cyclical nature of history—rise and fall, peace and war, progress and stagnation—offers essential lessons. Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* proposes that civilizations rise in response to challenges and fall when they fail to respond creatively. Thus, history teaches that resilience and adaptation are vital for survival.

Understanding the Past to Navigate the Present

The study of history provides a vital framework for understanding the evolution of human societies, institutions, and ideas. At its core, history offers lessons by highlighting patterns of success and failure, progress and regression. As Edward Hallett Carr noted, "History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past." It informs contemporary decision-making by illustrating the consequences of past choices. Whether in governance, diplomacy, social reform, or technology, history functions as a guidebook—though not with prescriptions, but with valuable precedents.

However, learning from history is not automatic. The famous observation by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel starkly reminds us: "What experience and history teach is this—that people and governments have never learned anything from history or acted on principles deduced from it." Hegel's statement is not a rejection of history's value, but a critique of how often its lessons are ignored. It reflects the tendency of individuals and societies to repeat mistakes—despite the historical record offering numerous warnings. Thus, while history contains lessons, the burden lies on human agency to interpret and apply them responsibly.

Political and Moral Lessons

History abounds with instances of how power is acquired, exercised, and lost. The Mauryan Empire under Ashoka, the Roman Republic's transformation into an autocracy, or the French Revolution all demonstrate how governance, ideology, and public will shape outcomes. Lord Acton's oft-quoted observation, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," underscores the dangers of unchecked authority.

Indian historian Romila Thapar emphasizes in her work on Ashoka that "history is not merely about the glorification of kings but about the articulation of political ethics and responsibilities." The transformation of Ashoka post-Kalinga war exemplifies how history conveys moral lessons—how empathy and self-reflection can redirect imperial policy toward non-violence and public welfare.

Likewise, the disintegration of great powers such as the Mughal Empire or the Soviet Union shows that economic exploitation, internal divisions, and authoritarianism ultimately destabilize regimes. History, therefore, warns rulers and citizens alike about the cost of injustice, misgovernance, and the neglect of pluralism.

Social and Cultural Lessons

History is a reflection of human diversity and cultural exchange. From the Silk Road to the Bhakti and Sufi movements in India, history reveals that periods of cultural openness and intellectual ferment often lead to flourishing civilizations. Will Durant notes, “A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself from within.” This observation reminds us that social cohesion, ethical foundations, and inclusiveness are crucial to a society’s longevity.

Social reform movements in India—such as those led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Jyotirao Phule, and Periyar—highlight how historical injustices like caste oppression and gender inequality were challenged. Studying these struggles enables learners to engage with contemporary social justice issues and understand the roots of transformation.

The abuse of history, however, also teaches caution. As historian Eric Hobsbawm warned, “The past is an essential element of the present. We need history, but we need it for a purpose, not as a disguise or apology.” Nationalist or sectarian misinterpretation of history can fuel conflict, making it imperative to approach history with critical inquiry and responsibility.

Learning for a Better Future

Contrasting Hegel’s cynicism, George Santayana presents a more optimistic view: “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” This perspective has become a cornerstone in emphasizing the pragmatic function of historical knowledge. The lessons of history are not only political or military—they are moral, cultural, and intellectual. From the rise and fall of civilizations, we learn about the dangers of authoritarianism, the fragility of democratic institutions, and the importance of pluralism and tolerance. For instance, the devastation of World War II led to a renewed emphasis on international cooperation and human rights, precisely because of the harsh lessons history had to offer.

In contemporary times, the lessons of history extend to climate change, pandemic responses, social justice movements, and more. Historians, like Eric Hobsbawm, urged scholars and policymakers to treat history not as a luxury of the past, but as an urgent discipline for solving present crises. The value of history, therefore, is not confined to academia—it is essential to responsible citizenship, informed leadership, and collective survival. But the lesson remains: history will only teach if we are willing to listen, analyze, and act.

By reflecting on the paths taken by previous generations, history informs contemporary decision-making. The global impact of pandemics (like the Black Death), economic depressions, or international conflicts such as the World Wars continue to offer warnings about preparedness, cooperation, and ethical leadership.

Indian historian R.S. Sharma argued that “the study of history develops critical thinking and broadens one's vision.” It enables students to question narratives, evaluate evidence, and discern between fact and ideology.

Finally, history nurtures empathy. By walking through the lived experiences of past peoples—whether victims of war, revolutionaries, migrants, or visionaries—we cultivate a deeper understanding of human complexity and shared destiny.

1.3.2 Uses of History

Educational Use: Learning from the Past

History is fundamentally a discipline of learning, enabling individuals and societies to understand the development of civilization over time. Through the study of history, students and citizens acquire a contextual understanding of present-day institutions, ideologies, and practices. It teaches chronology, causality, and change over time. Historian E.H. Carr emphasized that “History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past.” This dialogue allows us to extract lessons from both triumphs and tragedies.

The study of historical events like the World Wars, Partition of India, or the Fall of the Roman Empire teaches about the costs of nationalism, the dangers of authoritarianism, and the fragility of civilizations. These educational lessons equip citizens with a critical mindset and a capacity for informed decision-making.

Moral Use: Building Ethical Awareness

History also functions as a moral guide, offering stories of courage, sacrifice, oppression, and resistance. By examining ethical choices made in the past, individuals develop a moral compass. For instance, the stories of Ashoka's transformation after the Kalinga War, Gandhi's non-violent resistance, or Nelson Mandela's reconciliation efforts after apartheid reveal the potential for human change and ethical leadership.

At the same time, history confronts us with moral failures: the Holocaust, slavery, colonization, and genocide. Confronting these episodes encourages societies to pursue justice, human rights, and accountability. As the philosopher George Santayana warned, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Thus, history becomes a platform for ethical reflection.

Political Use: Constructing National Identity

History is frequently used to construct and reinforce political narratives. Nations derive their legitimacy from their historical past—through shared memories of origin, struggle, and triumph. The Indian national movement, for instance, draws strength from historical accounts of resistance against British imperialism. The lives of leaders such as Subhash Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, and B.R. Ambedkar are frequently invoked to shape national consciousness.

However, as Eric Hobsbawm cautioned, the political use of history can also lead to manipulation or selective amnesia, where inconvenient truths are omitted. Nationalist

histories can marginalize minorities and impose a uniform narrative. Responsible historians must therefore balance patriotism with historical accuracy and pluralism.

Cultural Use: Preserving and Promoting Heritage

History is the key to understanding cultural evolution. It helps trace the development of languages, religions, art forms, cuisines, customs, and festivals. By preserving and interpreting tangible and intangible heritage, history strengthens cultural identity and pride. The legacy of Sangam literature, Ajanta cave paintings, or Bhakti and Sufi movements forms the foundation of Indian cultural continuity.

Museums, archives, oral traditions, and monuments act as repositories of historical memory, offering people a chance to reconnect with their roots. Cultural history also promotes intercultural understanding, by exploring how different civilizations—like the Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Chinese—have interacted over time.

Intellectual Use: Stimulating Critical Thinking

History cultivates critical, analytical, and interpretive skills. It encourages the evaluation of evidence, comparison of interpretations, and the construction of reasoned arguments. These skills are vital not only in academia but also in professions such as law, journalism, diplomacy, and public administration.

Historian R.G. Collingwood argued that historical thinking involves “re-enacting the thought of the past in one’s own mind”, which fosters empathy and intellectual maturity. Moreover, studying historiography—the writing of history—fosters awareness of bias, perspective, and context, sharpening the mind to question assumptions and seek truth.

Economic Use: Understanding Economic Trends and Systems

Economic history reveals the evolution of systems of production, trade, taxation, and labor. It explains why certain regions prospered while others stagnated. Studying the agrarian economy of the Mughal Empire, the impact of colonial economic policies, or the Green Revolution in India helps economists and planners make informed decisions.

In today's globalized world, economic history also helps interpret patterns of globalization, inequality, and development, offering long-term insights that are essential for sustainable policy-making.

Professional Use: Applications in Careers and Governance

History is deeply embedded in professional sectors. Archivists, curators, archaeologists, epigraphists, numismatists, and conservators all use historical methods in their work. Historians also contribute to government policy, heritage conservation, foreign service, legal analysis, and media.

Further, the rise of digital history, public history, and historical consultancy (e.g., for film and tourism) has broadened the career prospects for trained historians. Courses in museology, archival science, and heritage management are increasingly sought-after in India and abroad.

Philosophical Use: Understanding Change and Continuity

On a philosophical level, history teaches us about the human condition—the nature of change, the recurrence of conflict, and the possibility of progress. It raises existential questions: What is the purpose of society? What are the consequences of power? What does it mean to be civilized?

While Hegel famously said, “What experience and history teach is this—that nations and governments have never learned anything from history,” his pessimism has been countered by others like Will Durant, who wrote, “History is, above all else, the

creation and recording of the human spirit.” The discipline of history thus remains a mirror, showing both the greatness and flaws of humanity.

In conclusion, the uses of history are manifold and multidimensional. It educates, informs, inspires, and warns. From schools to states, from archives to battlefields, history permeates every aspect of human existence. It connects the past with the present and shapes visions for the future. To ignore history is to risk repeating its mistakes; to understand it is to unlock the wisdom of ages. Hence, the study of history remains not only relevant but indispensable in our times.

1.3.3 Abuses of History

History, while invaluable for understanding human civilization, has often been manipulated, distorted, and selectively interpreted to serve political, ideological, communal, or cultural interests. As philosopher George Santayana famously remarked, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” Equally true, however, is Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s cynical observation: “What experience and history teach is this—that people and governments have never learned anything from history.” History, when abused, ceases to be a mirror of the past and becomes a weapon of the present.

Distortion of Facts for Political Ideologies

One of the most common abuses is the distortion of facts to serve political ideologies. Governments and political parties often manipulate history to support their narratives or to establish their legitimacy. In totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany, history was rewritten to construct the myth of Aryan superiority and to justify genocide. Similarly, in the Soviet Union under Stalin, history was purged of dissenters; textbooks were rewritten, and photographic evidence altered to remove political enemies.

Even democratic societies are not immune. In post-colonial states, including India, historical narratives are sometimes recast to fit nationalist agendas. Selective glorification of certain rulers or dynasties and deliberate downplaying of others can lead to a skewed understanding of the past.

Use of History as Communal and Sectarian Tool

History has also been abused to foment communalism, sectarianism, and ethnic hatred. This often involves exaggerating conflicts between communities while ignoring periods of coexistence. In colonial India, the British “divide and rule” strategy relied heavily on the interpretation of Indian history as a constant struggle between Hindus and Muslims. This artificial bifurcation laid the groundwork for communal violence during Partition and beyond. Historian Romila Thapar has consistently cautioned against reading history as a battlefield of “us versus them,” arguing instead for critical and inclusive narratives.

Mythologizing and Glorification of the Past

Another subtle form of abuse lies in mythologizing the past - presenting historical figures or periods in an idealized, uncritical light. This often happens in nationalist narratives where past empires, kings, or religious leaders are portrayed as flawless. For instance, kings are sometimes glorified without acknowledging their authoritarianism, casteist policies, or gender discrimination.

While pride in heritage is valuable, uncritical glorification prevents objective analysis. As historian E.H. Carr warned, “The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from it, but to master and understand it.” Glorification may foster cultural pride, but when overdone, it creates illusions of a golden age, which distorts public expectations of the present.

Erasure and Silencing of Marginalized Voices

Traditional historiography has long focused on elite figures—kings, priests, conquerors—at the expense of common people, especially women, lower castes, tribal groups, and the working class. This is a form of structural abuse where history becomes the story of the few rather than the many. For example, women’s contributions in ancient or medieval India are rarely detailed in mainstream texts.

Modern approaches such as Subaltern Studies, Dalit historiography, and feminist history attempt to reclaim these silenced voices, but centuries of exclusion have done deep damage. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot explains in *Silencing the Past*, “History is a story about power, a story about who gets to speak and who gets silenced.”

Fabrication of History (Pseudo-history)

Pseudo-history refers to the invention or fabrication of historical events or claims without factual basis. This includes conspiracy theories, invented genealogies, or unscientific claims about ancient technologies. For example, unfounded assertions that ancient civilizations had airplanes or nuclear weapons are examples of pseudo-history that trivialize real historical inquiry.

This abuse is growing with the spread of misinformation on social media, where unverified “historical facts” are shared and believed without scrutiny. Historians like Yuval Noah Harari emphasize that while human imagination shaped culture and myth, confusing myth with fact damages public understanding.

History as Justification for Violence

Another extreme abuse is when history is used to justify violence, revenge, or exclusion. Ethnic cleansing, colonialism, and religious persecution have often been rationalized using historical grievances. For instance, ethnic conflicts in the Balkans in the 1990s were inflamed by invoking medieval battles that occurred centuries earlier.

Such instrumental use of history perpetuates cycles of hate, often masking contemporary political failures behind ancient wounds. It removes history from its academic domain and thrusts it into the hands of ideologues and demagogues.

Commercialization and Commodification of History

In modern times, history is sometimes abused through commercial exploitation—turning heritage into profit at the cost of authenticity. Monuments are converted into tourist attractions, sometimes with little regard for historical accuracy or cultural sensitivity. For example, historical films, shows, and museums may dramatize or simplify events, thereby shaping public perception in distorted ways.

This commodification turns history into entertainment, losing its critical edge and ethical responsibility. As David Lowenthal points out in *The Past is a Foreign Country*, the danger lies in treating the past as a product to be sold rather than a legacy to be understood.

In conclusion, the abuse of history takes many forms: political distortion, communal misuse, glorification, erasure, fabrication, justification of violence, and commodification. Each of these undermines the true purpose of historical inquiry, which is to understand the complexities of the past through critical analysis and evidence-based reasoning. Historians have a duty to guard against these abuses, promoting a balanced, inclusive, and ethically grounded understanding of history. As Marc Bloch, the great French historian, said: “Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past.” But misunderstanding the past—deliberately or otherwise—can be just as dangerous.

Let Us Sum Up

In this section, we explored the multifaceted dimensions of how history informs our understanding of the world. The lessons of history reveal patterns of human behavior, warn against the repetition of past mistakes, and serve as guides for policy and ethics. The uses of history span across education, identity formation, nation-

building, diplomacy, cultural continuity, and critical thinking. Conversely, we examined the abuses of history, including political distortion, communal manipulation, glorification of selective narratives, silencing of marginalized voices, pseudo-history, and the commercialization of the past. By highlighting both the constructive and destructive potential of historical knowledge, this section emphasized the importance of maintaining academic rigor, ethical responsibility, and inclusivity in the study and application of history.

1. The quote “Man learns nothing from history” is attributed to:

- a) Voltaire
 - b) G.W.F. Hegel
 - c) Arnold Toynbee
 - d) Karl Popper
- b) G.W.F. Hegel

2. One of the lessons of history is:

- a) That history is always objective
 - b) The inevitability of war
 - c) The cyclic nature of rise and fall of powers
 - d) The futility of human progress
- c) The cyclic nature of rise and fall of powers

3. Which of the following is an abuse of history?

- a) Promoting heritage conservation
 - b) Fabricating events to serve political interests
 - c) Studying historical change over time
 - d) Analyzing economic causes of revolutions
- b) Fabricating events to serve political interests

4. E.H. Carr emphasized that history is:

- a) An objective record of the past
- b) A neutral chronology of events
- c) A dialogue between the past and the present

- d) Only about famous leaders
- c) A dialogue between the past and the present

5. One of the key uses of history in education is to:

- a) Instil blind patriotism
 - b) Promote uncritical acceptance of myths
 - c) Encourage analytical and evaluative skills
 - d) Train students in astrology
- c) Encourage analytical and evaluative skills

Section 1.4: Role of Individuals, Institutions and Ideas in History

History is not merely a chronicle of events, but a dynamic process shaped by the actions of individuals, the influence of institutions, and the power of ideas. From ancient rulers and visionary reformers to modern political leaders and social activists, individuals have played a central role in determining the course of historical events. Their decisions, leadership styles, philosophies, and actions have often altered the trajectory of nations and civilizations. Whether it is Ashoka's embrace of Dhamma, Akbar's policy of religious tolerance, or Gandhi's strategy of non-violent resistance, individuals have frequently become symbols of larger historical transformations.

However, individuals do not act in isolation. Institutions such as monarchies, empires, religious establishments, educational centres, and democratic systems provide the frameworks within which individuals operate. These institutions shape social structures, enforce laws, distribute power, and preserve knowledge. For instance, institutions like Nalanda and Vikramashila preserved and transmitted knowledge in ancient India, while the Mughal administrative system institutionalized governance over vast territories. The role of institutions becomes especially significant when we examine the continuity and change in societal norms, political administration, and cultural traditions over time.

Equally important are the ideas that inspire and shape human action. Religious doctrines, philosophical discourses, ideological movements, and scientific theories

have all contributed to historical change. Ideas such as liberty, nationalism, socialism, rationalism, and secularism have galvanized populations and transformed societies. In Indian history, the idea of Dharma, the Bhakti movement, the Enlightenment ideals during colonial rule, and modern constitutionalism have played transformative roles. Thus, to understand history in its totality, one must examine how individuals, institutions, and ideas interact, influence one another, and collectively mold the past.

1.4.1 Role of Individuals in History

The role of individuals in history has been one of the most enduring and debated themes in historiography. Are individuals the primary movers of historical change, or are they merely products of their time and socio-political contexts? This question continues to stimulate scholarly debate. The "Great Man Theory" advanced by Thomas Carlyle posits that "the history of the world is but the biography of great men." Carlyle believed that exceptional individuals—through their charisma, intelligence, wisdom, or ruthlessness—shape the destiny of nations and peoples. In contrast, scholars like Karl Marx and Fernand Braudel emphasize structural forces, socio-economic conditions, and the *longue durée* (long-term historical trends) over individual agency.

Nevertheless, even within structuralist and materialist interpretations, the role of individuals cannot be entirely dismissed. In fact, history demonstrates that charismatic and visionary leaders often become the face of epochal changes. Ashoka the Great is a fitting example from Indian history. After the bloody Kalinga War, his moral transformation led him to embrace Buddhism and non-violence. His patronage not only spread Buddhism across Asia but also introduced a model of governance based on ethical principles, as evident in his edicts. Similarly, Akbar the Great transcended the role of a mere emperor and redefined Indo-Islamic political culture by advocating religious pluralism, instituting administrative reforms, and fostering an environment of intellectual and artistic flourishing.

In modern Indian history, few individuals have had the transformational impact of Mahatma Gandhi. His philosophy of Ahimsa (non-violence) and Satyagraha (truth-force) not only mobilized millions against British colonial rule but also introduced a new moral framework for political resistance worldwide. Gandhi was not just a nationalist leader but a civilizational voice, offering a critique of modernity, industrialism, and colonialism. Internationally, figures like Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela, who acknowledged their debt to Gandhi, underscore how individuals can catalyze transnational movements.

Yet, not all individuals in history have played constructive roles. The destructive impact of autocratic leaders like Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and even in the Indian context, Muhammad bin Tughlaq—whose idealism clashed with practical realities—shows the dual nature of individual agency. Hitler's rise led to catastrophic consequences: the Holocaust, World War II, and the devastation of Europe. Here, historical analysis requires critical engagement: Was Hitler alone responsible, or did societal conditions—economic depression, Treaty of Versailles, and German nationalism—enable his ascent?

Scholars like E.H. Carr in his influential book *What is History?* argue for a middle ground. Carr famously stated, "The historian must not fall into the error... of supposing that because Caesar was a great man, Caesar made Rome." He insisted that while individuals are important, they are significant only insofar as they embody and advance historical forces already in motion. Similarly, Marx acknowledged that "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please...but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."

Contemporary historiography increasingly recognizes that individuals matter, but their influence is mediated by structures, institutions, and ideas. The contributions of women like Rani Lakshmbai in the 1857 Revolt or Savitribai Phule in pioneering education for girls and oppressed castes show that individuals from marginalized communities also shaped history, challenging the traditional male-dominated "great man" narrative.

In conclusion, individuals are both products and agents of history. While broader forces shape the contexts within which they act, their vision, courage, innovation, and failures significantly influence the trajectory of historical events. As historians, we must critically evaluate individual roles—not idolizing nor ignoring them—while situating their actions within the larger socio-political and cultural frameworks of their times.

1.4.2 Role of Institutions in History

Institutions are enduring structures that govern, regulate, and shape human behavior and collective life across time. From political and religious to educational, economic, and legal institutions, these entities have played a pivotal role in organizing societies, preserving continuity, and facilitating historical change. While individuals may act as agents of transformation, institutions provide the framework within which such actions occur and gain legitimacy. Historians like Max Weber emphasized the “rational-legal authority” of institutions and their capacity to sustain bureaucratic efficiency, cultural hegemony, and administrative order. E.H. Carr rightly noted that history is not just about individuals, but “the interplay of personalities within institutions.”

In Indian history, the institution of monarchy was not just a form of rule, but a culturally legitimized order often intertwined with religion and dharma. The Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta Maurya and later Ashoka relied heavily on institutional structures like the Mantriparishad (council of ministers), rajukas (district officials), and mahamatras (special officers). Kautilya’s Arthashastra provides a detailed blueprint of state institutions, showcasing how the machinery of administration played a critical role in governance and empire-building. Similarly, in medieval India, the Iqta system under the Delhi Sultanate and later the Mansabdari system under the Mughals were not just revenue or military structures but reflected deeply embedded institutional logic that facilitated imperial stability.

Religious institutions have also played an integral role in shaping societal norms, cultural practices, and inter-community relations. The Buddhist Sangha, for instance, served not only as a spiritual order but as a center for learning, debate, and social reform. The Sangha helped spread Buddhism across Asia and institutionalized ethical conduct and monastic discipline. In medieval South India, temple institutions like the Brihadeeswarar Temple in Thanjavur were centers of economic activity, landholding, education, and social hierarchy. Temples employed artisans, dancers, priests, and administrators, thereby functioning as socio-economic and political hubs.

Colonialism, too, introduced new institutions that radically altered indigenous structures. The British institutionalized a system of codified law, revenue collection (like the Permanent Settlement), and education. These institutions were designed to consolidate imperial control but also sowed the seeds of resistance and nationalism. The Indian National Congress (est. 1885) began as an elite institution of political discourse but eventually transformed into the principal organization of mass anti-colonial mobilization. Likewise, judicial institutions introduced under colonial rule continue to influence India's modern democratic framework.

Institutions do not remain static; they evolve, adapt, or decline based on historical circumstances. For example, the decline of the Mughal Empire in the 18th century was not just due to weak rulers, but the breakdown of its institutional systems—fiscal administration, military organization, and provincial control. On the other hand, institutions like universities (Nalanda, Takshashila in the ancient period and Aligarh, Presidency Colleges in the colonial period) have endured through time, facilitating cultural transmission and intellectual growth.

Critically, institutions can both support and obstruct progress. While institutions can uphold justice and order, they may also perpetuate inequality and exclusion. Caste-based institutions in India institutionalized social stratification for centuries. Likewise, colonial institutions often served exploitative ends while presenting themselves as agents of 'civilization.' Thus, a historical analysis of institutions requires attention to both their functional and ideological dimensions.

In conclusion, institutions are the backbone of historical continuity and change. They structure collective life, guide political and economic behavior, and provide stability across generations. However, they are also sites of conflict, contestation, and transformation. Understanding history through the lens of institutions allows us to grasp the deeper currents of societal organization, resistance, and reform across time.

1.4.3 Role of Ideas in History

The history of humanity is as much a history of ideas as it is of events and institutions. Ideas shape perceptions, inspire movements, and serve as the foundation of civilizations. From philosophical doctrines and religious beliefs to political ideologies and scientific theories, ideas have been central to human progress and social change. As John Maynard Keynes insightfully remarked, “The ideas of economists and political philosophers... are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else.” In historical studies, the role of ideas offers a vital lens through which to understand the motives behind human action and the currents of transformation across time.

In ancient India, the Upanishadic ideas of Brahman (universal soul) and Atman (individual soul) radically altered the trajectory of Indian thought, moving from ritualistic Vedic religion to introspective philosophy. Likewise, the Dhamma propagated by Ashoka was not merely a policy of benevolent rule but an idea rooted in Buddhist ethics that emphasized compassion, tolerance, and non-violence. It influenced not only governance in India but also spread across Asia, leaving an enduring legacy in regions such as Sri Lanka, Burma, and China.

The rise of Jainism and Buddhism in the 6th century BCE marked a major intellectual turning point in Indian history. These movements challenged the authority of the Brahmanical orthodoxy and the hierarchical Vedic system. Mahavira’s doctrine of Ahimsa (non-violence) and the Buddha’s Middle Path reshaped societal values,

ethics, and education. These ideas not only democratized spiritual access but also laid the foundation for religious pluralism and rational inquiry.

In the West, the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates laid the philosophical groundwork for Western civilization. Later, Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Locke emphasized reason, liberty, and individual rights, which would go on to inspire revolutions—both intellectual and political—like the American and French Revolutions. These ideologies dismantled feudal and monarchical structures and ushered in modern democracies.

In modern India, ideas played a pivotal role in the freedom struggle. The Indian Renaissance, led by figures like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, introduced reformist ideas grounded in rationalism and equality, targeting regressive practices like sati and child marriage. Swami Vivekananda emphasized the spiritual unity of mankind and awakened national consciousness. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of Satyagraha—truth-force or nonviolent resistance—became a unique ideological weapon against colonial rule, influencing not only Indian masses but also global figures like Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela.

On the other hand, ideas can also be dangerous. Fascist and racist ideologies in the 20th century led to catastrophic events like the Holocaust and the Second World War. Religious extremism and the misuse of identity-based ideologies have historically caused wars, genocides, and displacement. As historian Isaiah Berlin cautioned, ideas can liberate as well as enslave, enlighten as well as darken the human condition.

Furthermore, ideas do not exist in a vacuum; they interact with institutions, individuals, and socio-economic conditions. The Marxist idea of class struggle, for example, cannot be understood apart from the context of industrial capitalism. Similarly, feminist thought gained momentum with changes in education, economy, and legal systems. The Subaltern School in Indian historiography arose from the idea that mainstream history had ignored the voices of the marginalized.

In conclusion, ideas are the engines of history. They transcend boundaries, inspire reform, and shape civilizations. Whether revolutionary or regressive, inclusive or exclusive, ideas have the power to mold human destiny. A nuanced understanding of history thus requires careful study of the ideas that have moved peoples, created cultures, and changed the world.

Let Us Sum Up

In this section, we examined how history is shaped not only by events but also by the active roles played by individuals, institutions, and ideas. We saw that individuals, such as monarchs, reformers, revolutionaries, scholars, and common people, have significantly influenced historical outcomes through their actions, decisions, and leadership. Institutions—be they political, religious, educational, or cultural—have acted as frameworks that shape, preserve, and transmit historical change and continuity. Lastly, ideas have served as powerful forces, inspiring transformations in societies and guiding the trajectories of civilizations. Whether in the form of political ideologies, religious philosophies, or cultural values, ideas have often transcended time and geography. Altogether, this section highlights that history is not merely a chronology of facts but a living narrative driven by human agency, institutional structures, and the enduring power of thought.

Check Your Progress

1. Who among the following emphasized the role of individuals in shaping history?

- a) Karl Marx
 - b) Hegel
 - c) Marc Bloch
 - d) Braudel
- b) Hegel

2. Which of the following institutions plays a crucial role in preserving historical documents?

- a) Parliament
 - b) Archive
 - c) Temple
 - d) Market
- b) Archive

3. The phrase “History is nothing but the biography of great men” is attributed to:

- a) Karl Marx
 - b) Leopold von Ranke
 - c) Thomas Carlyle
 - d) Edward Gibbon
- c) Thomas Carlyle

4. The ideological belief that history is driven by class conflict was proposed by:

- a) Voltaire
 - b) Hegel
 - c) Karl Marx
 - d) Ibn Khaldun
- c) Karl Marx

5. The role of ideas in history demonstrates that:

- a) History is written only by rulers
 - b) Philosophical thought shapes historical change
 - c) Only wars make history
 - d) Only economic factors are important
- b) Philosophical thought shapes historical change

This unit provides a foundational understanding of history as an academic discipline. It begins with a detailed exploration of the meaning, nature, and scope of history, highlighting various perspectives from Indian and Western scholars. The unit explains the different kinds of history such as political, social, economic, cultural,

intellectual, and newer forms like Big History and Total History. It also discusses the interdisciplinary nature of history and its relationship with allied fields like archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, museology, and archival science. Furthermore, the unit evaluates the lessons history offers, its uses in shaping societies, and the dangers of its misuse for ideological or political ends. The section concludes by analyzing how individuals, institutions, and ideas influence historical development, thereby emphasizing the dynamic and evolving nature of historical writing and understanding.

History	The systematic study of past events, particularly in human affairs.
Historiography	The writing of history; the study of historical writing methods and interpretations.
Epigraphy	The study of inscriptions engraved on stone, metal, or other materials.
Numismatics	The study of coins, currency, and medals to understand historical economies and cultures.
Museology	The study of museums, their role in preserving artifacts, and presenting history to the public.
Archives	Institutions or collections that preserve historical documents and records.
Big History	A multidisciplinary approach to history that spans from the Big Bang to the present.
Total History	A holistic approach promoted by the Annales School focusing on all aspects of the past.
Prosopography	The investigation of common characteristics of historical groups using collective biography.
Cliometrics	The application of economic theory and quantitative methods to the study of history.

Short Answers: (5 Marks) K3/K4 Level Questions

1.	Define history. How does it differ from myth or legend?	K3
2.	Explain the scope of history.	K4
3.	What is historiography? Mention any two famous historians.	K3
4.	Discuss the interdisciplinary nature of history.	K4
5.	What is Big History? How is it different from traditional history?	K3

6.	Write a short note on Numismatics and its relevance to history.	K3
7.	What is the role of archives in historical research?	K3
8.	Distinguish between Political History and Cultural History.	K4
9.	What are the major lessons we learn from history?	K4
10.	Mention two ways in which history can be misused.	K4

Essay Type Answers: (8 Marks) K5/K6 Level Questions

1.	Critically examine the meaning and nature of history with suitable definitions and examples.	K5
2.	Discuss the various kinds of history and their importance in reconstructing the past.	K5
3.	Evaluate the relationship between history and its allied disciplines such as archaeology and epigraphy.	K6
4.	“History is both a science and an art.” Discuss this statement with illustrations.	K6
5.	Explain the significance and limitations of using archives, coins, and inscriptions in historical studies.	K5
6.	Discuss the lessons history teaches us. Do you agree with Hegel’s view that “Man learns nothing from history”?	K6
7.	Examine the uses and abuses of history with reference to nationalism, propaganda, and communalism.	K6
8.	Analyze the contribution of institutions and ideas in shaping the historical process.	K6
9.	Compare and contrast traditional historiography with modern approaches like Total History and Cliometrics.	K5
10.	How does the interdisciplinary nature of history enrich our understanding of the past? Illustrate.	K6

- **Case Study:** Select a major historical event (e.g., French Revolution or Indian Independence Movement) and analyze how different historians have interpreted it over time.
- **Research Activity:** Prepare a report on the contribution of a famous historian (e.g., Romila Thapar, E.H. Carr, R.C. Majumdar, or Fernand Braudel) and their historiographical approach.
- **Exercise:** Create a comparative chart showing the features of various kinds of history—political, social, economic, cultural, intellectual, total history, and big history.
- **Assignment:** Write a short essay on how archaeology and epigraphy assist in reconstructing ancient Indian history, with examples from the Mauryan or Gupta period.

- **Discussion:** Conduct a class debate on the quote by Hegel: “What experience and history teach is this—that nations and governments have never learned anything from history.”

Section 1.1	1		2		3		4		5	
Section 1.2	1		2		3		4		5	
Section 1.3	1		2		3		4		5	
Section 1.4	1		2		3		4		5	

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UNIT II

Philosophy of History

UNIT II

Philosophy of History – Positivist History – Marxist Interpretation of History – Annales Paradigm – Subaltern History – Subjectivity and Need for Objectivity in History

Section 2.1 Philosophy of History

Section 2.2 Positivist History

Section 2.3 Marxist Interpretation of History

Section 2.4 Annales Paradigm

Section 2.5 Subaltern History

Section 2.6 Subjectivity and Need for Objectivity in History

Section 2.1: Philosophy of History

Philosophy of History is a critical branch of philosophical inquiry that focuses on the nature, purpose, and interpretation of history. Unlike traditional historiography, which is concerned with the collection and narration of past events, the philosophy of history engages in a deeper reflection on how historical knowledge is constructed, what it means, and why it matters. It examines fundamental questions: Is history a linear progression, a cyclical pattern, or a chaotic succession of events? Do historical events have an inherent meaning, or are meanings imposed by historians? Is it possible to attain objective historical truth, or is all history inherently subjective?

The term "philosophy of history" was first prominently used by Voltaire in the 18th century. He criticized conventional chronicle-writing and advocated for a rational, secular, and analytical approach to historical writing. The field gained greater prominence with the works of thinkers such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, R.G. Collingwood, Michel Foucault, and more recently, E.H. Carr and Hayden White. These thinkers provided varying frameworks for interpreting the past, some emphasizing structure and system, while others emphasized agency, power, or discourse.

In the modern academic landscape, the philosophy of history is divided into two broad areas: speculative (or substantive) philosophy of history and analytical (or critical) philosophy of history. The former deals with the grand narratives and purposes of history, asking whether history has a direction or end goal, while the latter concerns itself with the epistemological and methodological issues of historical knowledge, such as explanation, causation, and objectivity.

Idealist Interpretations

One of the most influential idealist interpretations of history came from G.W.F. Hegel, who saw history as the unfolding of the "World Spirit" (Weltgeist). According to Hegel, history progresses through dialectical stages: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, culminating in the realization of human freedom. Each epoch in history represents a step toward this goal. Hegel viewed the State as the ultimate expression of rational freedom, famously declaring that "the State is the march of God on earth." He perceived history not as a random sequence of events but as a meaningful process driven by reason.

R.G. Collingwood, a British philosopher and historian, expanded on the idealist tradition in the 20th century. He argued that history is the "re-enactment of past thought in the historian's mind," emphasizing that history is not merely about events but about understanding the intentions and ideas behind them. For Collingwood, the historian's task is to immerse themselves in the mindset of historical actors. He firmly believed that history was a distinct discipline from the natural sciences, rooted in human agency and consciousness.

However, this view is not without its criticisms. Hegel's determinism has been challenged for being overly abstract and Eurocentric. Moreover, his famous statement that "man learns nothing from history" illustrates a certain skepticism about the practical utility of historical lessons. It implies that while history might possess internal logic and meaning, its moral or didactic applications may be limited.

Materialist Conceptions

A significant departure from idealist traditions came with Karl Marx, who introduced a materialist conception of history. For Marx, history was not driven by ideas but by material conditions, particularly economic structures. He proposed that all historical development is the result of class struggle, rooted in the conflict between those who own the means of production and those who do not. In Marx's words from the Communist Manifesto, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

Marx's theory, known as historical materialism, posits that history progresses through stages—primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and eventually socialism—each defined by its mode of production. The economic base of society determines its political and ideological superstructure. This framework gave rise to a powerful tool for analyzing historical change, especially in the realms of labor, class relations, and state formation.

Marxist historiography significantly influenced 20th-century historical writing, particularly among social and economic historians. However, critics argue that it sometimes underestimates the roles of culture, ideology, and individual agency. Nevertheless, Marxist insights remain indispensable for understanding the dynamics of power, exploitation, and resistance in historical contexts.

Post-Structuralism and Discourse Analysis

In the latter half of the 20th century, philosophers like Michel Foucault introduced new ways of thinking about history. Foucault rejected both the teleological narratives of idealists and the economic determinism of Marxists. Instead, he focused on the relationship between knowledge and power. He argued that history is shaped by discourses—systems of thought that define what is considered true, normal, or acceptable at any given time.

Foucault's concept of "episteme" refers to the underlying structures of knowledge in a particular era. For instance, his studies on madness, punishment, and sexuality reveal how institutions and discourses construct realities and identities. Foucault emphasized discontinuities in history—ruptures and breaks rather than linear progressions. This perspective challenges the very notion of objective history and highlights the need to interrogate the historian's role in constructing the past.

Other post-structuralist thinkers, like Jacques Derrida and Hayden White, further questioned the language and narrative forms of historical writing. White argued that historical narratives are not neutral recountings but are constructed using literary tropes—romance, tragedy, comedy, satire—that influence interpretation. These insights have paved the way for cultural history, gender history, and subaltern studies, which seek to recover marginalized voices and challenge dominant narratives.

Scientific and Analytical Philosophy of History

In contrast to speculative traditions, the analytical philosophy of history, championed by philosophers like Carl Hempel and W.H. Walsh, aimed to bring the precision of science to historical explanation. Hempel's "covering law model" proposed that historical events should be explained using general laws, akin to scientific theories. This model emphasized cause-and-effect reasoning and aimed to reduce historical explanation to logical formulations.

However, this positivist approach faced strong criticism. Isaiah Berlin, for example, argued that history involves moral and emotional understanding, which cannot be captured by general laws. Berlin emphasized that history is about understanding unique, unrepeatable events shaped by human choices, intentions, and values. E.H. Carr also challenged the notion of objectivity in history, famously stating, "The facts are like fish on the fishmonger's slab. The historian collects, selects, and cooks them."

The debate between objectivity and subjectivity in history remains unresolved. While some historians continue to pursue empirical rigor, others embrace the interpretive nature of historical understanding. This tension reflects the complexity of history as both a science and an art.

Contemporary Developments: Big History, Cliometrics, and Total History

In recent decades, new interdisciplinary approaches have broadened the scope of philosophy of history. *Big History*, for example, seeks to integrate human history with cosmic, geological, and biological history. It treats history as a continuum from the Big Bang to the present, highlighting the interconnectedness of all phenomena. Promoted by scholars like David Christian, Big History challenges the anthropocentric focus of traditional historiography.

Total History, associated with the French Annales School, particularly Fernand Braudel, emphasizes long-term social, economic, and geographical structures over events and individuals. Braudel's notion of different temporalities—"la longue durée," "conjunctures," and "events"—offered a more layered understanding of historical processes. Total History integrates disciplines such as geography, demography, and economics into historical analysis.

Cliometrics uses quantitative methods and economic theory to analyze historical data. Originating in the 1960s, it has contributed significantly to the study of economic history, population trends, and labor markets. However, critics warn against over-reliance on statistics at the expense of human experience and context. Another significant method is *prosopography*, which studies the common characteristics of historical groups through collective biography, helping uncover social patterns and institutional behavior.

Conclusion

The Philosophy of History is a dynamic and complex field that continues to evolve with the changing contours of historical inquiry. From the metaphysical systems of

Hegel to the critical deconstructions of Foucault, from Marx's economic determinism to Braudel's structuralist syntheses, it offers a wide array of tools to interrogate the past and our relationship with it. The philosophical study of history not only enriches historical methodology but also deepens our understanding of human nature, society, and time.

In a world where history is often invoked in political discourse, social movements, and cultural identity, the philosophy of history equips us with the analytical skills to discern meaningful patterns, question dominant narratives, and appreciate the plurality of historical experiences. For postgraduate students and scholars, engaging with the philosophy of history is essential to cultivate critical thinking, epistemological awareness, and methodological sophistication in the study of the past.

Let Us Sum Up

The philosophy of history is a vital subfield that explores the theoretical foundations of historical thought, interpretation, and writing. It examines the nature of historical events, the processes of causation, the role of agency and structure, and the purpose of historical study. Philosophers such as Hegel, Marx, Collingwood, and Foucault have profoundly shaped the way we understand the past—each offering different models of historical development, from teleological progress to class struggle, re-enactment of thought, and the analysis of discourse and power. The philosophy of history also bridges the gap between objectivity and subjectivity, interrogating how historical knowledge is constructed, whose voices are represented, and how methodologies evolve across time. Modern approaches like big history, cliometrics, and prosopography show how the field continues to adapt and engage with interdisciplinary tools. Ultimately, the philosophy of history deepens our awareness of the past and sharpens our critical engagement with historical knowledge in the present.

1. Who is known for the dialectical interpretation of history?
 - a) Michel Foucault
 - b) R.G. Collingwood

- c) Karl Marx
 - d) G.W.F. Hegel
- d) G.W.F. Hegel

2. The concept of history as “re-enactment of thought” was developed by:

- a) Ranke
 - b) Collingwood
 - c) Popper
 - d) Bloch
- b) Collingwood

3. Which philosopher viewed history as a process of unfolding Reason?

- a) Marx
 - b) Foucault
 - c) Hegel
 - d) Nietzsche
- c) Hegel

4. Michel Foucault’s approach to history emphasized:

- a) Economic determinism
 - b) Class conflict
 - c) Teleology
 - d) Discourse and power structures
- d) Discourse and power structures

5. The term "historicism" refers to:

- a) Using statistics in history
 - b) The idea that history follows universal laws
 - c) The emphasis on historical context in understanding events
 - d) The rejection of history
- c) The emphasis on historical context in understanding events

UNIT III

Historical Research

3.0. Introduction

3.1 Unit objectives

3.2 Historical Research

3.3. Pre-requisites of a Researcher

3.4. Choice of Topic

3.5. Review of Literature

3.6. Hypothesis

3.7. Sources of History

3.8. External and Internal Criticism of Sources

3.9. Collection of Data, Synthesis, Exposition and Writing

3.10. Use of Footnotes and Preparation of Bibliography

3.2. Historical Research

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

OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH

Research simply mean systematic search for new knowledge. It unlocks the storehouse of knowledge to bring to the surface new facts. The objectives of research may be listed as follows: 1) To find out the truth by applying the time-tested scientific procedures. 2) To gain new insights into the phenomena. 3) To study the

unique characteristics of a society, culture, a situation or an individual. 4)To investigate the recurring nature of phenomena with a view to generalize and to formulate laws. 5)To test a hypothesis of causal relationship between events. 6)To contribute to the existing quantum of human knowledge.

REASONS FOR RESEARCH

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

TYPES OF RESEARCH

There are several types of research: 1)Basic research, also known as Pure or Fundamental research, is concerned with some natural phenomenon. It's aim is to generate knowledge for knowledge's sake. 2)Applied research is action oriented and it seeks to find a rational solution to practical problem. 3)Quantitative research is based on measurements to quantify a phenomena. 4)qualitative research is concerned with investigating the underlying causes, motives and desires for human behaviour.

5)Conceptual research seeks to offer abstract philosophical ideas and theories about nature and human nature. 6)Empirical research relies on experiment or observation, not on system or theory. It is used to prove or disprove a given hypothesis, 7) Descriptive research narrates the state of affairs as it exists or existed. 8) Interpretative research goes beyond descriptive research and interprets evidence and facts. Descriptive-interpretative research is better suited to study historical events.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

What is historical research? Historical research is conducted on the basis of historical data. In a way, all research is historical in nature, since research depends

of the findings recorded in the past. But the problem treated in historical research is essentially historical in nature. Since historical facts could not be repeated accurately as can be done under laboratory conditions, historical research necessarily depends on source materials. Only problems as are based on historical records can be taken up for investigation. Historical research is the systematic investigation, evaluation, synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning past events”.

Historical research is concerned with establishing the occurrence of unique events. Historical research is not only determines past events but also interprets such events and establishes pattern of relationships². “Historical research is digging into the past in order to re-enact the past in its entirety... to explain the meaning and significance of the past events, to correct the wrong notions... and to elaborate, analyze, synthesize and philosophize ideas in the light of the knowledge we possess”. The aim of historical research is to apply the method of reflective thinking to unsolved problems by means of discovery of past trends of events, facts or attitudes.

LEVELS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

History is unique and therefore its methodology is bound to be special. Historical methodology indicates the nature, character and limits of historical knowledge. Besides being scientific it has its own system, plan and procedure to unravel the complexities involved in historical research. It is difficult and demanding. In short,

historical methodology is a process-series of steps-consisting of 1)selection of the topic, 2)Collection of sources, 3)analyzing evidence, 4)synthesizing the findings and 5)writing the thesis. Techniques such as statistical analysis, computation, diagrammatical analysis, quantification, ethno-archaeology etc are being used within the frame-work of historical methodology.

3.3.Pre-requisites of a Researcher

Researcher

“In scholarship, as in marriage, a man should know his own mind”, says William Mulder. the research scholar must be unambiguous about the purpose and scope of his research. He should not select a research topic in haste and repent at leisure! Before choosing a topic for research he must ask himself: What actually he wants to do, to achieve, to prove or disprove? Will he add anything new to the existing quantum of knowledge in his field of specialization? Will he offer new explanation or interpretation or advance a new theory? Whether his research writing would be exposition, argument, narration or description in the form of a report or dissertation of thesis? The researcher should not stray into research but stay and search for truth. He must love research and leave no stone unturned in his pursuit. He must be smart, sharp and sincere. Patience and perseverance pay in research. Required Qualities

Mental Qualities

Intellectual excellence is not inherited it is acquired through education. Training and effort. Studies have shown that the human brain is capable of much greater learning and remembering than had been previously imagined. The researcher should, therefore, be open-minded so that he can acquire knowledge without prejudice or bias. His mental magnet must attract all relevant information regarding his area of research. He must use mental tool effectively. Sharp intellect and critical thinking will enable him to cut the Gordion knot of historical complexities; to test, for instance, whether a source is credulous or credible. Since he has to enact the past in his mind by using evidences his ability to think critically and constructively must be strong. The researcher must internalize what he learns. And he must also acquire some

rudimentary knowledge of related subjects such as anthropology, ethno-archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, economics, sociology, psychology, etc. To know about the basics of statistics and computers will be useful to do research.

Physical qualities

Sound mind and healthy body go well together, Physical endurance is as essential as mental toughness. Since sustained hard work and persistent efforts are required to engage in meaningful research the researcher needs to be healthy if not sturdy. He may have to work for a long period of time. Also he may have to study away to pursue research. He may have to run from pillar to post, visiting libraries, archives, museums, epigraphy offices and so on. So, he requires indefatigable physical stamina, strength and toughness to bear the strain and stress of research. The researcher need not be a weight-lifter or a prize-fighter but he shall have robust health. In short, research Moral Qualities must begin in the body of the researcher! The researcher has to be truthful to the subject he has selected for research. He need not be a moral purist like Buddha, Jesus or Gandhi, but he must be loyal to his field of specialization. No one expects him to be a Socrates but he can be a man of moral courage born out of conviction. Qualities like honesty, integrity and uprightness are non-negotiable. Political-party-ideological neutrality is a necessity. Then only the researcher can remain untainted by bias, prejudice and subjectivity. He must be courageous enough to defend his work and counter negative criticism. He must deliberately desist from plagiarism, replication and duplication of research. Do research yourself; don't depend on ghost-writers or dishonest „scholars“ who work for monetary gains. This is moral dishonesty at its worst. Involve yourself with your work and enjoy doing.

Social qualities

Researcher is a social being. He is not a human ostrich always sticking his mental neck into archival bush. He must get out of archival racks and library shelves and get along well with his colleagues, superiors and co-workers. He has to be an optimist, extrovert and a good mix. He needs to be good in inter-personal relations since he

has to deal with people in his department, library, archives, epigraphy centre, study area etc, understand people and act accordingly. Through healthy happy human relations research work itself will receive almost attention; the researcher will be able to make his work productive and achieving. Act, react and interact will people with sympathy and empathy so that you can bear the burden of research lightly.

Psychological Factors

Research requires from the researcher lot of adjustment, adaption and accommodation with people, places and problems. A good researcher is one who has the capacity and capability for self-education, self-expression and self-motivation.

Self – motivation is the best motivation since no one can motivate a researcher towards self-development; it must come from within. Achievement motivation impels his desire to excel, perform and succeed. The achievers differentiate themselves from others by their desire to do things better; look for challenges; remain relaxed under adverse situation; analyze, check and recheck in order to ensure accuracy of evidence and facts; focus attention to details; and set high standards for themselves. For them precision performance and high quality work are motivators. A few research to find facts, a few to conceptualize and many to get a degree!

Problems faced by Researchers

Almost all the Universities in India offer M.Phil and Ph.D courses in history. In most of the universities the students are asked to take an entrance test and another pre Ph.D examination as the case may be. In both the examinations the candidates are asked to tackle Research Methodology as one of the subjects. After passing the tests they have to write and submit their thesis for approval. Those who successfully pass the defense test and, or viva voce they are declared eligible for the award of the research degree. From registration to the award of the degree the researcher encounters many expected and unexpected problems. The following are some of the problems faced by the researcher: 1)Unhelpful Guide. Often the researcher has little option to select his guide. If he is allotted to a guide who has little experience in research and less helpful the researcher may become a square peg in the round

hole. 2)Unsuitable Topic. Selection of a suitable topic itself is a problem to the beginner. If the guide selects a topic and thrust it on the unwilling throat of the researcher then the latter may have to grope about in the dark. Mismatch of topic causes lot of misery to the researcher.

3)Methodological problems. For want of proper training in modern research methodology research scholars are unable to use methods and techniques such as serialization of sources, paradigmatic expression through graphs and different geometric methods, computation of data etc.

4)Inadequate Sources. Scholars who select a topic in ancient or medieval history are faced with the problem of paucity of unexploited source materials, Hence the temptation to choose a problem in modern or contemporary history. 5)Language Problem. Researchers who had their post-graduate course in vernacular medium find it difficult to write the thesis in English. Technical terms, reference materials and secondary sources are not available in their native language. Research results are scaled in international standard and thesis is sent to a foreign examine for second valuation. Standards of linguistic expressions are not uniform. The examiners may not be proficient in the language in which thesis is written. Those who select a topic in ancient or medieval Indian history must have knowledge in related languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Arabic, Urdu etc. 6)Paucity of Finance. Quality research is costly. True, institutions like the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Historical Research, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Universities and State Governments offer grants or scholarships. But all the research students are not fortunate to get this assistance; even if they get it they find the grant inadequate to meet the expenses.

3.4.SELECTING A SUITABLE TOPIC

The Criteria for Selection

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

- 1) The topic must be selected from an area which is near and dear to the researcher. The topic selected must hold his interest and challenge his efforts. That is, the topic must be appropriate.
- 2) The researcher must satisfy himself about the availability of sufficient source material on the topic selected. Paucity of material will lead him to trouble. Insufficient data will end in inadequate research.
- 3) The topic must be manageable. If a topic is selected carefully, it may be expanded subsequently depending on the availability of material. That is, the topic must be limited in scope.
- 4) Select the topic which can be completed within reasonable time limit. An M.Phil dissertation may have to be completed within three months and a Ph.D thesis within three years.
- 5) The source material required for research must be easily accessible. Material difficult of access will halt and hamper research work.
- 6) Select the topic for which the data are available in a language or languages known to the researcher.
- 7) Select a single subject which can be dealt with straightly. Subject of comparative history will cause concern.
- 8) Select the subject which may need further investigation.
- 9) The topic selected should have a unifying theme and must lead to specific conclusions.
- 10) Make sure that the topic selected is not researched already. Consult the checklists of research projects completed and projects under progress.

Types of research topic

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

Plan of Action

Once the preliminary for research is chosen, a plan or preparatory work is of action has completed to be prepared is time-frame of activities The plan will cover the entire per submission of the thesis. For M Phil dissertation the time table may be three months and for Ph.D. Thesis it may be for three years. The plan will include the time required for 1) identifying the places where sources could be located and tapped, 2) collecting and consulting some 3) identifying the places for field study, if necessary, estimate, 5) formulating a tentative synopsis, and 6) Preparing an Outline of the proposed research work

What is a Hypothesis?

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

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

Purpose of a Hypothesis

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

Working Hypothesis

A working hypothesis can be formulated when 1) the researcher is free from preconceived beliefs and solutions, 2) he concentrates on the nature of the problem so as to enable him to reach relevant facts, 3) he is familiar with the technique of phrasing the hypothesis avoiding vague terms, 4) he reads and re-reads the literature on the subject, 5) he familiarizes himself with alternative ways of collecting facts; and 6) he keeps himself away from the temptation to select only interesting matter or an isolated inquiry. Is hypothesis indispensable in historical research? In historical research the formulation of hypothesis may be useful but not indispensable. In physical science it is inevitable. But in historical research useful facts may be discovered, organized and presented purposefully even without a

hypothesis. This does not mean that there can be no objectives or basic assumptions upon which the study should be based. It must however be borne in mind that the major part of research effort in history could be more useful and purposefully handled with a clear hypothesis at the commencement of research.

COLLECTION OF SOURCES

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

What are sources?

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

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

NATURE OF SOURCES

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

Material Sources

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

Immaterial Sources

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

Written Sources

Written Sources Written sources result from the medium of language. They can be reproduced in print. A piece of writing carefully edited and printed may be relied upon as an original source. The written sources are called documents. The documents might be either selfconsciously produced or those that were not. They might have

been produced with the intention of presenting a point of view to posterity or those that were actually produced in the course of transacting business. Among the documents that are not records are those of a personal nature like diaries, memoirs and letters, certain documents such as medieval annals and chronicles are narrative and might be looked upon as part of the accepted history. The historian is at liberty to make as much use as he wishes of these sources. Material sources can be handled only by those who have mastered the appropriate technique. Proclaim their message without formal consultation the historian is mainly concerned with written sources. These sources may be consulted at convenient places at a time convenient to the researcher.

KINDS OF SOURCES

Primary and Secondary Sources

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

Primary Sources

Archaeological, Epigraphic and Numismatic Source Archaeological remains are unpolluted primary source. They are contemporary evidence, unbiased and unvarnished. This direct source helps to identify the past without difficulty Epigraphically evidences are contemporary and precise, though often exaggerated.

Some of them may be spurious and even forged, yet they are valuable because they are eye-witness accounts. Numismatics or the study of coins is an important primary source as it throws light on the personalities and personal accomplishments of the sovereigns as well as the political, economic and social movements.

Literary source

Literary sources though embellished and colored by imagination, serves as primary circumstantial evidence to understand the social and cultural conditions of the people. Ballads and folksongs, though imaginary and fanciful, are "the barometers for the psychology and philosophy of the age concerned" Contemporary records such as business and legal papers personal note book diaries and memories stenographic and phonographic matters record of correspondence governmental proceeding and newspapers when their authenticity is tested and an allowance given to personal bias can be profitably utilized as research material Confidential reports like military and diplomatic dispatches constitute contemporary evidence and hence primary. Since they are written with care and caution these reports are dependable. Personal letters convey the Writer's feelings, impressions, opinions etc public reports, editorials, speeches, pamphlets, newspaper reports and dispatches, public opinion survey reports and dispatch's public opinion survey reports etc fall under the category of primary sources and they can be treated as such provided, they are authentic and could be corroborated.

Government orders

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

Characteristics of Primary Sources

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

Secondary Sources

The researcher starts his work with secondary sources. They are so-called because they are not original and used as materials to primary sources. They are no substitute the secondary sources are generally found in the form of books, journals, periodicals and research publications. These sources also deal with the past, but indirectly. The published materials make use of primary sources one need not bother much whether the secondary sources must be consulted first or the primary documents. A close reading of the secondary sources will lead the researcher to the primary sources.

The advantages of consulting secondary sources are many: 1) The researcher will be acquainted with the subject similar to his research area 2) He will know about the utilization of previous sources. 3) He will be familiar with methodological variations. 4) He can find a model or adopt a concept to work out a frame work for his research project. 5) He can enrich his research work. 6) He can use them as a stepping stone to move ahead. 7) He may derive the setting into which to fit the contemporary evidence upon his research problem. 8) He can get the lead to bibliographical data. 9) He can get quotations or citations. 10) He may derive interpretations of and hypothesis for his research topic. Secondary sources may be abundant but uncritical acceptance will lead to difficulties. Moreover, the researcher must guard himself from being influenced by the views, opinions and judgments of the authors of the

secondary sources. A study of secondary sources is absolutely necessary because it provides knowledge of the primary sources. It provides the key to unlock the store house of original evidences. The chief attributes of secondary sources are that they: 1) provide the background for better understanding of primary sources; 2) enable to fit in the original evidences at relevant places in the thesis in the form of quotations or citations; 3) are mostly in the form of published materials like books, journals, periodicals and articles; 4) are the digested version of the primary sources; 5) are explanatory and interpretative in nature; and 6) are used as supplementary sources.

Bibliography

A bibliography is the last part of a paper, and it reveals much about the research process. Indicates the extent of the research, the kinds and types of sources that were used, and the different disciplines that helped inform the study. The bibliographic citation is necessary so that interested readers might find the sources for themselves. As emphasized earlier, bibliographies are valuable for finding sources on particular topics. Finally, the bibliography provides to the research for the paper, while also allowing the reader to make judgment about that research.

Having a complete bibliography is therefore essential to a finished piece of research. Beginning researchers should create a selected bibliography. A set bibliography only includes those sources-both primary and secondary-were cited (footnoted)in the paper. Historians do not pad or inflate the bibliography with sources that were consulted but not actually footnoted.

There are three basic types of bibliographies

Standard Bibliography

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

articles, and unpublished works. In each category and subcategory, sources are arranged alphabetically.

Annotated Bibliography

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

Bibliography essay

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

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The researcher may not be the first to discover the sources Number of pioneers might have already covered the ground. So, he has to locate the works of his predecessors that are related to his research area of specialization This can be done chronologically, thematically or Review of literature will serve as 1) a standard to indicate what extent the researcher is depending on or departing from previous works: 2) a vital link with related trends, tendencies and phases in the search area; 3) a model structure that could be adapted to formulate the research work; 4) part of "introduction' to the thesis.

UNIT IV

Development of Historical writing in the West

- 4.0. Introduction
- 4.1. Unit objectives
- 4.2. Development of Historical Writing in the West
- 4.3. Herodotus
- 4.4. Thucydides
- 4.5. St. Augustine
- 4.6. Ibn Khaldun
- 4.7. L.V. Ranke
- 4.8. Arnold Toynbee
- 4.9. E.H. Carr
- 4.10. Fernand Braudel
- 4.11. E.P. Thompson
- 4.12. Eric Hobsbawm

4.2. Development of Historical Writing in the west

All historical writing in the West rests on the foundations laid by Herodotus and Thucydides whose works marked the decisive transition from theocratic history and myth to a genuine historical literature. Their achievements stand in great relief against the background of two great constraints with which they began. The first of these was an almost complete ignorance of the history that lay behind them, and the second was an anti-historical metaphysics.

The classical Greeks had behind them - behind Homer brilliant civilization which we call Mycenaean. But they had little knowledge of it. Of Greek history since the Trojan War, they knew hardly anything and they were astonishingly late in producing any documents at all. The Jewish writer Josephus, in the first century AD, taunted the Greeks for these defects. - Moreover, as Collingswood shows, ancient Greek thought as a whole was uncongenial to the growth of historical thought, for it was based on a rigorously anti-historical metaphysics. History is a science dealing with human actions in the past; Human actions in the past belong to a world of change, a world where things come to be and cease to be. Such things, according to the prevailing Greek metaphysical view, ought not to be knowable, and therefore history should be impossible. An object of genuine knowledge must be determinate,

permanent and have a character of its own. This substantialism was anti-historical. Things which are transient do not have the above qualities. Since human actions in the past belong to a world of change, there cannot be anything of permanent value in them for the mind to grasp. True knowledge must hold good not only here and now, but always and everywhere, and history cannot partake of this character.

4. Influences behind Greek Historiography A Period of Intellectual Transition

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

Ionia's Predominance. In this intellectual transition, Ionia led the rest of Greece. Ionia was the home of the Iliad and it became the home of Greek prose, philosophy and science. There the scientific mentality, already developed, also applied itself to history. Development of an Ethnographical Literature Geographically, Ionia was the meeting place of all the eastern Mediterranean civilizations. Greek historical writing developed to a considerable degree out of the attempt to

describe and understand neighboring peoples like the Lydian's and the imperial Persians. As result of their overseas trade and travel, especially under the Persian empire, the Ionians developed an ethnographical literature.

Logographers

In trying to know about neighboring peoples, the Greeks recognized the importance of first-hand inquiry, which is the root meaning of history. Writers in this style, known as the 'logographers', produced in simple prose the oral traditions and legends relating to the origin of towns, peoples, princes, temples, etc. Of the logographers, the most important were Hecataeus, Hellenics, Charon and Dionysius. The logographers mark the transition from myth to history.

Their subject was local history, their source of information local myths. Yet they excluded from these myths what was too incredible. Hecataeus omitted in his

Genealogies stories which he thought to be ridiculous. The narrative compositions of the logographers, in part recited publicly on festive occasions, were designed to give artistic pleasure to the listeners. Narrative history is the oldest species of history, one destined to last, for narration of past events is the unchangeable essence of history. Narration meets the enduring need for preserving them Memory of historical events. Logography developed in the fifth century BC into full-fledged history in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides

Herodotus 484-430.

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

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

Theme and Content

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

Method

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

Assessment

Whatever his faults, Herodotus was the first to have sought a perspective of man in time. Cicero called him the 'Father of History', and Lucian, like most of the ancients, ranked him above Thucydides, Shot well describes him as the Homer of the Persian Wars H.E. Barnes looks upon him as "the first writer to imply that the task of the historian is to reconstruct the whole past life of man and was one of the most absorbing story-tellers in the entire course of historical writing Collingwood credits Herodotus with the creation of scientific history. He puts Herodotus to all the four tests of modern historiography and finds him wanting only in not basing his narrative on rational evidence and interpretation. It was Herodotus who created real history.

By skilful questioning he made it possible to obtain scientific knowledge of past human actions which had been thought to be impossible. "It is the use of this word ('history'), and its implications, that make Herodotus the father of history. The conversion of legend-writing into the science of history... was a fifth century invention, and Herodotus was the man who invent edit.

Thucydides (460-396BC)

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

Theme and Content

As a young man Thucydides had heard Herodotus' public readings of his History of the Persian Wars in Athens. Unlike Herodotus who ranged from age to age and place to place, Thucydides confined himself to the narrower scope of the Peloponnesian war, forcing his story into a rigid chronological framework of seasons- the 'summer and winter' system. The History of the Peloponnesian War comprises eight books, the eighth book ending abruptly in the middle of a campaign in 411 BC. Thucydides wrote to provide information for future historians and guidance for future statesmanship. He wrote for "those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future which, in the course of human affairs, must resemble the past." The honest and severe Thucydides meant his work "not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time. "Since in his view human nature and human behavior would be forever the same, he held that similar situations and problems recur, so lessons of one period would be useful in another. The aim of writing an accurate and trustworthy account

called for a rigid method. Unlike the credulous Herodotus, Thucydides subjected his sources to a rigorously scientific methodology and proceeded upon the clearest data. Believing that the historical process was a rational process uninfluenced by supernatural or extra-human agencies, he refused to trust the oracles and ran full tilt at myths and legends, marvels and miracles. He wrote as an eyewitness of most of the events of the war which he described. Herodotus may be the father of history, but Thucydides' conscientious accuracy and truthfulness make him "the father of scientific method in history. And though recognizing the role of exceptional individuals in history, Thucydides leaned rather towards impersonal recording, and the consideration of causes, developments and results. Yet he compromised with truth and accuracy when he put elegant speeches - and this quite often - into the mouths of his characters. It was a means of explaining and vivifying personalities, ideas and events. Thucydides frankly admits that such orations are largely imaginary, but he claims that each speech represents the substance of an address actually given at the time. Thucydides' impressive impartiality is an example to future historians. He recounts the story of Athens and Sparta of his time with fairness to both sides. His desire to impart exact knowledge of the past conditioned his language and style as his scientific method and devotion to truth would not permit romance and exaggeration. However, this style has a dramatic power. Intending his history as a guide of conduct particularly useful to men in power and authority, Thucydides illuminated his pages with many moral maxims. Some of these inform us that nemesis follows upon good fortune; that love often lures men to destruction, and that might not make right the strictly rational basis of Thucydides' historical thinking had important consequences for modern historical thought. The analytical depth which this ancient Athenian historian brought to historiography had an abiding influence. He wished to know not merely the what but the how and why of the historical process, while Herodotus had confined in the main to the first of these inquiries. Thucydides wanted to probe deeper, discover the motives and explain the processes behind human action. Influenced by the science of the time, he tried to apply the principles and methods of Hippocratic medicine to politics, so that everything could be covered by rational explanation. Analytical power enabled him to separate the deeper causes from the immediate

occasion of an event and to proceed to general conclusions, as for instance when he analyzed the relationship between wealth and power, or the remorseless logic behind Athenian imperialism.

Thucydides history is an organic process; it is the study of events that are connected with one another in a rational, systematic and permanent order. The belief reminds us of what in the twentieth century would be labelled historicism. Again, he was the first to employ what modern historical methodology calls constructive reasoning. When positive sources of information failed, Thucydides applied Anaxagoras method of inverse reasoning that is arguing backward in a regressive fashion from the known to the unknown to locate the probable cause or causes of an event. JB Bury rates Thucydides' work as the most decisive step taken by a single man towards making history what it is today. To David Hume the first page of Thucydides was the beginning of all true history. But Will Durant finds fault with him for his absorption in war to the exclusion of culture: Here at least is an historical method, a reverence for truth, an acuteness of observation, an impartiality of judgment, a passing splendor of language and fascination of style, a mind both sharp and profound, whose truth less realism is a tonic to our naturally romantic souls. Here are no legends, no myths, and no miracles. Collingwood compares the two great Greek pioneer historians. Three of the four characteristics of genuine history which we see in Herodotus reappear in the preface of Thucydides, but the latter definitely steals a march over the father of history by explicitly stating that history bases all its conclusions on rational evidence.

But the greatness of Herodotus, Collingwood affirms, stands out in the sharpest relief when he is set against the anti-historical substantiality tendency of Greek thought which held that only what is unchanging can be an object of true knowledge. The genius of Herodotus triumphed over this substantiality tendency by showing that, by skilful questioning, it was possible to attain reliable knowledge of past human actions. The British philosopher-critic goes on to show that there is a difference between the scientific attitudes of the two fifth-century giants, a difference reflected even in their styles. The "easy, spontaneous, and convincing" style of Herodotus gives way to the "harsh, artificial, and repellent" style of Thucydides. The latter style, Collingwood attributes, to a "bad conscience." The dominant influence on

Thucydides was that of Hippocratic medicine. Hippocrates was not only the father of medicine, he was also the father of psychology and Thucydides, his spiritual child, is the father of psychological history. Now, Collingwood affirms, psychological history is not history at all, but natural science of a special kind. The chief function of history is to narrate events and facts of the past, but the chief purpose of psychological history is to affirm psychological laws. A psychological law is not an event, nor even a complex of events-it is an unchanging rule which governs the relationship between events. Herodotus was primarily interested in the events themselves; Thucydides was more interested in the laws according to which they happen, laws which are eternal and unchanging.

Collingwood cites as evidence for such a conclusion the speeches that Thucydides puts into the mouths of his characters. He asks: "Is it not historically speaking, an outrage to make all these very different characters talk in one and the same fashion.' The style betrays a lack of interest in the question what those different characters actually said on particular occasions.

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

memory. The comic irony of the situation is well brought out by Collingwood when he says that "instead of the historian choosing his subject, the subject chooses the historian. The historian was not a historian in the true sense of the term; he was "only the auto biographer of his generation". The ancient Greek historical method made it impossible to criticize, improve upon, or rewrite a history once written. If any given history is the autobiography of a generation, the evidence on which it is based will have perished. It is impossible also for such a work to be absorbed into a larger whole, "because it is like a work of art, something having the uniqueness and individuality of a statue or a poem." An ancient Greek historical work could only be complete in itself incapable of being incorporated in to a larger whole say a universal history.

IBN KHALDUN (1332-1406)

Great Maghribi Historian

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

His Work

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

On History

Khaldun is the founder of the science of history. He classifies sciences into three groups: a) Theoretical dealing with the knowledge of the truth) Practical concerning the ability for practical actions, and Productive relating to the perfection of things. According to Khaldun the science of history is a judicious mixture of all the three branches of knowledge; all-inclusive and comprehensive. Khaldun views history as a specific body of knowledge encompassing the entire range of social phenomena. It is not simply as record of strings of events but a description of internal and external social relationships. Based on empirical facts, history is an instrument for the acquisition of excellence in the art of ruling and living. History is neither annalistic nor episodic but continuous development of human society with ebb and flows, rise and fall. The nature of historical growth is dynamic since it undergoes constant changes! The histories of different people differ according to differences in physical environment, climate, character of land etc. In short, history is the history of the world or universal history

On Historian

Khaldun prescribes the following traits or characteristics to identify an historian: 1) He shall have the ability to think to probe, to check and to verify the veracity of source or a statement. Historical accounts must not be reduced to 'nonsensical statements Historian has to be skeptical. 2) He is knowledgeable. He is a knowledge seeker. He seeks knowledge of the 'fundamental facts of politics, the nature of civilization, and the conditions governing human social organization'. 3) He is fully armed with reliable, verifiable, dependable sources. 4) He must know his craft. He must be able to distinguish between truth and falsehood, legend and legitimate account, events based on faith or reason and so on since knowledge of the past is often alloyed or tainted with imagery. He must know how to separate the chaff from the grain; water from milk. 5) He is a synthesizer. He must know that the whole is larger and nobler than the sum total of separate parts. He must combine the physical, geographical, biological, psychological and social factors to determine the development of the history of a society or culture and to offer complete and convincing explanation of historical events in order to form a complex and yet

comprehensive whole 6) Above all he may be religious but must refrain from mixing religious faith in writing history. There is absolutely no place for divine intervention or events unusual and the extraordinary in human affairs supernatural stories are incompatible with the facts of history Hence the historians shall always be rational, impartial and objective On rise and fall of cultures Khaldun considers history as the science and essence of culture. Culture is the chemical combination of material, political, social, economic, moral and philosophical factors and forces; inseparable. According to him there are three different types of cultures: 1) Primitive culture is the life of survival; people are pre-occupied with the basic needs of life like food, cloth and shelter. 2) Rational culture centers around the life of reason and purposeful living enjoying the fruits of labour and hard work 3). Culture of law based on equity, equality and distributive justice The benefits of work are not restricted to a few but shared by Khaldun proposes a cyclical view of history. Culture, which is the arrow of history, undergoes the cycle of birth, growth, declines the mice. He identifies four causes for the rise and fall of cultures: Material cause refers to geographical factors like climate, fertility, soil, Vegetation, economy nativity to 2) Formal or political cause relates to the role of the factor and governance. 3) Efficient or social cause to be determined with factors like harmony, solidarity, inclusiveness, moderation and justice 4) Final or Ethical cause is about the goal of common welfare and goods, Khaldun underlines the fact that a culture collapses due to a) war or internal conflicts; b) urbanization; and c) disintegration. Thus, it will be seen that geo-economic activity, political structure, social solidarity, common goal and internal and external exigencies determine the rise and fall of cultures.

ESTIMATE

Ibn Khaldun may be considered as the Thucydides of Islamic world. He inaugurated a new school of thought. Like a seasoned social scientist, he has analyzed historical facts, their relationships and realities, trends and tendencies and their regularities and variations, ebbs and flows. His method is original as his approach is critical-analytical. His classification of branches of knowledge, analysis of nature of states,

causes for continuation and collapse of cultures is refreshingly original. In tracing the influence of civilization on man Khaldun anticipated Buckle by several centuries. In analyzing the material factors of history, he foresaw Karl Marx. In dealing with the social causes for historical events and changes he showed the way to Auguste Comte. In estimating the importance of ethical or philosophical factors he was the forerunner of A tracing the stages of development of a given society he ranks with Ranke Khaldun successfully integrates the science of history with the philosophy of history.

He is concerned with the total impact of material, moral, economic, political, social, ethical and philosophical factors and forces on the shaping and reshaping of historical cultures. He is at once a historian, a sociologist, a political theorist, an economist and a philosopher rolled into one. He is a pragmatist, rationalist, humanist and a critical analyst. Khaldun's treatment of history is comprehensive, cumulative and critical. George Sarton regarded him as "the greatest theorist of history, the greatest philosopher of man's experience". Arnold Toynbee rated his philosophy of history as "the greatest that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place". Ibn Khaldun, however, has been criticized on several counts: 1) His exposition is conditioned by the circumstances prevailing in North Africa in his time; 2) It is not for universal application; 3) He does not follow his own instructions and prescription in the Universal History, 4) He has little influence on his immediate successors; 5) His cyclical theory of history is deterministic; 6) His treatment of history is more philosophical and theoretical than pragmatic and practical. Nevertheless, Khaldun, the 14 century medieval historian shines like a star and a silver lining in the dark cloud of theocratic historiography. He is far ahead of his time. For he explains the events, examines their trend, interprets their relationships, analyses their causes, sketches their operations, reviews their regularity and assesses their value. He is a man of many parts: thinker, intellectual, scholar, historian, political theorist, economist, sociologist, critic and philosopher. He has no parallel in the medieval world. He heralds the dawn of modern historiography. "If Thucydides is the inventor of history, Ibn Khaldun introduces history as a science".

In fine, Ibn Khaldun' universal history is acknowledged as "one of mankind's important triumphs". He is the Medieval Muslim historian par excellence.

RANKE

The nineteenth century German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) is widely recognized as the founding father of the empirical historiography. It was till Ranke established the first scientific political history, in the 19th century, in Germany, that the historians followed a method of evaluation and also a method of interpretations and intuitions. A completely new tradition of history writing started with him directly affecting the conceptual structure. His methods directly affected the way the historians and researchers critically treated the sources of the history. The force for any historical change is considered to be the study of ideology.

Historians claim that “political history as a whole cannot exist without the study of ideological differences and their implications.” Political history studies most often hover around a single nation and its political change and development. Ranke’s Concept: Accordingly, history is considered as a rigorous science which should abstain from metaphysical speculations and value judgments. He further clarified that the historians must put the sources to philological criticism in order to complete the veracity of their findings. He was insistent that any political event should be looked at its uniqueness and not in its generality of occurrence. Political history till then remained more traditional, though other branches of history turned out to be modern in nature.

St. Augustine

The greatest figure in the early Christian Church, was a pagan to whom Christianity had come as a profound emotional satisfaction. Augustine labored chiefly with his pen. Two of his books belong to the classics of the world. The Confessions, his autobiography, is written with great honesty and sincerity, and addressed directly to God. The De Civitat Dei (City of God) in twenty-two books composed between AD 413 and 426, is one of the greatest texts of the world.

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

The City of God controlled Catholic historiography ever since it was written. It put God

in history, declaring that God ruled human affairs. Augustine represented the historical process as a struggle between good and evil, virtue and vice, the divine and the demonic, theocratic and secular. He saw history, sacred or salvation history, as conforming to a divine plan. The Graeco-Roman humanistic idea made man the wise architect of his own fortunes. But Christian faction based itself on human insufficiency, and held that man's unaided intellect and efforts cannot plan and achieve ends without divine grace. Human action is blind, a blindness derived from man's original sin. The human achievements are not due to forces of human will and intellect, but due to God's grace. God plans human actions and causes them to be executed.

Such a view of history, placing God at the center of human affairs, is variously called sacred history, salvation history, providential history, or patristic history. This view of history governed Europe throughout the Middle Ages in the City of God, observes Herbert Butterfield, we the Augustine arguing his way out of a cyclic view of history. He cannot allow that everything that happens will go on repeating endlessly through time.

ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE (1889-1975)

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

was Mankind and Mother Earth Nature and Method of theme of the Work Following Spengler's, *The Decline of the West*, was another work of its kind, Toynbee's ten-volume *A Study of History*, appearing between 1934 and 1961. It is the most ambitious project in historical synthesis ever attempted by a single author. As Arthur Marwick writes, the immense scope and lofty aims of the work make it a meta history. The writing of meta history seeking laws and patterns of historical development and human destiny belongs to the positivistic traditions of the nineteenth century. Spengler's a priori, mechanistic and fatalistic model did not appeal to the British philosopher-historian; he chose the empirical and inductive method in the best British tradition. The procedure is systematic comparisons of twenty-one civilizations since, for our author, the intelligible units of historical study are not nations or periods, but societies or civilizations. Toynbee's realization that civilization was threatened after 1914 raised in his mind the problem of its origin and development. Why did some civilizations thrive while others, no less advantaged, fail the specific theme of Toynbee's work investigation into is thus the origin, growth and breakdown of civilizations The monumental study put forward a philosophy of history based forward a philosophy on an analysis of the cyclical development and decline of civilizations .Civilizations are a recent phenomenon in human existence, in human history. The 'Unity of Civilization' and the 'Unity of History are misconceptions. Civilizations, for Toynbee, have only one point in common-they are a separate category from primitive societies. He likewise dismisses the idea that there is only one civilization, namely, the Western, as also the 'Diffusionist' theory that all civilizations had their origin in Egypt. He charts the rise and fall of twenty-one 'Civilizations' or 'Societies' in six thousand years of history. Of these, fifteen are 'apparent' or affiliated to older or predecessor cultures of the same species, while the Egyptian, the Sumerian, the Minoan, the Sinic, the Mayan and the Andean have emerged directly from primitive life. Again, some civilizations like the Egyptian, Babylonian and Minoan, are dead; others like Polynesian. Eskimo and Nomad, are arrested; while some the Western Christian, Orthodox Christian, Islamic, Hindu and Far Eastern –are still alive .

Genesis of Civilizations

Toynbee asserts that the genesis of civilizations the transition from a primitive or static to a dynamic society owes neither to the race factor nor to the geographical environment as such. Civilization arises from the specific combination of two conditions the presence of a creative minority, an elite, and an environment neither too favorable as to lead to lethargy and indolence, nor too unfavorable as to negate the necessary impulse to strive for progress. Given these, creation is an outcome of an encounter and genesis is a product of interaction,

At this point Toynbee introduces his famous theory of challenge and response, the mechanism by which civilization is produced. All civilizations, according to Toynbee, have emerged from the interplay of challenges and successful responses to them. Challenge means a problem which a society confronts; response is the solution that it offers. Civilization rises when a society successfully responds through its creative minority to each of the series of challenges it confronts. A challenge may be presented by a profound physical change as the progressive desiccation of the Afrasian grasslands in which only one part of the inhabitants those who retired to the marshes and the jungles of the Nile Delta were able to evolve the Egyptian civilization, by successfully draining the marshes and clearing the jungles. All other civilizations are likewise civilizations that respond to challenges. Challenge and response of history

Growth of Civilizations

It is wrong to imagine, Toynbee cautions us, that once a civilization is brought into existence, its growth would be a matter of course certain civilizations which achieved existence did not grow. They are cases of arrested civilizations such as the Polynesian, Eskimo. Those Nomad ways of life. Growth occurs when a response to a particular challenge is not only successful in itself but provokes a further challenge which again meets with a successful response. The Hellenic society, for example, had successfully met the challenge of chaos by settling down in cities rather than in villages. But the very success of the response exposed the Greeks to a second, this time, Malthusian challenge of over-population. The challenge was met by expansion into a Magna Graecia, i.e., colonization around the eastern Mediterranean. But the

expansion was stopped by non-Hellenic peoples and the problem of over-population still remained. In the case of Athens, the required response was made by Athenian statesmen who averted a social revolution by carrying through an economic and political revolution (the Solonian revolution). Now Toynbee argues that for the growth of a civilization, there must be what Bergson calls an vital, a creative minority, to carry that civilization from its birth through a series of challenges and successful responses. The growth of a civilization is to be measured by its progress towards self-determination. This consists of a process defined by Toynbee as 'ether realization', which means progressive simplification of techniques-for example, as telegraphy with wires is replaced by telegraphy without wires. All growth originates with creative individuals or creative minorities. The action of the creative individual is a two-fold motion of Withdrawal and Return-withdrawal for the purpose of enlightenment, return for the task of self of personal enlightening fellow men. The process is shown in practical action in the lives of great Pioneers St. Paul, St. Benedict, St. Gregory the Great, the Buddha, Muhammad, Dante. The law of Withdrawal and Return is true of creative minorities also. Toynbee cites the example of the behavior of the Athenians in the crisis into which Hellenic society had been thrown by the growth of population. When all Greece went on colonizing for two centuries, Athens hung back only to return as the leader of Greece in challenging the Persian empire. Italy had likewise drawn into herself for about two and a half centuries from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth only to equip herself spiritually to lead Europe in the Renaissance movement.

Decay or Break down of Civilizations

On Toynbee's showing, all except the Western civilization have either broken down completely or have shown signs of breakdown. He dismisses all deterministic explanations of

the phenomenon of breakdown and rejects the economic interpretations of the decay of the ancient world. Breakdowns of civilizations come by what is false within, by an inner malaise, by a process of suicide, when creative minorities exchange persuasion by compulsion and become 'dominant' minorities. Then the mass of the

people alienated and mindless proletariat breaks out from the control of its guiding minority in a catastrophic schism and the society (civilization), losing the capacity for self-determination, enters on the road to disintegration.

Some of the ways in which the tragedy of suicide or of the loss of the capacity for self-determination presents itself are: (a) the nemesis of creativity of which a notorious example is the error of the Jews in idolizing their spiritual growth of discovering monotheism which persuaded them to believe that they were God's Chosen People. The same nemesis of creativity could be seen in the Hellenistic idolization of the city-state, and Athens' idolization of itself as 'the education of Hellas'; (b) militarism whose tragic irony is well expressed in the saying. Those who take the sword shall perish with the sword. Militaristic Assyria had been committing slow suicide and had become a corpse in the armor' by the time Media and Babylonia, struck their final blow (614-610 BC), intoxication of victory of which an extra ordinarily instructive example is the fall of the Hildebrand In Church with its ideal of a Christian Republic. The disintegration period would be characterized by Schism in the Body Social and in the soul. The Schism in the Body Social shows itself in the presence of dominant minorities (militarists, legalists, administrators, philosophers), internal proletariats (religions like Christianity and Mahayanist), and external proletariats (barbarian invaders). The Schism in the Soul would be characterized by certain ways of feeling, behavior and life, such as abandon and self-control, sense of drift and the sense of sin, the sense of promiscuity issuing in vulgarity and barbarism in manners and art, confusion in language, syncretism in religion, archaism, futurism, detachment, and so on. In the disintegration stage, creative individuals appear as saviors of the disintegrating society. he Savior with the sword establishes a universal state, but all the works others word proves ephemeral.

A Study of History: Criticism and Assessment

Arthur Marwick writes: "Toynbee has been acclaimed by the reading public and denigrated by professional historians. In general, there is professional agreement that whatever Toynbee has written in A Study of History, it is not history. "Despite

Toynbee's constantly repeated claim that his methods are desively empirical and inductive had then fact, a priori.

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

Theodicy, rather than a history H.E. Barnes writes: "Toynbee's suggestive program of comparing the rise and fall of civilizations was ruined by his extreme theological premises which made his work a theodicy, rather than a history. His philosophy of history seems to be no more than the glorification of God and the higher religion. Great moments in history were to him not when empires were built or inventions took place, but those when great religions were born. If the first three volumes depict the rise and fall of civilizations as history pure and simple, the later volumes, especially those written after the Second World War, portray the cycles of social advance as informed by god's purposes and are marked by a kind of messianic revivalism. Of

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

Determinism

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

Merits

Criticism notwithstanding, the merits of Toynbee's great study should not pass unnoticed. A great labour of scholarship, one is astounded by the incredible mass of erudition contained in it. Its workmanship, readability and even poetic quality have been admitted by all. Fritz Stern

writes: The scholar boggles at it and sees the unsoundness of it, but he must also reckon with the reasons for Toynbee's success, and in passing he might be grateful that it was Toynbee, rather than another philosopher-prophet with less gentle philosophical commitments, who erected the most popular post-war system. Toynbee's monumental Study broke most sharply with the tradition of a Eurocentric historiography. The manner in which he achieved a truly universal history in the place of a narrowly Western-oriented history is all the more significant in the context of the rise to power of the nations of the underdeveloped parts of the world after the Second World War. Analyzing an impressive array of civilizations from the Polynesian to the Andean, and from the Egyptian and the Babylonian to the modern Western Christian, the British meta historian triumphed over many a limitation of the conventional historian and captured the imagination of the reading public. The Study is a healthy counterpoise to the excessive specializing tendency of modern historical research. Finally, Toynbee's comparative study of civilizations can help men appreciate one another's histories and to see in them a common achievement and common possession of the whole human race. Arthur Marwick correctly assesses Toynbee's work in the following words: We do not have to swallow whole the entire mystical apparatus of the Toynbee system; but we can perhaps agree that, in such deceptively simple notions as challenge and response, Toynbee has in fact made a very genuine contribution towards our understanding of the past. Toynbee is perhaps a great poet, and a not-so-great historian; but in the mansion of history there are many chambers. It is as helpful to say that Toynbee 'is not a historian' as it is to say that Carlyle is not a historian no less no more.

E.H. Hobsbawm

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

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

E.P. Thompson

The works of Edward Palmer Thompson, Britain's leading Marxist historian of the postwar era, have aroused both intense admiration and vigorous criticism. Thompson thinks historical knowledge to be provisional, incomplete and approximate, yet he is determined to write history from the 'bottom up' and rescue the laboring poor "from the enormous condescension of posterity. Thus, came many stimulating and challenging writings about class.

Consciousness, class struggle and class formation; about the law as an ideological weapon in the hands of the ruling class; and about the motives of the poor who took direct action to protect their concept of justice and rights. Thompson's perceptive imagination has led to a number of original insights in to the lives of ordinary people The Making of the English Working-Class Thompson achieved world fame with his The making of the English Working Class (1963).The central thesis of the eight-hundred-page book is the growth of a, specifically working Class, our author insists, is not 'structure' nor a 'category' but a theoretical phenomenon which actually happens or hum relationships: "when some men as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as among themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs Thompson devoted considerable attention to the impact of

growth of agrarian and industrial capitalism in terms of the social, moral and cultural experience of the poor. Where economic historians were content to assess the quantitative gains of the Industrial Revolution, Thompson sensitively explores the qualitative losses. It is "neither poverty nor disease but work itself which casts the blackest shadow over the years of the Industrial Revolution. The great French historian Elie Halevy's celebrated thesis had asserted that the spread of Methodism had saved England from revolution in the early nineteenth century. In a far more subtle analysis Thompson brought out another historical nuance of the Methodist movement: Methodism could act both as an agent of the status quo, and as an agent of inspired political protest. Marwick comments that *The Making of the English Working Class* is a true work of historical revisionism bringing into proper perspective the aspirations and conscious efforts of working people, too often treated by other historians as an inert and faceless mass, passive to the central forces of history.

Thompson's abiding interest in 'the people' found institutional expression in the Center for the Study of Social History launched at the University of Warwick. Here he promoted a whole new approach to the study 'from below' of earlier British society particularly in the matter of crime and law enforcement. Thompson's critics have pointed out that he is not always rigorous in his scrutiny of evidence, that he relies too much on inferences, conjectures and hearsay, that some of his arguments go beyond what his evidence will bear, that his view of class is subjective, and that he both reads the present into the past and uses historical examples to inspire contemporary struggles

FERNAND BRAUDEL

In Fernand Braudel (1902) a protégé of Lucien Febvre the *Annals* vision of total History came to realization. Bloch and Febvre had written such history for only parts of the past but Braudel's venture of recapturing human life in all its variety proceeded in his masterpiece, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949). A classic, it is the greatest historical work of the twentieth century which instantly author to the top of the French historical profession. *The Mediterranean* was written in twenty years including the Second World War years

which Braudel had to spend in a German prison camp. Already when first published is sought a massive work containing 600,000 words in 1949, it has subsequently been to be an answer to fragmentation of history. James A. Henrietta aptly describes the Mediterranean comprehensive, multi-dimensional cubist portrait of the society. Influences behind the Mediterranean The post-war Annals historians always acknowledged a debt to Febvre and Bloch. "What I owe to the Annals, to their teaching and inspiration," wrote Braudel "constitutes the greatest of my debts. In its ideas and plan of construction, the Mediterranean owed much directly to Febvre's *The Earth and Human Evolution* and Philip II and Franche-Comte. Starting from the physical environment, the three works move on to economic and social structures and ends with a narrative of events. It was to Febvre, his mentor, that Braudel dedicated his magnum opus with "the affection of a son" And of Bloch, Braudel said, "I think I can honestly say that no aspect of his thought is foreign to me." The two were alike in their concern with long-term historical trends and in their love of comparative history. The sociologist Emile Durkheim's idea of the superficiality of the history of events and the human geographer de Blache's social and historical geography were common sources of influence and inspiration for Febvre, Bloch and Braudel. And from Jules Michelet, the French master, the historian of the Mediterranean learned to indulge his gift for poetic images, and to write of regions as if they were persons.

Sources

The Mediterranean is written on such an immense scale that it is idle to expect the same kind and quality of documentation (in the traditional sense) for the whole. Peter Burke writes that "a large part of the work of the greatest historian of our time is based on secondary sources. It is not in finding evidences but using evidences that Braudel excels." Part Three, the most convention of the great work, is solidly based on documents from the archives of Rome, Genoa, Florence, Paris, and above all from Simancas, where the Spanish state papers are kept Part Tw according to Burke, is simply illustrated from archive material, while the main source for the geohistorical of the Mediterranean (Part One) is the landscape itself. View of Time and of Historical Change Braudel is a problem-oriented historian in line with the Annals conception.

The Mediterranean had as its guiding principle a new conception of time, and of historical change in relation to space. The author makes the reader conscious of the impact of space by "making the sea itself the hero of his epic," and also by repeatedly reminding him of the importance of distance, of communications, in an age when many goods travelled at the pace of mules and it often took two weeks to sail from Marseilles to Algiers. But it is in the treatment of time that Braudel is most original. He argued that historical time is multi-layered, each layer having its own pace or rate at which change occurs in its various phases. His conviction that historical time does not move at a uniform speed is expressed in its division into long-term, medium-term, and the short-term: "geographical time, social time, and individual time." Braudel organized his immense work into three such time-layers or phases, each layer or phase typifying a particular approach to historical delineation. In such a Mold of space and time, Braudel tries to see things whole on a global scale, and crossing the disciplinary frontiers, integrates the geographical, economic, political and the cultural into a total history'. Part One of the Mediterranean, which is the bottom layer of Braudel's three-phased history, spans the immense, timeless phase of human interaction with the natural world. What the author provides here is what he himself calls 'geohistorical' a kind of historical geography devoted to mountains and plains, islands and coastline, climate, land routes and sea routes. Here, man is in intimate relationship with the earth which bears and feeds him. At this level, which Braudel calls *la long durée* (the long run or the long-term), time is almost stationary or moves at the slowest pace. because distance was a reality and communications difficult. This bottom level has a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to his environment, imperceptible which all change is slow, a constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles. In this span of longest duration, the historian needs the perspective of centuries in order to discern any change at all.

In Part Two of the Mediterranean, Braudel distinguishes an intermediate pace of change which he calls the time of conjectures (conjunctures). This is the medium-term or time taken by the broader movements of economies, social structures, political institutions, civilizations and forms of war, which constitute the subject matter

of this second phase. Here the duration is that of cyclical movements in prices and wages the rhythms and phases of demographic, technological and social change; and the trends and tendencies of trade and exchange. Such phases last for five, ten, twenty, perhaps fifty years. Changes in this phase of structures have to be studied in terms of structural changes in other departments of life. Changes in the policy of Spain, for example, need for their proper understanding, changes in the government's financial resources.

Part Three of the Mediterranean is concerned, following the traditional pattern, with 'events, politics and people'. These take the shortest time span. This is the time sector of political events in history as we understand them, and of individual actors in their various engagements, the fast-moving time of micro-history and the usual concerns of the traditional historian. A fine piece of traditional political and military history of the Mediterranean area in the age of Philip II, Part Three is a substantial work in its own right. The key to the whole work lies in the hierarchy of relationships between the three time-layers. The collective destinies and general trends of the second (middle) layer operate within the context set by geography and the ever-recurring cycles. The individual actions and political events which form the top layer, operate within the constraints established in the bottom and middle layers. Braudel believed that this decisive reversal of priorities based on a pluralistic view of time, the slow-paced history of structures in particular, was capable of making a vital contribution to social theory. Relative Unimportance of Events and Individuals In Braudel's multi-dimensional history events and individual suffer, so to say, a diminution of stature. In Part Three of the Mediterranean, dealing with events, politics and people, the author places both individuals and events in a wider consensus with the of revealing their fundamental lack of importance relative so de of environmental factors. The history of events, although the richest in human interest," is also the most superficial. They "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history c on their strong backs. As with events, so witch individual particularly great men behind whose inspiration, choice a determination are forces which are separate from them but which fashion what they do. Real history escapes those who fill recognize these structural forces which fashion the actions of great men. The failure of Don Garcia de Toledo, Philip IT's naval commander in the

Mediterranean, and his slowness of action against the Turks, according to Braudel, must be seen in terms of the very difficult environmental conditions in which he had to operate. Don John of Austria, the victor of the naval battle of Lepanto, was the instrument of destiny', in the sense that his victory depended on factors which he did not know about. The great battle of Lepanto which the Christians greeted as a glorious victory was, for Braudel, an example of the limitations of the history of events, the Christian victory could not destroy the roots of Turkish power which went deep into the surrounding land masses.

A Criticism of the Mediterranean

The frightening immensity of the Mediterranean makes one feel that 'total history' is impossible beyond the local levels, for example, in Laurie's *The Peasants of the Languedoc*.

Braudel's overarching plan and its execution did not fail to invite criticism.

Neglect of the People as Negation of Historical Process

A serious drawback of Braudel's great history is its comparative neglect of the people. The American humanist-socialist historians Eugene and Elizabeth Genovese find fault with Braudel for failing to allot the people their correct place in his history, and making geography

the Mediterranean region itself its crucial theme. True to the Annals tradition which had never taken political history seriously, Braudel gives to the Mediterranean a mold which, if anything, is not political. Although Part Three of the Mediterranean deals with political events, and Part Two contains chapters on empires, the author chose not to give political events their due importance.

Indeed, historians of the traditional stamp criticized the Mediterranean as history with the politics left out. The neglect of politics in a history which claimed to be "total" is open to question.

Dethronement of the Individual

The dethronement of politics and of events from their place of importance in Braudel's history meant the dethronement of political and military leaders from their place of eminence. If individuals and events are incapable of breaking the structures that constrain them, how can the structures themselves change? Some historians are highly suspicious of Braudel's concern with 'collective destinies and general trends' which they see as impersonal forces producing an almost inhuman history. As John Eliot once put it, Braudel's Mediterranean is a world 'unresponsive to human control. Just how important are individual decisions or events? This, of course, is one of the oldest debates in the history of history, the debate between those who believe that men make their own history and those who think that fortune or providence or climate or economic trends play a greater role.

Absence of Link between the Three Layers of Time

In Braudel's history we often fail to see a link between the three-tier conception of time. Braudel himself believed that geo-history, social history, and the history of events are all so causally linked that at any given moment we should be able to see them operating. Simultaneously. But the references in part Three of the Mediterranean to the constraints under which individuals like Do Garcia de Toledo operated do not conclusively prove the point in all other cases. In Le Roy Laurie's *The Peasants of the Languid* we see the way in which the peasants became conscious of the constraints and rebelled against them. Says Peter Burke: "Such link between structures and events can be found for one social group in one region; it may be asking too much to expect anything comparable in a history of the whole Mediterranean world. Neglect of Mentalities Again, Part Two of the Mediterranean is criticized for its relative neglect of a favorite Annales area of study—collective mentalities or beliefs, attitudes and values of past ages. Braudel is a brilliant historian of material culture, but despite his commitment to total history', he has, unlike Febvre and Bloch, little to say about non-material aspects of human life even in the chapter entitled 'Civilizations'. Beliefs did matter in the age of Philip II, but we do not know from Braudel's work whether, for example, Catholic and Muslim beliefs interacted. Social anthropologists have discovered that the concept of honors is a

dominant part of the value system in Algeria as in Spain, in Sicilian and Turkish villages .Static Geo history .The great trouble Braudel took with geographical history did not save Part One of the Mediterranean from criticism. An anonymous reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement wrote of insufficient attention paid to animals and plants and their effects on the human and natural environment.

Instead of giving us a more dynamic Eco history, what Braudel has given us is static geo-history. Determinism Again, the exaggeration of environmental constraints on human life exposes the Mediterranean to the charge of determinism, of "reducing men to inevitable defeat in their natural world. " This environmental determinism is different from the economic determinism of the Marxists. Like Febvre and Bloch, Braudel is unwilling to assert the predominance of the economic factor even in the long term. Like them, he sees the action of economy, political and cultural factors However the Annals group shares the Marxists interest in structures and the desire to penetrate the surface of events in search of an underlying historical reality Braudel fails to offer an alternative conception of historical change to Marx and his work cannot claim to have the dynamism of Marx's base superstructure philosophy

The Impact of Braudel's Mediterranean Third Generation Annalists

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

developed, with the exception of Channu, a microhistory approach to the study of regions. Again, they made inroads into using quantitative techniques besides developing the history of collective mentalities begun by Febvre and Bloch .

Edward Hallett Carr

EH Carr was born in 1892 and educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He joined the Foreign Office in 1916, and, after numerous jobs in and connected with the F.O. at home and abroad, he resigned in 1936, and became Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. He was Assistant Editor of The Times from 1941 a, 1946, Tutor in Politics at Balliol College, Oxford, from 1953 to 1955, and became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1955. Among his many publications are: The Romantic Exiles, The Twenty Year's Crisis 1919-1939, Conditions of Peace, The Soviet Impact on the Western World, The New Society (1951). The first six volumes of his large-scale History of Soviet Russia have been published in Pelicans, including the Bolshevik Revolution, The Interregnum, and two volumes of Socialism in One Country. Professor Carr's most recent book, a collection of essays, is 1917: Before and After WHAT IS HISTORY? Lest anyone think the question meaningless or superfluous, I will take as my text two passages relating respectively to the first and second incarnations of the Cambridge Modern History. Here is Acton in his report of October 1896 to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press on the work which he had undertaken to edit: It is a unique opportunity of recording, in the way most useful to the greatest number, the fullness of the knowledge which the nineteenth century is about to bequeath.... By the judicious division of labour, we should be able to do it, and to bring home to every man the last document, and the ripest conclusions of international research. Ultimate history we cannot have in this generation; . The Positivists, anxious to stake out their claim for history as a

science, contributed the weight of their influence to this cult of facts. First ascertain the facts, said the Positivists, then draw your conclusions from them. In Great Britain, this view of history fitted in perfectly with the empiricist addition which was the dominant strain in British philosophy from Locke to Bertrand Russell. The empirical theory of knowledge presupposes a complete separation between subject and object. Facts, like sense-impressions, impinge on the observer from outside and are independent of his consciousness. The process of reception is passive: having received the data, he then acts on them. The Oxford Shorter English Dictionary, a useful but tendentious work of the empirical school, clearly marks the separateness of the two processes by defining a fact as 'a datum of experience as distinct from conclusions'. This is what may be called the common-sense view of history. History consists of a corpus of ascertained facts. The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fish monger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him. Acton, whose culinary tastes were austere, wanted them served plain. In his letter of instructions to contributors to the first Cambridge Modern History he announced the requirement 'that our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, German and Dutch alike; that nobody can tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down the pen and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison it up'. Even Sir George Clark critical as he was of Acton's attitude, himself contrasted the "hard core of facts in history with the 'surrounding pulp of disputable interpretation" - forgetting perhaps that the pulpy part of the fruit is more rewarding than the hard core. First get your facts straight, then plunge at your peril into the shifting sands of interpretation that is the ultimate wisdom of the empirical, common-sense school of history. It recalls the favourite dictum of the great liberal journalist C. P. Scott: 'Facts are sacred, opinion is free.'

History, and show the point we have reached on the road from one to the other, now that all information is within reach, and every problem has become capable of solution.' And almost exactly sixty years later Professor Sir George Clark, in his general introduction to the second Cambridge Modern History, commented on

this belief of Acton and his collaborators that it would one day be possible to produce 'ultimate history', and went on: Historians of a later generation do not look forward to any such prospect. They expect their work to be superseded again and again. They consider that knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, has been 'processed' by them, and therefore cannot consist of elemental and impersonal atoms which nothing can alter.... The exploration seems to be endless, and some impatient scholars take refuge in skepticism, or at least in the doctrine that, since all historical judgments involve persons and points of view, one is as good as another and there is no 'objective' historical truth. Where the pundits contradict each other so flagrantly, the held is open to inquiry. It sufficiently up-to-date to recognize that anything written in the 1890s must be nonsense. But not yet advanced enough to be committed to the view that anything written in the 1950s necessarily makes sense. Indeed, it may already have occurred to you that this inquiry is liable to stray into something even broader than the nature of history. The clash between Acton and Sir George Clark is a reflection of the change in our total outlook on society over the interval between these two pronouncements. Acton speaks out of the positive belief, the clear-eyed selfconfidence, of the later Victorian age Sir George Clark echoes the bewilderment sad distracted skepticism of the beat generation. When we attempt to answer the question "What is history?" our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live. It had no fear that my subject may. On closer inspection, seem trivial to have broached a question so vast and so important. The nineteenth century was a great age for facts. , said Mr. Grad grind in Ward Times, 'is Facts.... Facts alone are wanted in life. Nineteenth-century historians on the whole agreed with him. When Ranke in the 1830s, in legitimate protest against moralizing history, remarked that the task of the historian was 'simply to show how it really was very profound aphorism had an astonishing success. Three generations of German, British, and even French historians marched into battle intoning the magic words 'Wieu eigendich gewesen' like an incantation - designed, like most incantations, to save them from the tiresome obligation to think for scandalous for a creed, no matter whether it is Catholic or Protestant, to place its salvation above the integrity of the nation." It was extremely

difficult for a nineteenth-century liberal historian, brought up to believe that it is right and praiseworthy to kill in defence of one's country, but wicked and wrong-headed to kill in defence of one's religion, to enter into the state of mind of those who fought the Thirty Years War. This difficulty is particularly acute in the held in which I am now working. Much of what has been written. in English speaking countries in the last ten years about the Soviet Union, and in the Soviet Union about the English-speaking countries, has been vitiated by this inability to achieve even the most elementary measure of imaginative understanding of what goes on in the mind of the other party, so that the words and actions of the other are always made to appear malign, senseless, or hypocritical. History cannot be written unless the historian can achieve some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing great Whig historian George Otto Trevelyan, to Macaulay, incomparably the greatest of the Whig historians. Trevelyan's finest and most mature work, *England under Queen Anne*, was written against that background, and will yield its full meaning and significance to the reader only when read against that background. The author, indeed, leaves the reader with no excuse for failing to do so. For, if following the technique of connoisseurs of detective novels, you read the end first, you will find on the last few pages of the third volume the best summary known to me of what is nowadays called the Whig interpretation of history; and you will see that what Trevelyan is trying to do is to investigate the origin and development of the Whig tradition, and to root it fairly and squarely in the years after the death of its founder, William III. Although this is not, perhaps, the only conceivable interpretation of the events of Queen Anne's reign, it is a valid and, in Trevelyan's hands, a fruitful interpretation. But, in order to appreciate it at its' full value, you have to understand what the historian is doing. For if, as Collingwood says, the historian must re-enact in thought what has gone on in the mind of his dramatis personae, so the reader in his turn must re-enact what goes on in the mind of the historian. Study the historian before you start to study the facts. This is, after all, not very abstruse. It is what is already done by the intelligent undergraduate who, when recommended to read a work by that great scholar Jones of St Jude's, goes round to a friend at St Jude's to ask what sort of chap Jones is, and what bees he has in his bonnet. When you read a work of history, always listen out for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or your historian

is a dull dog. The first point the facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation. Indeed, if, standing Sir George Clark on his head, were to call history 'a hard core of interpretation surrounded by a pulp of disputable facts', my statement would, no doubt, be one-sided and misleading, but no more so. Venture to think, then the original dictum. The second point is the more familiar one of the historian's needs of imaginative understanding for the minds of the people with whom he is dealing, for the thought behind their acts: I say imaginative understanding', not 'sympathy', lest sympathy should be supposed to imply agreement. The nineteenth century was weak in medieval history. because it was too much repelled by the superstitious beliefs of the Middle Ages, and by the barbarities which they inspired, to have any imaginative understanding of medieval people. Or take Burckhardt's censorious remark about the Thirty Years War. The third point is that we can view the past, and achieve our understanding of the past, only through the eyes of the present. The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human existence. The very words which he uses words like democracy, empire, war, revolution - have current connotations from which he cannot divorce them. Ancient historians have taken to using words like polls and plebs in the original, just in order to show that they have not fallen into this trap. This does not help them. They, too. live in the present, and cannot cheat themselves into the past by using unfamiliar or obsolete words, any more than they would become better Greek or Roman historians if they delivered their lectures in a chlamys et a toga. The names by which successive French historians have described the Parisian crowds which played so prominent a role in the French revolution is all, for those who know the rules of the game, manifestos of a political affiliation and of a particular interpretation. Yet the historian is obliged to choose: the use of language- forbids him to be neutral. Nor is it a matter of words alone. Over the past hundred years the changed balance of power in Europe has reversed the attitude of British historians to Frederick the

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

UNIT V

Historians of India

5.0. Introduction

5.1. unit objectives

5.2. Historians of India

5.3. V.A. Smith

5.4. D.D. Kosambi

5.5. Romila Thapar

5.6. Jadunath Sarkar

5.7. Bipan Chandra

5.8. Ranajit Guha

5.9. K.A. Nilankanta Sastri

5.10. R. Sathianatha Ayyar

5.11. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar

5.12. C.S. Srinivasachari

5.13. K.K. Pillai

Introduction

Foreign scholars have often complained about India's lack of an indigenous tradition of historiography. India possesses an enormous heritage of literature accumulated over the Centuries, much of it relating to past events, yet there has never' been a historian to compare with those of ancient Greece and Rome, or later European scholars who contributed to the development of history as a discipline. Indifference

to the western conception of history, to the idea that man can be its subject and agent, actively working to change the human condition, is cited as a distinguishing trait of Indian civilization. Explanations offered for this deficiency are that Indians have no sense of history, are not interested in factual or 'objective' history, or have in any case had such a static society that there has been little in the way of historical development to encourage its scientific study. Indian religions, besides acting as 'a tremendous force for social inertia' in that they usually adopt a reactionary attitude towards social change, are also blamed for inculcating a world view that has never been conducive to any interest in what westerners know as history. How far these assumptions are justified, and what has been achieved in the field of Indian historiography relating to the pre-modern period, are the concern of this chapter.

5.2.Historians of India

Historical Sense in Ancient India

Scholars, including the historians, Indologists and orientalists, are divided in their opinion about the historical sense of the ancient Indians, particularly the Hindus. It has been said that the ancient Indian had no sense of history and chronology. Alberuni was the first to remark that "TheHindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-tellings". This remarks was made buy him in AD 1030 in his work Tehkik-i-Hind. It is striking to note that the genealogies of kings of different dynasties in the Puranic records, which were the principal sources of information for him for writing his book as admitted by himself, are in proper historical and chronological order, of course, with a few exceptions. It is paradoxical that he calls his own works "a simple historic record of facts", but the sources on which it is based are spoken of as unhistorical. He presents the picture of Indian civilization as painted by the Hindus themselves. He has himself tried to fix the chronology of some istorical events with the help of the chronological data furnished by the Hindus in different works, as it appears from his book.

S.R.Sharma in an attempt to justify the statement of Alberuni writes that his “ version of the lack of historical sense of Indians justified by the paucity of historical works properly so called in our country down from ancient times. Materials from which history can be constructed is undoubtedly available in abundance but very little of it shares the character of regular history”. But on the other hand, A.K.Majumdar asserts that “.... We can't admit that the Hindus had incapacity for writing history and our ancestors have not bequeathed to us any reliable

historical work for early period. They know the simple art of writing history.L.J.Trotter and W.H. Hutton have remarked that “...the old Hindus produced, not one historian of even the smallest mark” . Any sensible historian will accept such kind of absurd remark. Some scholars have leveled the charges against the ancient Hindus that they wrote no formal history at any period”. They did not have capacity to write history. Though genuine materials once abounded in India yet we find no national history of the Hindus. H. Beveridge opines that “ With the exception of a work on Kashmir, the literature of India has failed to furnish a single production to which the name of history can in any proper sense of the term be applied. These biased remarks made within conceptual framework have increasingly given rise to misgivings in the minds of many. However, the subjective elements should not be allowed to influence and overshadow our objective judgment.

A.S Macdonell is of opinion that “History is the one weak spot in Indian Literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of historical sense is so characteristic that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow of this defect, suffering as it does from an entire absence of exact chronology. In the first place early India wrote no history because it never made any.... Secondly, the Brahmins, whose task it would naturally have been to record the great deeds... have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events”. This is nothing but a total rejection of truth.

Nationalist Historiography

Nationalist historiography means that the historical writings produced or reproduced by the Indian historians highlight the Indian history from a national point of view. The

national point of view represents the national culture and tradition. Every nation had its own culture and traditions and every nation wants to spread it. It can only be possible through literature. History is a part and parcel of literature, therefore, what history is written by a nation represents its culture and traditions that is called the nationalist historiography. Nationalist approach played a vital role in Indian historiography since the second half of the 19th century. Indian nationalist historians tried to prove their falsity of colonial historical narrative on the basis of analysis of existing historical narrative on the basis of analysis of existing historical source and also they were raised as political weapon to eliminate foreign rule in India. Ideological studies were regarded as a binding factor of Indian people and their sentiments. National pride played a big role in providing inspiration to common people and historical consciousness began to grow steadily as never before. The 19th century British historians played a crucial role in providing a nationalist reaction. This reaction came in the form of a nationalist approach in historiography. An important element in this approach was an effort to restore national self esteem and the glorification of India's past. Another element was the propagation of economic nationalism through the depiction of the ruinous economic consequences of British rule in India. Most important of all, nationalist historiography tried to re-discover India for the modern Indian mind and promote political integration and anti imperialist sentiments to further the cause of nation building in India. The nationalist contend with not only the earlier imperialist bias in historiography but also a communal interpretation of history that began to gain influence from the early decades of the century.

Nationalist historiography played an important role in providing an ideological basis of the freedom struggle and in analysing the economic consequences of imperialism. The focus of nationalist attention was an external that is imperialistic exploitation of India, not so much the internal i.e., class exploitation and consequent class conflict within Indian Society. Greater concentration on the later aspect was the consequence of the influence of the Marxist approach, an influence increasingly evident from the 1940s. The phrases nationalist school and nationalist history can only be understood in the background of the colonial domination and colonial historiography. The nationalist historiography has certain defects too, that is some

methodological defects, some chauvinist approaches on caste, cultural, and social bias. Emotion and sentiment usurped the place of reason, balance, perspective, and objectivity-all became a causality. They also failed and ignored certain aspects and issues like tribes, women, downtrodden people, marginalised societies etc. some sensational account brought asort of communal identities. It glorified Indian past and culture and events instead of making critical analysis.

Vincent Arthur Smith

Vincent Arthur Smith was an Irish Indologist and art hisorian. He was born in Dublin on 3 June 1848 which was then part of the united kingdom of great Britain and Ireland. He passed the Indian civil service exam in 1871 and was appointed to what would become the united provinces in India. His works was closely attached to Indian history. His inclinations and interests turned him early towards studying its archaeology and history. Smith was honoured with the award of companion of the order of Indian empire and awarded doctrorate by dublin university in 1919. He died in oxford on 6th Feb 1920.

His first publications appeared the jounal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and dealt with Bundelkhand and its popular songs ,early inhabitants and history in 1875, 1877 and 1881. The typical examples vincent smith's great men history was Akbar the Great Mogul 1542-1605 is a biography of Akbar.The greatmen history of V A Smith played a vital role in history. The most important work Akbar the great Mughal (1542-1605) is a peculiar work of V A Smith. This book was focused on Akbar's religious beliefs and interests. This book traces Akbar's ancestry and early years, his accession to the throne and his regency under Bayaram khan, his many conquests including Bihar.

The Afghan kingdom of Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Kashmir, Sind, parts of Orissa and parts of

Deccan plateau. The most important point was that the writing of history is closley associated with the culture and tradition. The central point was that history is written by a nation that represents its culture and traditions that is called the nationalist historiography.Nationalist historiography is consider as an indispensable feature of

Indian historiography since the second half of the 19th century. The focal point was that nationalist historians tried to propagate nationalist feeling among the people. They were also raised as political weapon to eliminate foreign rule in India. Ideological studies were considered as a binding factor of Indian people and their sentiments. The nationalist thinking became a voice of the educated Indians who started opposing the writings of British officials for disgracing the Indian culture and religion in the western world. The central point was that the British writers also tried to impose their own ideology and supremacy upon Indians. The Indian Nationalists such as R C Majumdar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Balagandhar Tilak, Bipan Chandrapal, Lalajpat Rai and others through their writings initiated furthered nationalist historiography in the real sense. This approach was further developed by the scholars such as RC Majumdar, R G Pradhan, Pattambhi B Sitaramaya, B R Nanda etc. Many Indian nationalists like Naoroji, Banerjee, R C Dutt, M G Ranade have tried to explain the western impact of British rule. However they have not presented the plight of Indian economy in a Marxist framework but in a nationalist perspective. The Indian revolutionaries of Second phase such as Bhagat Singh, Chandra Sekhar Azad, Rajaguru, Sukhdev, B C Vohra, J N Sanyal, Ajay Ghose, Shiv verma, Manmath Nath Gupta etc.

D.D. Kosambi

Marxist approach to Indian History

Marxism has a dominant presence in the field of post-independence Indian historiography. A lot of historians either come directly within its fold or have been influenced by it in certain degrees. It has also influenced most of the trends of Indian historiography in some way or the other. The two books which heralded the beginning of Marxist historiography in India were *India Today* by R. Palme Dutt and *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* by A.R. Desai. *India Today* was originally written for the famous Left Book Club in England and was published by Victor Gollancz in 1940. Its Indian edition was published in 1947.

Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi

The most influential historical writing regarding India, after James Mill and Vincent Smith, came from D.D.Kosambi. Kosambi left behind him besides several papers and articles, the following major works: An Introduction to the Study of Indian History (1956), The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline (1965), Exasperating Essay: Exercises in the Dialectical Methods, and Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture, of these, the first two works revolutionized Indian historiography.

With the writings of D.D.Koasmbi, a fundamentally new approach to the study of Indian history, scientific methodology, modern technique of interpretation, selection and analysis of basic problems appeared in Indian historiography. Kosambi's work is most refreshing in its range of new material, original discoveries of megaliths, microliths, rustic superstition, and peasant customs. He explained how to gain an insight into the past by examination of the monuments, customs and records. For this, makes an impressive use of scientific methods in many fields like archaeology, ethnography and philology.

D.D.Kosambi and paradigm shift

Romila Thapar credits D.D. Kosambi (1907-66) for affecting a 'paradigm shift' in Indian studies. According to her, such paradigmatic changes had occurred only twice before in Indian historiography. These were done by James Mill and Vincent Smith. James Mill, whose book History of India (1818-23) set the parameters for history writing on India, was contemptuous towards the Indian society. He considered the pre-colonial Indian civilisation as backward, superstitious, stagnant and lacking in most respects as a civilisation. He was an unabashed admirer of the British achievements in India and relentless critic of pre-British Indian society and polity.

He divided the Indian history into three parts- the Hindu, the Muslim and the British. This division, according to him, was essential to demarcate three different civilisations. Vincent Smith's TheOxford History of India (1919) provided another break in Indian historiography as it avoided the sharp value judgments and contemptuous references to the pre-British period of Indian history contained in Mill's

book. He instead tried to present a chronological account of Indian history and focused on the rise and fall of dynasties.

Kosambi viewed history completely differently. For him, Mill's religious periodisation and Smith's chronological accounts of dynasties were of no value. He believed that the 'Society is held together by bonds of production'. Thus he defines history 'as the presentation, in chronological order, of successive developments in the means and relations of production'. This, according to him, is 'the only definition known which allow a reasonable treatment of pre- literate history, generally termed "pre-history"'. He further argues that history should be viewed in terms of conflict between classes :

'The proper study of history in a class society means analysis of the differences between the interests of the classes on top and of the rest of the people; it means consideration of the extent to which an emergent class had something new to contribute during its rise to power, and of the stage where it turned (or will turn) to reaction in order to preserve its vested interests.' He describes his approach to history as 'dialectical materialism, also called Marxism after its founder'. However, Kosambi was flexible in his application of Marxism. He argued that 'Marxism is far from the economic determinism which its opponents so often take it to be'. He further asserts that the 'adoption of Marx's thesis does not mean blind repetition of all his conclusions (and even less, those of the official, party-line Marxists) at all times'. He, instead, considered Marxism as a method which could be usefully applied for the study of Indian society and history. The paucity of relevant data for the early period of Indian history was one factor which prompted him to analyse the broad social formations rather than small-scale events. He thought that the use of comparative method would balance out the absence of reliable historical sources. He, therefore, adopted an interdisciplinary approach in his studies of Indian society. This enabled him to view the reality from various angles in order to get a full picture of it. Kosambi's non-dogmatic approach to history is clear when he rejected two key Marxist concepts the Asiatic Mode of Production and Slavery- as inapplicable to ancient Indian society. Although he accepted the concept of feudalism in Indian context, he denied the existence of serfdom. According to him, it would be more rewarding to view the early Indian society in terms of the transition from tribe to

caste. He argues that the 'pre-class society was organised ... into tribes'. The tribes were small, localised communities and 'for the tribesman, society as such began and ended with his tribe'. The beginning and development of plough agriculture brought about a radical change in the system of production. This destabilised the tribes and the clans and gave rise to castes as new form of social organisation. This was an extremely crucial development. Kosambi writes: 'The entire course of Indian history shows tribal elements being fused into a general society. This phenomenon, which lies at the very foundation of the most striking Indian social feature, namely caste, is also the great basic fact of ancient history.' Kosambi tried to relate the intellectual and cultural production with the prevailing social and economic situation. Thus, according to him, the teaching of Bhagavad Gita can be understood only with reference to the feudal society in which it originated. It, therefore, preaches the ideology of the ruling class which emphasised 'the chain of personal loyalty which binds retainer to chief, tenant to lord, and baron to king or emperor'.

Similarly, he considers the Bhakti movement as preaching a sense of loyalty to the lord which, in the earthly sense, translates into loyalty and devotion to the rulers. His detailed study of the poetry of Bhartrihari, the 7th-century poet, reflects a similar approach. He describes Bhartrihari as 'unmistakably the Indian intellectual of his period, limited by caste and tradition in fields of activity and therefore limited in his real grip on life'. In his study of the myths, he contended that they reflected the transition of society from matriarchy to patriarchy.

The Feudalism Debate

As we have seen in the previous section, D.D. Kosambi argued that, contrary to Marx's own statements and to those of several Marxists, the Indian society did not witness a similar progression of various modes of production as happened in Europe. He said that the slave mode of production was not to be found in India. He also rejected Marx's own schema of the Asiatic Mode of Production as inapplicable to India. He, however, thought that there was the existence of feudalism in India, even though he conceived it differently. He was aware that the medieval Indian society was quite different from that of Europe. One of the important characteristics of European feudalism, i.e., manorial system, demesne farming and serfdom, were

not to be found in India. But he explained it as a result of the non-existence of the slave mode of production in the preceding period. He further differentiated between two types of feudalism in India – ‘feudalism from above’ and ‘feudalism from below’. Feudalism from above means a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories – as long as they paid the paramount ruler. By feudalism from below is meant the next stage where a class of land- owners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population. This class was subject to service, hence claimed a direct relationship with the state power, without the intervention of any other stratum.

Kosambi’s lead on this issue was followed by R.S. Sharma who made a comprehensive study of feudalism in India in his book entitled Indian Feudalism (1965) and in various articles. According to him, there were a decline in trade and increasing numbers of land grants to the state officials in lieu of salary and to the Brahmans as charity or ritual offering in the post-Gupta period. This process led to the subjection of peasantry and made them dependent on the landlords. Almost all features of west European feudalism, such as serfdom, manor, self-sufficient economic units, feudalisation of crafts and commerce, decline of long-distance trade and decline of towns, were said to be found in India.

According to R.S Sharma, the most crucial aspects of Indian feudalism was the increasing dependence of the peasantry on the intermediaries who received grants of land from the state and enjoyed juridical rights over them. This development restricted the peasants’ mobility and made them subject to increasingly intensive forced labour.

The decline of feudalism also took the same course as in west Europe. Revival of long-distance trade, rise of towns, flight of peasants and development of monetary economy were considered to be the main processes responsible for the decline of feudalism in India. In this schema, the process of feudalisation started sometimes in the 4th century and declined in the 12th century. This view of the medieval Indian society and economy has been questioned by several historians who argue that the development of the Indian society did not follow the western model.

Bipan Chandra

The Marxists have long held the view that the Indian nationalism as a movement was mostly dominated by the bourgeoisie. Although various classes, including the peasantry and the working classes, participated in it, its basic character remained bourgeois. This view of national movement remained quite common among the Marxist historians for quite some time. However, over the years, several Marxist historians began to disagree with this paradigm.

Bipan Chandra mounted a major critique of this view and this criticism became more comprehensive over the years. In his very first book, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (1966), he pleaded for according certain autonomy to the ideas as significant vehicle of action and change. Even though he accepts that 'social relations exist independently of the ideas men form of them', he feels that 'men's understanding of these relations is crucial to their social and political action'. Moreover, he argues that the intellectuals in any society stand above the narrow interests of the class in which they are born. It is because the intellectuals are guided 'at the level of consciousness, by thought and not by interests'. Thus the Indian nationalist leaders were also, as intellectuals, above the interests of the narrow class or group they were born in. This does not mean, however, that they did not represent any class. They did represent class interests, but this was done ideologically and not for personal gain.

On the basis of his analysis of the economic thinking of the early nationalist leaders, both the so-called moderates and the extremists, Bipan Chandra concludes that their overall economic outlook was 'basically capitalist'. By this he means that 'In nearly every aspect of economic life they championed capitalist growth in general and the interests of the industrial capitalists in particular'.

This does not mean that they were working for the individual interests of the capitalists. In fact, the capitalist support for the Congress in the early phase was negligible. Nationalist support for industrial capitalism derived from the belief of the nationalists that 'industrial development along capitalist lines was the only way to

regenerate the country in the economic field, or that, in other words, the interests of the industrial capitalist class objectively coincided with the chief national interest of the moment’.

In his opinion, the early nationalist leaders were trying to unify the Indian people into a nation. Their basic objective was ‘to generate, form and crystallize an anti-imperialist ideology, to promote the growth of modern capitalist economy, and in the end to create a broad all India national movement’. According to Bipan Chandra : ‘Above all, the political activity of the masses was rigidly controlled from the top. The masses never became an independent political force. The question of their participation in the decision-making process was never even raised. The masses were always to remain “passive actors” or “extras” whose political activity remained under the rigid control of middle class leaders and within the confines of the needs of bourgeois social development. The nationalist leaders in all phases of the movement stressed that the process of achievement of national freedom would be evolutionary, and not revolutionary. The basic strategy to attain this goal would be pressure-compromise-pressure. In this strategy, pressure would be brought upon the colonial rulers through agitations, political work and mobilisation of the people.

When the authorities were willing to offer concessions, the pressure would be withdrawn and a compromise would be reached. The political concessions given by the colonial rulers would be accepted and worked. After this, the Congress should prepare for another agitation to gain new concessions. It is in this phase, non-violent manner that several political concessions would be taken from the British and this process would ultimately lead to the liberation of the country.

On the basis of his analysis of the social base, the ideology, and the strategy of political struggle, Bipan Chandra concluded that the nationalist movement as represented by the Congress was ‘a bourgeois democratic movement, that is, it represented the interests of all classes and segments of Indian society vis-à-vis imperialism but under the hegemony of the industrial bourgeoisie’. This character remained constant throughout its entire history from inception to 1947. Even during

the Gandhian phase, there was no change. In fact, according to Bipan Chandra, ‘the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the national movement was, if anything, even more firmly clamped down in the Gandhian era than before’.

In a later book, *India’s Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947*, Bipan Chandra applies the Gramscian perspective to study the national movement. The Congress strategy is no longer seen in terms of pressure-compromise-pressure. It is now viewed in terms of Gramscian ‘war of position’ whereby a prolonged struggle is waged for the attainment of goal. As Bipan Chandra puts it :‘The Indian national movement is the only movement where the broadly Gramscian theoretical perspective of a war of position was successfully practised; where state power was not seized in a single historical moment of revolution, but through prolonged popular struggle on a moral, political and ideological level; where reserves of counter-hegemony were built up over the years through progressive stages; where the phases of struggle alternated with “passive” phases.’

This struggle was not overtly violent because the nationalist leaders were seized of the twin agenda of forging the Indian people into a nation and to undermine the colonial hegemony. Through their prolonged struggle they wanted to expose the two important myths about the British colonial rule that it was beneficial to the Indians and that it was invincible. The Gandhian non-violence is also to be considered in this light. According to Bipan Chandra, ‘It was not ... a mere dogma of Gandhiji nor was it dictated by the interests of the propertied classes. It was an essential part of a movement whose strategy involved the waging of a hegemonic struggle based on a mass movement which mobilized the people to the widest possible extent.’

The national movement was now conceived as an all-class movement which provided space and opportunity for any class to build its hegemony. Moreover, the main party, the Congress, which led ‘this struggle from 1885 to 1947 was not then a party but a movement’. He criticises the various schools of historiography on India for their failure to address the central contradiction in colonial India which was between the Indian people and the British colonialism. Although he still considers that ‘the dominant vision within the Congress did not transcend the parameters of a capitalist conception of society’, he has made a clear break from the conventional

Marxist interpretation of the Indian national movement and it appears that any study of Indian nationalism has to take his views into account.

Ranajit Guha

Subaltern Studies- Ranajit Guha

Subaltern Studies as a new school of history-writing came up towards the end of the twentieth century in India. Ranajit Guha, who took the initiative, edited the first six volumes of the series titled Subaltern Studies, the title of which came to be the name of the new school.

Idea of Subaltern Studies

In the late medieval England the term subaltern was used to refer the serfs/peasants. Later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was used for the soldiers of inferior rank. Later Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist used the term in a very radical manner. Gramsci had adopted the term to refer to the subordinate groups in the society. In his opinion, the history of the subaltern groups is almost always related to that of the ruling groups. In addition, this history is generally 'fragmentary and episodic'. Ranajit Guha also used the term subaltern to represent various groups of Indian society which are oppressed by the elite. According to Ranajit Guha: 'The word "subaltern" in the title stands for the meaning as given in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, that is, "of inferior rank". It will be used in these pages as a name for the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way.'

Thus according to them all the Indian population minus the "elite" qualifies to be the subaltern. Ranajit Guha and his colleagues have published several volumes of subaltern studies which as a project was initially planned as a series of three volumes. Right from the beginning, the subaltern studies has declared themselves challenging all the existing norms of Indian history writing. Ranajit Guha argued that the historiography of Indian nationalism has long been dominated by elitism—both colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism. The Indian historiography as

practised has been heavily influenced by elitist nature and therefore lacks view of the common people. The politics of the common people need to be taken into account as it emerges from the traditional social organisations historically prevalent in that society. Unlike the vertical, cautious and pacific nature of elite mobilisation, the subaltern mobilisations were horizontal, violent and spontaneous.

Subaltern studies found a novel way of viewing history from the non elitist point of view (history from below) decoupling it completely from official narratives. The history of subaltern studies has progressed through two phases. The first phase has seen the attempt to separate the subaltern sphere from that of elite. Independence of subaltern consciousness has been attempted to create. During the second phase the scope of the subaltern studies got broadened by including the aspects of colonialism, modernity and Enlightenment in opposition to the oppressed classes (subalterns).

K A Nilakanda Sastri

K A Nilakanda Sastri was born in a telugu Niyoga brahmin family, Kalladai kurichi near Thirunelveli on 2nd August 1892. He was an Indian historian who wrote on South Indian history. Many of his books from the standard reference works on the subject. He is regarded as the greatest and most prominent among professional historians of South India. Nilakanda Sastri was a recipient of the third Indian civilian honour of Padma Bhushan. He is regarded as the greatest and most prolific among historians of South India. A History of South India: from pre-historic times to the fall of Vijayanagar is a book of history written by Indian historian. A History of South India is widely recognised as a classic and was the standard textbook in colleges for teaching South Indian history for over four decades. The first manuscript of A History of South India was completed in August 1947. Tamil historian A R Venkatachalapathy regards him as arguably the most distinguished historian of Twentieth century. He was appointed as ex-officio director of archaeology for the Mysore state in 1954. He was also the president of All-India oriental conference in the early 1950s.

Jadunath Sarkar (1870-1958)

Jadunath Sarkar was born on 10 December 1870 in village Karchamaria, under Singra upazila of Natore district. Son of Rajkumar Sarkar, a zamindar of Karchamaria, he graduated with Honours in English and History in 1891 and stood first class first in MA in English in 1892. He got the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1897, and his essay, *India of Aurangzeb* was published in 1901. For a period of exceeding thirty years he filled the professional chairs both of history and English literature at different places such as Calcutta, Patna, Benaras and Cuttack. Jadunath is the greatest historian Indian has produced. He occupies an outstanding position not only among the historians of Indian but also of the world. His fame rests on the range of subject he chose for history, the technique and treatment he adopted for his research, and for the copious works he produced over a long and active period of nearly sixty years. He is not a narrow specialist digging himself in one particular area, but a versatile genius whose pen produced remarkable works in biography, topography, art, architecture, religion, economics, statistics, survey, corpuses and military science. Whatever he touched, he turned it into a masterpiece. The treatment he adopted was of Ranke's technique, where he ignored the general histories as useless and went to original documents letters, diaries and other records which were to a great extent a reflection of the reality of the situation, and not a partisan and prejudiced version of an author's personal views and political ideology. As for a rich harvest of historical crops he created a sensation by contributing over fifty works of great merits. Jadunath was influenced by three formative factors that shaped his historical scholarship. The first was his family background, as he came from an enlightened and illustrious house. His father Rajkumar Sarkar had an excellent library covering a wide range of subjects such as English literature, philosophy, art, religion, history and science. These books had almost the same effect on Jadunath as the ancestral library had on Gibbon, namely to thrill and stir his imagination at an early age itself, so that to love and taste he developed became part and parcel of his being all his life. Moreover, Rajkumar Sarkar instilled in Jadunath a passion for history, which touched even the marrow of his bones. Secondly, the European impact on Jadunath was so great that all his heroes were from the West, such as Clarendon, Hunt, Carlyle, Froude, Ranke, Mommsen, Action, Maitland, Macaulay, Gibbon and others. He picked from each of these

stalwarts only such traits which had brought them distinction, used them to sharpen his own intellect. In the light of tremendous advance that had been made in history in the nineteenth century which had witnessed a wonderful transformation from a century of ideas to a century of facts, he developed his historical insight, his critical faculty and his analytical power that was to give new meaning to whatever he undertook./ The whole panorama of how history had passed from the theological to the metaphysical and then to the scientific stages impressed Jadunath with the real nature, spirit, substance and soul of history. Bestowed with a sensitive mind he was quick to realize that historical phenomenon present increasing complexities which could be explained only by a through study of the intentions, motives, susceptibilities and psychology of the actors in the drama, and this requires an intensive search for the materials. Moreover, he got from European scholarship a few more concept which widened his horizon, from Macaulay the art of presenting events in a style of dazzling beauty, from Carlyle the craft of converting truth out of legends, and from Comte the Science of systematizing history so that it could frame general laws for reorganizing society on more rational basis. In short Jadunath appears to be an Indian edition of European scholarship, and we find him the quintessence of all that is best in western historical thought. The third powerful influence on him was deressed state of affairs in India, so far as history writing was concerned. If the European advance created a positive response in him understanding what history is, which acted as a thesis, the Indian conditions produced a negative response in him of impressing how hopelesse backward we are in this direction, which texted as an antithesis. The result of these two was synthesis in Jadunath that made him soon dill the gap,so that Indian historiography may be put on a takeoff stage. It was almost a solo exploit that wascarried on over sixty long years, but he did not leave the work unfinished In 1893, Jadunath joined Ripon College, Calcutta as a teacher in English literature.

In 1898, he joined the Provincial Education Service and was posted at Presidency College, Calcutta.In 1917, he joined the History Department of Banaras Hindu University and in 1918 was nominated to the Indian Educational Service and was transferred to Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, to teach both English and History. In 1926, on retirement from government service, Jadunath was appointed Vice

Chancellor of Calcutta University. He was offered a second term on 7 August 1928, which he refused.

Jadunath's father was attracted to the Brahmo religion. It is difficult to say how much Jadunath was drawn to it. He had published a summary English translation of the Chaintanya Charitamrutta (17th century) of Krasnadasa Kaviraja. The Brahmos never claimed Jadunath as one of them.

Romilla Thapper

Early life and Career

Romila Thapar born 30 November 1931 is an Indian historian whose principal area of study is ancient India. Romila Thapar was born of a well-known Punjabi family and spent her childhood in various parts of the country, as her father was then in the army. She took her first degree in India from the Punjab University and her doctorate at London University in 1958. She has taught Ancient Indian History at London University, Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Her keen interest in understanding how societies disintegrate or integrate and how relationships change over time, led her to history and historiography, and she went on a scholarship to School Of Oriental and African Studies. Working with the famous indologist Dr. A.L. Bhasham, she earned a Ph.D on the Mauryan era, in 1958. An interesting aspect of Prof. Thapar's work spanning four decades is her ability to constantly expand the horizons of her concerns, but still produce a consistently high quality of research output, as Sanjay Subhramaniam, a Professor at Oxford comments. A teacher throughout her life, generations of historians underwent rigorous training at Delhi University and later for two fulfilling decades at Jawaharlal Nehru University. One of the founder members of the JNU's famed Centre for Historical Studies, Prof. Thapar, along with a galaxy of historians was able to expand the quests and concerns of History and move it beyond the narrow confines

of chronicling events. In her own words, the tenure at JNU led her, "To think of new ways of projecting history, where our courses would reflect interdisciplinary methods

of investigating the past. If at all I can take credit for anything, it is for those students who are now teaching history and conducting historical research themselves". Students vouch for it. It is like entering the tiger's den, says one.

But if you are good, she is the greatest ally you could have, says another who did her Ph.D.

under Thapar. Professor Thapar's works range from *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (1961) to *The Aryan: Recasting Constructs* (2008). Professor Thapar has been a visiting professor at Cornell University, the University of Pennsylvania and the College de France in Paris. She was elected General President of the Indian History Congress in 1983, as well as Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy in 1999.

Professor Thapar is also an Honorary Fellow at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and holds honorary doctorates from the University of Chicago, the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris, the University of Oxford and the University of Calcutta. In 2004 the US Library of Congress appointed her as the first holder of the Kluge Chair in Countries and Cultures of the South.

Work

After graduating from Panjab University, Thapar earned her doctorate under A. L. Basham at the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London in 1958. Later she worked as Professor of Ancient Indian History at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, where she is Professor Emerita.

Thapar's major works are *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History* (editor), *A History of India Volume One*, and *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*. Her historical work portrays the origins of Hinduism as an evolving interplay between social forces. Her recent work on Somnath examines the evolution of the historiographies about the legendary Gujarat temple.

In her first work, *Asoka and the Decline of the Maurya* published in 1963, Thapar situates Ashoka's policy of dhamma in its social and political context, as a

non-sectarian civic ethic intended to hold together an empire of diverse ethnicities and cultures. She attributes the decline of the Mauryan empire to its highly centralized administration which called for rulers of exceptional abilities to function well.

Thapar's first volume of *A History of India* is written for a popular audience and encompasses the period from its early history to the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. *Ancient Indian Social History* deals with the period from early times to the end of the first millennium, includes a comparative study of Hindu and Buddhist socio-religious systems, and examines the role of Buddhism in social protest and social mobility in the caste system. *From Lineage to State* analyses the formation of states in the middle Ganga valley in the first millennium BC, tracing the process to a change, driven by the use of iron and plough agriculture, from a pastoral and mobile lineage-based society to one of settled peasant holdings, accumulation and increased urbanization.