



M.A. HISTORY - I YEAR
***DKH12* : HISTORIOGRAPHY**
SYLLABUS

Unit – I

Concepts of History : Meaning of History – Definition – Scope – Arts or Science – Varieties of History and allied subjects – Uses of History – Lessons of History – Abuses of History.

Causation and Change : Nature of Causation – Role of Individuals – Does History Repeat Itself? – Concept of Progress.

Unit – II

History of Historical Writing : Ancient Greece : Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius – Characters of Greek Historiography.

Ancient Rome : Livy, Tacitus, Character of Rome Historiography

Christian Church : Eusebius, St. Augustine – Contributions made by the church.

Modern Europe : Renaissance – Reformation – Cartesianism, Anticartesianism – Enlightenment – Romantic Idealism – Utilitarianism – Positivism and Scientific Socialism.

Unit – III

Western Historians : Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Vico, Gibbon, Kant, Hegel, J.S. Mill, Comte, Marx, Ranke, Spengler, Croce, Beard, Trevelyan, Toynbee.



Eastern Tradition : Chinese Historical Writing – Arab Historical Writing – Indian Historical Writing – Kalhana, Alberuni, Barani, Abdul Fazi, JadunathSarkar, NilakantaSastri.

Unit – IV

Theory of History : Philosophy of History : Theological interpretation – Secular interpretation – Stages, Agent and Laws.

Historical Determinism : Free – Will – Historicism – Relativism – Dialectical – Materialism.

Research Methodology : Selection of Topic for Research – Sources for Historical Writing.

Unit – V

Sources of the History of India of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods.

Objectivity in Historical Writing – Historical Methods : Heuristics, Criticism, Synthesis and Exposition – Documentation.



Definition :

History cannot be easily defined. There is no agreed definition among historians. They expressed conflicting views regarding the nature, significance and value of history. But each definition explains some of the features and natures of history, but not the whole because history has been approached from many different points of view it has received more varied definitions than even the novel.

It is true, the interpretations of the available materials by Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Kalhana, Gibbon, Spengler, Toynbee and Will Durant have taken the shape of different ‘Histories’.

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

“History is the study of man’s struggle through the ages against nature and the elements, against the wild beasts and the jungle and last and most difficult of all, against some of his own kind who have tried to keep him down and to exploit them for their own benefit”.

“History is a significant record of events of the past; it is a meaningful story of mankind depicting the details of what happened to man and why it happened”.

“History mirrors to us the past as through it were present”. History is just knowledge of the past as it really happened.



Herodotus titled his work a “History of the Persian War” *Geschichts*, The German word stands for event, and the Arabic term ‘*tarikh*’ refers to dates. The Sanskrit term *itihasa* and ‘*Charitra*’ mean long tale or legend and the biography of greatmen or a survey of events respectively.

The Greeks of the fifth century B.C. played an important role in shaping the future course of history. They developed reasoned approach to the past. They critically pursued the originality, veracity and authenticity of materials and left behind them a continuous story or tale of their successes and failures. They developed in them the ability to analyse the causes, narrate the course and examine the consequences. This search for truth or inquiry for acquiring new facts made them leave behind a cogent, coherent and continuous account of them. Both Herodotus and Thucydides applied this method of investigation to arrive at conclusions. This historical mindedness and the spirit of further inquiry of the scope of history have resulted in various definitions down the years.

St. Augustine discovered spiritual meaning in history. It declared the political philosophy that God ruled human affairs and it put God in history.

Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C) another Greek thinker of classical antiquity suggests that “history is an account of the unchanging past”.

E.H. Carr, the admired author of *What is History?* Defines history as “a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past”.



G.J. Renier, the dauntless Dutch historian, after surveying several definitions of history ventures his own. According to him history is “the story of the experiences of men living in civilized societies”.

According to A.L. Rowse, “History is essentially the record of the life of men in their geographical and their physical environment”.

According to Thomas Carlyle, “History is the essence of innumerable biographies” a record of human accomplishments, particularly of Great men, Warriors, rulers, artists or prophets.

G.W.F. Hegel, the German Idealist philosopher, envisaged history as a progressive realization of the World Spirit, a non material phenomenon, which he also termed as Absolute or Universal Idea.

Karl Marx, the great socialist thinker, visualizes history as “the activity of men in pursuit of their ends”.

According to Lord Acton, “History is the unfolding story of human freedom”.

Robin. G. Collingwood, a philosopher turned historian of England, has given a metaphysical twist to the idea of history by his famous dictum: “All history is the history of thought”.

If we distill these varied view points, we get at a working definition particularly useful from the point of view of a practicing historian. The working definition takes three forms:

- i) History – as - events (res-gestae)



- ii) History – as – records and
- iii) History – as – reflective thought (historia rerum gestarum)

Characteristics of History :

Though doctors disagree on the definition of history, there is a large measure of agreement about the cardinal characteristics of history.

Firstly, history is chronological. The time element is the backbone of history. The significant events of the past have been arranged in their time sequence and the intervals between them are fixed. Time is the hyphen that connects events, provides continuity to changes and furnishes sequence to them.

Secondly, history is concerned with socially significant events and answers questions about human deeds which had affected the destiny of the people.

Thirdly, history is humanistic. It is a narrative of human history. History is the record of human deeds and misdeeds, successes and failures. It endeavors to find the cause of historical events in the personality of human agents, not a divine agency. Human will freely chooses its own ends and it is limited by its own force. The power of the intellect apprehends the ends and works out means to their achievement. In other words, whatever happens in history happens as a direct result of human will.

The fourth characteristic of history is that it proceeds by the interpretation of evidence based on documents. Past events become meaningful and attain contemporary relevance only through interpretation.

Fifthly, history is special form of thought. It provides answers to questions about the nature, object, method and value of the study of the past.

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Sixthly, history is a science. It is a science because it is a kind of inquiry seeking to find out facts. It Endeavour's to find out what is not known and to find things out.

Lastly, history is autonomous. It is an independent branch of study. It stands on its own credentials. It has developed its own concepts theories and methodology to collate and evaluate data and arrive at meaningful conclusions.

Is History Science or Art?

We have noted elsewhere that the term 'history is derived from the Greek word 'istoria' which means enquiry, research or exploration. Thucydides the ancient Greek historian is still recognized and honoured as the Father of Scientific History, since realized the hope of his predecessor Herodotus to achieve a scientific knowledge of past human actions. The dominant influence on Thucydides was the influence of Hippocratic medicine, which is evident in the former's description of the plague and his enquiry into the laws according to which the historic events happen. However, humanism, not scientific temper, was the dominant characteristic of Greco-Roman historiography. Even the flickering light of scientific outlook of Greco-Roman historiographers was obliterated in the medieval – Christian historiography. Along with the revival of a humanistic view of history during Renaissance accurate scholarship once against assumed importance.

Impact of Science on Historiography

The impact of science on historiography at the end of the eighteenth century was incalculable. When science has contributed so irresistibly to man's knowledge of the world it also furthered man's knowledge of his past. The method by which



science studied the world of nature was systematically applied to the study of human affairs throughout the nineteenth century. The Newtonian tradition, Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* (1851) and the Darwinian Evolution, which brought history into science, reinforced the practice of applying the principles of science to historical writing. "Evolution of science confirmed and complimented progress in history". Fascinated by the method of science J.B.Bury declared at the beginning of the twentieth century that "History was a science and had nothing to do with literature", asserted John Seeley.

History is a Science

In what respects history could be considered a science?

First, as *an enquiry* after truth history is a science. It is a kind of inquiry or research. It does not consist in collecting what is already known and arranging it in a pattern. On the contrary, it consists in fastening upon something which is not known and try to discover it. It is, in fact, a means to an end; not an end itself.

Secondly, like science history begins from the knowledge of our own ignorance and proceeds *from the known to the unknown, to the unknown*, from ignorance to knowledge, from indefinite to definite.

Thirdly, history seeks *to find things out*. It provides answers to questions asked by historians. Each science finds out things in its own way. In this sense, history is the science of *res gestae*, i.e. the attempt to answer question about human actions in the past. In short, history is an investigation to find out what happened at a given time and place.



Fourthly, history is a science *it rests upon evidence and reasoning*. It is built on facts as a house is built on stones; but mere accumulation of facts is no more a science than a heap of stones in a house. The collected data is scientifically analyzed, Classified and interpreted.

Fifthly, history employs *scientific methods of enquiry*. It uses various methods of investigation such as observation, classification, formulation of hypothesis and analysis of evidence. The inductive view of historical method, i.e. collecting facts and interpreting them is an accepted method of science.

Sixthly, like the scientist an historian also approaches his subject matter in a *spirit of science*. Both are keen in acquiring accurate knowledge. In fine, history seeks to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. To the extent history endeavors to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. To the extent history endeavors to tell the truth by adopting a rational approach, it is a science.

History is an Art

Croce's Concept of Art

The question whether history was a science or an art had been hotly debated in European Countries, especially in Germany, during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The consensus was in favour of the contention that history was a science. But this contention was countered by *Benedetto Croce*, the distinguished Italian historian. In his first essay on the theory of history, written at the age of 27, entitled *History subsumed under the Concept of Art*, he asserted that history was an art.



History is an Art

Earlier Dilthey in 1883 and Simmel in 1892 had compared history with art. Later, A.L.Rowse reiterated that “However much historical writings may be supplemented by scientific methods and acquisitions there will always remain history with science when he stated that “To reduce history to a natural science is deliberately to leave out of account what we know to be true, to suppress great portions of our most familiar introspective knowledge on the alter of false analogy with the sciences”. It is unfortunate that the methodologists and the theorists look upon history as the essence of history and writing of history as a secondary and subsidiary function. This is wrong. For the art of writing must be called to the assistance of the historian. “Wrong theories about history do not necessarily lead to the writing of bad history: Croce and Collingwood provide proof to the contrary”.

History and Historiography

History

Even before the discovery of writing, history existed in the form of oral traditions, which were recited to the knowledge and amusement of the people. After the advent of the written script they were set in the form of poetry. When the Greeks appeared on the scene they laid the of poetry. When the Greeks appeared on the scene they laid the foundation of historical writing and wrote history in prose. History was the record of past events. The Greek tradition was followed by the Roman historians. As the Greco – Roman history was humanistic the medieval history was theocentric, centered round the working of Providence of God. Renaissances revived the classical learning and the historical documents were



studied with critical care and caution. Historical thought came to be secularized. Under the impact of science subsequently theoretical knowledge of the past and an understanding of its development came to be crystallized. History was no longer considered as the record of the events of the past but a process of human progress in space and time. The conceptual study of and writing about this process has been christened as 'historiography'.

Historiography

Historiography is the 19th century discover. Prior to that historians adopted a non-critical approach, limiting the scope of history to the study of men, events and institutions; interpreted historical happenings in the light of religious and moral principles and the grams of historical facts were liberally mixed with legends, fables and mythologies. Writers who identified history with research in the 19th century used the word 'history' on the ground that the Greek word 'historie' stood for inquiry or investigation. They made a distinction between 'historiography' and 'historiography'; the former referred to the study of the past and the later meant the narration of the story of the past. "Historiography is an ill-starred word", lamented G.J.Renier. Sir Charles Omen considered it as 'the art of dealing on paper with past events'".

Historiography is not history. It is the *history of historical writings*. It is the history of history! In other words, historical heroes and historical happenings are not the subject matter of historiography. On the contrary, it is concerned with the art and craft and science of historical writing. It is not a chronological-descriptive-narrative account of men and matters but a graphic-interpretative-evaluative study of historical accounts. The historian, his treatment of history, the



method adopted by him, his style of writing, his attitude, approach, philosophy and problems constitute the core of historiography. The nature, concept, content, scope, theory, practice and value of history are its focus. In short, historiography is the historical thought and writing.

Historiography has emerged as an independent historical discipline on its own right. Its object of knowledge is historical reality. Its object of inquiry is historical. It is a systematic, scientific and orderly study of the evolution of historical writing. It is a professional body of historical knowledge of ideas, theories and concepts which seek to explain the growth of human society and an understanding of its development. Like Geography, Calligraphy and Choreography, Historiography is a distinct discipline and a branch of study.

SCOPE OF HISTORY

Ever Expanding Scope

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



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

The Medieval Christian historians confined themselves strictly to the theological interpretation of historical events. Human actions were considered to be the manifestation of the Divine Will. Though the Christian historiography represented the universal character it was *essentially theocentric*. The Renaissance writers restored the classical humanistic approach and reoriented historical writing. They placed man in the centre of historical writing and extended the scope of history by their secular approach. It was *ethnocentric*.

During the seventeenth century, when Natural Science reigned supreme, history followed the lead given by the Renaissance and freed itself from the mesh of medieval thought and found its proper function. Inspired and impelled by the irresistible scientific spirit the historians were engaged in the reconstruction of the past on the basis of reliable and verifiable data. *Bacon, Locke, Hume, Berkely, Descarte* and *Vico* were the propounders of this new approach to history which provided a scientific dimension to the scope of history.

Eighteenth century was an age of Enlightenment. The Enlightenment historians staged a determined revolt against the might of institutional religion and its theological interpretation of history. They endeavored to further secularize the writing of history. Following the foot steps of *Voltaire*, the Crusader against Christianity, they improved upon the method of historical research and writing.



Montesquieu and Gibbon were the outstanding spokesmen of this mighty movement of secularization of history. The former studied the differences between nations and the latter analyzed the cause of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

Nineteenth century historiography, while retaining the secular-rational approach to history, further widened the scope of history. **Kant** convincingly argued that man, as a rational being, must necessarily have an historical process to live in. He viewed history as progress towards rationality. **Hegel** raised history to a higher level by including in its scope philosophical interpretation of historical happenings. His philosophy of history widened the range of history; it traced the progress of mankind from primitive times to the present day. Universal history was born. **Marx** improved upon the Hegalian dialectic and attempted an economic interpretation of history. Marxian Concept of Dialectic Materialism immediately became immensely popular. It left an indelible influence on the principle and practice of historical writing.

Twentieth century may be described as an Age of Synthesis. Streams of Enlightenment, Secularism, Rationalism, Romanticism, Positivism and Dialectical Materialism flowed into the ocean of Idealism. Historians like **Spengler, Sorokin and Toynbee** sought to study historical changes and discerned predicable patterns in them. **Toynbee** is an unrivalled representative of the synthetic idealistic historiography. Backed by an incredible mass of historical data he has surveyed and studied the story of mankind in its best, never attempted before nor improved since then In Toynbee the scope of history its meridian.



20th century also witnessed the emergence of three schools of thought respectively on New History. Total History and Structured History. All the three approaches were reactions to the traditionalist ‘myth-making’ history. They were up against the different paradigms of history carried out by historians working in a mainstream tradition on Rankean methods. The ‘new’ historians incorporated advances made in social sciences as appropriate to their enquiry. By intergrating different branches of knowledge they fashioned an inclusive, broad-based heterogeneous historiography.

To sum up, in a restricted sense, the scope history is limited to political or military or diplomatic or religious or economic or biographical or at best national history. In a broader sense, it deals with humanity as a whole, human achievements and failures in all aspects and presents a philosophical explanation of human progress.

KINDS OF HISTORY

History is a magnificent mansion. Trevelyan aptly described it as a dwelling place of all subject. It is like a joint-family. In the past, human history was divided into a number of political, social religious and cultural units. It was only during the nineteenth century that history was treated as universal and all embracing. Even then, the tradition of dividing history into different kinds such as political history, military history, constitutional history etc. still persists.

Political History

For a pretty long time historians were preoccupied with matters political. Seeley went to the extent of saying that “History is past politics; and politics is



present history”. “Political history is the history of political thought”, said R.G.Collingwood. Political history was once the story of kings, queens, countries and their intrigues, wars, treaties etc. Their deeds and misdeeds mattered most. Conquest was a vital factor in the affairs of a country. People were fascinated by the rise and fall of kings and queens, kingdoms and empires. That aspect of human action within or about or through the state came to be treated as political history. Voltaire, Machievelli, Guizot, Augustin, Pirenne, Thierry, Macaulay, Droysen, Ranke were all primarily interested in the Political History of states. In fact, Hegel extolled the state as the noblest of God’s earthly achievements! All of them placed the State-an artificial phenomenon-in the first rank. But all history is not politics. It is not unidimensional. The new interest in knowing the experiences of the common people has brought about a welcome change in historical writing.

Constitutional History

Though an important branch of political history, Constitutional History has attained the status of an independent discipline. It deals with an aspect of the state organization, viz., the constitution of the government. Unlike the political history, it is not concerned with the struggle for the mastery over the state. On the other hand, it deals with political institutions, which Renier calls “habits of societies”. Constitutions are nothing but human habits made concrete; they are the methods, the conventions and nothing but human habits made concrete; they are the methods, the conventions and the practices adopted by men in governing the state. Written constitutions and constitutional conventions are the subject matter of constitutional history. However, it lacks self-sufficiency. For instance, Medieval manor can not be considered as the constitutional expression of medieval politics,



since it was also a socio-economic manifestation of the medieval life. The constitutional history if he is to provide an accurate and satisfying history.

Parliamentary History

Parliamentary history is a sub-section of Constitutional history. It deals with one particular political institution, which occupies a position of great importance in the governance of the state, viz., the parliament. Parliamentary government provides unique political experience to people in certain democratic countries including India.

Legal History

Legal history is an offshoot of Constitutional – Parliamentary history. Yet it differs from them in many respects. The legal historians must necessarily be a lawyer or well versed in law. The connection between the subject chosen by the historian and jurisprudence is apparent. The history of the parliamentary enactments, their interpretation and application is a matter of considerable practical importance. The codified laws of Hammurabi of Babylon, Manu of India, Napoleon of France etc, are of considerable significance to legal historians.

Military History

Military history narrates the story of Military Operation. It deals with warfare in every form and aspect; technical, tactical and strategic. It also covers military engineering, ballistics, logistics and military transport. The military historian is not merely concerned with military planning but also the impact of wars on the fate of nations and life of the people. Thucydides' *The History of the Peloponnesian War* is a classic example of military history. Outstanding works



have been written on the South Indian Rebellion, the Great Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War and the first and second world wars.

Diplomatic History

The history of relations between sovereign states is known as Diplomatic History. It is also called International History. A distinction between the two could be made in that the former is limited to the actions of diplomats, while the latter is confined to the factors which affect the course of negotiations, study of inter-state relations. It has assumed importance especially after the first world war. External relations between states are maintained by ambassadors, trained experts in and practitioners of diplomacy.

Social History

Trevelyan, the well known author of the Social History of England, defined it as “history with the politics left out”. The Dutch historian P.J.Blok called it “the thought and the work, the daily life, the belief, the needs, the habits of our ancestors”. August Comte demanded that historical facts should be used as raw materials by social historians. Social history excludes the political, constitutional, parliamentary, legal, diplomatic, military and national aspects of history and includes morals, manners, religion, food, dress, art, culture etc.

Economic History

There was a time when economic history was considered to be a branch of social history. In fact, the Dutch historian Van Dillen identified the two and called the composite discipline *Socio-Economic History*. Later, when social history became an autonomous branch of knowledge economic history emerged as a



distinct discipline. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was the classical treatise on economic history. Montesquieu was profoundly influenced by it. Karl Marx's economic interpretation of history widened the scope of economic history and stimulated the study of economic factors and forces to an unprecedented extent.

Intellectual History

R.G.Collingwood asserts "History, like theology or natural science, is a special form of thought". He considered history as the expression of ideas. He ably dealt with the nature, object, method and value of this form of thought. H.E.Barnes says that Intellectual History seeks "to review the transformations of ideas, beliefs and opinions held by the intellectual classes from primitive times to our own". He is of the opinion that prevailing ideas and attitudes in any age are the most important unifying and organizing influence in the development of human culture. Samuel Johnson considered the progress of the human mind as the useful part of history.

Biographical History

Thomas Carlyle was categorical when he wrote that "history is the biography of great men". Masson, the biographer of Napoleon, says that every aspect of man who has shaped an historic past, even the most private corners of his personality, are historically important. Bauer considers that a biography places the experiences and characteristics of a person in their right relationship with the economic, political, social and artistic conditions of the period to which he owes his rise. Has not Karl Marx said "History does nothing, it possesses no immense wealth, fights no battles, It is rather *Man*, real living *Man* who does everything, who possesses and fights". Miss Wedgwood considered the behavior of men as



individuals more interesting than their behavior as groups or classes and wrote a book “to understand how these men felt and why in their own estimation, they acted as they did”.

National History

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

Universal History

The idea of Universal history was conspicuous by its absence in ancient Greece – a land of City States. The concept of ecumenical history was created during the Hellenistic periods, when the non-Greek peoples became a single political unit, thanks to the conquests of Alexander the Great. However, the Romans conceived universal history as a history in which the hero was the corporate spirit of the people and the plot was the unification of the world under the people’s leadership. Livy considered history as humanistic and the history of Rome narrated by him was looked upon as universal history.

Local History

At the other end of the spectrum of historical writing is Local History. This kind of history has not received the attention it deserves. It has great potentialities



and possibilities. Young research scholars may evince interest in local history and gain experience in the methods of research besides deriving the joy from a knowledge of the past. Local history can be approached from a number of angles. It must, however, be pursued with reference to general history and to larger issues. Ors otherwise it will degenerate into ‘sterile antiquarianism’. The professional historian may make use of the results of local historical research.

New History

The New History is a post-world war phenomenon. *Edward Eggleton’s* (1837-1902) *Transit of Civilization* contains the seeds of new history. *James Harvey Robinson* (1863-1936) borrowed the idea from Eggleton and consciously coined the term New History. This attempt is an attack on old traditional history which is considered to be pedantic, irrelevant and negligent of the human experience.

Total History

New History and Total History are like Siamese twins, inseparable. Total History is integrated history. It is the result of co-operative historical research; innovative fruit of collective effort. It represents the fullness and richness of man’s life in society. Total History, like New History, seeks to bridge the gap between historical and social studies.

Structural History

Fernand Braudel, French historian or repute, carried forward the vision of New History to greater heights. In his historical *Magnum Opus The*



Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (1949)
Braudel propounds his concept of Structural History.

Pop – History

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

Subaltern History

Meaning

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

In historiography the term ‘subaltern’ means inferior or subordinate sub-class, group, gender, caste age or office. That is to say, subaltern history deals with events relating to the sub-ordinate or suppressed or marginalized sections of society such as tribal’s, peasants, workers, women etc. In short, subaltern history is a non-traditional locally-produced sub-history.



‘Subaltern Studies’

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

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

HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

History is composite in character and inclusive in its scope. It is a central and pivotal social science. It is indeed a feeding ground for all social sciences and humanities. As H.C.Darby has pointed out history is basic to social sciences and mathematics is to natural science. Since history is a study of the different facets of human life and experience all social sciences depend on and draw heavily from history. GM.Trevelyan aptly observed that history is a house in which all subjects dwell. Specialization as broken knowledge into compartments.



And yet the relationship between history and other related subjects is rather close and intimate; as close as between reciprocal lovers!

History and Politics

Politics is the part of the whole of history. Politics is concerned with one aspect of history, namely organized state and its governance. History provides necessary raw material for political science and historical knowledge is necessary for proper understanding of the evolution of political institutions and exercise of political power. History provides innumerable examples of organized states like ancient Greece, Rome, India and China and the post – Renaissance nation states.

History and Geography

Geography and Chronology are still considered to be the right eye and left eye of history. Geography emerged as a science in its own right since the days of Alexander Von Humboldt (1769 – 1859). Geography is indispensable to fix an historical event in space. “An historian should always have a map at his elbow”, said Renier.

The indelible influence of geographical factors on history has always been recognized. The Himalayas and the jungles of Assam have restricted foreign invasions of India to the North and North Eastern India. The Vindhya have separated South India from the North and acted as a barrier, to a large extent, to close relations between the two fundamental divisions of the country. The Gobi and Mongolian deserts provided security to China. The geography of Egypt has preserved her hoary civilization.



History and Economics

Economic activities of man have a positive correlation with historical developments. History also deals with the economic experience of man from age to age.

Karl Marx found unity of history in economic factors. The other political, social, artistic and religious factors have no continuity of their own but reflections of the basic economic configurations. Saligman propounded the view that ultimately economic factors decide social transformation. It must, however, be recognized that economic interpretation of history is one of the explanations of historical phenomena.

History and Sociology

History is the study of the deeds of men living in societies. Sociology is a scientific study of society. History and Sociology were closely inter-linked till Aguste Comte made the latter a separate science. And yet, the interaction between the two subjects remains intimate. Eminent sociologists like Emile Durkheim and Maxweber profoundly influenced history by their studies of social institutions. The sociologists worked on the same historical facts and tried to discover causal connections between them.

History and Literature

The relationship between History and Literature has been close and continuous. There was a time when history itself was considered as a branch of literature. Literature depends on history for themes, plots and characters. Similarly, history relies on literature for evidences requires for the reconstruction



of the past. Literary style adds charm and grace to the writing of history. Literature serves as a sure means to make historical themes, conceptions and characters immensely popular. It portrays human beings in action and gives us the author's considered opinion on human character.

History and Psychology

History is related to psychology in several ways. Both are concerned with the study and understanding of human behavior. Human behavior is human nature in action and character is habitual behavior. The historian needs to understand human behavior for the sake of explaining the behavior of men who lived in the past. An understanding of human behavior, conduct and character can be acquired from literature and doctrines of psychology through observation. Psychological insights will enable the historian to make a meaningful analysis of the motives and actions of men and societies. Mass psychology will explain mass hysteria which moves millions into mass action. Also, it will help us to understand better the charisma of heroes of history. A psycho-analytical study of Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Alexander, Asoka, Aurangazib, Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, Mao-tse-Tung, Gandhi, to name a few, may provide a clue for their immense popularity.

History and Philosophy

Philosophy is an inquiry into the of human life and thinking; it is a pursuit of wisdom. At particular periods of history particular problems claim the special attention of the philosopher. Certain problems of philosophy are unchanging and certain others are changing from age to age, according to the special characteristics of human life and thought at the time. In the middle age, for instance, theology was the focus of philosophical speculation.



History and Religion

Apparently history and religion are poles apart. History is based on reason whereas religion is riveted on faith. One is secular and the other is spiritual. Religious man affirms that God created man. Historian endeavors to find out how man created God! The task of religion is to find out the relations between the two opposed conceptions of Man as finite and God as infinite. The efforts to discover this relationship has given rise to several religions which have profoundly affected the course of human history. As a result, religion is included within the scope of history.

Greco-Roman historiography was secular but the task of medieval historiography was confined to the rediscovery of the divine plan. Voltaire reverted this trend by his crusade against religion. He and Hume were the pioneers in secularizing historical thought. Descartes and Vico made historiography scientific. Though history was rendered secular and scientific the historian never ceased to study the role of religion in history.

History and Ethics

Has history anything to do with ethics? Ethics deals with morals, and rules of conduct. Morality is the mainstay of ethics. Lord Acton defended a rigid code of morality in history. He expected the historians to pass severe moral judgments on historical persons and events. The historian can trace the evolution of ethics from the primitive stage to the post-industrial society. Relativist philosophy raises the ethical problem. Man's recognition of the distinction between good and evil is one of the stable ingredients in human nature.



History and Science

History and science seem to be polar poles. But they are not like that. The communality between both is obvious. Both historians and scientist are engaged in the dispassionate pursuit of knowledge. History and science are systematic disciplines employing methods and standards which command the respect of the most rigorous scientist.

As the American historian *Bernadotte Schmitt* points out if science can be defined as ‘systematized, organized, formulated knowledge then history is a science since its purpose is ascertaining truth based on facts. *E.H.Carr* asserts “...the chasm which separates the historian from the geologist is any deeper or more unbridgeable than the chasm which separates the geologist from the physicist’. In the words of separates the geologist from the physicist”. In the words of *E.E.Evants-Pritchard* “the conscientious historian is no less systematic, exacting and critical in his research than a chemist or biologist”. In short, both historians and scientists are concerned with discovery; bringing out new knowledge of the world; using methodical methods; involving rigorous checks; and present evidence and conclusions.

History and Computers

We are living in an *Age of Information Technology*. The use of computers has become all-pervasive. Computing is nothing new to professional historians and researchers. In the 1950s *R.RPalmer* used comparative statistics in his study of *Atlantic Revolution*. In the 1960s *R.W.Fogel* and other demographers involved computers in their research. In the 1970s some historiographers talked about quantitative history! 1980s witnessed application of microchip by few historians.



With improved skills and with the introduction of new generation computers and new software programmes history databases were created in the 1990s.

HISTORY AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES

An historian has to ascertain facts. Accuracy is his duty, though not his virtue. “To praise a historian for his accuracy is like praising an architect for using well seasoned timber or properly mixed concrete in his building. It is a necessary condition of his work, but not his essential function”. However, in order to ascertain historical facts the historian has to rely on what has been called the ‘auxiliary sciences’ of history. They are ‘reportories of facts’. Though they are not sciences of history. They are ‘reportories of facts. Though they are not sciences in their own right, they are recognized as departments of knowledge.

Archaeology

The term Archaeology consists of two Greek words, ‘*archaio*’ and ‘*logia*’, meaning ‘the discussion of antiquities’. It is a scientific study of antiquity by analyzing the material remains of ancient human occupations. It embraces architecture, epigraphy, sculpture, paintings, ceramics etc. It is an empirical discipline concerned with the recovery, systematic description and study of old artifacts. Archaeological studies are valuable for pre-literate periods of human history. It also deals with the material remains of the historic past. “It helps us looking back into the past and see where we came from and how we have made our way from the Stone Age to the Space Age”.

As Archaeology aims at studying the human, social and cultural past, it has an obvious alliance with history. Their differences are primarily those of method



rather than philosophical outlook. Whereas archaeology relies on material remains and monuments, history narrates the past with the aid of textual references that were coexistent with the past. History relies on archaeology since the latter supplies the most direct evidence of the past, unedited by any author. “Its picture of some aspects of civilization cannot be improved upon by tons of descriptive literature”. Though archaeology is described as ‘technology’ in the past tense, it cannot assist in the recovery of political history. Its archaeology remains an admirable auxiliary aid to historical research and writing. Archaeologists and historians are not relic-hunter or entertainers. They are concerned with meaningful accumulation of data in their respective spheres, analyze them and find out predictable models.

Epigraphy

The Word Epigraphy is derived from the Greek prefix ‘*epi*’ ie ‘upon’ and ‘*grapho*’, ie ‘to write’. It means any writing or inscription mostly on stone and copper plates. They may be classified into historical, religious, donative or commemorative records. They either record donations to individuals and institutions, commemorative foundations and endowments or announce the activities, political religious etc of kings and other persons, official and non-official. Inscriptions in general do not confine themselves to the immediate purpose of their composition. They provide all kinds of invaluable information, genealogical, geographical, administrative, economic and cultural. For the period of history not lighted by written records archaeological evidence alone help the historian to reconstruct the past. Most of the inscriptions are contemporary and they are free textual corruptions.



Numismatics

Numismatics is the study of coins. Coin legends are inscriptions on coins. Strictly speaking, the study of coin images and symbols comes under art. However, the most distinctive field of Numismatics is the metallurgy of coins. Numismatics is responsible for resuscitating the history of a few Indian dynasties and enriched our knowledge of some others. Its value for chronological, political, administrative, economic, religious and cultural history is significant. Numismatics is an indispensable auxiliary to Indian historian. The Indo-Greek, Saka, Kushan and Gupta coins are famous for their inscriptional value. The bilingual coins of the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthians have supplied “the master-key to the decipherment of Indian inscriptions”. The Roman coins found in South India are helpful to the study of Indo-Roman commercial contacts in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Sigillography

Sigillography is the study of seals. It is derived from the word '*sigil*, meaning a seal or signature. It is also known as *sphragistic* i.e., the study of engraved seals. Thus Sigillography is a study of seals used for authenticating official documents in all their aspects, viz., their authenticity, age, history, content, significance, form, manner in which it is attached to the document, the material of which it is made etc.

Paleography

Paleography is the study of old handwriting. It describes the evolution of each letter in time and space. It also deals with the abbreviations used by the



scribes. Paleography enables the historian to know the dates of old handwriting, content and the history of the characters used and the changes they underwent over a period of time. It also helps us to understand the abbreviations used in manuscripts.

Graphology

Graphology is the study of the character of the author of the handwriting, since there is connection between one's handwriting and his character. It helps the historian to estimate a person through his handwriting. It gives us certain useful indications about the psychology of a person.

Diplomatic

Diplomatic is the study of official documents. Invariably official writing will follow a rigid order of arrangement of the subject matter and the format of the document will be stereotyped. Official document will have its own style of writing. The authenticity of a document could be ensured and ascertained when the findings of diplomatic and paleography concur. Thus, diplomatic helps history to find out not only the genuiness of an official document but also its real meaning.

GREEK HISTRIOGRAPHY

Ancient Greece was the cradle of historiography. The word '*history*' itself is of Greek origin. Greek Clio was the Muse of History. Geographical location, genius of the people, trade contact with outside world, kaleidoscopic changes in the political system, and the life styles of the people enabled the Greeks to lay the foundation of historical writing. In particular, Ionia, the Greek trade centre of the Mediterranean was the birth place of Greek history .



Pioneers of Historiography

Homer

The religious imagination of Greece produced a luxuriant mythology. Every object of the earth or quality of mankind was personified as a deity. These myths became the faith and the philosophy, the literature and the history of the early Greeks. Up to 600 B.C. nearly all Greek literature wore a poetic dress and transmitted itself in verse the lore, glory and tradition of the race. The wandering bards recited in epic measures the heroic deeds of gods and men.

The '*blind bard*' Homer was the oldest poet of the 9th century B.C. In his immortal epics *Iliad* and *Odyssey* he first laid the foundation of historical writing in poetic form. In his epics the gods appear as intervening agents in human affairs in a way similar to that of theocratic histories of India. Homer's epics provided the staple of Greek education, the source of several dramas, the foundation of moral training and a storehouse of historical material. However, Homer's epics are not history but legends. "The work of Homer is not research, it is legend; and to a great extent it is theocratic legend".

Hesiod

Hesiod was the other prominent 9th century B.C. epic poet. Like Homer he also loved the marvels of mythology. He was second only to Homer in the esteem of the classical Greeks. His *Theogony* was the genealogy of gods and his *Works and Days* dealt with the theology of history. He attempted to furnish a respectable ancestry to Greek gods. "Homer and Hesiod... made the gods for the Greeks and gave them their names and shapes". Hesiod attempted to systematize the genealogy



of the deities. While doing so he had introduced a certain causality into their family and a consistent character of action. As a result, Hesiod dealt a palpable blow to mythology and opened the door to Greek science.

Dionysius

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was the historian of the 6th Century B.C. His *Persica*, in five volumes, narrates the history of Persia. He defined history as philosophy teaching by examples. He was the earliest Greek historian to lay stress on the value and function of history. He may be said to have truly laid the foundation of Greek historical writing. Charon a contemporary of Dionysius authored the twin historical works viz *History of Greece and History of Persia*. Both of them wrote narrative history. Though they freed history from the clutches of myths and legends, they were uncritical in their approach and unconcerned to the events of the past.

Hecataeus (6th – 5th B.C)

Hecataeus of Miletus was Ionian historian, geographer, and logographer. Proud product of the heyday of Miletus, he wrote the *Historiai* or Inquiries, and the *Gesperiodos* or Circuit of Earth. Thus, he advanced both history and geography. The *Historiai* begins with a skeptical note: “I write what I deem true, for the stories of the Greeks are manifold and seem to be ridiculous”. His *Gesperiodos* divided the known planet into two continents, Europe and Asia, and included Egypt in Asia. In his *Travelers Around the World* he describes the Persian World. He criticizes the ancient myths in his Book of *Local Genealogies*. He boasted to the Egyptian priests that he could trace his ancestry through fifteen generations. ‘Egypt is the gift of the Nile’ is his coinage.



HERODOTUS (C.484-425 B.C)

The outbreak of the Persian War in the 5th Century B.C was turning point in the development of Greek historiography. “When Ionia fell her cities bequeathed their culture to the Athens that had fought to save them and transmitted to it the intellectual leadership of Greece”. The Ionians who migrated to Athens during the war brought with them the tradition of chronicle writing and criticism to the main land .in other words the Greco –Persian war the most momentous conflict in European history freed Greece from the dictation of oriental despots and eastern mysticism won for Greece the first great experiment in liberty. secured for Greek enterprise full freedom of the sea and stimulated the pride and spirit of the people Greece entered upon its Golden age. The new spirit of victory and freedom found expression in historical writing as well. In fact, one of the great achievements of Periclean prose was history. A new kind of historical writing found expression and reached its culmination in the immortal historical works of Herodotus Thucidides Xenophon and Polybius.

First Sight – Seer

Herodotus was the native of Halicarnassus, a Dorian settlement in Asia Minor. He was born of a family of considerable political clout. As a student he studied Greek poetry and was impressed by Homer’s epics. He was also influenced by the chronicles of Hecataeus. He was excited at the age of 32 because of his uncle’s involvement in political intrigue! Along with his uncle Herodotus embarked upon extensive travels. He was the first to set out to travel over the earth as far as man could go. Difficulties, discomforts and dangers were nothing to him. How far he traveled is hard to say. But he certainly went as far



east as Persia and as far west as Italy. He knew the Coast of the Black Sea and had been to Arabia. In Egypt he went up the Nile to Assouam. Probably he had been to Thrace, Scythia, Babylon, Cyrene, Libia, Sicily and India. Herodotus was thus the first sight-seer of the world. After the completion of the period of exile he settle down in Athens and lived in the court of Pericles for forty years. Then Herodotus retreated to Thurii, an Athenian Colony in Italy, where he breathed his last.

His Histories

Herodotus hazarded his travels with insatiable thirst of knowledge and “observed and enquired with the eye of the scientist and the curiosity of a child”. Armed with a rich assortment of notes concerning the geography, history and manners of the people, which he meticulously and methodically collected during his far-reaching travels, he composed his monumental *Histories*. His work consists of 9 books, each one of them being named after one of the 9 Muses, the first book is presided over by Clio, the Muse of History. The first five books recount the early conflicts between the East and the West and the developments in Greece. The sixth one describes the Ionian revolt and the campaign of Marathon. The last three books describe the Graeco-Persian Wars. Two thirds of the book are devoted to his journeys and what he learned on them. The remaining one third deals with the Persian Wars. His travels provide the ‘stage setting’ for his central theme.

THUCYDIDES (C.471-399 B.C)

Thucydides was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Son of a rich Athenian owner of gold mines in Thrace he received the best education available in



Athens. He was brought up in an environment of Greek enlightenment and skepticism. At the age of 36 he was chosen one of the two generals to command a navel expedition to Thrace. Because of his failure to relieve Amphipolis in time from the Spartan siege he was exiled! Like Herodotus he spent the next couple of decades in travel, especially in the Peloponnesus. Soon after the oligarchic revolution in 404 B.C. he returned to Athens. Thucydides died, some say murdered, in 396, leaving unfinished his monumental work, *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

Central Theme

The suicidal struggle between the two mighty Greek City-states, Athens and Sparta, is the central theme of Thucydides 'History. He opens the narrative where Herodotus left off at the close of the Graeco-Persian War. He begins his book with the following words. "Thucydides an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians from the moment that it broke out, believing that it would be an important war, and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it... the conclusions I have drawn from the proofs quoted may, I believe, be safely relied on... In fine, I have written my work not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time"³¹ After this prefatory remarks he gives a summary of the developments in Greece from the Minoan times to the Persian Wars. Then he proceeds to a description of the central theme, viz., the origin, development and denouement of the civil remains incomplete. Written in two stages his History seeks to narrate the civil struggle of 27 years as one war. Perhaps latter historian divided his work into Eight books on the basis of Chronology.



Father of Scientific History

Thucydides is not a chronicler. He is a seasoned historian. He claims that his conclusions are drawn from the proofs and he does not exaggerate at the expense of truth. Turning away from the 'region of legend', he proceeds upon the clearest data, proofs and evidence and arrives at conclusions "as exact as can be expected and evidence and arrives at conclusions "as exact as can be expected in matters of such antiquity". His history is surprisingly devoid of romance. In his inimitable words his work is written on the basis of "an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future – which is in the course of human affairs, must resemble, if it does not reflect, the past-I shall be content".

Thucydides relied on search and research. He had a thorough knowledge of his predecessors, especially Herodotus. He left no stone unturned in his efforts to explore all available sources. As a general in the Athenian army he observed the developments, visited the friendly states and met prisoners of war. During his exile he had occasions to discuss at length the cause and course of the war with the Spartans. He made copious notes of the speeches of war veterans. He made copious notes of the speeches of war veterans. He ascertained the accuracy of the information, analyzed the data and arrived at conclusions. His mastery over details is indeed amazing.

Thucydides is scrupulously impartial in his approach. As an Athenian he laments over the fall of Athens but as an historian he admires Spartan discipline. He balances the account of military campaigns with the description of political developments. He is strictly neutral on controversial issues. He never departs or swerves from the central theme of his History. He turns a deaf ear to credulous



statements, hearsay reports and cock and bull stories. He avidly applies the yardstick of reason and mercilessly eliminates statements based on beliefs, traditions and superstitions. He frankly confessed: “My history might have been more interesting had I made it more romantic. But I shall be satisfied if it proves useful to investigators who wished to know exactly how things happened in the past”. As he is analytical in his approach so is his style didactic, prosaic and terse. His accuracy is unassailable. In short, Thucydides is “the father of scientific method in history”.

Herodotus and Thucydides: A Comparison

Both Herodotus and Thucydides have written about the recent past, one on the war between Greece and Persia and the other on the Civil War between Athens and Sparta. Whereas the former wrote with a view to entertain the reader the latter labored to furnish factual information to future generation. The author of the Graeco-Persian War ranged from place to place and from age to age; but the author of the Peloponnesian War confined himself with the event, though his range of study was also wide.

While Herodotus wrote in terms of personalities rather than process, believing that processes operated through personalities, Thucydides relied on recording impersonal forces and factors responsible for the events though he too recognized the role of exceptional individuals in history. One wrote about far – off events reported to him in most cases at second or third hand and the other relied on eye – witness accounts or personal observations or on original documents. One was credulous as the other was critical.



Herodotus was more imaginative than pragmatic. Thucydides was accurate and even his geography has been verified in detail. The former was a delightful story – teller and the latter was as incisive interpreter. Though one confined himself to the question of what happened or stated to have happened, the other was more interested in the question of how and why things happened and events took place. Herodotus' style of writing is easy, spontaneous and convincing but that of Thucydides is harsh, artificial and repellent. Both of them have stood the test of time, one as the Father of History and the other as the Father of Scientific History.

XENOPHON (445 – 335 B.C)

Fourth Century Historian

Herodotus and Thucydides were unparalleled and unrivaled among the hundreds of historians referred to by Plutarch and Athenaeus. Isocrates, 'the old man eloquent', committed his pupil Ephorus the task of writing a universal history of Greece which was ranked by his contemporaries with the work of Herodotus. Theopompus of Chios, another pupil of Isocrates, wrote about the recent past in his *The Life of Greece*, a history of Greek civilization. Others have been buried under the silt of time! The solitary as well as the salutary exception is one of the fourth century B.C. historians, Xenophon.

Soldier – Statesman

Born in a middle class family in Athens handsome Xenophon became the student of Isocrates. Then he turned a soldier of fortune. About the age of 30 he joined the service under the younger Cyrus of Persia and fought at Cunaxa. When Cyrus was slain in a civil war Xenophon led the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries



under the service of the Persian Prince to safety. At Byzantium he joined the Spartans in their war against Persia! He captured a wealthy Mede and extracted from him a rich ransom. He befriended himself with the Spartan King Agesilaus. When Athens declared war against Sparta Athenian Xenophon supported the Spartan King! He was exiled from Athens and his property was confiscated. Unrepenting he fought on the side of the Spartans and received as a reward an estate at Scillus in Elis. There he spent a couple decades as a country gentleman and wrote a series of varied works.

Versatile Writer

In the *Anabasis* or Ascents, Xenophon narrates the thrilling story of the March of the Ten thousand to the sea. With engaging simplicity he describes the hazardous retreat up along the Tigris and over the hills of Kurdistan and Armenia to the Black Sea for five months through two thousand miles of enemy country.

The *Hellenica* recounts the history of the Peloponnesian War from where Thucydides had left off. It is a dull, dreary and war-weary chronicle of alteration of victory and defeat. History is conceived as an endless chain of battles. The facts are judiciously chosen to justify the Spartan superiority. Superstition and supernatural element, which were conspicuously absent in Thucydides, return with Xenophon.

The *Memorabilia*, a repository of the recollections, presents his master Socrates as a paragon of perfection. The reader also incidentally gets glimpses of Greek social life in this book. The *Banquet* contains conversations alleged to have occurred when Xenophon was a child. In the *Oeconomicus* Xenophon expounds through the mouth of Socrates the secret of successful tillage as well as the art of



marriage and managing one's property. Several pages rival the grace and charm of Plato. *Cyropaedia* or the Education of Cyrus pictures Xenophone's ideals of education and government. He concentrates on physical and martial arts at the cost of cultural training. The best government is projected as an enlightened monarchy supported and checked by an aristocracy devoted to agricultural and military pursuits.

POLYBIUS (C.202-120 B.C)

Son of Lycortas, a leading man of the Achaean League, Polybius was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia. He was a trained soldier. He fought in the Roman campaign against the Gauls in Asia Minor. He accompanied his father on an embassy to Egypt. He was made the League's commander of the cavalry. When the League was defeated by the Romans Polybius was taken to Rome along with other hostages.

At Rome, the younger Scipio, the conqueror of northern Africa, attracted by the personality of Polybius, befriended him, introduced him to the educated Romans and persuaded the senate to let Polybius to live with him in Rome. Polybius accompanied Scipio on many a campaign and served him as his military adviser, Later he was employed as the representative of Rome in arranging a *modus vivendi* between the cities of Greece and the Roman Senate.

After sixteen years stay at Rome, Polybius returned to Greece and spent his well-earned retired life in writing a *Treatise on Tactics*, a Life of *Philopoemen* and his immense *Histories*. At a ripe age of 82 he fell from his horse as he was returning from a hunt and died. Several Greek cities honoured him with monuments.



Greek Historian of Rome

Polybius was the Greek historian of ancient Rome. Fortified with a wider background of education, travel and experience he easily perceived that Rome was the centre of gravity of the political history of the Mediterranean World. He conceived his work on a grand scale and attempted to write the history of “the whole”, i.e, the then Mediterranean world. As he witnessed Rome at its greatest and glorious epoch he became an admirer of the ‘*Eternal City*’, In forty books Polybius wrote down the history of Rome of his times from the political point of view. Though he divided his Histories into 40 books, time has preserved only five! Substantial fragments of the rest have been rescued by the epitomists.

The Historian’s Historian

Will Durant calls Polybius “the historians’ historian”. Polybius departs from Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon and starts his history at a point more than 150 years before the time of writing. The extent of his field of his study is five generations instead of one. Unlike his illustrious predecessors Polybius has written about the remote past. Since he lived in Rome he shared with the Romans the tradition of viewing history as a continuous process. Polybius with his critical mind used the available sources which were trustworthy.

CHARACTER OF GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY

Greek Origin

Ancient Greece was the home of Historiography. The word ‘history’ itself is of Greek origin. It meant an inquiry or investigation. Herodotus, the doyen of Greek historiography, initiated a ‘literary revolution’ in using in term ‘history’ in



the title of his work. The fundamental character of Greek historiography is that it rests on historical truth.

Scientific

The Greek historians considered history as a science of human action. They regarded it as a kind of search and research. They viewed it as a form of thought. The insatiable curiosity of the Greek historians prompted them to raise questions about human happenings and seek answers to them. They not only collected facts and arranged them. They not only collected facts and arranged them in a pattern, but also tried to discover something new, something that was not known previously. In other words, they found things out and converted legend writing into the science of history.

Humanistic

Greek historiography separates history from myths and legends. It is neither mythical nor quasi-history; it is humanistic. It is concerned not with the deeds of divine beings or incarnations but with human action. It describes human actions and achievements. It reveals man as a rational agent. It inquires into a dated past, not things happened at the dateless beginnings of things.

Rational

Greek historiography appeals to evidence and it is built on it. Herodotus relies on hear – say reports as well as evidence. He makes no mention of evidence and the reader is left to gather it from the body of his work. But his successor Thucydides expresses himself explicitly that historical inquiry rests on evidence.



Both of them identified historical evidence with the reports of facts given by eye – witnesses of those events.

Methodical

Greek historiography evolved a method of eliciting evidence from eye – witness narratives. The Greek historians were no blind believers of whatever the eye-witness told them. They subjected them to the acid test of criticism. They applied to historical testimony the same criticism which they were accustomed to direct upon witnesses in court.

Self-Revelatory

Greek historiography is based on the conception that history exists in order to enable man to have self-knowledge by knowing what man has done. It ministers man's knowledge to man. It's function is what men have done and to discover why they have done. Herodotus wrote his history lest the deeds of men shall not be forgotten by posterity. Thucydides drew his conclusions and presented them for all time to come. Xenophon attempted to view history as whole to obtain a comprehensive view of human development. Polybius evinced interest in his method as well as his subject with a view to find example to guide human conduct.

Substantialistic

Greek historical thought is essentially substantialistic. That is to say, since human actions are subject to change they are not knowable and therefore can not be the object of historical knowledge. Only permanent phenomena can have definite character and content of its own. In other words only matters that are determined, permanent and everlasting are worthy of study. Anything



impermanent carries its own seeds of destruction. What is knowable must be determinate. Such determined knowledge could not be subjected to internal change and external force. Such an outlook is substantialistic, deterministic and anti-historical. Herodotus boldly departed from this Greek tendency and considered historical events important in themselves and knowable by themselves. But his successor Thucydides reverted back to substantialism. This anti-historical process continued in Polybius and was subsequently imbued by the Roman historians.

Fifth century Greek historiography suffers from three other serious shortcomings: 1) It imposes on its readers a shortness of historical perspective; 2) its method precludes the historian from choosing his subject; and 3) it makes it impossible for various particular histories to be gathered up into one all embracing universal history. Nevertheless, the fact remain that the Greek historians are the real founders of historiography.

ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

When we move from Greece to Rome we notice a sharp shift from originality to imitation in the historical sense, thought and writing. For the first five centuries since the foundation of the Eternal City, Rome had no historian! Until the Second Punic War Rome was busy making history and it had no mind or mood to write history.



ROMAN HISTORIANS

Quintus Fabius Pictor (3rd Con. B.C)

Fabius Pictor was the earliest Roman historian at the end of the third century B.C. During the first three centuries of the Roman Republic there were only religious hymns and chants of Rome's historic or legendary past. Instead of relying on legends Pictor compiled a respectable *History of Rome* (202 B.C) on the basis of official records of elections, magistracies, events, portents and holidays. In other words he used archival sources to write his history. Since Latin was not yet thought fit for literary prose Pictor wrote in Greek.

Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 B.C.)

Cato, the Elder, was the first Roman historian who wrote history in Latin. He held several positions: lawyer, quaester, aedile, praetor, consul, tribune, soldier and general. He was the most powerful orator of his time. He published his own speeches, a manual of oratory. He put his farming experiences to use by composing a treatise *De agri cultura*. It is written in the oldest literary Latin, in a simple vigorous style, pithily compact. He wastes no words.

Marcus Terentius Varro (116-26 B.C)

Varro was a soldier – scholar. Amidst his many military campaigns he found time to synopsise every branch of knowledge. His 620 ‘volumes’ in 74 ‘books’ constituted a veritable one – man encyclopedia. His *imagines* consisted of 700 pen – portraits of famous men. He wrote about *On the Latin Language, On Country Life, Divine Antiquities* and *Life of the Roman People*, the last work being a history of Roman Civilization.



Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 – 43 B.C)

Cicero was an orator, statesman, senator, man of letters and philosopher, rather than a historian. Well-known and eminently popular for his torrential oratory and indignant eloquence, Cicero ruthlessly exposed the real or reported, public or private faults of his opponents; excelled in the passionate presentation of one side of a question or a character, and entertained his enthralled audience with vituperative humour and biting anecdotes. His 57 extant orations are more rhetorical than realistic, defamations that declamations. His speeches betray the politician in him.

Caius Julius Caesar (100 – 44 B.C)

Amidst turbulent transformation of Rome, Varro and Nepos engaged themselves in antiquarian scholarship, Sallust penned his brilliant monographs, Cicero often retreated from the heat of politics to the coil of letters and essays, and Caesar continued his wars in his *Commentaries*. Caesar started his public career as an unscrupulous politician and a reckless rake and metamorphosed himself by responsibility into one of history's most resourceful Roman generals, a tireless administrator, resolute reformer and a major historian!

In the midst of his multifarious campaigns Caesar had recorded and defended the Gallic and Civil Wars in his *Commentaries*. It is not a partisan pamphlet. It is noted for its 'masculine brevity and sternsimplicity'. Though ranked second only to Cicero in eloquence, Caesar's commentaries holds a high place in Latin literature. Cicero sang a paean in his praise when he wrote that "It is to him (Caesar) we owe it that, should the mountains be leveled with the plain and



the rivers be dried up, we should still hold our Italy fortified not by nature's bulwark but by the exploits and victories of Caesar.

Mommsen, the great German historian pays a rich tribute to the Roman historian when he observes "That there is a bridge connecting the past glory of Hellas and Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history, that Western Europe is Romantic, and Germanic Europe classic... all this is the work of Caesar... the stature of Caesar has outlasted those thousands of years which have changed religious and states".

Caius Sallutius Crispus (86 -35 B.C)

Sallutius Crispus was a Warrior – Politician on Caesar's side, governed Numidia and retired to a life of luxury in a Roman Villa and wrote his works. His *Histories*, *Jugurthine War* and *Catiline* were a continuation of war by other means – able defenses of campaigns, battles and wars. He attacked the 'old guard', charged the senate and the courts, demanded career opened to talent, exposed the moral decay of Rome and asserted the natural equality of all classes. For him history was rhetoric. "He deepened his narratives with philosophical commentary and psychological analysis of character, and carved out a style of epigrammatic compactness and vivid rapidity which became a model for Tacitus".

Titus Livius Livy (59 B.C – 17 A.D)

"Rome's historian (Livy) has no history", says Taine. What little we know about him is that he was born and brought up in Padua, came to Rome, devoted himself to rhetoric, history and philosophy and gave the last four decades of his life to write a history of Rome. Along with Horace and Virgil he lived during the



Golden Age of Emperor. Augustus Caesar. More than that Augustus took Livy into his friendship and encouraged him as a prose Virgil. He was fascinated by the astonishing ascendancy of Rome and developed passionate reverence for the Eternal City.

His Work

Livy was a voluminous writer. He wrote his *Ab urbe Condita* or “*From the City’s Foundation*” in 142 books! Only 35 of them have survived in 6 volumes. His Magnum Opus was meticulously planned and majestically executed. Apparently it was published in parts, each with a separate title and all under the general heading. In his inimitable preface he says that “I wish to write the history of the Roman people from the foundation of the city to my own foundation of the Eternal City in 753 B.C . to the death of Druses in 09 A.D. since his premature demise deprived him from continuing the narration till the end of the reign of Emperor Augustus Caesar. In composing this monumental history Livy thoroughly and critically studied the earlier works, archival records and private collections. His stupendous task was to assemble the traditional records of early Roman history and welded them together into a single continuous narrative history of Rome. It was the first time anything of the sort has been done”.

In his stern preface Livy denounces the immorality, luxury and effeminacy of the age. He sets forth the virtues that had made Rome great and glorious: the unity, solidarity and holiness of family life, the pietas of children, the sacred relation of men with gods at every step, the sanctity of the solemnly pledged word, the stoic self – control and *gravitas*. He makes the stoic Rome noble. Roman conquest of the Mediterranean appears to him as a moral imperative, a divine



dispensation and lasting law cast over the chaos of the East and the barbarism of the West. While his predecessor Polybius attributes Rome's victory to its form of government Livy ascribes Rome's triumph to the Roman character. For the latter Rome was forever right, and Rome was the world. The history of Rome as narrated by Livy was considered by the Romans as ecumenical or universal history.

Cornelius Tacitus (55 – 120 A.D)

Tacitus, “the most brilliant of historians” leaves no traces about his date or place of birth, nor even his given name. Son of Cornelius Tacitus, Procurator of imperial revenue in Belgic Gaul, he should have received sound education and learnt to the full oratorical arts which enliven his style. He established an enviable connection with Julius Agricola, the Roman Governor of England, by marrying his daughter. Tacitus served Rome in several capacities as a lawyer, orator, praetor, senator, consul, and pro-consul of Asia. He was a prolific writer.

His Works

His contribution to historical writing is indeed copious. His *Dialogue on Orators* is an example for the author's enlivening style and his skill in pros and cons. He attributes the decline of eloquence in Rome to the suppression of liberty. *Agoricola* is the most perfect monograph. It recounts the achievements of his father-in-law as general and governor. *On the Situation and Origin of the Germans* is a study in contrast between the virtues of free Germans with the degeneration and cowardice of Romans under the despots. In his *Germania* he contrasts his idealized German tribes with the corrupt and immoral Roman upper classes.



Historiae is acclaimed to be the best historical writing since Livy. It covers the period from Galba to the death of Domitian. It exposes the evils of tyranny by indicating the record of the despots in ruthless detail. *The Annals* describes the tyranny of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. His professed purpose in writing about these despicable despots is to hold up exemplary examples of political vice and virtue for posterity and to teach his readers that good citizens could live even under bad rulers! Of the *Annals* 12 books survive from an original of 16 or 18. “Even in this mutilated form they are the most powerful works in extant Roman prose...”.

His Writings

Tacitus is the historian of the decay, decline and deterioration of Rome. He writes about the rotten Rome. He mourns the ‘malignity of the human mind’. Throughout his writings he depicts the period of despotism, cowardice and immorality. He exudes pessimism and never conceals his unmitigated hatred of autocracy and despotism, “Most plans of reform” observes Tacitus, “are at first embraced with ardor; but soon the novelty ceases, the scheme ends in nothing”. He relentlessly rejects astrologers, auguries, portents and miracles, though he accepts some. He suggests that it is wiser to accept one’s native religion than to try to replace it with knowledge. He ponders quietly the meaning, purpose and possibilities of life. He looks at men and matters intensely, sometimes deeply, always vividly. His portrayal of personalities are simply striking and fascinating; they are powerful pen-pictures; they are clear, live and arresting. His portrayals are comparable to any others in historical literature.



Tacitus has been rightly praised for his character drawing. His remarkable breadth of view is revealed in his praising the German power of resisting Rome. He often cites and sometimes critically examines his sources – Histories, speeches, letters and traditions of old families. One is stylist. He tells what he wants to tell crisply, concisely and compactly. His writing is swift, colourful and forceful. In short, the power of his portrayal ranks him among the greatest of historians. The cumulative effect is overwhelming.

Plutarch of Chaeronea (46 – 126 A.D)

Born in a wealthy family Plutarch has his education at Athens. He traveled in Egypt and Asia Minor and twice in Italy. He lectured to his native town Chaeronea. He served his place of birth in several capacities as building inspector, chief magistrate and member of the national council. He presided over municipal ceremonies and festivals. He was the part-time priest of the Delphic oracle.

His Works

Parallel Lives

Plutarch is the author of the unparalleled *Parallel Lives* and unrivaled *Moralia*. Of the 46 parallel lives the more distinguished are that of Theseus and Romulus. Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar. Plutarch pairs and compares great Romans with great Greeks with a view to teach virtue and heroism. As a seasoned teacher he ties a moral to every tale, and does it gracefully.

He is more interested in drawing a character than in history. To him a man's character is his fate. Historical accuracy is conspicuous by its absence in him. Errors of names and places and dates and events abound in his work. Even as a



political biographer he fails and fumbles. He fails in the twin major tasks of the biographer, viz., to demonstrate the derivation of his subject's character from heredity, environment and circumstance and the development of character through growth, responsibility and crises.

Nevertheless, his Lives are vivid, captivating and lively. "...no one who has read the Lives can feel their shortcomings; these are lost in the vivid narrative, the exiting episodes, the fascinating anecdotes, the wise comments, the noble style". Not a word is wasted in all the 1500 pages! Shakespeare drew heavily on the Parallel Lives. Napoleon carried it with him everywhere. "It is pasture of great souls". Writing about this precious book Montaigne confesses "I can hardly do without Plutarch; it is my breviary".

Moralia

Moralia is a collection of Plutarch's lectures and essays. They are simple and genial preachments on the wisdom of life. It is like a bouquet of fragrant flowers. Many ideas are discussed and many views reviewed. He admits that good health is more precious than good look. He advocates equal opportunity for women. His ideas are nothing new and many of them are platitudes. But his lectures and essays manifest his moderation on life is refreshing as it is wise: "As this life is the most perfect of initiations into the most exalted of mysteries, we should ever be filled with good cheer and rejoicing". The Lives and Moralia of Plutarch, the historical biographer of Roman Greece, are read with interest and benefit even today.



Minor Historians

Many minor historians followed the footsteps or at best copied Livy and Tacitus. Reason had spent itself after Tacitus. The grandeur of Livy and Tacitus degenerated into the scandalous chronicle of Suetonius' Lives of Illustrious Men. Nicolaus of Damascus attempted an ambitious universal history. Arrian wrote many histories of which only the Anabasis remains, Josephus, the Jewish historian is known for his The wars of the Jews and the Antiquities of the Jews, written in clear and forceful language. Dion Cassius completed his History of Rome at the ripe age of 74, carrying the story from Romulus to himself. Like Livy's it is distinguished with portants and like Tacitus' it is a long brief for the senatorial opposition. Like all Roman histories it cleaves narrowly to the vissistudes of wars and politics. None of these historians equaled either Livy or Tacitus in achievement or contribution. With the decline of the Roman empire historical writing degenerated into compilation, edification and propaganda.

CHARACTER OF ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The following are the Characteristics of Roman historiography:

It is Imitative

The Roman historians imitated, adopted and adapted the means and methods of Greek historians. History was not native to Rome. In fact, Rome had no historian for first five hundred years of its history. Influenced by the Hellenistic tradition of historical thought the Roman historians started recording the achievements of Rome.



It is Humanistic

As the Roman historiography is imitative it shares a few characteristics with its Greek counterpart. It is a narrative of human actions not divine deeds. The Roman historians are also concerned with man's purpose, successes and failures. Human actions are analyzed to discover in them the grounds for their success and failure. It is based on the premise that human will freely choose its own ends and human intellect will apprehend them and work out appropriate means to achieve them. In other words, whatever happens in history happens as a result of human will.

It is Anti-historical

Like the Greek fore-runners the Roman historians were not interested in changes. They also thought that only permanent phenomena can be the object of genuine historical knowledge. For anything impermanent is short – lived. What is knowable, therefore, must be determinate. Such a determined knowledge could not be subjected to internal change or external force. Since events are subjected to change the Roman historians, influenced by the Greek concept of substantialism, were concerned with substance or agent which alone is unchanging and permanent. Since history is concerned with ever-changing human events changeless substance is outside the scope of historian. As such it is anti-historical.

It is Unhistorical

Roman historiography is not only anti-historical but also unhistorical. It is unhistorical because it never attempts to inquire into the causes behind the events.



It seldom questions the truth or validity of beliefs, superstitions, oracles, dreams, portents or traditions. Instead it confines itself with the sole task of preserving the memory of glorious deeds or heroic events, that too political episodes.

Eecumenical History

Following the Hellenistic tradition the Roman historians wrote oecumenical or universal history instead of particular histories. Through the conquests of Alexander the Great the conquered part of the world became a single political unit and the empire of the Macedonian emperor shared a single history of the Greek world. Consequently, Hellenism created the idea of oecumenical history, which was imbued by the Roman historians. Livy and Tacitus considered Roman Empire, like Alexander's Empire, as the world and narrated the history of Rome on that basis.

'Scissors-and-Paste' Method

No universal or world history could be written on the strength of eyewitness testimonies. Therefore, the Roman historians had to find a new method, which R.G.Collingwood calls "scissors-and paste historical method" The materials for the universal history were drawn from the works of previous historians. It is a patchwork of the histories of particular states at particular time. Since such a history is constructed through compilation, materials drawn from earlier 'authorities', whose veracity could not be checked, this method is necessarily uncritical. Polybius, who handed over the Hellenistic tradition of historical thought to Rome, himself depended partly on scissors-and-paste method. Livy inherited the method, assembled the traditional records of early Roman history and



cleverly compiled and welded them together into a single continuous history of Rome. Tacitus and his successors followed suit.

History of the Remote Past

Unlike the Greek historians, who were preoccupied with the recent past or contemporary events, the Roman historians were concerned with the remote past, the foundation of Rome. Livy and Tacitus consciously held up before their readers the noble moral examples of the early Roman society which was considered to be simple and unsullied by corruption society which was considered to be simple and unsullied by corruption and immorality or irreligion. They endeavoured to demonstrate how the foundations of Roman greatness were laid on the bedrock of primitive morality.

Stress on Moral Purpose

The Roman historians underlined their moral purpose in their writings. Livy penned the history of the Romans from the foundation of the city with a view to instruct and inculcate private virtue and public morality. Tacitus concentrated on character studies, analyzed human virtues and viciousness and conveyed lessons of human experience to posterity. Plutarch paired and compared parallel lives of great Greeks and Roman with the avowed purpose of teaching morality, character and heroism. Roman historiography is scented with the perfume of moral purpose.

Patriotic and Partisan

Roman historians revel in the glorification of Rome and Roman greatness. They are obsessed with the history of the origin, growth and development of the Eternal City into Eternal Empire! Their outlook is extremely narrow since they



look at events through coloured spectacles. They admire military conquests at the cost of peaceful administration and cultural contribution. For them Rome was everything, right or wrong. They are pathetically partisan since they supported one group or other and used their writing to serve propaganda purpose.

CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAHY

Nature of Christian Historiography

The transition from Ancient to Medieval historiography represents a fundamental change or 'crises' from Greco-Roman humanistic and rationalistic to theocratic and universalistic historical writing. Although Rome reached its peak of prosperity in the second century A.D. the Roman Empire was divided into two halves-Western and Eastern-in the fourth century and disintegrated. Loss of intellectual vigour, and creativity; the death of Marcus Aurelius followed by tyranny; governmental chaos; barbarian invasions, economic breakdown; civil wars; pestilence; revolution, moral degradation; dissolution of the empire; and above all the emergence of a new religion, Christianity, led to the end of the Greco – Roman world and the triumph of the Church. The greatest of historians, Edward Gibbon, held that Christianity was the chief cause for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The birth of Christ, his martyrdom, the spread of Christianity, the brutal persecution of the Christians, the organization of the Church and Papal supremacy resulted in a distinct Christian theology which was theocratic and church historiography which was universalistic.



THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF HISTORY

The Bible

The Bible, the sacred document of both the Jews and the Christians, is divided into two testaments: the old and the new. Before the advent of Jesus Christ, the *Old Testament* was the history of the Jews and what they recounted of the history of others. The *New Testament* is the gospel record of Jesus and acts of Apostles. Though the biblical account is questionable, it should be treated with respect it deserves since it contains much material that can be related to what is known from other sources like Archaeology. Both the Testaments vouch for the Divine plan.

What is the purpose of the Divine Plan? In their endeavor to discover this purpose the medieval historians stumbled upon the *Stages of history* or Epochs of History or Historical Ages. The Divine Plan unfolds itself over a period of time and in stages! The Bible outlines such a plan viz., (1) the creation of the world, (2) the rise and fall of Adam and Eve, (3) the coming of Christ, (4) the emergence of the Church and (5) the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

The Gospels

The Gospels divide history into *three periods* (1) from Adam to Moses; (2) from Moses to Christ; and (3) from the first coming of Christ to his second coming. This biblical view of history in terms of events and period culminated in the concept of periodisation of history. In the 12th century *Joachim of Florin* divided history into three periods, viz., (1) the reign of the Father God referring to



the pre-Christian age; (2) the reign of the Son representing the Christian Age; and (3) the reign of the holy Ghost projecting the Age of the Future.

Universal History

The Medieval Christian historical thinkers thought that the Divine Plan of the past, the present and the future could be known through revelation. That means the Divine Plan is foreordained and foreknown. Thus medieval historiography not only connected historical events and periods but also opened up the predictability of the future. In effect it provides a universal view of history. "...the attempt to distinguish periods in history is a mark of advanced and mature historical thought" and "this reference to a future age betrays an important characteristic of medieval historiography". The crux of the matter is that the medieval historians not only ascertained facts but also interpreted them and advanced the view that historical forces are determined by a universal law which is God-made.

Theocentric View

The medieval historiography rested on the theocratic view as the Greco-Roman historiography was centered on ethnocentric concept. By following theology the medieval historians thought that they could forecast the future and in propounding a Divine Plan they tended to look for the essence of history out side history itself. They relied on both faith and reason. They studied facts, though not critically. In their attempt to determine *a priori* divine dispensation they attempted to ride two horses of faith and reason at the same time! Moreover the medieval scholarly interpretation of history lacks critical accuracy. It is fanciful and ill-founded and it is marked by neglect of historical veracity, unscholarly credulity and a blind acceptance of tradition. The task of criticizing sources and traditions



and to ascertain facts was left to future historians. “...it seems not only unsatisfactory but deliberately and repulsively wrong headed”.

Fundamental Flaw

The fundamental flaw in the medieval historiography is the deliberate distortion of the function of historian. The historian’s business is to know the past, not to know the future. It is presumptuous and preposterous on the part of the historian to determine the future in advance of its happening. It is possible to know what happened in the past but how is it possible to predict with historical accuracy the future? In a way the medieval Christian historian invented and imposed a Divine Plan to the deplorable neglect and relegated to the background. That divine deed transcends and works outside human activity is contrary to historical reality. Such historical Eschatology is unreasonable and untenable.

CHRISTIAN HISTORIANS

Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (260 – 340 A.D)

Constantine (272 – 337 A.D), the Roman Emperor formally recognized Christianity as state religion in 313 A.D. Since then lot of interest was evinced on writing the history of Christianity, Christian historiography was born. Church historians came in succession. Sextus Julius Africanus (232 A.D) was the earliest Christian historian. His *Chronographia* served as a model chronicle to Eusebius. Lucius Firmianus Lactantius (260 – 325) expounded Christianity eloquently in *Divine Institutions* and in *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

More famous among the Christian historians was Eusebius Pamphili. He began his career as a priestly scribe and librarian for Pamphilus, Bishop of



Caesarea in Palastine. Succeeding his as Bishop, Eusebius inherited the well-staked library so laboriously built up by Pamphilus. It was the largest Christian collection of books yet known. Living among these volumes, Eusebius became the most erudite cleric of his time. He loved and revered Pamphilus so well that he adopted his name! He was elevated as the Bossuet of Emperor Constantine's Court.

His Works

Eusebius was a voracious reader, wide traveler and a prolific writer. He was commissioned to write the imperial biography. His Chronicle was written in continuation of the *Chronographia* of Africanus. It represents part of his scholastic harvest. It traces the history of the world up to 324 A.D. This Universal History is "the most complete of ancient chronologies". It is a comparative study of the different chronologies. Eusebius arranged sacred and profane history in parallel columns divided by a synchronizing row of dates. He attempted to fix the time of every important event from Abraham to Constantine. It served as a model to all later chronologies.

His *Ecclesiastical History* describes the development of the Church from its beginnings to the Council of Nicaea. It is the earliest philosophy of history since it portrays time as the battleground of God and Satan, and all events as advancing the triumph of Christ. His *Life of Constantine* is a panegyric rather than a biography. It begins on the emperor's piety and good works and narrates how he governed his empire in a godly manner for more than three decades!



AUGUSTINE (354 – 430 A.D)

Son of St. Monica, Augustine was born in Tagasta, Numedia, North Africa. His mother was a devoted Christian and his father a man of narrow means. As a student Augustine excelled in Latin, rhetoric, mathematics, music and philosophy, but disliked Greek. After graduation he taught grammar at Tagaste and then rhetoric at Carthage. At 16, disregarding his mother's advice, Augustine had a concubine and begot a 'son of my sin' through her! At 29 he left Carthage to Rome. After teaching rhetoric for a year he worked as Professor at Milan. There at 32 he married a girl of 12, 'a girl with more money than years', on the advice of his mother. After his marriage Augustine sent back his mistress to Africa and took another concubine! Then this professor plunged deep in theology and converted to Christianity. In 387 Augustine was baptized by Ambrose. He then went to Africa, served the poor and founded the *Augustinian order*, the oldest monastic fraternity in the West.

A Multi-Dimensional Genius

St. Augustin, a sinner-turned-saint, was a multi-dimensional genius. He was a theologian, philosopher, preacher, teacher, poet and a political thinker. He was an eloquent speaker and a prolific writer. By wielding his fertile pen Augustin in treatise after treatise labored to reconcile with reason the doctrines of the church. For fifteen years he worked on his most systematic production-*De Trinitate*-to find analogies in human experience for three persons in one god. He sought a solution to the problem of harmonizing the freewill of man with the knowledge God.

In his treatise "*On Free Will*" he seeks to square the existence of evil with the benevolence of the omnipotent God and his answer is that evil is the result of



free will! Through 230 treatises he revealed his mind on almost every problem of theology and philosophy. His '*Confessions*' is the first and the most famous of all autobiographies. It is addressed directly to God. In this poetry in prose he vividly and frankly narrates the sins of his youth and the subsequent story of his conversion. Augustin's crowning contribution is his City of God.

'City of God'

St. Augustin was alarmed at Alaric's sack of Rome. He was deeply disturbed at the collapse of the Citadel of Christendom like a house of cards as the touch of the of the barbarians. The Pagans attributed the disaster to Christianity. Many a Christian were shaken in their faith and the panic of fear threatened all the powers of his genius to convince the Roman world that the fall of Rome was not due to Christianity but for her continued sins, indecency of the Pagan state and the corruption of Roman politics. After 13 years of intense mental labour Augustin produced his magnum opus *Civitas Dei or The of God* (413-426) in 22 volumes spreading to 1200 pages. It traces the history of Christianity from the First Sin to the Last Judgement.

Civitas Ferrena

St. Augustin's City of God is a tale of two cities-Civitas Terrena or *City of Man* and Civitas Dei or City of God. "Mankind is divided into two sorts", contends St. Augustin, "such as live according to man, and such as live according to God. These we mystically call the 'two cities' or societies, the one predestined to reign eternally with God, the other condemned to perpetual torment with the Devil"⁷. Anything man-made is evil and the City of man is the City of Satan. Since Cain killed his brother Abel and committed sin, the city founded by him on



the blood of his brother is the City of Sin. The glory of the Roman empire was built on the sweat, toil and tears and blood of millions of men. Anything man-made is, therefore, sordid, imitative and imperfect. It is relative in importance, limited in scope and transitory in nature.

Civitas Dei

On the other hand, Civitas Dei or the City of God is the City of Goodness. It is primeval and perfect. It is as perfect as a blade of grass which can not be improved upon. City of God of divine foundation and is sublime. It is reflection of the City of Heaven. Since it is based on love, compassion and mercy, the City of God will be permanent. Its purpose is to establish man's unity with God through the institution of Church. It is absolute in power, unlimited in scope and permanent in nature.

St. Augustine's Philosophy of History

St. Augustine expounds his philosophy of history in his City of God. God is the hub of history, nucleus of earthly existence and fulcrum of human activities. All human events are divinely directed. Essentially St. Augustine deals with the concept of conflict-an eternal conflict between Ormus and Ahriman, good and evil, virtue and vice, divine and devilish, theocratic and secular. In man it is a struggle between soul and body, between spiritualism and materialism.

This concept of conflict influenced later thinkers like Adam Smith who advocated materialism and Karl Marx who wrote about the struggle between the haves and the have-nots. City of God has great literary value and it is equated with Plato's Republic, Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia, Sir Francis Bacon's Atlantis and



Campanella's City of the Sun. It served as a bedrock on which the edifice of Christian historiography was built.

The City of God was the most important creative contribution of St. Augustin to the decadent Pagan Philosophy of the collapsing Roman Empire. It asserted that human affairs are to be understood in terms of Divine Law. It underlined the intimate relationship between State and Church. Though the City of God is not identical with the Catholic Church the latter may have terrestrial interests. Only at the Last Judgment will the twin cities be separate and distinct. By a symbolic extension of it's membership to heavenly as well as earthly souls the Church is cleverly identified with the City of God. "With this book paganism as a philosophy ceased to be and Christianity as a philosophy began. It was the first definitive formulation of the medieval mind". Though a figment a imagination St. Augustin's City of God had profound impact on the theology, philosophy, politics and economics in later periods.

CHARACTER OF CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Christian historiography represents a great divide in the history of historical writing. In fact it is a critical crisis in the development of European historiography since "the idea of history was remodeled by the revolutionary effect of Christian thought". It is a deliberate departure from the Greco-Roman historiography in several respects. Unlike the later which is man-centered, it is God-centered: God is the core of Christian historical thought. It rests on the *four-fold doctrines* of (1) Original Sin (2) Grace, (3) Creation and (4) Universalism. Nothing is eternal except God. Since people, societies and nations, which are created by God, are ephemeral they can never be permanent entities. Since God is the Creator, he



alone can bring about change in the condition or character of a person or people or institution already created. God's nature and intention are known through human activities. These ideas profoundly affected Christian historiography in three ways;

1) The historical process came to be considered as the manifestation of **God's purpose**. In this scheme man has no purpose of his own but an agent or instrument to carry out the goal of God. Since God's purpose is preordained man has to pursue and fulfill it. No historical happening is, therefore, the handiwork of man but an act of God through man. This new attitude to human action provided a new approach to history.

2) Human institutions are **transient**. They are the creation of God in order to fulfill a pre-determined purpose and they will pass away after serving the intention of God. Hence no individual or city or state can be an eternal entity. Even Rome, considered to be an Eternal City, had to fall and fade out of existence. Entities like Babylonia, Crete, Greece, England etc. are mere vehicles of divine driven historical process; they appear to disappear after fulfilling a particular purpose. That things are transient gave a new orientation to the process of historical change.

3) Christian attitude is **Universal in outlook**. Since men are creatures of God they are equal in the sight of God. All peoples in all places are, therefore, involved in the working of God's purpose and plan. Hence, the historical process is the same everywhere. Every part is the part of the same whole. By implication there could be no chosen people or a privileged community or a divine king. Greek history, Roman history, Jewish history, Chinese history, Indian history etc are all parts of human history. In this Christian conception of history there is no



room for particularistic history. Thus, the shift from Greco-Roman particularism to universalism is a unique contribution of Christian historiography.

Achievements

The *achievements* of Christian historiography may be listed as follows: 1) The Greco-Roman oecumenical or particularistic history was replaced by Universal History. This Christian Copernican revolution destroyed the centre of gravity of a particular country and culture and substituted in its place a single, Universal Chronological Schema; 2) Similarly, the narrow ethnocentric approach to history was replaced by a broad, all-embracing theocentric conception; 3) The apo-calyptic idea captured the imagination of later historians. Epoch making events such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment etc. came to be considered as varied expression of revelations of God in human action; 4) The concept and content of history was refashioned on the basis of Christian thought; 5) It provided stability and continuity to historical thought since it was continuation of Hellenistic and Roman historiography in as much as the Medieval Christian historians depended for his facts on tradition;

RENAISSANCE HISTORIOGRAPHY

Rebirth of Classical Culture

After an ignominious interlude of a thousand years there was a resurrection of the classic spirit in Italy. The Italians called this coming of age *la Renascita* or Rebirth or Renaissance, which heralded the dawn of the Modern World. Even during the Medieval Period the Eastern Roman Empire, Arabia and China had its historians, scholars, writers and Scientists. Traces of ‘new learning’ started



trickling into Western Europe even at the time of the Crusades. With the development of trade and commerce educated men from the East began to appear in Italy.

Renaissance Humanists

The Italian scholars patronized and promoted by the Medici family were known as *Umanisti* or 'humanities'. Those who studied classic culture and practiced it were called the Humanists. They captivated the mind and mood of Italy. They shifted the focus of study from faith to reason, from religion to philosophy, from heaven to earth. They revived and revived the riches of pagan thought and art. For them the proper study of mankind was man in all ramifications. In short, humanism was the hall-mark of the Renaissance.

HUMANISTS

Dante, the '*Morning star of Renaissance*', rejected Latin, the language of the classics and wrote bewitching poetry in Italian, the language of the people. *Petrarch* and his precious manuscripts rotting in dust or mutilated at Monte Cassino. *Poggio* stumbled upon the *Institutions* of Quintilian in a foul dark dungeon at the Swiss Monastery of St. Gall and exhumed from the tombs the texts of many ancient worthies. Cicero's treatises and letters; the *Agricola*, *Germania*, *Dialogi* and *Annals* of Tacitus were discovered in Germany and from the monastery of Corvey.



HUMANIST HISTORIANS

Giovanni Villani (1275-1348)

Renaissance historiography achieved its first and greatest triumph in Florence and Villani was the pioneer historiographer. He hailed from a prosperous mercantile family and traveled extensively in Italy, Flanders and France. He served thrice as prior and once as master of the mint. He commanded a pure Tuscan speech. Visiting Rome in 1300 and much moved by the ruins of its majestic and mighty past Villani thought of recounting the city's past. But then he changed his mind and decided "to bring into this volume... all the events of the city of Florence... and give in full the deeds of the Florentines and briefly the notable affairs of the rest of the world".

Villani's *Chronicle Florentine* chronicles the history of Florentine from the Tower of Babel to the Black Death in which he died! His brother Matteo and his nephew Filippo continued the narration to 1365. Villani includes in his chronicle notices of new books, paintings and buildings. Florentine receives full description in all the departments of life. One distinguishing feature of his work is that it is punctuated with statistics. He writes, for instance, that Florence and its hinterland had 105,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,000 were beggars 4,000 were on public relief; there were 6 primary schools, teaching 10,000 boys and girls and 4 high schools in which 600 boys and a few studied grammar, literature and philosophy! "... he was the first to salt his narrative with statistics of social conditions". Villani had an uncommon sense of the economic bases and influences of history. But the first three books of his chronicle are mostly legend, though the remaining portions are reliable account of phases and events. His chronicle could be considered



history if he had brought the details into one united narrative of causes, phenomena, personalities and effects.

Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444)

Bruni is known as the “*the first modern historian*”. He studied law and abandoned it in favour of the study of Greek under the spell of his professor of Greek language and literature! He had the rare distinction of serving as secretary to four Popes and then to the Florentine Signory as well.³ He translated several dialogues of Plato into Latin.

Bruni’s famous work *History of Florence* was written in the background of classical antiquity and the rising importance of the Italian cities. Like a mirror, it reflects the new humanist approach and attitude. He distinguishes himself by his spirit of inquiry, an analytical method and constructive reasoning. But he neglects detailed research. Since he extols Florentine liberties and fosters patriotism and civic pride his history of Florence is at best a panegyric.

Lorenzo Valla (1406 – 1457), who studied classics with Bruni, used him to defend stoicism. Bruni hailed Poggio Bracciolini’s search for classical manuscripts as epochal. Pope Eugenius IV included Bruni along with few other humanists in his secretariat. Pope Nicholas V developed a warm friendship with Bruni. When the humanist historian died Bernardo designed a classic tomb for him in Santa Croce. Bruni was buried with his *History of Florence* on his chest!

POGGIO BRACCIOLINI (1380 – 1459)

Born poor Bracciolini was rich in scholarship. Educated through self-earning, he studied Greek, supported himself by copying manuscripts and secured



a job in the papal chancery at Rome. For half a century he served the Guria who sent him on many missions. Bracciolini used that opportunity to search for manuscripts; to visit monastic libraries; to collect coins, inscriptions and statuary; and to compose dialogues and letters. He worked with the humanist Pope Nicholas V, who founded the Vatican Library to accommodate all the great books in the world.

At 70 Bracciolini composed his renowned *Liber facetiarum*, a collection of stories and satires. He translated *Xenophon's Cyropedia* into lovable Latin. His treatise *De miseris* portrays human miseries and ills of life. His *History of Florence* is a notable mile-stone in the history of historical writing. It is known for its accuracy of detail, a critical examination of sources, a penetrating analysis of causes and impartiality of judgment. His more famous *The History of Italy* in ten volumes is his *Magnum opus*. It is considered to be the most impressive achievement in Renaissance historiography. In short, Bracciolini is the greatest historian of the 16th century.

FLAVIO BIONDO (1388 – 1463)

Biondo was patronized by the 'Renaissance Pope' Nicholas V. He served as Pope's papal secretary. Child of Christian Renaissance, Biondo loved classical antiquity, toured places of Roman ruins and wrote history. His three-part *Encyclopedia* recorded the topography, history, institutions, laws, religion, manners and arts of ancient Italy. His more famous *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* from 476 to 1250 was the first critical account of the Middle Ages.

Biondo is known for his 'Conscientious Scholarship'. He scrupulously avoids the legends traditionally associated with the origin of the 'Eternal City'



Rome, Trojan War etc. He treats European history from the fall of Rome in the 5th century to the Renaissance in the 15th century as continuous development. His *magnum opus* the Decline and Fall of Roman Empire served as inspiration to Edward Gibbon. Biondo's medieval study was a model for later historians. Though not known for his literary style, Biondo has left his indelible imprints on modern historiography as "a discriminatory historian".

Bernardio Corio (1459 – 1503)

Native of Como, Corio wrote his lively *Historia di Milano* or History of Milan. Like Florence, Venice and Rome Milan was a distinguished Italian City. For a decade Renaissance was more brilliant in Milan, under Lodovico and Leonardo, than in Florence. The court of Milan became the most splendid not only in Italy but in all Europe under Castello Sforzesco. Corio describes it with classic flourish in his lively History of Milan. "... Wherefore that glorious and most illustrious Prince Lodovico Sforza had called into his pay ... men most excellent in knowledge and art. Here was the learning of Greece, here Latin verse and prose flourished resplendently, here were the poetic muses; here the masters of the sculptor's art and those foremost in painting has gathered from distant countries, and here songs and sweet sounds of every kind and such dulcet harmonies were heard, that they seemed to have descended from heaven itself upon this excelling court". Corio's account is not only lively but also accurate.

Niccolo Machavelli (1469 – 1527)

Son of a Florentine lawyer Machiavelli received literary education. He learned little Latin and no Greek. He studied law. He got interested in Roman history and to his surprise he found for almost every political institution a parallel



in the history of Rome. As a student of Roman history Machiavelli became enamoured of Livy. His absorbing interest was politics, the cheses of power. At 29, he was appointed Secretary to the Dieci Della Guerra – a Council of Ten for War, and held that post for 14 years.

As Secretary he compiled minutes and records, summarized reports, wrote letters, watched European politics from inside the government and forecasted developments by applying his knowledge of history. He was sent on a mission once to Cataerina Sforza, Countess of Imola and then to Louis XII of France. However, his mission to Caesar Borgia proved to be a turning point in his diplomatic career. Borgio became the hero of his political philosophy. Back in Florence he was involved in a conspiracy against the Medici, was arrested, tortured and then released as the charge of complicity against him could not be proved. Fearing rearrest Machiavelli retreated to his ancestral Villa at Sam Caciano spent his remaining 15 years in writing books that shocked the world.

His Works

The Prince, Discourses on Livy, History of Florence and the ***Art of War*** are the better known works of Machiavelli. He wrote ***Principle*** or ***The Prince*** in 1513 with a view to present it as a gift to one of the ruling Medici. It was first circulated in manuscript which was surreptitiously copied and finally printed in 1532, five years after the author's death. It was among the most frequently reprinted books in any language. It was meant to be a manual of politics for a leader who would end Italian weakness, halt foreign intervention and weld is into a unified nation.



His *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy* resuscitate classic principles of government and apply them to contemporary politics. He takes his examples mostly from Livy and partly from Polybius. His *Storie Florentine or the History of Florence*, written in five years, was the first major history written in clear, vigorous and direct Italian. It is free from fables as well as chronological plan. Instead it deals not merely with events but with causes and effects and presents an admirable analysis of conflicting Florentine families, classes and interests. The *Art of War* is a treatise dealing with the laws of military power and success. An army must always be kept busy for then only the martial muscles will be trim. A nation that has lost its martial virtues is doomed.

Francesco Guicciardini (1483 – 1552)

Born in an aristocratic family and brought up in an atmosphere of affluence, learning and diplomacy Guicciardini studied civil law. At the age of 23 he was appointed Professor of law at Florence. He traveled widely and sharpened his mind with penetrating insight. At 27 he wrote his *Storia Fiorentina* or History of Florentine. It traces the history of the Italian city-state from 1378 to 1509. He critically examined the sources before he wrote this book. He treats the period with an accuracy of detail. His analysis of causes is clinical. His judgment is impartial and mature. The book is penned in fine Italian prose and the narration is vivid.

Paolo Giovio (1483 – 1540)

Giovio produced one of the major historical works of the Renaissance during the pontificate of Pope Leo X who inaugurated one of the most brilliant and immortal ages in the history of Rome. Native of Como, Giovio practiced medicine



in Milan and Rome. Patronised by Pope Leo X himself he was made Bishop of Nocera. Supported and encouraged by Leo, he wrote his masterpiece *Historiaesuitemporis*. It is Latin history of his own times ie., from the invasion of Italy by Charles VII to Leo's pontificate.¹⁸ When the author read the first sections to Leo X the patron pronounced the work the most elegant historical writing since Livy. After Leo's death Giovio used his 'pen of gold' to write a eulogistic life of his past patron. And he continued his History till 1547. He also added biographies to his History. His book is acclaimed for its, fluent, mellifluous and vivid style. But it is vitiated by careless inaccuracies, flagrant prejudice and patent bias. Giovio unashamedly confesses that he praises or condemns persons of his narration according to the extent of their lubricating his palm! In this light the bishop historian's conclusion that "Knowledge, art the common well-being, the joy of living in a word, all good things-have gone down into the grave with Leo", is understandable.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RENAISSANCE

The greatest contribution of the Renaissance historiography was the retrieval of historical writing from the hold of medieval method of relating events to divine Providence. The Renaissance humanist historians made the study of history reasonable, majestic and responsible. History became humanistic, secular and instructive. Thus, Renaissance bought about fresh reorientation of historical studies. As a result, a humanistic view of history provided a basis for determining the general plan of history. Historical thought was based on accurate scholarship. "The positive fruits of this new movement were found first of all in a great clearing away of what had been fanciful and ill-founded medieval historiography".



REFORMATION HISTRIOGRAPHY

Revolt against the Church

The religious Reformation was an upheaval against the Church. It broke down medieval religious unity. As the Renaissance was directed toward intellectual freedom, the Reformation aimed at religious freedom. Both together worked for moral freedom. The Roman Catholic Church as the Counter Reformation attempted to purify it from within. In effect, the Reformation Spear headed by Martin Luther and the Counter. Reformation headed by spear Ignatius Loyola broke the uniformity of the Medieval system and the limitations placed on human thought by the Church of the middle ages.

At the same time the Reformation renewed the medieval ideal of faith and brought about a great deal of genuine religious reform. This religious upheaval created a new interest in education. No longer were the churchmen the only educated people and no longer would laymen blindly accept everything that the clergy taught them. In European countries people started studying classical literature. This new learning and religious emancipation of mind had a profound impact on Reformation historiography, "...more than Renaissance it was Reformation that created an interest in historical writing".

THE REFORMATION HISTORIANS

Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536)

The Reformation historians were few and far between and their contribution of historiography was meager. Desiderius Erasmus was the greatest of the reformation humanists and the scholar par excellence, Born in Rotterdam, he spent



most of his life in Germany, France, England, Italy and Switzerland. Though a doctor of sacred theology he poked fun at unimaginative theologians. He edited the Greek text of the New Testament with a view to save it from the deposits of dogmas and accretions of centuries. His *Collectanea adagiorum* or a collection of 818 adages or quotations are salted with satire. Referring to current custom Erasmus observes that “priests are said in Scripture to devour the sins of the people, and the find sins so hard to digest that have the best wine to wash them down”.

Erasmus is better known for his most famous book. *The Praise of Folly* than his less known *History of Richard III*. The former is a satire at the expense of monks, friar, inquisitors, cardinals and popes, which stirred and shocked the theologians. The latter was sharply against royal autocracy. Fearing royal wrath he avoided the release of the book which was posthumously published. Shakespeare based a play on it. Erasmus was more a satirist than a historian. Unlike his contemporary Machiavelli he was not concerned with the causes of war or the behavior of state or morality in politics. His concern was “to cut dead branches of states or morality in politics. His concern was “to cut dead branches from the tree of life rather than to construct a positive and constructive philosophy”.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo (1478 – 1557)

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, appointed Oviedo as the historiographer of the New World. Oviedo resided for forty years in Spanish America. During this period he amassed huge wealth. With his rich personal experience he wrote in 1535 his *Historia general* or General History. Though voluminous it is



indifferent and ill-ordered. He resented Bartolome de las Cases, Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, who in his *Memorials* exposed the merciless exploitation of native slave labour in the American mines. Las Cases who sailed with Columbus in 1502 and then settled in Mexico devoted his life to the cause of Indians. In *Memorials*, addressed to the Spanish government, he described the deplorable plight of the native Indians under the cruel conditions imposed by the settlers.

Sebastian Frank (1499 – 1543)

Franck was a priest in Augsburg. He became a Lutheran minister in 1525. He hailed the Reformation as a brave and welcome revolt. He sympathized with the persecuted Anabaptists, and condemned Lutheran intolerance. As a result, he was expelled from Strasburg and he eked out his living by boiling soap in ulm! He ridiculed the religious orthodoxy of the German dukes. The heart of this universalistic theist is “alien to none (of the sects). I have my brothers among the Turks, Papists, Jews, and all people”. Banished from ulm he made a living as a printer in Basel and breathed his last there in penury. His *World History*, Besides describing the social conditions of his times, reflects the universalistic outlook of the author.

Diego Hurtado De Mandoza (1503 – 1575)

Spain was the home of Reformation historians. Franciso Lopez de Gomara gave a favourable account of the Cortesian rape of Maxico. As a rebuttal Bernal Diaz del Castillo composed his *Historia* which, while giving due recognition of Cortes, condemned him for cornering all profits of the conquest at the cost of such brave soldiers as Bernal. It is a fascinating book. By the greatest reformation historian was *Mendoza*. Born at Granda eleven years after its conquest by



Ferdinand in which his father won laurels, Mendoza was educated at Salamanca, Boloua, and Padua. He was well-versed in Latin, Greek and Arabic; in philosophy, history and law. He collected classic texts with Renaissance zeal and zest. When Suleiman, the Magnificent, offered him office Mendoza asked only for some Greek manuscript! He rose to high place in the diplomatic service of Charles V at Venice, Rome and the Council of Trent. Exiled from the court of Philip II for wagging his tongue against him Mendoz retired to Granada and wrote his **History of Granada**. In this work he recounts the Moorish Revolt of 1568 – 70. He is impartial and just to the moors. Though modeled on Sallust and Tacitus his History of Grenada was “the first Spanish work that advanced beyond mere chronicle or propaganda to factual history interpreted with philosophical grasp and presented with literary art”.

The Intellectual Revolution

Renaissance and Reformation, humanism, the geographical discoveries, the invention of printing, and the breaking down of medieval religious unity came between 1453 and 1517. These turning points profoundly affected the historical thinking and writing. Equally important changes and advances were taking place in the realm of science, philosophy, history, religion and the arts in the seventeenth century. The term intellectual Revolution is applied to describe the transformation in science, thought and the arts. Seventeenth Century was an Age of Science. Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo (1564-1642), Newton (1642-1727), Gilbert (1540-1603), Harvey (1578-1657), Leeu-wen Lock (1632-1723) and Boyle (1627-1691) came out with their starling discoveries.



JEAN BODIN (1530 -1596)

Born at Augers in 1530 Jean Bodin came to Paris in 1560, practiced law and gave himself to the study of philosophy and history. The French historian was well versed in Hebrew, Greek, German, Italian, Livy, Tacitus, the Old Testament, Cicero and the constitutions of all the West European States. He was a versatile genius.

His Works

Bodin's first major work was his *Method for the Easy Understanding of History* (1566). The quintessence of the book is the lesson that the study of history is the gateway to worldly wisdom. History will show that the good will always triumph and the wicked invariably defeated. His later work of importance *De republica* seeks to establish the impact of geography and race on history. History is a function of geography says Bodin. Bodin contends that geography of temperature, rainfall, soil topography – determines character and character in turn decides history. According to Bodin, geography and race are the twin factors which determine the course of history. That is to say, all historical events and deeds of great men can be explained in terms of geographical and racial factors.

HUGO GROTIUS (1583 – 1645)

Born in Delft, Holland, educated at Leiden in Mathematics, philosophy and Jurisprudence, Grotius was appointed official historiographer of the Dutch government. He fought for the cause of Armenian liberalism and courted arrest. After spending nearly three years in jail, Grotius escaped, concealed by his wife in



a chest of dirty linen and books! He fled to Paris (1621) and survived a meager pension sanctioned by Louis XIII.

His Works

At the age of 26 Grotius wrote *Mare liberum* and earned the recognition of the country. It outlined maritime law and argued for the freedom of the seas. Living in poverty, Grotius composed his *The Law of War and Peace* (1625). This classic laid the foundation for international law. It set forth a new code of international conduct based on the principles of right, reason, morality and justice. He insisted that mutual understanding, accommodation, humanity and reason must prevail in relation among nations. With commendable realism he sought to outlaw ‘unjust wars’ in favour of ‘just wars’ with a view to limit cruelty and destruction. This work earned him lasting and well merited recognition.

SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561 1626)

“The Mind of Modern Times”

Seventeenth Century was an age of achievement and Francis Bacon was a pioneer achiever. He was the son of Sir Nicolas Bacon, who for the first two decades of Queen Elizabeth’s reign had been keeper of the Great Seal. Bacon was brought up in an environment of affluence and political influence. At the age of 12 Bacon was sent to Trinity College and at the age of 16 he accepted the appointment of the staff of the English ambassador in France. At the age of 22 he was elected to Parliament; and his constituents, captivated by his limitless knowledge and vivid eloquence, repeatedly returned to his seat in election after election. Intimate friend of Earl of Essex Bacon had to turn against him when the Earl conspired and rose in



rebellion against the Queen. At the age of 45 Bacon was made Solicitor – General and at 52 he became Attorney-General. He died at 57.

Map of Knowledge

During his long career of public service Bacon wrote his precise *Essays* in marble prose and seven scientific works which proclaimed the possibilities of the new scientific knowledge and human wisdom. Bacon never hankered after novelty, nor was he a blind admirer of antiquity. He had an irresistible passion for facts and truth, “I possessed a passion for research, a power of suspending judgment with patience, of meditation with pleasure, of arranging my thoughts with scrupulous pains”. Of *Truth*, a finest essay, he writes: “The inquiry of truth, which is the love-making and wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the praise of it; and the belief of truth, which is enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human natures”. By the beginning of the 17th century Bacon was able to divide his map of knowledge into three great realms of (1) Poetry ruled by the faculty of imagination; (2) History based on memory; and (3) philosophy conditioned by understanding.

RENE DESCARTES (1596 – 1650)

Father of Cartesianism)

Seventeenth Century witnessed nothing short of a mathematical explosion. Quicker methods of calculations were found. Tables were devised to help shorten the process of computation. The introduction of decimals did much to simplify calculation. A Scot, John Napier, published *A Description of the Marvelous Rule of Logarithms* in 1614. Logarithms reduced the time and effort in solving intricate



mathematical problems. A mathematicians invented the slide rule in 1622. The first adding machine was developed in 1645 by Pascal. Fluxional or infinite-simal calculus, the greatest mathematical marvel, was the work of Sir Issac Newton (1642-1727), the renowned English scientist and Gottifield Leibnitz (1646-1716), a German scholar of remarkable versatility. No wonder Rene Descartes, the junior contemporary of Sir Francis Bacon, was profoundly influenced by this mathematical revolution.

Descartes was a French soldier of fortune, lawyer, philosopher and a mathematical genius. Following the footsteps of Bacon he envisaged the reformation of knowledge. He enjoined scientists to begin their research by doubting traditional dogmas, by eliminating prejudices and preferences and by demanding facts from opinions. While most of Europe was preoccupied with the Thirty years War (1618-1648) Descartes was engaged in blending geometry and algebra into what now we know as Analytic Geometry.

Like Bacon he too redrew the map of knowledge by applying rigorous analytical method. While doing so he found that though history was interesting, instructive and valuable, it could not claim truth. History could not stand the test of inductive – analytical method. He refused to recognize history as a branch of knowledge at all! He applied his meticulously mathematical – philosophical yardstick to other branches of knowledge as well. This attitude, approach and application of *mathematical method* is known as Carticianism. This queer sounding word is derived from ‘Carte’ in his name *Descartes*.



CARTICIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Descartes was a child of the Age of Reason. He, therefore, relied more on reason than on faith. His influence was such, that a new kind of scientific approach called 'Cartician' came to be recognized. The contemporary classical French drama was known as a School of Cartician Poetry. His philosophy came to be called Cartician Philosophy, Similarly, his systematic skepticism and thorough going recognition of critical principles has been christened as Cartician Historiography by R.G.Collingwood. In other words, historical writing came to be based on the Cartician criteria of scientific method.

This new school of Cartician thought discarded and discredited the Baconian view of history resting on memory. Instead, Cartician historians insisted that history should be based neither on memory nor on authority, or on written record alone. The testimony of written authorities must be rigorously subjected to the acid test of criticism, since uncritical acceptance of authority is anti-historical. Cartician critical method is based on three ground rules:

- 1) Historical testimony must enable the historian to know what could have happened in the past.
 - 2) Different authorities must be confronted with each other and harmonized.
 - 3) Written records must be checked with the aid of non-literary evidence.
- Thanks to Cartician carping criticism historians started treating their authorities in a thoroughly critical spirit. Tillemont and the Bollandists were the typical examples of this new school of Cartician historiography.



MONTESQUIEU (1689 – 1755):

The French Philosophes

Early in the eighteenth century France regained the intellectual supremacy of Europe. A new group of thinkers and writers known as the *Philosophes* can not be literally translated as philosophers. They were in fact students of society. They analyzed social evils and advocated reforms. Foremost among them were Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Diderot. They caused a revolution in the realm of ideas which responsible for a political revolution of 1789. The *Philosophes* gave vent to the discontent which laid dormant in the hearts of the French people. They sowed the seeds of philosophical speculation in the well tilled soil of French frustration. Their ideas, concepts and convictions disturbed the people's mind and changed their outlook. In short, they prepared the French people for a revolutionary change.

Applied Cartesianism

Rene Descartes formulated the principles of Cartesianism. These principles were applied to historical writing by Montesquieu. His *Persian Letters*, the *Considerations* and the *Spirit of Laws* earned him everlasting fame. *Persian Letters* narrate the experiences of an orientalist who traveled in Europe. In these letters Montesquieu unleashes his satirical attack on the decadent institutions like monarchy, church and government. He shows that liberty and virtue are the two sides of the same coin. The *Persian Letters*, a sparkling satire, exposed the evils of the ancient regime in France. His *Considerations* concentrates on the causes of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire. Montesquieu advances the idea that excessive territorial expansion which taxed Roman economy was really



responsible for Roman imperial decline. His *Spirit of Laws*, his *magnum opus*, lays down the dictum that there is no one best system of government and the governments must conform to geographical conditions, economic resources and racial requirements. He advances the theory that the *Separation of Powers* is an antidote for autocracy.

His Views on History

Nations, cultures and political institutions were Montesquieu's main subjects of study. He was the first in modern times to apply the inductive method to historical study. He painstakingly collected fact, classified and analyzed them before he drew conclusions. His comparative approach was the trend setter. His comparative study of the difference between nations and cultures led him to conclude that the differences were due to climate and geography. Since he conceived human life as a reflection of geographical conditions, he sought to explain historical events in the facts of the world of nature. He concluded that human institutions were the outcome of natural causes. He implies that historical changes were different ways in which human nature reacted to different stimuli.

His Contributions

Montesquieu was the first convert to the gospel of Enlightenment. He discarded the theological approach to the study of human nature, human institutions and cultural differences. Instead he applied the Cartesian principles of historical phenomena. He laid the foundation for a scientific study of human culture. He underlined the importance of the environmental and constitutional aspects of history. His geographical interpretation of history is "important not only in itself but for the development of historical thought".



Montesquieu's inductive method of historical research, his perception of the relationship between culture and environment, his insistence of economic factors which underlay political institutions, his pragmatic approach to explain human institutions and his rejection of the theological interpretation of history contributed substantially to the future development of scientific historiography. His affirmation of the dependence of political and legal phenomena on natural laws has a profound influence on Auguste Comete. Similarly, the ideological and theoretical source of Emile Durhiem's scientific work could be traced to the Cartisian conception of Montesquieu.

ANTI-CARTISIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Response to Cartisian Challenge

Anti-cartisianism represented the response to the Cartisian challenge to historical knowledge. It was a frontal attack on the views of Rene Descartes, the French expounder of Cartisianism. It questioned the very basis of the Cartisian claim that the scientific method was the only valid way by which historians could gain knowledge of the past. It dismantled the equation between natural science, which is '*external*' to man and the area of history, which is '*internal*' to man and established the special character of history. It demolished the mechanical view that history was the produce of human nature which was taken to be constant never changes!

GIAMBATTISTA VICO (1688 – 1744)

Son of a book seller Vico was born in Naples, Italy, studied in several schools and graduated in law from the University of Naples. He was Professor of



Rhetoric at the University of Milan. Influenced by Plato, Tacitus, Bacon and Grotius, he was proficient in jurisprudence, history, literature, language, law and philosophy. Unlike Descartes he was ‘a trained and brilliant historian’. His interest in history was constructive, creative and positive. Of his several works *On the Method of the Studies of our Times*, *On the Most Ancient Knowledge of Italians*, *The New Science*, *Autobiography*, *Biography of Marshall Antonio Carafa* and the *Universal Law* are important. He continued his research throughout his career and contributed several original papers in the fields of Jurisprudence, linguistics and history.

ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

Age of Enlightenment

The period roughly from 1450 to 1700 separated the Middle Ages from the Age of Enlightenment. Geographical explorations, European overseas expansion and the consequent changes heralded the commercial Revolution. In fact, the late 15th the 16th and the 17th centuries were “essentially *transitional*, essentially the years of preparation for the Enlightenment”. Eighteenth century has been rightly described as the Age of Enlightenment. Cataclysmic changes had metamorphosed European thought, literature, science and art. The result was the Intellectual Revolution. Enlightenment was the smart child of Intellectual Revolution. Enlightenment had transformed the medieval theological view of life into the modern rationalistic view of life. “So important are these changes in European thought from the latter part of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth century that they constitute what is known as the Enlightenment”.²



Meaning of Enlightenment

The literal meaning of the term '*enlightenment*', is to give some knowledge to people and free them from prejudice, ignorance and superstition. The word *Aubklarung* or Enlightenment refers to *secularization* of every department of human life and thought. *Reason* was the leading light that dispelled the darkness of medieval myths, mythologies and myopias. *Rationalism* exposed the deception, intrigues and conspiracies of priests, nobles and countries. *Pragmatism* sought to treat historical facts on the basis of their practical applications. Thus, secularization, reason, rationalism and pragmatism were the pillars on which the mighty mansion of Enlightenment was raised.

Enlightenment Historians

The Enlightenment historians were imbued with and impelled by the spirit of Reason. Rationalism, secularism, pragmatism and progress were their watch words. Children of the Intellectual Revolution, the Enlightenment historians opposed tooth and nail the Christian conception of truth and justice. They turned their heads against the authority of the church. They “questioned the authority of tradition and assailed the infallibility of inherited beliefs”.⁶ They accepted reason and rejected revelation.

The Enlightenment historians divorced history from religious considerations. They spurned the Medieval Church historiography. They viewed the medieval period as an unhappy interlude of superstition and stagnation and equated it with intellectual backwardness, bankruptcy and barbarism. They derided and discredited the Middle Ages because the ‘dark interlude’ had not contributed anything to human culture and progress. They thought that the cumulative effect



of the liberating force should be human progress. Progress was possible, they argued, only when the society was saved from the clutches of religion and religious institutions.

The Enlightenment historians discarded the 'archival approach' to historical events and sought to discover the actual status of society in the past and the manners and cultures of the people. They were more interested in delving deep into the function of the societies rather than dealing with wars and battles, conflict and intrigues. They widened the scope of history by including China, India and the Islamic World. They heightened history by portraying the exquisite creations of art and literature. They deepened it by probing into the functioning of the societies of the past. Their whole approach was informed by vigorous optimism. Faith in reason and belief in humanitarianism led the Enlightenment historians to carry on a campaign of stocktaking in all aspects of historical development and endeavoured to build a period of historical inventory. With this end in view they critically evaluated historical sources.

In sum, the Enlightenment historians illuminated history by the light of reason; brought a new out-look into the writing of history by focusing attention on the societies of the past; concerned with the history of ideas, institution and cultures rather than the political and dynastic history; preoccupied with the progress of mankind; and widened, deepened and heightened the dimensions of history.

To put it simply their aims were 1) to liberate history from the thralldom of supernatural interpretation; 2) to supersede the conventional chronological method of writing history; 3) to attempt a reasoned philosophical narrative based upon a



critical examination of authorities; 4) to unravel the cultural value of evidence; 5) to use historical scholarship and style of writing as a means to an end and not an end by itself; 6) to write history which could be useful to people. “Thus the historiography of the Enlightenment period broke new ice, turned a new leaf in the art of writing history and revolutionized the entire concept of history...” and 7) Voltaire, David Hume and Gibbon were the eminent historians of Enlightenment.

VOLTAIRE (1694 – 1778)

Francois Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire, was born at Paris on November 21, 1694. As a child, he was precarious but precocious. His early education came from the tutors and the Jesuits. He discussed theology with the doctors and took to literature as duck to water! He mocked at the Regent to Louis XV and courted imprisonment (1717). A quarrel with a noble caused him exile to London (1725). Voltaire returned to France in 1728 and lived for the next fifteen years in Lorraine. The publication of his *Letters on the English* threatened him and he took refuge at Ciry, where he spent his time in study, research and writing. For a short time he enjoyed the hospitality of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1750). Again exiled from France, Voltaire found shelter at Ferney, near Geneva. Exhausted by his sustained struggle against priesthood and autocracy, Voltaire the ‘laughing philosopher’ breathed his last in May 30, 1778 at the ripe age of 83.

Voltaire was a prolific writer. His *Letters on the English, Essay on the Morals and the Spirit of the Nations from Charlemagne to Louis VIII, Charles XII, The Age of Louis XIV, World History, History of the Establishment of Christianity, The Age of Louis XIII, The Philosophy of History constitute a laudable landmark in the history of historical writing.*



EDWARD GIBON (1737 – 1794)

Gibbon was the intellectual child of Enlightenment. Born at Putney in London in 1737, Gibbon was brought up by his aunt Catherine Porter, ‘the mother of his mind’. His early education started at Kingston-on-Thames, Bash and Westminster. His grand father’s library was the fountain-source of information to the voracious young Gibbon. His visits to country houses along with his father gave him an idea about the wealth of historical material available in libraries. He joined Magdalen College, Oxford and then went to Lausanne in Switzerland (1753 – 1758) where he studied Latin and French. He was well – versed in Mathematics and Logic as well. His visit to Ferney to meet Voltaire was a turning point in his life. After his return from Lausanne Gibbon joined the Hampshire militia and served as the captain during the Seven Years War (1756 – 1763). He visited Rome in 1764. On seeing the ruins of Rome, he decided to trace the causes for the fall of the Eternal City. On returning to England Gibbon entered politics and got elected to Parliament (1776), He served in the Lord North Ministry till 1782. Since then Gibbon devoted his life in writing history, his life ambition.

His Writings

The Memoirs, his autobiography, *Vindication* and the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* are his major works. Of these, *the Decline and Fall is his magnum opus*. It earned him an everlasting fame and made him and his work immortal. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, written during the first half of George III’s reign, is in 6 volumes. This monumental work may be divided into **two parts**: the first part in four volumes covers the period of Roman history for 460 years from the second century A.D; the second part in two volumes covers the



remaining period of 800 years. Thus, the Decline and fall is a straight narrative history of Rome for 1260 years!

The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a compendious composition in a captivating style. It is a masterly narration of a fascinating subject. While dealing with the development of Roman history Gibbon turns to Byzantium, Asia and Africa, after describing the reign of Heraclitus. Then he goes on to the crusades before coming down to the Fall of Constantinople. He surveys the fluctuating fortunes of Rome through the Middle Ages. Thus, the Decline and Fall is a conducted 'reconnaissance' historical tour through the Imperial centuries and the Dark Ages upto the opening gates of Renaissance Rome.

UTILITARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism was the offshoot of Enlightenment. The pragmatic trend and approach of Enlightenment had later taken the form of utilitarianism. "This new school of thought held the view that the improvement of people was more important than the adoption of ethical principles in State policy. The essence of utilitarianism was "The greatest happiness of the greatest number". It was formulated in order to give expression to the ideals of economic liberalism. These ideals rest on the belief that every individual is motivated by the prudent self interest.

In the words of Adam Smith, the renowned author of "Wealth of Nations" (1776), "The natural effort of every individual to better his own conditions... is so powerful a principle that it is alone... not only capable of carrying on the society to



wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations:.²⁶ Utilitarianism insisted that the value of the government was limited to its contribution to the well being of the people as a whole. Thus the twin cardinal principles of Utilitarianism was the economic expression of Enlightenment.

Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832)

The exponents of Utilitarianism were known as the utilitarians Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill were the ardent advocates of Utilitarianism. *Jeremy Bentham* (1748 – 1832) was a rich philosophical writer. He interested himself in law, prisons, ethics and education. He is the Father of Utilitarianism. His *Principles of Morals and Legislations* is the Bible of Utilitarianism. He based his doctrine of Utilitarianism on the twin concepts of *Utility* and *happiness*. He justified these concepts by saying that each individual knew what was best for himself and that all human institutions should be measured according to the amount of happiness they generate. He maintained that pleasures and pains could be measured quantitatively. The restrictions upon the individual's pursuit of happiness should be as few as possible. The business of the legislature was to interfere with a person's liberty only when its exercise destroyed more liberty to others. Thus he identified the useful and the good. Bentham's utilitarianism profoundly influenced the European thinkers of the 19th century.

James Mill (1773 – 1836)

James Mill was a Utilitarian philosopher, thinker and writer. James Mill popularized the views of Jeremy Bentham. He tried to show that Utilitarianism could be accomplished only through the acceptance of the principles of economic



liberalism. James Mill reduced social interest to the sum total of private interests. Society, for him, was a fictitious body made up of individuals who were regarded as its constituent members. Like Bentham, James Mill Powerfully put forward the principle of achieving the maximum good for the greatest number as a general ethical law. James Mill's *History of British India*, though defective, exerted a profound influence on the writing of Indian History.

John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1873)

John Stuart Mill was the famous son of the famous father James Mill. Following the foot steps of Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, J.S.Mill not only defended utilitarianism but also added new dimensions to the classical utilitarianism, but also added new dimensions to the classical utilitarianism, which was hedonistic in complexion. J.S.Mill was well-versed in logic, philosophy and history. He was the Editor of London and Westminster Magazine. He was a prolific writer. His extensive writings includes *System of Logic* (1863), *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), *Utilitarianism* (1863) and *Subjection of Women* (1869).

Unlike his father, J.S.Mill wrote no history as such. But his ideas on history could be gathered from his several works. Mill spared no labour in presenting his thoughts to the public in as perfect a form as he was capable of giving them. The central idea of the *Liberty* is of immense importance to mankind for encouraging and promoting a large variety of types of character and modes of thinking. He was for full freedom to human nature to expand and improve in all kinds of directions. He believed that new thoughts and new ideas provided and strength to the mental and moral development of the race.



J.S.Mill was up against all that were customary and conventional. He condemned persecution in unmistakable terms. He was appalled at the execution of Socrates. Mill considered the death of Socrates as the crowning example of the crime and blunder of humanity in resisting new truths. Is it not true that “Those who are capable of giving birth to new ideas, of creating new standards of honour and morality, and new access to the eternal laws of nature, are the saviours of society”. Mill insisted that such sort of men and women needed to make a nation great. They were those very people who had the strength to break the bonds of what was merely customary and conventional. Creative individuals not only personified but also initiated all the wise and the noble things that humanity had done. Such individuals were better appreciated in a time of crisis for they were capable of more wisdom and virtue than collective men ever could be.

Mill’s *Representative Government* is an application of the general principles laid down in the book *On liberty*. J.S.Mill was against autocracy of any kind including the benevolent one. He argued that self-government brought out intellectual activity and developed moral sensitiveness to a degree which had no parallel under a despotism. Representative government makes for a vigorous, self-reliant people; whereas a people deprived of political life loses energy, becomes mentally passive, at length becomes helpless – as helpless as the Romans proved to be after reign of Marcus Aurelius.

J.S.Mill asserted in his *System of Logic* that all laws were reducible to individual human nature. “Human beings in society have no properties but those which are derived from, and may be resolved into, the laws of nature of individual man”. Like Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, J.S.Mill attempted to formulate laws of social evolution. These laws are not like laws of nature. Mill’s law history

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is only” a description of tendencies and trends of development”. J.S.Mill was not a professional historian and his views appear to be non-historical. “Mill is describing, whether well or ill, a particular phase in the history of human morality . He may not know that he is doing this but that is what is doing”.

ROMANTICIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

Romanticism was the child of Enlightenment. Though resembled the parent, Romanticism was the antithesis to Enlightenment! “Romanticism was a *revolt* against rationalism”, which was at the heart of Enlightenment. As the Age of Faith gave birth to the Age of Reason, the Age of Reason led to the Age of Romanticism. Founded during the second half of the 18th century, Romanticism triumphed to emotion by imaginative, heroic or picturesque presentation. It represented nostalgic feelings, attitudes or sentiments towards the past. It was an anti-classical intellectual movement. It provided a charismatic expression of European thought. It was deeply idealistic. In short, Romanticism was a reaction and revolt against the extremities of Enlightenment.

Nature of Romanticism

Romanticism was a turn toward emotion. It came to be one of the essential elements in the nineteenth century view of life. The salient *features* of Romanticism are: 1) It glorified the past. It was nostalgic in nature. “Old was gold’ for the Romanticists. Romanticism regarded traditions, customs and manners with respect. 2) It eulogized the Middle Ages. It drew inspiration from the medieval manors, castles, cathedrals, the crusades, Christian Kings, life of chivalry and Gothic architecture. 3) It infused fresh faith and respect for natural character and institutions. It stressed the superiority of nations. 4) It glorified the



instincts and emotions as against the worship of reason and intellect. It displayed delight in the irrational, fantastic and exotic. 5) It sympathized with the past, admired the values of the past as expressed in the achievements of the people and advocated 'back to nature'. 6) It forged intimate relationship between literature and history. It left its indelible imprints on literature, music, painting, architecture, politics and historiography.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712 – 1799)

Rousseau has been rightly regarded as the Father of Romanticism. Born as a sick child Rousseau was driven to despair. He was a distressingly disappointed youth. But fortune knocked at his doors when the Academy of Dijon in 1749 offered a prize for his essay "*Has the Progress of Sciences and the Arts Contributed to corrupt, or to purify, Morals*"? Rousseau joined the contest and won the prize! His books *The New Heloise*, a novel based on his 'back to nature' idea; *Emile*, containing his educational ideas; *Confessions*, his outrageously frank autobiography; and *Social Contract*, expounding the popular basic of governmental authority made Rousseau immensely popular among the French people. The impact of these books on literature, education, society and polity was wide and deep.

Rousseau's General Will

Rousseau's Social Contract, published in 1762, starts with the ringing word 'man is born free but is everywhere in chains'. The greatest of Rousseau's works, the Social Contract ably defended the idea that the governments were made to serve men and not *Vice Versa*. "All the rulers of the earth", declared Rousseau, "are mere delegates of the people, who when they are displeased with the



government, have the right to alter or abolish it". Thus he introduced the concept of General Will of the society.

Rousseau's theory of *General Will* was his unique contribution not only to political thought but also to romanticist historiography. He applied the concept of General Will to explain the historical development. He applied it to the recent as well as remote past. He used it to explain earlier periods in history. More important, he applied it to the history of all races and to all times. With the magic touch of his concept of General Will even the so-called Age of Barbarism became meaningful and intelligible. Rousseau's enunciation, interpretation and application of General Will is a corrective to the distorted conception of the Enlightenment historians who regarded the past with contempt.

Rousseau's contribution to the Romanticist school of historical thought was the inculcation of the habit of looking back to primitive times as representing a form of society with a value of its own. It promoted a tendency to see a positive value in cultures very different from one's own. As a result, "it was possible to see the whole of human history, if not as the history of human reason, at least as the history, if not as the history of human will".

IMMANUEL KANT (1724 – 1804)

Immanuel Kant was the greatest German philosopher. Born poor at Konigsberg, Prussia, Kant had his early schooling in a nearby village. In 1755 he started his career at the university of Konigsberg. Subsequently he became Professor of Logic and Metaphysics (1770). His personal life was regulated by time. His passion for writing was unbound. His *Theory of Heavens* (1755) attempted a mechanical explanation of all sidereal motion and development of



heavenly bodies. His magnum opus, *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) contended that knowledge was not derived from senses; that religion could be based not on reason but on morals; that faith must be put beyond the realm of reason; and that pure reason could be practical. His *Critique of Judgment* (1790) *and Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason* (1793) dealt with religion and both the books were widely read and understood. His lengthy titled “*The Natural Principle of the Political Order considered in connection with the Idea of a Universal Cosmopolitan History*” (1784), shortly called *the Universal History*, contained his ideas of history and politics. The essay on *Eternal Peace* (1795) developed the area of peace so necessary for human progress. His *Anthropology* (1798) suggested the possibility of the animal origin of man.

Kant and Romantic Idealism

Kant was a romantic idealist. He was the Founder of Romantic Idealism. Kant was a romanticist because he rejected reason as a guide for human action and laid emphasis on emotion and morality. He was an idealist because he perceived a plan to nature to explain human events. Thus Kant combined the romanticist theory of truth with the idealist conception of the universe. Kant’s romantic idealism glorified tradition, authority and faith. It recognized both reason and intuition. It integrated the principles of individualism and humanism. Romantic idealism recognized the state as social organism and not the outcome of any social contract. It ignored the sanctity of individual rights and exalted social order.

GEORG WILHELM FRIDRICH HEGEL (1770 – 1831)

Hegel was a distinguished successor of Kant and the most influential philosopher of Romantic Idealism. Son of a subordinate civil servant, Hegel made



full analysis of all the important books he read. He had a good grounding in Greek literature. He studied for the ministry at Tubingen and earned his Doctorate in 1793. He started his career at the University at Jena in 1803. When Napoleon's troops ransacked the scholarly little city in 1806, Hegel took to his heels! For a while he edited a paper at Bamberg. In 1812, he became the head of the Gymnasium at Nuemburg. He was the Chair Professor at Heidelberg and Berlin as well. *The Phenomenology of Spirit, Logic, Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Science* are his major works. Till the end of his life in 1831 Hegel ruled the philosophic world.

Hegelian Dialectic

Hegelian dialectic is the corner stone of Hegel's philosophy of history. His concept of '*dialectical movement*' runs right through everything that he wrote. One of the concepts used by Hegel in reasoning is *Relation*. Every idea is a group of relations. One can think of something only by relating it to something else and perceive its similarities and differences. Of all relations, the most universal is that of contrast or opposition. Every idea and every situation leads to its opposite and then unites with it to form a higher or more complex whole. Thus, *thesis, antithesis* and *synthesis* constitute the formula. It is the secret of all development and all reality. For instance, the thesis *conservatism* generates its antithesis *radicalism* which results in the synthesis *liberalism*. Fission results in fusion. Clash of opposites results in unity. Like thoughts, things and events also develop and evolve according to this dialect movement.



POSITIVIST HISTORIGRAPHY

Positivism :

Positivism represented the reaction to Romanticism. It "arose over the debris of Romanticism". It was a new school of thought. Positivism was a system of philosophy based on things that can be seen or proved rather than on speculation. It equated human knowledge to human experience and attempted to subject human experience to scientific laws. Positivism was concerned more on the Relationship among facts rather than facts themselves. It sought to establish that facts were interrelated and inter-connected with each other in a permanent order. Once this order was conceived events could be reduced to general principles and the causal connections between events can be established and then fore-casting the future would be easy. Such a prediction is possible only on the basis of general tendencies and a larger scheme of things and not in terms of isolated events of unique personalities.

Applied to history, Positivism proceeded to discover the motives to explain the process of historical events. The direction of historical events was traced with a view to project and predict the future. Historical facts were ascertained by following a strictly critical-analytical method. Then **historical laws** were framed through generalizing those facts by induction and causal connections between historical events was established. In short, Positivism reduced history to '**Social Physics**'! That is Positivism tried to bring history within the scope of science. Thus the **objectives** of Positivist historiography were :1) to liberate history from the hold of theology and metaphysics; 2) to ascertain historical facts; 3) to discover the



rules governing the relations between historical events; and 4) to apply historical laws to the study of society.

The Positivists:-

The Positivists were the **Social scientists**. They were empiricists. They were concerned with the conception of the cause and causal connection between events. They believed that every fact or event had a cause. Hence they ascertained historical facts, and used them as raw materials to establish causal connection between historical facts and events. Historical facts were interpreted with a view to weave a grandiose philosophy of history. Thus the Positivists worked out a **mechanics of history**, not a dynamic of history. They classified facts of human origin and development and deduced laws which regulated them and explained positivists deduced laws from the material furnished by history.

Interpretation of History:-

Positivism was inspired by Darwinism, though **Auguste Comte**, the Founder of the Positivist Movement, had made his major contribution to scientific method before the appearance of Darwin's **On the Origin of Species**. Darwin's theory of evolution was applied to the historical process which was equated to natural process. As a result, progress of humanity became the subject matter of history. Both Darwinists and Positivists agreed that the subject matter was to be the progress of the species. "The victory of evolution in scientific circles meant that the positivistic reduction of history to nature was qualified by a partial reduction of nature to history". Thus, the Positivists had applied the methods of natural science to the interpretation of history.



Historical Method:-

The Positivists patiently worked out a new method of handling historical sources. This new method was known as **Philological Criticism**, consisting of two operations: 1) **The Analysis of Sources**. Historical Sources were analyzed into their component parts and the historian to discriminate between the more and the less trustworthy portions of historical sources. 2) **The Internal Criticism**. Even the most trustworthy portions of sources were subjected to severe scrutiny. This showed how the author's point of view affected his statement of facts, guarded against bias and enabled the historian to make allowance for the distortions, if any. The critical method of history struck firm roots in Germany by the middle of the 19th century. The classical example of this method is Niebuhr's treatment of Livy. From Germany it spread to France and England.

However, Positivist historiography suffered from some serious limitations.

- 1) It neglected the ideal of universal history in favour of monographic history. An unprecedented mastery over small-scale micro-history took precedence over mega-history. An unprecedented mastery over smallscale historical problems led to the large-scale ones. In other words, micro-history took precedence over mege-history.
- 2) The Positivist historians confined them iternally.
- 3) They reduced history to a study of facts and nothing but facts.
- 4) They reduced history to a study of facts and nothing but facts.
- 4) They were miserably misled by the false analogy between scientific facts and historical facts. They mistook human beings for guinea-pigs!
- 5)The Positivist historians were not possible without interpreting historical facts.
- 6) Above all, they identified history with political-history and sadly neglected the history of art, religion, philosophy, science, morals etc. No wonder,



Positivism never produced a Hegel, a Philosopher of History. Nevertheless, Positivism was a definite advance over Romanticism.

Romanticism and Positivism : A Comparison:-

Romanticism and Positivism represent two different phases of historical development. They make a good study in- contrast. 1) Romanticism rendered historical work more sensational whereas Positivism made it more scientific. 2) Romanticism was selective, i.e. it highlighted those facts that were extraordinary but Positivism took all facts into consideration. 3) Romanticism made history a pure art. Positivism showed history as interplay of interacting social factors. 4) Romanticism was concerned with the consequences whereas Positivism was particular about the causes. 5) Romanticism highlighted unique personalities as the centre of attraction. Positivism rejected hero-worship. 6) Romanticism adored values, ideas and concepts. Positivism admired races, societies and tendencies. But Romanticism and Positivism appeared to be contradictory but in reality “they were mutually complementary”

AUGUSTE COMTE (1798 – 1857)

Auguste Comte was a French Mathematician – philosopher. He was the founder of Positivism and Father of Sociology. Auguste Marie Francois Xavier Comte was born on January 19 at Montpellier in 1798 in the family of a civil servant. He had his education at the famous Ecole Polytechnic in Paris. A trained mathematician, Comte served his *alma matter* for a decade (1832-1842) till his disagreement with the Director of the Polytechnic which cost his career dearly! Since then Comte worked indefatigably in systematizing his ideas on history and sociology. The idol of his youth was Benjamin Franklin, whom he called the



modern Socrates. He had worked for some time the Secretary to the great Utopian Socialist, St. Simon. Comte had learnt three things from his master and mentor St, Simon : 1) the reforming fervor of Turgot and Condorcet; 2) the idea that social facts, like physical phenomena, might be reduced to laws and science; and 3) that all philosophy should be focused upon the moral and political improvement of mankind. John Stuart Mill, the renowned utilitarian, was his good friend.

His Works:-

A Plan for the Scientific Works Necessary to Reorganize Society (1822) was Comte's first work. It may be considered the charter of his positivist philosophy. Between 1830 and 1842 he wrote his five volumes of *positivist Philosophy*. In four years he published his four volume ambitious *Positivist Philosophy* (1851-1854). These books constitute the storehouse of his sociological theories as well as his plan for an ideal society.

His Contributions:-

1. Sociology : Apex of the Sciences:-

Comte's *classification of the sciences* was an undertaking of far-reaching consequences. In scope and patience it was second only in modern times to Herbert Spencer's 'Synthetic Philosophy'. Comte classified sciences on the basis of 1) the decreasing simplicity; and 2) generality of their subject-matter. Accordingly Mathematics, Astronomy, physics, Chemistry, Biology and Sociology were classified in that order. Each science rested on the results of all the earlier sciences. Thus Mathematics was the foundational science and Sociology was the apex of the sciences. In other words, Sociology was the crowing climax of the evolution of



science. All the other sciences will have relevance in so far as they could illuminate the Science of Society. In the order of development the complex phenomena of social life was the last to yield to scientific method.

2. Law of Three Stages:-

Comte was the historian of ideas. His enunciation of the three stages of development in the history of humanity is his major contribution to the scientific study of society. According to Comte there were three distinct phases of social development which he called Law of Three Stages, viz., 1) The Theological Stage; 2) the Metaphysical Stage; and 3) the Positivist Stage.

The Theological State: To Start with, the subject was conceived in the theological fashion. In that primordial or primeval stage all problems were sought to be explained by the dictates of some deity or the other. It was the stage when the stars were either gods or chariots of gods! Man viewed everything as animated by a divine will. Military life dominated at this stage.

The Metaphysical Stage: The Metaphysical stage was the sequel to the theological stage. At this stage, everything was explained in terms of metaphysical abstractions. It was thought that the stars moved in circles because circles were the most perfect figures! A personal divine will was replaced by speculative ideas. Causes substituted desires. Nature emerged as a potent factor. It was a stage of arrested development. The legal form was the dominant factor at this phase of development.

The Positivist Stage: This was the culmination of the Law of Three stages. It was marked by precise observation, hypothesis and experiment. The social phenomena



was explained through the regularities of natural cause and effect. The ‘Will of God’ finally yielded to the laws of science, Scientific approach was brought to bear on explaining and evaluating social evolution. Industrial growth gained predominance at this stage. Thus one stage led to the next and the progress of each stage was indispensable inevitable and irreversible. These three stages of historical development marked the progress of the human mind and matter. Sociology coordinated all the sciences with a view to the improvement of human life.

SCIENTIFIC HISTORIOGRAPHY :

The Rise of Realism:-

The latter half of the 17th century witnessed Newtonian Revolution in science. Its impact was instantaneous and all-pervasive. Newton’s (1642-1727) concept of the universal operation of a mechanical and mathematical principle which was supposed to be orderly and predictable was applied to philosophy, political theory, religion, economics and history. The 18th century Enlightenment and Positivist historians came to believe that the laws governing the Universe and historical happenings could be comprehended by human reason. They considered reason as real and enshrined reason.

The 19th century thinkers exalted the cult of science and exemplified realism. The demand for a photographic presentation of a subject was considered to be in tune with the scientific dictum that “facts must speak for themselves”. Scepticism was regarded as sacrosanct and blind faith in authority a sin! In short, the 19th century Europe witnessed the rise of realism in historiography. Mighty minds like Niebuhr, Ranke, Marx, Spengler, Croce, Beard, Trevelyan and Toynbee have



contributed towards scientific historiography.

BARTHOLD NIEBUHR (1776-1831):-

Niebuhr was the founder of Modern Historiography in Germany. Son of the famous traveler Carstem Niebuhr, the precocious junior Niebuhr knew 18 European languages at the age of 18! At the university level, he learnt Philosophy, Mathematics, Chemistry, Natural History, Roman Jurisprudence and so on. He joined government service as private secretary to the Ministry of Finance. After a short sojourn to England to widen his knowledge Niebuhr rejoined the Government of Denmark. In 1806, he was transferred to Berlin to join the Prussian Government Service. In 1813, he joined the faculty of the University of Rhineland.

Niebuhr's lectures, attended by students, scholars, statesmen and officers alike, were an instant success. These lectures were subsequently published under the title History of Rome in two volumes. His views and lectures were later published by his admirers in three volumes.

The Classic Historian:-

Niebuhr was a classic historian. For the first time he introduced the critical method into the study of the classical Rome. He traced the political, legal and economic institutions of ancient Rome to their roots and traced the successive changes with ingenious insight. He mercilessly rejected legends, traditions and authorities and reconstructed Roman History on the basis of ascertained, verifiable sources and facts. He sifted the sources, grouped them and utilized the historical data so laboriously gathered to draw conclusions. He applied critical method to Livy's History of Rome and restored the credibility of Roman history.



A Scientific Scholar:-

Niebuhr rightly claimed his **History of Rome** as a work science rather than a work art. He had not knowingly nor without earnest investigation written anything which was not true. In the words of G.P.Gooch he “raised history from a sub-ordinate place to the dignity of an independent science”. He honestly strived for objectivity and was systematically scrupulous. Niebuhr was, however, criticized for his non-literary style, want of organization of material, lack of unity of treatment, his hidden motives and evaluation of events made from the position of a certain sense of values. But his impact and influence survived the criticism. Macaulay rated his History of Rome as “an epoch in the history of European intelligence”. He single-handedly “brought into existence the totality of modern historical science” (Barkes). Ranke, his worthy successor, considered Niebuhr his master.

LEOPELD VON RANKE (1795-1885):-

Lord Acton rightly regarded Ranke as the “Columbus of Modern History”. He was the pioneer scientific historian Germany has produced. **Founder of scientific historiography**, Ranke was born on December 20, 1795, studied philology, theology and classics at Hall and Berlin, and taught history at Frankfurt. He introduced the Seminar method with great success. He visited Vienna and with the help of Prince Method he was able to consult all the available state records there. He also edited a periodical. He was honoured by the prefix ‘Von’ – status of nobility-at the age of 70 He was the first elected member of the American Historical Association. After his retirement at 75 Ranke devoted his life to historical research and writing.



Ranke's writings include a **Critical Dissertation** of the historians of the period 1494 to 1514, **Histories of the Latin and Teutonic Nations**, **History of Serbia**, **A history of France**, **History of England**, **History of Prussia** and **History of the world**. Ranke's range of study spanned the period from the 15th to the 18th century. In his works he provided a scientific basis for the study of modern history.

His Contributions:-

Ranke is the **Father of Scientific History**. He is regarded as the first of the modern historians. The study of history was the passion of his life. His writings are wide and deep as his thoughts are profound and scientific. Ranke's contribution to historical thought may be summarized as follows.

1. He is the forerunner of objective history. Previous historians used history to pass moral judgments on the past or project prognostic developments in the future. Ranke changed the trend and firmly laid down the dictum that history should simply record “ **the event exactly as it happened**”. He divorced the study of the past from the passions and prejudices of the present. He subordinated his own views to a concern for historical truth.
2. Ranke based his history on documentary evidences. He despised traditions, hearsay and gossip and rejected mystery, metaphysics and speculation. He preferred rigorous presentation of the facts. HE made much use of the archives of Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Rome and Venice. He not only collected the archival material but also subjected them to severe scrutiny. He thus inaugurated the era of critical historiography.



3. Ranke rendered history autonomous. He dissociated history from religion, theology and philosophy and restored a rightful place to it. He established history as a separate field of study and an independent branch of knowledge. He professionalized history. He gave academic orientation to history which required specialized training. “History as the knowledge of individual facts was gradually detaching itself as a n autonomous study from science as the general laws”.

4. Ranke synthesized the Romantic with the religious. He united the two different concepts of universal history and individualism. He brought about a fusion between the medieval and modern periods. He strengthened the medieval conviction that every epoch stands in immediate relationship with God. He equated the ‘thoughts of God in the form of ideas. Each historical period was unique because it reflected a distinct idea. For Ranke Protestantism represented the idea as Capitalism stood for the idea for Marx.

KARL MARX (1818-1883):-

1. Industrial Revolution:-

The explorer, the merchant and the financier dominated Europe from 1500 to 1750. Yet there was no basic material alteration in the socioeconomic structure of the vast majority of Europe’s Population. But during the century and a half following the year 1750 the economic and social structure of Europe and many parts of the world was revolutionized, thanks to the Industrial Revolution. Industry I Revolution was responsible for the advent of industrial Capitalism which resulted in the doctrine of laissez faire or ‘Hands off’ i.e. avoiding placing government restrictions on private trade or industry. Adam Smith (1723-1790), David Ricardo



(1772-1823) and Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) and the Utilitarians popularized laissez faire doctrine.

2. Utopian Socialists:-

But the wide gulf between laissez faire preaching and economic practice provoked the proletariat or working class. Certain intellectuals, known as Socialists, rose up to the occasion and raised their banner of revolt against economic exploitation of workers. The Utopian Socialists like St. Simon (1760-1825), Francois Fourier (1772-1837), Robert Owen (1771-1858) and the Christian Socialists like John Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley defended the cause of the proletariat and called for economic emancipation of workers.

3. Scientific Socialism:-

Dissatisfied with the theoretical orientation of the Utopian Socialism a more radical philosophy of economic equality known as Scientific Socialism came into being. Its basic tenets are; 1) The course of history can be changed through the means of economic conditions. 2) A classless society can be created through class struggle. 3) A socialistic system of distribution of goods and services will do justice to workers who will receive all the value created by their own productivity. 4) Workers create more goods than their wages will allow them to consume and the surplus-value should go to them. 5) Economic exploitation will come to an end when the workers of the world unite and take over the means of production and distribution. 6) The ultimate creation of classless communist society.



4. Importance of Marxism:-

The importance of the study of Marxism is recognized world over. It is important because; 1) Marxism is the official philosophy of more than one-third of the human race. It plays a significant part in the lives of millions of people round the world. 2) It provides a complete and comprehensive picture of modern society. 3) Marxian conclusions are cogent, comprehensive and complete. 4) It contains many observations, insights and truths about human society. 5) It embodies substantial statements about the structure and super-structure of society in the form of economic interpretation of history. 6) The impact of Marxism on intellectuals, scholars, historians and politicians is immense.

Karl Marx is the Founder of Scientific Socialism. Born on May 5, 1818 of Jewish Parents, Marx studied history and philosophy and earned his doctorate from the University of Jena (1841). Influenced by Hegel he developed his radical philosophy of history. Because of his radicalism and his involvement in revolutionary movement he was charged with treason and exiled from Germany. Fredrick Engels (1820-1895), the son of a wealthy cotton manufacturer was his friend in need. The exiled Marx spent most of his life at London. His German Ideology (1846), Poverty of Philosophy (1847)”. Communist Manifesto (1848) and Das Capital received world wide attention.

Merits and Demerits of Marxism:-

Merits:-

Marxism has many merits. 1) It is a scientific philosophy which helps in understanding the laws of social development and suggests the revolutionary ways



of changing the society. 2) The “blending of Hegel and British economy’ and the theory – practice approach offers solution to end the vicious cycle of exploitation of man by man. 3) It is the revolutionary philosophy of the working people in historic setting. 4) Marxian interpretation of history offers an alternate system to remove the inadequacies among the toiling labour class. 5) Marx is a rare combination of Hebrew prophet, political philosopher, radical thinker, scientific proponent of politico-economic theory with “a powerful appeal to the oppressed and unfortunate at all times. 6) Marxism provides a movement of action with a distinct creed, content and context. 7) It correctly foresees the increasing importance of economic factors hitherto overlooked by historians. 8) It enables historians to start from “Marx’s observation that the economy is always historically specific”. 9) It has made a profound impact on social thinkers, political pundits, reformers and historians. 10) Even the worst critics of Marxism have accepted a large measure of the economic interpretation of history without subscribing to its remedy of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Demerits :

The demerits of Marxism are : 1) Marx ignores the role played by non-economic factors in his economic interpretation of history. “it is anti-historical naturalism”. 2) His conception of class-war is neither legitimized nor validated by historical reality. 3) His history materialism is not supported by verifiable facts. 4) His structure – super structure model is hypothetical rather than historical. 5) Marxian prediction of the inevitability of socialism is not borne out by historical development. 6) Marxism is fatalistic, deterministic and dogmatic. “It is not a credible history”. 7) Marxian division of history into main periods is arbitrary. 8) Since Marx’s interpretation of history is eclectic it is difficult to simplify it. 9) His

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social stratification and mutual social antagonism is no longer relevant to contemporary world. 10) He develops the philosophy of history into a theory of class struggles leading by Hegelian necessity to 'socialism inevitable'. Marx is a theorist who "distorts the past into a syllogism that will conclude with his prejudice".

Marx's Theory of History:-

Karl Marx is a master theorist. Before his advent, teleological or the 'providential theory' postulated that movements of history were guided by a Divine Will in accordance with a cosmic plan. Similarly, the Great Man theory stated that human history was at bottom the history of the Great Men who had worked in this world. On the contrary, Marx's theory of history proclaimed that the foundation of human history was to be found in the mode of economic production. The political, legal, religious, cultural and other institutions were adopted or adapted to fit with that all important economic aspect of life. In other words, the change from one economic stage to another, as for instance change from feudalism to capitalism, inevitably carried with it political, juridical and other social changes. Changes in the powers of production were effected only through struggles, conflicts and revolutions. The genius of Marx lies in the fact that the ingeniously combined his theory of history with a practical programme. That is the reason why "he is the most famous revolutionary who ever lived, and the most influential".

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936):-

Spengler was the Founder of Morphological Historiography. He was one of the most influential German thinkers of modern times. Spengler was concerned with the science of structure of human culture. His philosophy and interpretation of



history caught the attention of the lay as well as the intelligent who were dismayed and disillusioned by the gruesome tragedy of the First World War (1914-1918).

Born in Blackenburg, Germany, Spengler studied mathematics, natural science, Philosophy and art at the Universities of Halle, Munich and Berlin. He worked as a teacher in a school at Hamburg from 1911 to 1914. He gave up his job and took to historical research and writing. *Decline of the West, Man and Techniques and Hour of Decision* are his important works. Spengler's *Decline of the West*, which contains his philosophy of history, was a sensational success.

His Interpretation of History:-

Spengler considers 'culture' as the core of history and takes it as the basic unit of historical study. On this basis he divides history into eight great cultures, viz., the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Indian, the Chinese, the Graeco-Roman, the Arabian, the Mexican and the Western. In his analysis of difference cultures Spengler came across an inexorable cycle of rotation. He found that cultures, like living organism in the world of nature, emerged grew, matured and died. According to Spengler each culture went through the four phases of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter equivalent to Childhood, Youthhood, Manhood and Old Age. Each culture is, therefore, mortal.

Spengler attributes the genesis of a culture to cosmic causes. Each culture is unique, since nothing can change an eagle into an elephant, and has to undergo cyclical rotation. According to Spengler every culture undergoes four stages of development viz., 1) primitive nomadic stage; 2) Agriculture stage; 3) Feudalistic stage and 4) National stage. In the final stage, 'culture' degenerates into



‘civilization’ as the fire of creativity is extinguished and the culture decays and dies!

Spengler is concerned more with the decline of a culture than with its origin and growth. He confined himself with the final ‘civilization’ stage. The symptoms of a decaying culture are cosmopolitanism, scientific irreligion, reason replacing faith, bold matter-of-factness, internationalism, natural rights, materialism, mass society, sex, urbanization, imperialist expansion, the cult of bigness and lust for power.²⁴ Analyzing the history of the West, Spengler identifies the Spring in the Middle Ages, the Summer in the Renaissance, the Autumn in the Reformation, and Winter in the Age of Reason. He finds the symptoms in contemporary Western society and declares the decline of the West.

Benedetto Croce (1866-1952):-

Croce was an Italian historiographer of repute. Born of February 25, 1866 in Jples, Croce had his early education at a Catholic school and higher education at the University of Rome. He founded La Critica, a research journal. He served the Senate of the Kingdom (1910) and joined the Cabinet of .. Minister of Education (1920-1921). He founded the Institute of Historical Studies in 1947. His magnum opus Philosophy of the Spirit in four volumes catapulted him to fame.

His Philosophy of the Sprit:-

Croce maintains that history is the expression of one universal unified sprit. The spirit manifest itself through the medium of history. History is the embodiment of ‘One Spirit’ which is the moving principle of the universe. The ‘sprit’ is omnipresent and is active in every part, event and movement of history. It is the



motivating force in all history. It is the mainspring of historical happenings. What is the nature of the spirit? The spirit is all pervasive and all powerful. It is embodied in human experience. It is not something abstract and incomprehensible but concrete and understandable.

Charles Austin Beard (1874-1948):-

Beard is an outstanding American historian. Son of a banker, Beard was born at Kingstown, Indiana. He had his school education at a Methodist institution and higher education at the Universities of De Pauw, Oxford, Cornell and Columbia. He earned his Doctorate in 1904 and taught at Columbia from 1907 to 1917. He was the adviser to the Institute of Municipal Research in Tokyo and Yugoslav Government at Belgrade. He was president of the American Historical Association. Thanks to his initiative, a Labour College was founded at Oxford and the New School of Social Research at New York.

Beard was a prolific writer. He wrote several books, monographs and articles. His extensive writings include *An Economic Interpretation of Constitution* (1913), *The Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915), *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), *America in Mid passage* (1929), *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* (1941).

George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876 – 1962)

Son of Sir George Ouo Trevelyan and eminent historian and the nephew of the more famous historian Thomas Bahington Mcaulay. G.M.Trevelyan was born in 1876 and was educated at Harrow and Cambridge. In 1917 he succeeded Lord Action as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. He was the Master of



the Trinity College, Cambridge from 1940 to 1951. Influenced by the writings of Gibbon, Lord Acton and Bury he devoted himself to history teaching and historical research in politics he was a whig sympathizer. Trevelyan was awarded the Order of Merit in 1930.

Trevelyan was a writer of great distinction. His writings include Life of Lord Grey, Life of John Bright, Life of Wycliffe, English Revolution of 1688, the History of England, English Social History. England Under Queen Anne, Garibaldi, Clio: A Muse and Other Essays and his Autobiography.

Trevelyan The Historian:-

Trevelyan belongs to the scientific school of historians. He used new documents. He brought to light more historical evidences of great importance. An admirer of English institutions and a Whig sympathizer Trevelyan expresses his views on different aspects of history in his diverse works which may be summarized as follows:

Social History:-

Trevelyan is a pioneer of social history. Among his works his Social of History of England is the most well known book. It gives an account of the six centuries of social history of his country in a captivating style. He defines social history minus political history. Trevelyan keeps the political, dynastic and constitutional histories in the background and gives primacy to social interests such as religion, economy, morals and manners, food and dress, art and letters etc.



Value of History:-

According to Trevelyan, the true value of history is educational. History seeks to train the mind of the citizen into a state in which he is capable of taking a just view of problems. It enables the reader to comprehend the historical aspect of literature properly. The chief value of history is poetic, for history deals with the 'poetic past'. History stimulates the 'youth to aspire and age to endure'. History is a delight in itself, a mental discipline and an adventure in discerning the lost trends of past events. The pleasure of travel is doubled by a knowledge of history. In short, the motive of history is poetic and its achievement is educative.

Is History Science or Art : Trevelyan considers history both science and art. He holds the view that the discovery of historical facts should be scientific in method but the exposition of the facts partakes the nature of art – the art of nature of art – the art of literature. He asserts that history can not deduce causal laws of general applications, like the Law of Gravitation. Unlike physical science it is not possible to make a full scientific analysis of the life history of an individual or an event as a scientist can do by studying an atom or a rabbit. History is, however, scientific in so far as the collection of facts and the weighing of evidence are concerned. Otherwise the craft of history is the art of narration.

Purpose and Functions of History:-

According to Trevelyan the purpose of history is to recall and recapitulate the ultimate consequences of actions and movements in the past and their relation to later time. The function of the historian is to find out what people of the past themselves thought, felt and intended. There are three distinct functions of history:

- 1) The Scientific Function. It is concerned with the accumulation of facts, sifting of



evidences and analyzing them. It is a dry-as-dust function. 2) The Imaginative Function. It is concerned with making generalizations. It is a speculative or guessing function. 3) The Literary Function. It is related to communicating historical facts in the form that will attract the readers. IT is the educative function.

Does History Repeat Itself?

Historical events are unique. They can not repeat themselves. Historical happenings may be identical but not similar. Identical situations may occur from time to time but they are not exactly alike. For instance, it can not be said that a violent upheaval or revolution is not always accompanied by a military despotism for George Washington was not a military despot. Trevelyan's answer to the question whether history repeats itself is that history repeats itself and history never repeats itself are about equally true!

Historian's Duty:-

The historian's duty is to record historical events as they really happened. His duty is not to portray the acts of the good and paint the wicked dark, nor to provide examples of virtuous living but to record the past as it happened. As the historian is concerned with the past as it was he must faithfully portray the 'poetic past' in order to understand the 'prosaic present'. The historian should have a sense of history. He must appreciate the intimate relationship between history and literature, which are like Siamese twins, inseparable.

Trevelyan finds in history an account of the development of literature and in the history of literature an account of historiography. The historian must have the gut to call the spade. He must be as objective as possible. It is not the historian's



duty to discover any meaning or disclose the rational element or extract any philosophy from the general movement of humanity. However, the historian is concerned with causation and change since they are intimately interrelated.

Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975):-

A.J. Toynbee is a meta-historian. Born on April 14, 1889 in London, Toynbee studied Greek and Latin classics at Belliol College, Oxford. He was a student of the British Archaeological School at Athens for a year. He taught ancient history at Belliol for three years. Then he entered government service and worked in the British Foreign Office. He was a member of the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1946. With his rich political experience Toynbee joined King's College, University of London (1919) as Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies and remained in service till 1924. From 1925 to 1955 he was the Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and Research Professor of International History in the University of London. Toynbee was named a Champion of Honour on the official birthday of Queen Elizabeth II in 1956. He set out on the round-the-world lecture tour visiting several countries including India.

Toynbee is a profound and prolific writer. He is the author of *Nationality and War*, *Greek Historical Thought*, *Civilization of the Past*, *A Historian's View of Religion*, *Experiences*, *Study of History and Reconsideration* besides a score of research articles. Of these, his *Study of History* in 12 volumes is his magnum opus. The first three volumes of the *Study* were published in 1933 another three in 1939, volumes VII to X were released in 1954 and volumes XI and XII were published in



1951 and 1961 respectively. D.C.Somervell's abridgement of the entire work is a commendable feat in condensation.

His Treatment of History:-

In all, Toynbee identifies 28 Civilizations of the World including the following six surviving civilizations. 1) The Western Society, 2) Orthodox Christian Society, 3) IT Offshoot in Russia, 4) The Islamic Society, 5) The Hindu Society and 6) The Far Eastern Society in China. The remaining civilizations were either aborted at birth or arrested at growth or developed and disintegrated.

Will Durant (1885 – 1981):-

Born in 1885 at North Adams, Massachusetts, USA, William James Durant received his education in the Catholic Schools and at Columbia University, New York. For a summer he served as cub reporter on the New York Journal in 1907. He taught Latin, French, English and other subjects at Seton Hall College, South Orange, New Jersey (1907 – 1911). Then he joined the Ferrer School as teacher (1911 – 1913). He married his student Ida Kaufman, whom he affectionately called Ariel, a Shakespearean character in 'Tempest', she later adopted it as her pen name! In 1913 he finished his graduate studies in Biology and Philosophy at Columbia University. He received his Ph.D from that University and taught philosophy for one year. Then he became the Director of the Labour Temple School at New York and remained there till 1927. Twice (1912 and between 1927 and 1931) he toured around the world, at the expense of his admirer – friend Alden Freeman, for a study – of Civilizations of various countries including India. He died at the ripe age of 96 on 8th November 1981.



Will Durant's first book is *Transition*, an autobiographical sketch. *The Story of Philosophy* was instant success. It is philosophy without tears! An innovation in writing, the book is widely acknowledged for the author's erudition and readability. The book became a best-seller in more than 12 languages and has sold over 3 million copies! Then followed his *Mansions of Philosophy*, *The Story of Civilization* and *Lessons of History*.

CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY :

The origin:-

The Origin of Chinese historiography can be traced to legends since the early historians relied on them. The ancient historians narrated the history of China from 3000 B.C. The earliest kings, says Chinese legend, reigned for eighteen thousand years each! Incredible indeed Legends loved imaginary personalities more than ideas, they attributed to a few individuals the laborious advances of many generations. There is no way of checking the accounts transmitted by the early Chinese historians.

Court Chroniclers:-

The early Chinese courts had their official scribes. These court chroniclers recorded the achievements of their sovereigns and portents of the time. The Court historians contributed a great deal to the mass of historical literature, unequalled in length anywhere else in the world. The twenty four official "Dynastic Histories", published in 1747, ran to 219 large volumes!



CHINESE HISTORIANS:-

Confucius (551-479 B.C):-

Kung-fu-tze, better as Confucius, was a philosopher historian of enormous influence and impact. He was born at Ch'ufu, in the then Kingdom of Lu, now the province of Shantung. He came of the oldest family now in existence, in direct line from the great emperor K'ungs. As a student he learned archery and music. He worked after school to support his mother, since he lost his father when he was three years old. He married at nineteen and divorced his wife at twenty-three. He started his career as a teacher and taught history, poetry, and propriety. Among his pupils were the sons of Mang He, one of the ministers of the Duke of Lu. Through them the Master was introduced to the Chou Court at Llo-yang. Returning to Lu he found his native province in chaos and so he moved to the neighbouring state of T'si where he came into contact with its Duke, who retained him as his adviser. Then Confucius returned to Lu to teach his disciples for fifteen years, before he was called again for public office. He was the chief magistrate of the town of Chung-tu and was promoted to be Superintendent of Public Works. He was elevated as Minister of Crime.

Confucius was so popular and powerful, neighbouring states grew jealous to him and alienated the Minister from the Duke of Lu. Confucius resigned his post, left Lu, and wandered from province to province for thirteen years. When Duke of Wei offered Confucius the leadership of his government the latter refused it because he disapproved the Duke's principles! He spent the last five years of his life in Lu, living in seclusion and devoting his time in editing the classics and writing the history of his people.



Confucius' Classics. Confucius left behind him five volumes, known to China as the Five Ching or Canonical classics. 1) The first volume is called the Li-Chi or the Record of Rites containing rules of propriety. 2) The Second book I-Ching or Book of Changes deals with metaphysics. 3) The third one She-Ching or Book of Odes is concerned with the nature of human life and the principles of morality. 4) The fourth book Ch'um Ch'iu or Spring and Autumn Annals narrates the main events in the history of the author's own state of Lu. 5) The fifth volume is Shu-Ching or book of History.

Shu-Ching Book of History the fifth volume of the Confucius classics was written or edited by the Master to inspire and motivate his disciples. He gathered in this book the most elevating events of the early reigns when China was a unified empire and its leaders had been heroic and unselfish civilizers of the race. Confucius was a competent complier rather than an historian. He deliberately selected from the past such events, episodes and leaders as would inspire his disciples. The book is replete with imaginary speeches and stories, morals and wisdom. He idealized the past and it was edifyingly bowdlerized by Confucius. Hence, Shu-Ching can not be considered as an impartial account of the history of China. Tso-Chuan was a commentary written a century later to illustrate and vivify the book of Confucius.

Szuma Ch'ien (C 145-85 B.C):-

Historiography advanced rapidly in China. In the second century B.C China produced the Father of Oriental History in Szuma Chien. Succeeding his father as court astrologer Szuma Chein reformed first the calendar. Then he devoted his life to a tough task of narrating the history of China from the first mythical dynasty to



his own time. His Shih-Chi or Historical Record is the result of his painstaking scholarship. It is divided into five parts 1) Annals of Emperors; 2) Chronological Tables; 3) Chapters on rites, music, the pitch-pipes, the Calendar, astrology, imperial sacrifices, water courses and political economy; 4) Annals of the Feudal Nobles; and 5) Biographies of Eminent Men.

Shih-Chi covers a period of nearly 3000 years and took the form of 5,26,000 Chinese characters patiently scratched upon bamboo tablets.⁶ He sent the volumes to the Emperor with a fond hope that he might “learn from the rise and fall of former dynasties the secret of the successes and failures of the present hour. Then if such knowledge shall be applied for the advantage of the Empire, even though your servant may lay his bones in the Yellow Springs, the aim and ambition of his life will be fulfilled”. Szuma Chin had no penchant for the beauty of style or story. He aimed merely at making his narration complete. Eleven hundred years later Szuma Kuang wrote again another universal history of China.

ARAB HISTORIOGRAPHY

Islamic sense of History:-

The Arabs had a strong sense of history. Early Arab history emerged from ballads, myths and legends. With the advent of Prophet Mohammed, the rise and spread of Islam, military campaigns and conquests and the establishment of the Arab Empire Islamic historiography assumed a definite form. Arab chronology began with the Hizra i.e the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Madina in 622 A.D.



With the establishment of Khaliphate the Khaliphs evinced enormous interest in recording their ancestry in order to establish their legitimacy. The Prophet's successors strived to establish their dynastic links with the Founder of Islam. The Abbasid Caliphs, in particular, encouraged the recording and chronicling events with a view to glorify the Prophet, to extol their external conquests and to admire their internal administration. Thus, from the beginning to the Abbasid's period onward (750 A.D) Arab historiography was established on a firm footing.

IBN KHALDUN(1332-1406 A.D):-

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 Batuta and Ibn Khaldun lived, laboured 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.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY:-

Historical Sense:-

Ancient India was well known for its scholarship, not for its historiography. It was a land of metaphysics, spirituality and philosophy speculation as it was pathetically poor in historical thought. One is impressed with Aryabhatta and Brahmagupta; Kanada and Vachaspathy; Sushruta, Charaka and Dhanvantri; Vyasa and Valmiki; Kalidasa; Illango Adigal and Sattanar; Tolkappiar and Tiruvalluvar but none meets an Indian Herodotus or Thucydides or Polybius or Livy or Tacitus. Clio was conspicuous by her absence in India.

Ancient India knew no historiography in the sense in which it was known to Greece, Rome and China or Arabia. Indians were more concerned with moksha or liberation of the soul than about mundane matters or worldly. Therefore, ancient Indians were devoid of historical sense and consciousness, as the Greeks and the Romans and the Chinese were known for.

Ancient Indians were ignorant of creating a credible record of unique events set in their correct context. For them history was never an inquiry into the past with the logical purpose of explaining its causes and consequences. Chronology is indeed the very foundation of historical edifice. But if chronology is the eye of history, ancient Indian history will always have to be blind! There is no definite chronology for North Indian history upto the Mauryas and in South Indian history



upto the beginning of the Christian era. “In the absence of dates, history would be not only blind but also spineless”

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORIANS:-

Bana:-

Bana or Banabhatta was born in the Bhargava Brahmin family (C.650 A.D). Though well educated he ill-spent his youth with varied circle of friends. Known for his mental qualities and depth of knowledge Bana was invited by Harshavardhana ,King of Kings’, to join his court, Bana repaid his grateful debt to his patron-king by writing Harshacharita.

Harsha Charita:-

Harsha Charita is the history of Harsha of Thaneshvar and Kanauj in 8 chapters dealing with 1) the family background of the author; 2) Bana’s introduction to king Harsha; 3) a description of Thaneshvar; 4) the to her husband’s death; 6) Rajyavardhana’s (Harsha’s elder brother) reaction to the king’s demise, Harsha shouldering the royal brden, imprisonment of Rajyasri (Harsha’s sister, wife of king Grahavarman) by the king of Malwa; 7) Harsha’s military expedition in search of his sister who had escaped from the prison to the Vindhya; and 8) description of many religious and philosophical sects living in harmony in the Vindhya forest. Thus it will be seen that the Harshacharita is an incomplete history of Harsha.



BILHANA'S VIKRAMANKACHARITA:-

BILHANA:-

Born in c.1040 A.D. in a kashmiri Brahmin family of scholars, Bilhana distinguished himself by his mental talents. He is said to have visited Madura, Kanauj, Prayaga, Varanasi, Somnath, Kalyan and Rameswaram in search of knowledge and patronage. He had the rare privilege of enjoying the patronage of three kings in succession: Karavela of Anhilvad, Chalukya King Somesvara I and his son Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani. Bilhana was honoured by his third patron king with the title vidyapathi.

VIKRAMANKACHARITA:-

Bilhana is the author of three different works : 1) The Karnasundari is a comedy dealing with the marriage of his first patron Karmadeva of Anhilvad with Karnasundari : 2) The Charurapanchasika is a historical 'epic eulogy' dealing with his third patron's history.

Vikramankacharita is protégé Bilhana's historical eulogy of his patron Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani. This quasi-biography portrays the king's accession to power after a war of succession with his elder brother Somesvara II; his expedition to the Chola empire to quell the rebellion against his brother-in-law on the Chola throne; the usurpation of the throne by a Chola King after killing his brother-in-law; the Chalukya king's second expedition to chastise the usurper; palace rebellion by his elder brother Somesvara II; and Vikramaditya's victory over both.



KALHANA'S RAJATARANGINI:-

Kalhana:-

Son of kampaka, Minister of Harsha, 'the Neor of Kashmir', Kalhana had plenty of opportunities to know his Kashmir's history, geography and topography. He thoroughly understood the antiquity of its past as he was an adept in the contemporary history of Kashmir. His historical studies commenced with Bilhana's Vikramankacharita and Bana's Harshacharita.

Kalhana was well-versed with the numerous chronicles of Kashmir. Thus, he relied on early chronicles, biographies, inscriptions, royal grants and charters, sthala puranas, traditions and customs of the people. He was an eyewitness of the events which occurred the spring of 1121 A.D. during the reign of Sussala in Srinagar. Fortified with the literary, inscriptional, numismatic and monumental evidences and personal observations Kalhana produced his magnum opus Rajatarangini.

MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY:-

"Indian historiography is essentially an Islamic heritage" with the advent of the Muslims came the Arabic and Persian tradition of historiography into India. The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate encouraged Indian historical writing. The chroniclers, diarists and court historians of the Muslim monarchs maintained profuse records of their patrons' activities in a rather systematic and chronological order. The scholars produced books and the poets composed masnavis on the dynastic, regional and general histories of the Muslim rule in India. They also wrote biographical sketches of the rulers and recorded historical anecdotes. The



Ulemas maintained detailed account of everyday happenings. The gifted rulers wrote their memoirs. The earlier historical records of the Muslim chroniclers are found in Arabic, the language of the Quran. With the establishment of the Turkish Rule in India, the Persian tradition of historiography was implanted on the Indians historical writing. The writers of early medieval India recorded primarily the military and political exploits of kings and court activities of the Sultans and the Mughal rulers of Delhi. Thus, historiography flourished in all its form during the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal periods. Alberuni, Barani and Abul Fazi were the greatest Muslim historians.

MEDIEVAL HISTORIANS:-

Alberuni (C. 972-1048):-

Born of Iranian stock in the territory of Khiva of Turkistan, Alberuni was the counselor of the Shah in 1017. When his country was conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni he was taken as a captive. On knowing his scholarly attainment the captor set him free. Alberuni accompanied the invading army of Mahmud of Ghazni to the Indo-Gangetic Valley. He stayed back in India, traveled extensively in various parts of the country, studied the language, religion and philosophy of the Hindus and wrote his monumental Kitab-ul-Hind. Brought up in the school of adversity he exhibited no weakness for material acquisitions or comforts of life. He never sought the patronage of Sultan Mahmud. He learnt Sanskrit so that he might go to the sources of Hindu life and thought. He read with delight the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. He studied samhya of Kaivalya, the book of Patanjali and was conversant with the Puranas. For a Muslim to study Sanskrit demanded determination, perseverance and audacity. This Arabist and Sanskritist was a



master of many disciplines such as astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, geography and chronology. In fine, he was a seasoned scholar.

Alberuni's Kitab-ul-Hind or Reality of Hindustan is an authentic contemporary account of the condition of India of Muhmud of Ghaznius times. It gives a scholarly analysis of the social and religious institutions of the Hindus. It throws lot of light on political and cultural heritage of India. He mentions, for instance, besides the well – known Harsha era of the seventh century A.D., A Harsha era four hundred year before Vikrama (58-57 BC) in the fifth century B.C ! He also refers to “the energetic founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty” of Ghind and Bhatinda and observes “In all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.

AMIR KHUSRU (1252-1325):-

Son of Amir Saifuddin, Who held important posts under Iltutmish and his successors, Khusru was born and brought up in an atmosphere of royal politics. He enjoyed the patronage of Khilji Sultans Jalal - ud-din, Ala-ud-din, Mubark Shah and Ghiyas-ud-din, Khusru's envious position provided him ample opportunities to acquaint himself with the nuances of political affairs and to have access to official records. His knowledge of contemporary history is reflected in his works.

His Works:-

Khusru's important historical work are: 1)Quran – us-Sa'din (1289), besides giving a glimpse of the character of Bugra Khan, provide interesting insights about the social political and cultural condition of his time, 2) Miftah – ul-Futuh (1291)



is an authentic account of military campaigns and victories of Sultan Jalal –ud-din Khilji,³ the Khazain-ud-Futuh (1311) describes the events of the first 16 years of Ala-ud-din reign, the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kafur, ala –ud-din’s military activities and administrative reforms 4)Ashiqa (1316) gives a poetic description of the love and marriage of Ala-ud-din and Devala Devi, daughter of Raja Karna of Gujarat, besides describing the beauties of India 5) Nuh Sipehr (1319) narrates the victories of Sultan Mubarak Shah and 6) Tughlaq Nama (1325) traces the events leading to the accession of Gyyias –ud-din Tughlaq’s victory over Khusrav Shah.

ZIA –UD –Din BARANI (1286-1359):-

Born in a politically influential aristocratic Sayyid family, Barani had his education at Delhi. He was a scholar and a linguist well – versed in history, law, philosophy, Arabic and Persian. His father and uncle were in the employ of Ala-ud-din Khilji and Barani attained a place of importance in the court of Sultan. Subsequently he served as an advisor to Muhammed – bin-Tughluk and enjoyed his patronage for seventeen years.

His works:-

Like Amir Khusru, with Whom Barani had close contact, Barani was a prolific writer. his intimate association with the Delhi Sultans, his thorough knowledge about the Delhi administration and his worldly wise experience enabled him to get insights into the political affairs of the time of the ten books which he is believed to have written Tarikh-i-firoz shahi and Fatawa –i-Jahandari are well known.



Named after his patron Sultan Tarkhan-i-Firoz shahi is the history of the sultans of Delhi from Balban to Firoz Tughluk from 1259 to 1352 “ I have taken great pain in writing this history”, says Barani. If you examine it as a chronicle of events, you will find in it deeds of kings and military generals. If you search in this book for the rules of government and administration you will not find it without these. If you look into it for warnings and moral instruction to the kings and administrators, you will find these in abundance and better depicted herein.... I have made these few words extremely meaningful”

ABDUL QUAIR BADAUNI (1540-1615):-

Born in 1540 Badan, Badauni studied under learned Shaikhs along with Abul Fazl and Faizi. Later all the three joined the court of Akbar! At the age of 34 Badauni was introduced to the Mughal Emperor Akbar and the latter, immensely impressed by the theological learning of the former, appointed him as a Court Imam (priest). An orthodox sunni fanatic, Badauni found it difficult to adjust himself to the rationalist free-thinker Akbar. The estrangement between the two reached its nadir when the Emperor started patronizing Abul Fazl and Faizi. The embittered Sunni scholar died a disappointed man in 1615.

Badauni is the author of several works of which Muntakhal-ul-Tawarikh (1596) is the most celebrated. The book is in 3 parts. First part narrates the history of India from Subhktigin to Humaya's death. Part two deals with the first 40 years Akbar's regime. The final part consists of biographies of famous saints, poets and men of learning who adorned the court of Akbar.



ABDUL FAZL (C.1550-1602):-

1. Mature and Sober:-

Muslim historiography attained maturity under the patronage of the Mughal Emperors. Some of the Mughal Emperors themselves like Babur and Jehangir were writers of rare distinction. Babur was the author of Babur-nama and his daughter Gulbadhan Begam, wrote the Humayun –nama. Mughal historians improved upon their Sultanate predecessors and presented a sober, prosaic and objective history. They dealt not only with the emperors and their deeds but also with the institutions of the people. History assumed the myriad forms of biography, autobiography, diary and general and specialized history.

2. Akbar's Alter Ego:-

Son of the renowned scholar sufi Sheikh Mubarak and younger brother of Faizi. Abul Fazi was born on 14th January 1550. He was precocious as a child and an intellectual prodigy as an adult. After receiving sound education Abul Fazl became a teacher at the age of 20 and attracted the personal attention of Akbar in 1574 when he was 23. An intimate friend philosopher and guide of the Emperor he held an important position in the empire. He distinguished himself as a soldier, statesman, scholar, philosopher and historian. When Prince Salim rebelled against Akbar, assumed the royal title and even issued his own coins the emperor addressed Abul Fazl, his alter ego and political factotum who was then in the Dakhan. On his way to Agra Abul Fazl was waylaid and murdered by a Rajput Bir Singh, a vile instrument of Salim. When the tragic news reached him Akbar cried out "If Salim wished to be emperor, he might have slain me and spared Abu-l-Fazl".



3. The Ain-i-Akbari:-

Akbar commissioned Abul Fazl “to write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events” of his times the latter undertook the assignment with all seriousness, collected the records and documents interrogated the servants of the state and members of the Royal family examined the statement of the young and the old and produced his twin monumental works Ain-i-Akbari and Akbunama.

Ain-i-Akbari or Institutes of Akbar in three volumes was compiled about 1595 after seven years of serious labour. It is a detailed descriptive statistical record of the Mughal Empire in the 16th century. It gives a kaleidoscopic account of the various departments of government the resources, material and human, the revenue system etc. It deals with a code of Akbar’s regulations in all departments and on all subjects and includes besides some extraneous matter, a valuable account of the empire with historical notes. The data and details presented range from “the 4revenues of a province to the cost of a pine-apple, from the organization of an army and the grades and duties of the nobility to the shape of a candidates and the price of a curry – comb” The work is refreshingly original. “Even in Europe it would be difficult to find an authoritative compilation of a like kind until quite recent times. Abul fazl id entitled to the gratitude of later ages for the industry and skill with which he handled his embarrassing mass of material”. It is plagiaristic because it contains many passage form alberuni’s beatise without acknowledgment inclusion of the Happy Sayings of Akbar and the Autobiography of Abul Fazl in the Ain is incongruous. Despite these defects. “Its originality and unique historical value are indisputable. On the whole, it is a masterly performance.



4. Akbar – nama:-

Akbar –Nama in three volumes is the most celebrated official history of Akbar. It traces the ancestry of Akbar from Timur and deals in detail with Humayun. It covers the history of Akbar’s reign in full. The work is complete and chronologically accurate. As Akbar desired Abul Fazl recorded the achievements and victories of imperial patron with the pen of sincerity devotion and loyalty. Written in sparkling Persian the History of Akbar is prolonged panegyric culogising the Emperor. Abul Fazl “told his master’s life with forgivable fondness in the Akbar Nama”.

5. Veracity as a Historian:-

Abul Fazl regarded history as “a unique pearl of science”. He compiled his voluminous history with scrupulous regard for truth. He depicts the mind and mood of the age so that posterity could cherish and nourish the memory of the accomplishments of Akbar th Great, Whose impact on all aspects of human activity was indelible. Ain-i-Akbari and Akbar –Nama are the products of an accomplished man of broad views and broader perspectives. His information is authentic, topics dealt with are astonishingly varied and the analysis is admirable. He took pains to settle the chronology of Akbar’s reign. In short, his work is the fruit of extraordinary industry and erudition.

However, Abul Fazl’s Veracity as a historian questioned. He is accused of “gross flattery suppression of facts, and dishonesty” He is a plagiarist and an encomiast. Like Harisena and Bana, court historians of Samudragupta and Harsha respectively Abul Fazl indulges in unashamed flattery of his promoter and patron. He admires adores, nay, deifies Akbar. He attributes to his hero powers bordering



on the supernatural. He ignores the vices of the emperor and exaggerates his virtues. He is palpably unfair to Shershah. His style is somewhat involved, unattractive and terse, which only the well – versed could understand. His narrative is florid, fickle and indistinct” “Abul Fazi is not for a moment to be compared either in frankness or simplicity, with Comines, Sully, Clarendon and other ministers who have written contemporary history”.

And yet, Abul Fazl stands supreme among the Muslim – Mughal historians. He need not be condemned because he writes about hero per excellence. He is “ too great to pervert history” Though the indisputable statesman – historian depicts Shershah as a rebel and usurper his *Ain – i- Akbari* is indisputable to the study of the revenue system of the Afghan King “What Thucydides is to Greece, Tacitus to Rome and Ibn Khaldun to Arabs, Abul Fazl is to the Mughals” In short, “The most important author of the entire Mughal age was Abul – Fazl Allami”.

ROYAL MEMOIRS:-

Some of the Mughal kings and their wives were not only great conquerors but also sound scholars. They were known for their memoirs. These are literary works of historical interest and importance. They are no less important than the historical works produced by court historians or private writers. Bahar Gulbadan Begam and Jahangir distinguished themselves by their Memories.

Babar’s Babar-Nama:-

1. Babar:-

Zahir – ud – din Muhammed surnamed Babar or the Lion (1483-1530) was a descendant of Timur the Turk and the family of Chengiz Khan as well. Since his



mother belonged to the family of Chengiz Khan the Mongol the term Mughal was applied to Babar and his descendants. Babar the victor of the Battle of Panipat (1529) was the Founder of the Mughal Empire in India. The Timurids were great patrons of art, literature and culture. Bebar's Cousin Mirza Haidar, was a historian himself Babar's daughter Gulbadan Begam, was the author of Humayun – nama Babar Akbar's grand – father distinguished himself by his celebrated autobiography the Babar – nama.

2. Babar – nama:-

Babar – nama is in three parts part one recounts the period between Babar's accession to the throne at Fargana and his ouster from the Samarkand region Part two deals with the period from his flight to this last invasion of India and part three given an account of his activities in India.

3. Many Merits:-

Bebar's Memoirs has many merits: 1) It is written in immaculate Turki prose. Like Julius Caesar and Xenophon, Babar is a man of letter 2) It given an unvarnished account of its author with all his strengths and weaknesses. 3) It demonstrates that Babar is a sticklet for truth and nothing but truth. "In this history", he asserts, "I have held firmly to it that truth should be reached in every matter and that act should be recorded as it occurred 4) Its style is simple and pleasant as the narration is sincere and honest. Babar describes even the minutest things with meticulous care. 5) It is "one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant." 6) It is gives detailed account of the land trade, industry as well social, political condition of the people and their character.



Gul Badan Begam's Humayun-Nama:-

1.Gul Badan:-

Gul Badan (1523-1603) was the worthy daughter of the worthy father. She inherited the sense of history and flair for writing from her emperor father Babar. She undertook to pen the lives of Babar and Humayun at the behest of Akbar, grandson of Babar. Her work Humayun-un-nama is in two sections dealing with the history of Babar and his successor – son Humayun respectively written in the eighties of the sixteenth century. It throws light on the early life of Akbar also

2. Humayun – Nama:-

Gul Badan's Memoirs is based on the information from persons personally participated in the events described. She was ably assisted by the senior ladies in the harem. Since she was only seven years old when Babar died, she deals with the events of his reign in brief. Though brief it is reliable and authentic. Her treatment of Humayun is more detailed. It not only narrates the political and military activities of the king but also provides deep insights into the life of the life of the harem interesting events in the life of the begams social customs and manners of the age Humayun's personality with his qualities of head and heart and the story of "the transference" of Humayun's illness to his father. Before his death, the emperor gave the following advice to his eldest son: 'O' Son, the kingdom of India is full of India is full of different religions.. It is incumbent upon you to erase all religious prejudices from the tablet of your heart and to administer justice according to the ways of every religion.



Scrutiny and criticism. In fine, the Sultanate historiography was in a nascent stage and the accounts of these historians furnished the raw material of history.

BRITISH HISTORIANS:-

Robert Orme(1728-1801):-

When the Britishers descended on the Indian scene, the Indo-Muslim historical writing was in a fairly advanced stage. While the British East India Company was busy expanding its trade through its commercial network, the administrative – scholars were active in delving deep into India's past. They collected considerable source materials and preserved them in the India Office Library, London. Robert Orme was the pioneering historian who recorded contemporary events.

Born in 1728, Robert Orme was educated at Harrow. He came to Calcutta at the age of 14, joined the East India Company in 1743 and rose to the position of a member of the Council of Madras. He worked as the official historiographer of the company from 1769 till his demise in 1801. Orme's historical works include 1) A History of the military transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, published in 1764, and 2) Historical Fragments of the Moghal Empire of the Marattas and the English concerns in Indostan from the year MDC LIX (1782).

Pioneering Study:-

Orme's works are based on the personal investigation, hearsay accounts and study of chronicles. They provide glimpses of the political conditions prevailed in India in the later half of the 18th century. He found that Indians had lost all memory of the historic past and were indulging in the mythological stories of Vishnu Isvara



Brahma and a thousand other petty deities which he considered “ a heap of the greatest absurdities” Orme with audacious boldness retrieved Indian history from the clutches of mythology, tradition and superstition. He brought order out of the chaos of India’s distant past when the British power had not been established. Orme’s works are of great historical value. Though his works are written from the point of view of the English, subsequent writers drew inspiration from him.

James Mill (1773 – 1836):-

Son of a shoemaker, James Mill got his education at Edinburgh Inspired by utilitarianism he moved closely with the greatest utilitarianism of the day like Bentham, Ricardo, Hume and Grote. Though he was employed in the offices of the East India company, he never visited India officially or otherwise.

James Mill’s History of British India (1818) was the first ever major attempt to trace the history of India from the earliest times to the end of 18th century. Since he had access to government documents at the company office, London, he was able to write the history of India from the view point of view of British imperialism, which was at the height of power at that time. He applied utilitarian principles to interpret the history of India. Above all he divided the history of India into Hindu, Muslim and British periods for analysis, instead of Ancient, Medieval and Modern.

Son of Lord Elphinston, Mountsuart was born in 1779 educated at Edinburg and joined the Bengal Civil Service when he was 16 years old. He became resident at Nagpur in 1804 and was sent on a mission to sher shuja in 1808. He headed the first British Mission Afghanistan and was the last British Resident at the court of



the Peshwa in 1816. As resident at Poona, he came into close contact with the affairs of the Peshwai down to its abolition.

Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827. He was a liberal – minded scholar administrator. He prepared the Bombay code and initiated the policy of indianisation of Civil Administration. He founded a Society in 1820 for the spread of Vernacular education. He was an admirer of local administration, especially the villiage panchayats. Elphinistone resigned his Governorship in 1827 and returned home after declining the Governor – Generalship in succession to Lord William Bentinck! He devoted his retired life to the writing of history.,

His work:-

M.Elkphiniston's Account of the Kingdom of Kabul was published in 1815. His more famous work was History of Hindu and Muhammadan India (1841). The Rise of the British Power in the East was posthumously edited in 1887.

James Tod (1782-1835):-

James Tod was born in 1782 at Islington and came along with his father to India and settled in Mirzapur in Utter Pradesh. He jointed the East India Company in 1798 as an army Cadet and rose to the rank of Lieutenant. He was appointed the English Agent at the Court of Sindhia (1805) and later served as the political Agent of the British in Western Rajput States. He became a Major in 1824 and Lieutenant Colonel in 1826. His career in Rajesthan enabled him to acquaint with a number of Rajput chiefs and to study the history and culture of Rajasthan. He incurred the wrath of the authorities became of his pro- Rajput attitude and approach!



His Works:-

Colonel Tod is well – known for his two outstanding works. 1) Annal and Autiquities of Rajasthan (1829 – 32) Travels in Western India published posthumously. The Annals in three volumes deal with the history and social conditions of the Rajputs. It presents the Rajput history in the background of their geography, economic resources, social system political organization, religion and culture. Tod goes to the root of the heartless practice of infanticide among the Rajputs and traces the inhuman practice “to the customary prohibition of marriages between person belonging to the same clan or tribe” and other causes” He judiciously avoid princely battles and petty dynastic squabbles and concentrates on the history and culture of the Rajputs.

Tod’s Travels record his extensive tours in 1822. His travels covered the celebrated shrines of the Hindus and the sacred mounts of the jains between Rajasthan and the Indus. This travelogue is a mine of information on the geography, history, religions, social conditions and culture of the Rajputs. He also traces the history of the City of Anhilwara.

Grant Duff (1789-1858)

Born in a Scottish family of England, Grant Duff was educated at Aberdeen. He came to India in 1805 and joined the Bombay Military Service as a Cadet and elevated to the position of Captain in 1818. Impressed by his talents Elphinstone appointed Captain Duff as political agent of Satara, an independent Maratha state. During his career, he collected document including the original letter from Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and his successors, the grants made to the Marathas by Mohammad Shah and the letters of the Peshwas as well as the eye –witness



accounts. Duff subjected these documents, grants, letters and accounts to strict scrutiny and verified their veracity before using them.

His work:-

Grant Duff's A History of the Marathas in two volumes was published in 1825. The draft of the book was carefully scrutinized by scholars like Elphinstone, Vans Kennedy, William Erskine and John Briggie before it was published. For want of a publisher Duff published his work at his expense.

Joseph Davey Cunningham (1812-1891):-

Son of the well known author Allen Cunningham, J.D.Cunningham was born in 1812 at Lambeth. After his school education in London he positions he become the British Agent to the state of Bhawalpur in 1845 and then as political Agent at Bhopal. During his career Gunningham came into contact with several influential Sikhs and through them he came to know the heroic history of the Sikhs. Impressed by the lives and teachings of the Sikh Gurus, the establishment of Sikh independence and Sikh wars against the British he gathered records official and non-official and reconstructed the history of the Sikhs.

His work:-

J.D. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs (1849) was the result of four years of sustained hard work. In this book he revealed the real strength of the Sikh army and the conduct of and the negotiations with sikh chiefs. Though the book is "extremely well written, giving the fullest and most accurate details of events", it raised a storm of protest in the British Parliament. The Governor-General Marquis of Dalhousie charged him with breach of trust in unauthorizedly using



official secret documents in writing the History of the Sikhs and dismissed him from service, a price Cunningham had to pay for revealing the truth! He lost his job but earned the well deserved reputation from the world of scholarship. The historian of the Sikhs is rightly regarded as “ the first scientific historian of Indian”

Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893):-

Alexander Cunningham, younger brother of J.D.Cunningham, was educated at Christs hospital, came to India when he was 19 years old. He joined the military wing of the Bengal Army in 1833 as an army engineer. His meeting with James Prinsep, who deciphered the Brahmi alphabet of the Asokan inscriptions proved to be a turning point in his life. His excavations at Saranath(1837) and at Sanchi (1850) elevated him to the coveted position of Director of Archaeology in 1870. From 1870 to 1885 he carried out several excavations including those in Tazits beside collecting Indian coins.

His work:-

A Cunningham systematically gathered archaeological evidence classified them and published Annual Reports from 1862 to 1884. The resultant 23 Volumes are he standing testimony to the indefatigable spade work carried out by him. His other publications included 1) Inscriptions of Asoka; 2) Coins of India ; 3) Book of Indian Eras ; 4) Ancient Geography of India 5) Bhilsa Topes; and 6)Stupa of Barhut.

Willium Wilson Hunter:-

W.W.Hunter was the last great British administrator historian of the 19th century. He was a distinguished civil servant of the British government in India.



Impressed by his uncanny intelligence, perceptive talent, Viceroy Lord Mayo (1869-1872) entrusted Hunter with responsibility of preparing a survey of India. He made full use of the opportunity, toured through the length and breadth of the country and produced the Imperial Gazetteer of India in 14 volumes! He was the general Editor of The Rulers of India in 28 volumes! He regularly contributed learned articles on India in Englishman and Pioneer (Calcutta) and to the Times of England. His Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages in India earned him a doctorate degree. His other outstanding outputs are Annals of Rural Bengal (1868), Indian Musalman (1876) and the incomplete History of British India.

Vincent Arthur Smith (1848-1920):-

V.A.Smith was born in 1848 in Dublin, Ireland. His father was a leading Doctor with abiding interest in numismatics and archaeology. After a brilliant academic career Smith joined Indian Civil Service (ICS) in 1871. Amidst his hectic administrative activities he found time to devote to the study of history. After retirement in 1900 Smith returned to his home country and taught History at Dublin and wrote history books.

His works:-

V.A. Smith wrote Early History of India in 1904. The book deals with the history of India from 600 B.C. to the Muslim conquest. In 1919 he brought out his more famous and popular book Oxford History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon; and Catalogue of Coins of India. Besides books he contributed research articles on topics of historical importance.



William Harrison Moreland (1868-1938):-

W.H. Moreland was born in Ireland and educated at Cambridge. He joined the Indian Civil Service and distinguished himself as Director of Land Records and Agriculture. Fascinated by the uninterrupted continuity of Indian agriculture and revenue system across the ancient, Medieval and modern periods he took to the study of Indian rural economy. His remarkable works include 1) Agriculture in the United Provinces (1904) 2) Revenue Administration of the United Provinces (1911); 3) Akbar's Land Revenue System (1918); 4) India at the death of Akbar (1920); 5) Agrarian System of Modern India (1929); and 6) From Akbar to Aurangzeb (1931)

Nationalist Historians:-

Indian freedom struggle was the response to the challenge of British domination over the country, it was the anti thesis of the British Imperialism. Similarly, Indian nationalist historiography, an off-spring of the freedom movement, was the reaction to the pro-British writing of history. Bakim Chandra Chatterji lamented that the Hindus had no history³³. In May 1867, Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old man of India, sowed the seed of the 'drain theory' of Britain's bleeding India of her resources. His Poverty and Un-British Rule in India exposed "the subjected, that is destroying India". Modern Indian Historians were obliged to defend their country's history and culture against the frontal attack made by British historians like James Mill. The native historians had realized that they must question the approach, assumptions and insinuations made by the imperialist historians, They therefore, reconstructed India's past in terms of national interest and importance.



Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar:-

Son to a clerk in the Government of India Revenue Department R.G.Bhandarkar was educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay A Student of Mathematics, he was fascinated by Sanskrit and Indian Culture He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona and Rose to the position of Vice Chancellor of Bombay University from 1893 to 1895. He was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1903 and was knighted in 1911. Bhandarkar distinguished himself as teacher, researcher and author.

His Works:-

R.G.Bhandarkar's noted works are 1) The Early History of the Decan (1884); 2)A Peep into the Early History of India (1900); and 3) Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems(1913). The Deccan History is a factual account of Western India from the earliest times to the Muslim conquest. Besides tracing the Political development of Deccan he recounts the social, economic, religious, literary and artistic conditions during the period under study. The second work surveys the early history of North India from the beginning of the Mauryan period to the end of the Gupta Empire. Bhandarkar also published a number of research papers on copperplates, inscriptions, date of Patanjali, etc. The Critical Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry is important from the point of view of historiography.

JADUNATH SARKAR :

J.N. Sarkar is the greatest and the most remarkable of modern Indian historians. Born in 1870 in Bengal, Sarkar had a distinguished academic track



record. He earned his Master of Arts Degree in English Literature in 1892 and started his career as Lecturer in English. He joined the Indian Educational service in 1918. After a distinguished career J.N.Sarkar retired as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1926. In 1929, he was knighted by the British Government. Sarkar was honoured by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1923. The Royal Historical Society of England enrolled him as its distinguished member. The American Historical Society appointed him an honorary life member.

Though a keen student of English Literature J.N.Sarkar had developed a passion for history. As early as 1901 he published his research paper on India of Aurangzeb. Subsequently Sarkar wrote the History of Aurangzeb in five volumes, Mughal Administration in four volumes, Fall of the Mughal Administration in four volumes, Shivaji and His Times, House of Shivaji, History of Bengal, Military History of India, Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and India through the Ages, Short history of Aurangzeb successively. In between he edited Poona Residency Correspondence and Ain-i-Akbari besides contributing a number of research papers to Modern Review and the Cambridge History of India. He also translated into English the Persian records on the Marathas.

S.KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

Born at Sakkotai, near Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu, lost his father when he was young, migrated to Bangalore with his mother and studied there. He was appointed Professor of English in the Central College, Bangalore. Then he joined the University of Madras and worked as Professor of Indian History and Archaeology for 15 years (1914- 1929). During his career he was Chairman, Co-ordinating Committee to work out a comprehensive scheme of writing history set



up by the Indian History; member of Mysore Educational Service; associated with the Mythic Society of Bangalore; collaborated with Hultzchze of Asoka inscriptions fame; Joint Editor of Indian Antiquary; Secretary of All Indian Oriental Conference; Vice President, South Indian Archaeological Society; Gold Medalist of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; contributed to the Cambridge History of India. The Calcutta University honoured him with a Doctorate Degree.

Krishnaswami Aiyangar's major works are : 1) The Beginnings of South Indian History (1919), 2) South India and her Mohammanadan Invadors (1921) 3) Manimekalai in its Historical Setting (1928), 4) Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India (1931), 5) A History of Tirupati in two volumes. He also edited the Sources of Vijayanagar History and the Historical Inscriptions of South India History in collaboration with Robert Sewell. He contributed chapters to the Bharatiya Bhavan series on Indian History. He had published about 125 research papers. Above all, he guided and groomed outstanding research scholars like A. Rangaswamy Saraswathy, R. Sathianathiar, R. Gopalan, and A. Appadurai.

K.A. NILAKANDA SASTRI (1892 – 1975)

Born in 1892 near Tirunelveli Sastri had his education at Hindu College, Tirunelveli and Christian College, Madras. He was Professor of History at Tirunelveli and Madras before he became the Principal of Sri Meenakshi College, Chidambaram (1920 – 1929), the precursor of Annamalai University. Then he joined Madras University as Professor of Indian History and Archaeology and worked from 1929 to 1947. He thus carried the mantle of his illustrious predecessor Professor S.Krishnaswamy Ayangar with distinction.



Prof. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri was a prolific writer. His voluminous works include The Pandyan Kingdom, The Colas, A History of South India, Studies in the History of Sri Vijaya, History of India, Cultural Expansion of India, Aryans and Dravidians, Comparative History of South India, Foreign Notices of South India, Further Sources of Vijayanagar History and Historical Methods in Relation to Indian History. He also edited The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas and contributed many chapters to it.

SARDAR K.M. PANIKKAR (1895 – 1963)

Born at Kovalam in Kerala, K.M. Panikkar had his higher education in the Madras Christian College and in Christ Church, Oxford and emerged as an outstanding scholar of history. He commenced his teaching career at the Aligarh Muslim University and worked till 1922. For sometime he was the editor of Swarajya, founded by Rajaji. Panikkar founded and edited the Hindustan Times (1924). In between he was the adviser to the Maharaja of Kashmir. In 1933, he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Patiala and then elevated to the position of Secretary to the Chamber of Princes.

K.M. Panikkar was a prolific writer. His works include : 1) Sri Harsha of Kanaoj (1922), 2) Malabar and Portuguese, and Malabar and the Dutch (1931), 3) The Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India (1938), 4) India and the Indian Ocean (1945), 5) A Survey of Indian History (1947), 6) Geographical Factors in Indian History (1955) and 7) Asia and Western Dominance (1953). Even a cursory glance at the titles of his book will indicate his versatile talent in Historiography.



DAMODAR DHARMANAND KOSAMBI (1907-1966)

D.D.Kosambi was born in Goa in 1907. He had his school education in his native place Kosaban and higher education at Harvard, U.S.A. He taught Mathematics in Benaras, Aligarh, Pune and at the Tata Institute for 15 years. This mathematician–turned–historian was a multilinguist knowing English, French, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Pali and Arabic. He had his academic training in mathematics, history, anthropology, archaeology and numismatics. He applied his vast and varied knowledge to re-interpret the ancient past of India.

His works:

D.D.Kosambi was a prolific writer with a difference. His variegated works include

- 1) An Introduction to the Study of Indians History;
- 2) The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in historical outline;
- 3) Exasperating Essays: Exercises in the Dialectical Method;
- 4) Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian culture.

He had also published several research papers and articles.

Marxist Historian

D.D.Kosambi is a Marxist historian. He defines history as “the presentation, in chronological manner, of successive developments”. This definition is the essence of Marxian economic interpretation of history. In the absence of reliable records and a credible chronology Kosambi interprets ancient India on the Marxian criteria that means of material production determine social organization and social

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Directorate of Distance & Continuing Education, Tirunelveli.



change. In other words, he differentiates historical periods according to significant changes in the means and relations of production. Wars, religious movements and feudal system are subjected to Marxian dialectical method.

Prof. R. SATHIANATHAIER

Prof. R. Sathianathier belongs to the school of thought initiated by S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. As one of the rare researchers groomed and guided by his mentor he faithfully carried forward the mantle of sound Indian History to greater heights. A diligent student of Fr.Carty. Sathianathier learned French in order to translate some of the source materials. Such was his passion for critical-analytical research. He served Annamalai University as Head of the Department of History with distinction and retired after several extensions with fulfillment. He was a member of the Indian Historical Commission. He encouraged and guided many research scholars who distinguished themselves later in life by their contribution to the field of historical research scholars who distinguished themselves later in life by their contribution to the field of historical research. His passion for research was contagious.

His works:

Prof. Aier's works, though few are path-breaking and trend setting. His *The Nayaks of Madura* still remains a classic ever since its publication! He has attempted to portray the history of the Nayakas as it really happened on the basis of documentary evidence. He critically used V.Rangacharya's work as secondary source material. He carries forward this subject further through the *Early History of Tondamandalam* and *The History of Tamilagam in the 17th century*. When asked about his narrow field specialization he remarked: "I am a frog in well; but I know my well very well". A *Political and Cultural History of India* in 3 volumes is



widely read and serves as a model for text-book writing. Brevity is the spice of his writing. *Thoughts of a Historian*, published by Prof.R.Sathianathier Commemoration Committee (1989), is a bouquet of research articles contributed by the Professor to various research journals, commemoration volumes and proceeding etc. These memorable monographs are the results of pain staking research known for the breath of vision and depth of scholarship.

BIPAN CHANDRA (1928-)

Born in Kangra, Himachal Pradesh in 1928, Bipin Chandra was educated at Forman Christian College, Lahore and at Stanford University, California, U.S.A. He earned his Doctorate Degree from Delhi University in 1963. He was Professor of Modern History at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and after retirement he continues as Professor Emritus. He was President, Indian History Congress; member, University Grants Commission; U.G.C National Lecturer in 1973-74; delivered Kosambi, K.P.Jayaswal and V.D.Maharajan Memorial Lectures. He is on the Editorial Board of '**Enquiry**'. Currently he is the chairman of the National Book Trust of India.

His Works

The following are the major works of Dr.Bipan Chandra:

1)Modern India(1971); 2)Nationalism and Colonialism in India(1979); 3)The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism(1984); 4)India's struggle for Independence 1857-1947 (1987); 5)Communalism in Modern India (1992); 6)Essays on Contemporary India(1993); 7)Ideology and Politics in Modern India (1994); 8)Essays on Colonialism (1999); 9)India after Independence(1999); and 10)In the name of Democracy(2003).



ROMILA THAPAR(1930-)

Born in a Punjabi family in 1930 Romila Thapar earned her first degree from the Punjab University and her Doctorate from London University. She was appointed Reader in History at Delhi University and subsequently to the Chair in Ancient Indian History at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and after retirement, she continues as Emeritus Professor in History. She is also an Honorary Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and has been visiting Professor at Cornell University and the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A as well as the College de France in Paris. In 1983, she was elected General President of the Indian History Congress and in 1999 a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy.

Her works:

Romila Thapar's major works are: 1. Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (1963); 2) A History of India, Vol.I (1996); 3) Ancient Indian Social History: Some interpretations (1978); 4) From Lineage to State (1984); 5) Interpreting Early India (1992); 6) History of Early India: From the origins to A.D.1300 (2004). Her other works are: Sakuntala : Texts, Reading, Histories and Cultural Pasts: Essays on Indian History.

Marxist Orientation:

Romila Thapar is a conspicuous member of the Marxist School of Indian historiography. She is mostly responsible for building the Centre for Historical Studies in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. She reinterprets the History of Emperor Asoka from the point of view of political and social background instead of a moralistic approach. Her Marxist orientation is revealed in her History of India, immensely well written research based Text-cum-Reference book, where she



says that political pattern, dynastic change, cultural shifts and social relationships are “inextricably entwined in changes in the economic structure and these in turn have a bearing on the social relationships”. In her perceptive study *Interpreting Early India* she applies Marxist concept of Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP).

IRFAN HABIB (1931-)

Son of the famous historian father Muhammad Habib. Irfan Habib is an interpretative historian. His chief works are: 1) *Interpreting Indian History*; 2) *Caste and Money in Indian History*; 3) *Problems of Marxist Historiography*; 4) *Agrarian System of Mughal India*; 5) *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*; and 6) His contribution to the *Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol.I*.

Interpretative History

Irfan Habib contends that only through imaginative and constructive interpretation of sources gaps found in the events of the past could be meaningfully filled. He reinterprets Indian history in the light of the divisive phenomenon of caste. He questions the post-Marxian classification of all societies into a rigid universal periodisation of Primitive Communism, Slavery and Feudalism. He also questions the view that Marx held all thoughts are reflection of the material world. He relooks the medieval north Indian society from the point of view of the peasants. His peeps into the economic history of India are purposeful. His *Atlas of the Mughal Empire* is an exemplary exercise in historical cartography. In balance it may be said that Irfan Habib has considerably contributed to the development of Indian Subaltern Historiography.



THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

Meaning of Philosophy

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

What is Philosophy of history?

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

The concept of the philosophy of history is interpreted by western thinkers in different ways. Dionysius of Halicarnassus set the ball rolling by his famous



remark that “History is philosophy drawn from examples” he referred to actual life situation, not imaginary concoctions. Voltaire, the inventor of the expression ‘philosophy of history’, meant scientific history based upon critical analysis. That is a type of historical thinking in which the historian makes up his mind for himself instead of repeating in which the historian makes up his mind for himself instead of repeating what was narrated earlier.

Heinrich Rickert claims three meanings to the term ‘philosophy of history’.

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

BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY

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

Speculative Philosophy of History

There are two branches of philosophical enquiry, viz., 1) Speculative philosophy of history; and 2) Analytical philosophy of history. Speculative philosophy seeks to discover the meaning and significance to history. They attempt to prove that there is some purpose or plan or pattern- divine or human – in



historical events. They consider historical acts as vital links of a process inwardly comprehended by God, Reason or Sprit or Zeitgeist.

Analytical philosophy of history

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

INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Theological interpretation:

Theological interpretation of history is based on speculative philosophy. It is known as teleological theory. It maintains that events and developments are meant to fulfill a purpose and events take place because of that. Christianity views history as a divinely ordained human drama with beginning and end. It goes beyond the Greco – Roman conception of the history of one people and one state system and views the march of mankind as a continuum towards the ultimate meaning. For the first Eusebius of Caesaria (4th cen A.D) created the sketch of a world history that united Biblical history and history of the Greaco- Roman world within one



context. It is remarkable achievement. More remarkable than this is the creation of a certain general historical periodisation. It was done by St. Jerome, the Latin translator and continuer of Eusebius' summary. This periodisation is indispensable to grasp and comprehend the external connections and interdependence of events. It "posed the question of the boundaries of the main periods, called for closer definition of the chronology, and compelled one to think about the peculiarities of these periods and the reasons for the transition from one to the other".

Secular Interpretation:

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

LAWS OF HISTORY

Philosophers of history look at life and events in their own way. Historians told a systematic view about the course taken in the past by human affairs. In practice, philosophers help historians to formulate sets of rules that will help them in serializing the events through their research. Philosophy of history implies a belief that things occur in the human world with some kind of regularity. Such



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

The law of Elasticity

The law of elasticity is based on the conviction that the world of men is intelligible.

Therefore, the human past cannot be a welter of chaos and confusion. The law talks of the habit of human affairs to resume their reasonable shape. Historian’s sense of congruousness helps him to steer clear of the seemingly conflicting course of events and to know that ‘things are what they are’. The Greeks knew it. The Chinese waited for three centuries for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

The law of change

History tells us part of mankind’s past experiences. Every experience is an event. History demonstrates that events are impermanent. None can escape the necessity of change. Nothing is immutable. Change is the law of life. Hence it follows a pattern. On this basis the law of change is formulated which can be applied to the world of human societies. There is continual tendency to make concessions to its environment without submitting or succumbing to it. In short, the law of change is based on the principle of impermanence. It is the principle of



thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Whereas Hegel's dialectical process is transcendental, Marx's dialectic is materialistic. But pragmatic dialectic is neither sacred nor universal; it is in a state of flux. The Knowledge of the law of change has given to the doctrine known as 'historicism'. Nothing is permanent in history. Empires dissolve, kingdoms crumble, and rulers are replaced. "To know and to feel the law of change is to realize... that what is has not always been"

The Law of the Appointed Time

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

The Zeitgeist is the personification of the law of the Appointed Time.

The law of Momentum

The Law of Momentum is a corollary to the Law of the Appointed Time. In social life energy is applied for the purpose of achieving the result. Energy may exceed its requirements. The achievement of a result liberates certain amount of



energy. To achieve a purpose men build an organization, acquire habits, a mentality, loyalties that help them towards the goal. Once the task is achieved the momentum of occurrence tends to maintain itself. Even after giving France the unity and cohesion and safeguarding it from outside interference, Louis XIV continued his absolutist rule and went on with his military conquests. The French Revolution and the career of Napoleon show the Law of Momentum in operation.

The Law of the Class Power

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

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

Each successive class which holds both economic and political power comes nearer to equaling the totality of members of the society to which it belongs. As education spreads, as working class acquires a greater share in the control of production, democratic societies tend to become classless. But Marxian prediction



of a classless communist society is an attempt to prophesy. But historians are not prophets.

The Law of Revolutions

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

CAUSATION AND CHANGE

Nature of Causation

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

The term 'cause' is derived from the Latin word 'Causa' which means 'a relation of connectedness between events'. A cause is that which produces an



effect. It indicates how a certain result, situation or event happens. It is one of the factors which help to explain why a historical event took place. It is a tool useful for the performance of the historian's task of narrating the events of the past.

Causation is one of the ancient beliefs acquired by men after centuries of tentative formulation. Plato and Aristotle thought in terms of eternal recurrences of events. The concepts of ancient Hindus centred round the idea of an unchanging ultimate reality with the idea of changing yugas, one following the other in a circle. The Chinese conception of historical change is the alternation of order and disorder. But what causes this change? The ancients did not think of inquiring into the cause of an event because it was taken as interference in the Divine Plan!

ROLE OF PROVIDENCE

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

ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS

Historic heroes are unique. Because they are unique they are somewhat enigmatic and unaccountable. They exercise enormous social influence. It is not easy to subject them under a formula. They achieve what could not be



accomplished by the masses. Historians can neither ignore nor exclude them from history.

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

Sidney Hook divides heroes of history into two broad categories, viz Eventful Men and Event Making men. The former owe their importance to the positions they hold and happen to be at the centre of historic events. On the other hand, Event Making Men convert the society to their way. They gain control of the situation and drive the society in the direction of their decision. Henry VIII of England and Frederick the Great of Prussia were the eventful men and Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung and Gandhi were the event making men.

ROLE OF IDEAS

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

Historians take a lively interest in the adventure of ideas. For instance, a study of political pamphlets of a particular period will reveal



repetition of themes and the influence exercised by one writer upon another. This need not be history. But the study of the interests and groups that inspired pamphlet-writers and of the effect of pamphleteers upon political events provides a story that belongs most certainly to history. The historian has to take an intermediary position between the pan-idealism of Croce and the Marxist denial of the right of any idea to a life of its own.

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

The variations of philosophical doctrine belong to the realm of ideas. The different theories advanced to explain historical phenomena and to interpret social change centre round ideas. To cite three instances:

- 1) the Linear Theory is built on the idea that history proceeds according to a definite plan;
- 2) the Cyclical Theory relates to the idea of repetition, i.e, history repeats itself in succeeding peoples and periods; and 3) the Chaos Theory is weaved around the idea that historical events are formless and chaotic and assumes spiraling advance. "The several theories... have given a lot of interpretative ideas of great originality which opened the eyes of the historians to new thinking"

IDEAS AND HISTORY

Idea means thought or plan formed by thinking. Ideas are important because:
a) they have influenced past events; b) they influence the historian's interpretation



of past events; c) controversy about proof of the influence of ideas in human affairs still persists. In the life of man ideas are facts. Human activities and instructions are not only determined by geographical factors but also influenced by ideas people hold of their relations with each other. Triumphs and tragedies have been molded by ideas like Divine Rights of kings, Right, Liberty, Equality, Democracy, Socialism, Nationalism, Social Justice, Empowerment of Women and so on. In a way, the life of civilized man is a history of ideas, which determine the direction of human movement. Philosophers of history and historians of philosophy are concerned with ideas such as Causation, Continuity, Contingency, Individuals and Institutions, National Character, Progress and similar ideas.

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF

Yes and No

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



History Repeats Itself

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

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

Because history repeats itself the historian attempts to predict the future. It is possible because the laws of human nature are like the laws of nature. Even laws of exact sciences do not claim to predict what will happen in concrete cases. The historian, therefore can with certainty predict the future on the basis of the repetitive nature of history. The repetitive nature of history enables the historian to generalize Generalization is possible because historical events are strikingly similar Stronger nations tend to dominate weaker nations. Alliances, pacts and treaties are recurrent phenomena. Border disputes between countries occur again and again. France faced a bloody revolution in 1789 and Russia in 1917. Napoleon



in the 19th century and Hitler in the 20th century committed the same mistake of invading Russia. The Great War of 1914 – 1918 was followed by the world war 1939 – 1945. The league of Nation was succeeded by the United Nations Organization.

The purpose of generalization is to learn lessons from history. Because history repeats itself it is possible for a man to learn from history. Since historical events occur with some kind of regularity it is possible to formulate laws of history. The Positivist historians like Mommsen and Maitland framed historical laws through generalizing from the historical facts. Historians like Vicco, Spengler, Marx and Toynbee applied these laws in their interpretation of history.

History does not repeat itself:

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

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

History can not repeat itself as scientific experiment can be repeated in the laboratory. This is so because each historical event is unique. Each event involves human beings and human judgment. As human behave differently under different



circumstances and human judgment will also differ accordingly no two events can be identical. Did the leaders of the Russian revolution behaved and acted in the same way as those of the French Revolution? No. These revolutions may look similar but not identical.

THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

Expression of Optimism

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

Meaning of progress

The word 'progress' is derived from the Latin term Progradi which means 'forward walk'. It means forward or onward movement: advance or development. The concept of progress is based on the hypothesis that humanity is moving forward towards a state of perfection. It signifies a movement in a desired and desirable direction. So, progress is not mere change. The sense of direction which one discovers in history will measure progress. According to J.B Bury, progress is



both an interpretation of history and a philosophy of action. Among the ideas which have held sway for the last couple of centuries none is more significant than the concept of progress.

Cult of progress

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

HISTORICAL DETERMINISM Vs FREE WILL

Meaning of Determinism

To determine is to decide. Determinism refers to the belief that everything in the world is pre-decided. One is not free to choose what he wants to be or to become because it is already decided. The doctrine of historical determinism means that historical process is pre-determined. That is, history is preordained. Every historical event or sequence of events is inevitable. Inevitability is an inexorable law of history. Hapless man is obliged to obey the dictates of the predetermined course of action. Like a locomotive individuals move and events proceed on a predecided path. In the eternal struggle between fate and free will inevitably the former wins.



History of Historical Determinism

The classical Graeco-Roman historians attributed the course of historical events to the hands of fate or to the acts of gods or great men. Plato refers to a cycle of eternal recurrences. Aristotle was attracted by the beauty of the circle. Polybius believes in this type of eternal cycles of history. The ancient Hindus divided the historical process into four yugas, viz Krita yuga, Treta yuga, Dvapara yuga and Kali yuga. The Hindu concept of Karma and their belief in the divine incarnation reinforces historical determinism. The Chinese view of history as the alteration of order and disorder; periods of disorder, transequality and unity; sequences of black, White and Red was based on their belief in historical determinism. Islam attributes the ultimate cause to the will of Allah. It conceives history as a cavern in which light battles with darkness. Islamic thinkers compared states and dynasties to fruits; grow, ribbon and decay. The medieval Christian theologians almost perfected the concept of determinism. According to them everything is predetermined towards preordained course, change and consequence. The enlightenment scholars of the 18th century undermined the concept of historical determinism but the Romanticist thinkers of the 19th century underlined it and envolved the organic theory of historical process. As in nature individuals and institutions are born, grow, decay and di. Kant, Hegel, Marx, Spengler and Toynebee in one form or other adumbrated the concept of historical determinism.

THEORIES OF HISTORICAL DETERMINISM

1. Theological Determinism

Several deterministic solutions have been offered to the problem of causation in histories. Different theories of historical determinism are based on



these solutions. The idea of the theological theory of a predestination or deterministic explanation is ably expressed in the philosophy of Lucretius who drew attention to the inevitable effect of an all pervasive onset of ‘cosmic senescence’. He considered the cosmic factor as deterministic. His philosophy was elaborated by later theologians

2. Theistic Determinism

Theistic form of determinism centre’s round an idol which is worshiped in the likeness of the True God. The addicts of this convert idolatry ascribe to the object of their worship all the attributes of a divine personality the course of events

3. Psychological Determinism

The creed of psychological determinism is enshrined in the Indian conception of Karma and the Christian conception of Original sin. The concept of Karma entered into the religion of Hinduism and the Philosophy of Buddhism. The concept of Original Sin affirms that a particular personal sin of the progenitor of the human race, namely Adam, has entailed upon all his offspring’s a heritage of spiritual infirmity. Every descendant of Adam is doomed to inherit this Adamic blemish. Both the views agree in the essential point of making the spiritual chain of cause and effect run on continuously from one earthly life to another. This psychic worship of Necessity later expressed itself through Hitler ‘the most notorious politician of the age, when he declared: “I go my way with the assurance of a somnambulist, the way which providence has send me”

4. Geographical Determinism

The dogma of the omnipotence of physical determinism seems to have been introduced by Democritus (C.460-360 BC), the Greek philosopher. The physical or the geographical or the environment theory advances the view that the diverse



climatic and geographical conditions in which different societies live determine their destiny. Similarly, the race theory, propounds that some innately superior race, say the Nordic Race, determines the course of history

5. Historical Determinism

The scientific conception of historical determinism is founded on the ‘never broken and never varying order’ of the universe. All the known movements of the stellar cosmos have been assumed to govern the universe as a whole: material and spiritual, animate and inanimate. It was thought reasonable to assume that human affairs were just as rigidly fixed and just as accurately calculable and determinable as the eclipse of the sun or a transit on Venus. It was further assumed that the pattern of the movements of the stars was a key to riddle of human fortunes. With this astronomical clue in hand philosophers of history started to spin explanations to force see mankind’s destiny!

6. Evolutionary Determinism

Darwin’s theory of evolutionary determinism based on the principal of natural selection and the concept of the survival of the fittest had further repercussions on the study of history. Historians began to view history in terms of evolution. The conception of progress was reinforced by the doctrine of evolution through struggle and adaptation. Whereas the 18th century held progress to be an ethical ideal the 19th century regarded progress from the point of view of evolutionary determinism. It was inspired “by the deeply ramified influences exerted by the ideas of the development and evolution of all branches of thought and inquiry”

‘Social Darwinism’ was applied to justify the superiority of one race over another, to rationalize the employment of military power to ensure that the ‘fittest’



state would survive to defend class struggles. Thus the concept of evolutionary determinism was used to describe historical progress and man was regarded as subject to the operation of fixed laws! In short, history came to be treated as a struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest!!

7. Economic Determinism

Similarly, the theory of historical Materialism or Economic Determinism of Karl Marx was employed to interpret history. Marx had declared in the communist manifesto: “The history of all society hitherto is the history of class struggles”. Marx maintained that society as a whole inevitably was splitting into the hostile camps – the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Marx asserted that the class war was bound to issue in a victorious proletarian revolution, the establishment of the Dictatorship is the Proletariat and the culmination of classless communist. New society of Marxian millennium Economic determinism is nothing but Marxian eschatology. Thus the theological, theistic, psychical, geographical, scientific, evolutionary and economic deterministic theories have been advanced to justify the concept that the historical process is pre determined.

FREE WILL DOCTRINE

Meaning of Free will

Man is born free. He is endowed with free will. Man is free take decisions. He is not the prisoner of the past. His mental freedom and moral conduct distinguish him from animal behavior. Man is unique because he can take initiative, reason out things and decide the course events. Animals yield to impulse; but man can follow the path of reason. Man alone among the living species can choose between alternative modes of conduct and sets of



circumstances. the reason why different individuals react differently to given situation is that he is free to choose among the available alternatives.

Ideas motivate, move and mobilize men and give scope any direction to his free will. By breaking the cake of custom, making decisions and initiating action he becomes the creator of history instead the creature of history. Exercise of free will leads to progress and accelerates historical process. The philosophical ideas of the 17th and 18th centuries developed out of the ideas of the 16th century not because of any predetermined course of history but because of mental exercise. “Man is free being, Svatanrah Karta. The agent is independent. There is a spam of sprit in each individual... We come to the present state by the exercise of free will and we can still move forward”

Role of Free Will

Free will plays a prominent role in a multiverse as Divine will supreme in the natural universe. In the multiverse there are current cross-currents and warring forces. In this world of action, reaction and interaction human strength and will count and help decide the issue It was world where nothing is irrevocably settled, and all action matters deterministic world is a monistic world; it is a deal world. In such were people carry out, willy, nilly, the parts assigned to them by an omnipoxem deity or a primeval nebula. It is finished universe where individuality is a delusion. Individuals are bits of one monistic substance; cogs in the machine and spokes in the wheel.

A multiverse, on the other hand, is dynamic world, or would of change and transition. It is an unfinished world. People can play their parts and participate in the historical process. Their choices mould in some measure the future in which people will continue to live. In such a vibrant world people are free; it is a world of



chance of history. If Cleopatra's nose, said Pascal, had been an inch longer or shorter, all history would have been changed! It is a libertarian philosophy of history

Limitations of Free Will

Free will is an abstract term. Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher makes a distinction between intellect and will. Intellect stands for a series of ideas and will for a series of actions or volitions. The intellect and the will are related to this or that idea or volition as rockiness to this or that rock! Francis Bacon who demands a strict study of cause and effect in human action, wishes to eliminate the words 'change' and 'will' from the vocabulary of science. Chance and will are things that do not exist. He pushes the scholastic doctrine of free will aside as beneath discussion.

As mentioned earlier Spinoza considered the word 'will' as abstract and even denied the existence of will leave alone whether it is free or not. Similarly, Voltaire denies free will and says that mankind will leave the world as foolish and wicked as it found it! Free will as part of the universal will is not free, contends Arthur Schopenhauer, a profoundly pessimistic philosopher.

So, the controversy over determinism and free will goes on unending. It must however be recognized that ignorance is not bliss but slavery. Intelligence expressed through free will can make people share in the shaping of their destiny. "Freedom of the will is no violation of casual sequence; it is the illumination of conduct by knowledge"



HISTORICISM AND HISTORICAL RELATIVISM

Meaning of Historicism:

Historicism is a sweetly vague word. This strange sounding term is derived from the German word Historismus. Several authors have given different meanings to historicism.

1) Historicism refers to the “development and continuity” of the historical process
2) It represents a new historical outlook in the study of the development of nations and culture
3) It is a doctrine dealing with the law of the change. “The knowledge of the law of change has given rise to a sociological doctrine known under the name of historicism”
4) It is an approach to predict the future historical development. It seeks to discover the rhythm or the pattern or the trends or the laws that underlay the evolution of history. It is historical prediction
5) It means a tendency to view all knowledge and all forms of experience in the context of historical change.
6) It is the belief that “an adequate understanding of the nature of anything and an adequate assessment of its value are to be gained by considering it in terms of the place it occupied and role it played within a process of development” That is historicism represents the inter dependency of historical events. Historicism seeks to explain the continuity of historical events. Historical process in terms of inter of inter related factors or forces or events. In simple terms, history is an organic process; it is a study of events that are interconnected in permanent order. It is one of the views of history.

Nature of Historicism

Historicism emerged as a reaction against Enlightenment. It drew inspiration from Romanticism. Later it joined hands with Socialism Historicism is reactionary in origin, conservative in approach and naturalistic in outlook. The chief



characteristics of historicism are 1) it places faith on the wisdom of the past; 2) it asserts the organic unity of the past with the present; 3) it seeks to explain the continuity of historical process in terms of unknown but inter related force; 4) it considers Great Men as 'eventful' ie, instruments or agents of unknown forces and not event making i.e, individuals exercising their free will to control the course of history; 5) it opposes national sentiments, defends the search for values and aims at universal history as a continuous process; and 6) it attempts to provide generalization and explanation of historical phenomena.

Popper's Critique of Historicism

Sir Karl Popper, the American profounder of critical rationalism is the uncompromising

Critic of historicism. His main counts of criticism may be summarized as follows:

1. History deals with individuals and unique events which are autonomous.

They are

Unrepeatable. Events may be casually but not casually connected. History is not concerned. with general trends tendencies or alterations.

2. Society cannot be treated as a whole such as nations, cultures, civilizations, societies,

Groups etc. A holistic or systems approach is methodologically impossible. Human mind is capable of comprehending only individual elements and the partial connections between them and is unable to grasp the complex whole. Knowledge of the part cannot be extended to the whole or its future.

Counter Criticism

Popper's criticism of historicism is found wanting in several respects. Popper is criticized for being polemical in his unfair attack on historicism. He is Lop-sided,



partisan. He deliberately set his face against some of the well established and well understood concepts of historical understanding. Popper's criticism may be countered on the following grounds:

- 1) He confuses philosophy of history with futurology, which is of course not job of the historian.
- 2) HE is not clear about the objects and tasks of history. History is not a mere chronicle of unique events but is concerned with man's past in order to understand the present and foresee the future.
- 3) Historians are in a position to treat events and processes from the outside and the inside. They can be more objectivity than the participants or witness of historical events of the past.
- 4) Historians not only trace the course but also study the consequences of events over long intervals of time.

HISTORICAL RELATIVISM

The term 'relativism' literally and philosophically refers to the belief that truth is not always and generally valid, but is limited by the nature of the human mind. Historical relativism means the truth about a historical situation is sought to be understood in terms of relation to its context, environment, antecedents etc. The doctrine of historical relativism holds that historical judgments are relative to the inherent value of a situation and there are no absolutes.

History is interpreted in accordance with the needs of the times. In general, historical relativism has two meanings: 1) that all manifestations are related to one another because they are part of a larger historical process: and 2) that every historical happening is relative since there is nothing absolutely predictable about



the process of history. In short, historical relativism “studies the relativity of historical events”.

Dilthey’s Interpretation

Wilhelm Dilthey (1833- 1911) was a German historian philosopher. He was influenced by Ranke’s philosophers of history. He was one of those distinguished philosophers of history who highlighted the basic differences between the methodology of human studies and that of the nature sciences. He was interested in determining the quality of historical knowledge. His interpretation of historical relativism is taken to be authentic. He contends that every age expresses its attitude to life and the world in certain principals of thought and conduct. These principals are regarded in that age as absolute. But that principals vary from age to age.

Changed circumstances invariably result in changed principals. These changed are historically relative, not absolute. History records the relativity of all ideas, events, practices and principles. All historical happenings are parts of the larger historical process. Dilthy equated historical relativism with historicism. He believed that this concept was the deliverance from superstition and illusion and it was the revelation of the manifold capacities of human life.

Becker’s Interpretation

Carl L.Becker (1873-1945) was the senior American historian to Charles A.Beard Becker is well known for his views on historical facts. He asserted that historical facts by themselves are meaningless. They acquire the meanings the historians give, for facts do not speak for themselves. In other words, hard historical facts do not exist till a historian makes them. he categorically denies that



history could be written by merely recounting facts as they were. He was not in favour of dry-as-dust history. His emphasis on the dissolution of all absolute ends or values was a major contribution to historical relativism. The ends and values which define the direction of social progress change from age to age

Beard's Interpretation

Charles Austin Beard (1874 - 1948), the American historian, is regarded as “the prophet of economic interpretation of history”. He was influenced by Croce’s view of historicism that history is the self – development of the human spirit; that genuine knowledge comes through an understanding of history; and that history is anti-naturalistic and anti-scientific. Like Karl Manheim he subscribed to a temporalistic approach as opposed to a theologically oriented conception of the world. Beard wrote about American social order, political development and the philosophical aspects of history. Thus, Beard related historical phenomena to economic, social, political and philosophical developments. In short, Beard was ardent American advocate of historical relativism.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Selection of Topic for Research

Selecting a topic for research is of vital importance and it must be done with utmost care. Success in historical writing depends to a large extent upon the selection of a proper subject. A wrong choice would result in regret and disappointment. Historical research could be on any one of the following aspects:

1. Addition of new data.
2. New interpretation of known data



3. Subordination of the data to a principle.

A scholar has to make sure that he should discover or unearth or find out something new, the hidden historical truth, unknown until his time and no one else had researched into that area. A subject is normally chosen with the assistance of the guide and supervisor. The guide must provide the scholar with broad outlines about ancient, medieval and modern periods, about the political, social, economic history or biographical studies. He should not try to thrust his own likes and dislikes upon the scholar.

The scholar should choose the subject of research based on his own interests, tastes and aptitudes pertaining to a region, trend, period, a person or an institution. The area as well as period to be selected must be limited in scope. Nowadays research is specialization in small area or a short span of time. Besides, studies can be undertaken upon a historical personality (example Pandit Nehru) or a group of people (example the Nadars or Maravars) or an institution like caste or religion or Panchayat Raj is appropriate.

A person intending to work on Ancient India must be capable of culling out information from archaeological sources, deciphering ancient scripts, reading inscriptions and must be familiar with Sanskrit language. Those who want to work on the Sangam age must possess a sound knowledge of Tamil literature. To do research in the medieval period the scholar should know the Persian, Urdu and Arabic languages and should be in a position to handle the inscriptional evidence. For the modern period, one should have the knowledge of English, Portuguese, Dutch and French and further the relevant regional language. This becomes necessary because a researcher has to study the travel accounts, correspondence,



factory records. He should get himself acquainted with the job of locating and handling of the archival material.

A survey of the review of new books and bibliographical articles would provide clues for choosing a subject. As far as possible subjects of comparative history should be avoided by the fresh scholars. To sum up, in choosing a subject the nature of enquiry of the scholar, the study and the practical problems involved in a particular study will serve as determining factors.

The significance of the choice of the subjects is stressed in the saying, 'When you succeed in choosing the proper subject, your research is half done.' Thus selecting the topic is of vital importance and should be done with utmost care.

Requirements of a Researcher

Research is the activity undertaken to bring out something new, to extend the horizon of knowledge and to contribute some original idea. To execute research work, the scholar should have the following requirements. Firstly the scholar should have the needed aptitude, training and technical know – how to get himself interested in the topic chosen for investigation. Depending upon the period of his research, the researcher has to get adequate training in handling the archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic material. So also a researcher in modern period should be well versed in locating and handling of the archival sources.

Secondly, the research project should be of practicality. The source material should be available to the required extent and should be within one's reach, without causing undue hardship. The researcher should be at liberty to use the



material without the anxiety of being censured by the owner or the custodian of the records.

The third requirement would be relating to the size. One has to ascertain the size of the requirement, taking into account the nature of the study such as whether it is for a project report or for a journal's article, or for master's degree dissertation or for a doctoral degree or for publishing a book. Extent of the area, duration of the period, availability of source material and nature of the contents have much to do with the size of the work. Normally most of the themes, even after they are chosen, can either be expanded or restricted so as to suit the requirements.

Fourthly the subject chosen should have a central or unifying theme, a direction by progression, continuity and the promise of yielding specific conclusions. It is not possible to bring different and disjointed units together unless they are united by a central and continuous theme. Based upon chronology, the evolution of Mughal polity can be attempted. Based upon a social phenomenon like the caste conflict or class struggle, the study of different societies can be undertaken. But an outline of history of south India through the ages and a study on India or U.S.A may not be suitable as subjects for thesis.

Fifthly, the researcher should have labour of love, the taste for the subject, the ability to sustain and enjoy hard work. He should go in search of data to unknown areas and overcome all the hurdles and should have iron-will to complete the thesis.

Sixthly the scholar have personal honesty and moral integrity. The scholar should not be too optimistic or too pessimistic, "to exaggerate or to under estimate,



to praise some one too high or condemn him too low. He should maintain balance of judgment and his conclusions should be supported by evidences.

Seventhly, he should never consciously distort, or twist his evidence even by literary artistry. He should guard himself against religious, racial, class, communal regional or national preconceptions and prejudice.

Eighthly an alert and mobile mind is necessary. According to Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, the scholar should, 'keep his mind constantly switched on his subject as it were and to respond quickly to the impact of each new datum as it comes along his path. An alert and mobile mind that does not run into grooves is the most important requisite for success in the interpretation and proper presentation of new data or reinterpretation of old data in the new light.

Ninthly the scholar should not be in hurry or hasty, mood to finish his work. Patience is the cardinal virtue of a scholar. Research has no schedule of time. Gibbon took quite a long time to write his volumes and nobody sits in judgement over the length of time. He consumed but would see the quality of work he has turned out. In research, the criterion is the quality of work, the question of whether the requisite excellence has been reached or not.

Having equipped himself with these mental and moral aptitudes, a historian has to acquire certain skills of practical value, such as how to collect notes, how to prepare bibliography, a synopsis and how to plan his work. These are all preparatory operation before the main job of analyzing verifying and unifying the data. Thus he should know the historical method which saves time and energy and ensures quality.



Collection of Data

Historical research method consists of collection of data (heuristics) criticism, synthesis and exposition. The term “heuristics” is derived from the German term *heuristik* meaning “discover.” In historical method, it stands for the art of searching for and the collection of various documents, which form the main sources of History. Source are the places of origin of evidences. These sources are the bedrock of historical research. They are not easily available. They are to be searched out. Data collection is the most tedious part of historical research. The historian’s mainstay is the source. What is source? The historical sources are the remains of man’s unique activities in a society. The historian never faces the facts directly like the, natural scientist. He sees only the residue of the fact.

Basically there are two kinds of sources the primary and secondary. Primary sources are original in character and a fountain sources of information. The best original sources are, in general, contemporaneous with the events to which they relate. For example the inscriptions of Asoka are the primary sources for the study of the reign of Asoka. They were issued directly under his orders. A secondary source is one that borrows its knowledge form others. The secondary source is a testimony of some one who was not present at the time of occurrence.

A primary source is the raw material and a secondary source is a finished product. A first rate historian will wish to go to the original sources of information. 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 sources which have direct bearing and relation to the topic of the research are called the primary sources.



The inscription of Asoka are primary source for the study of the reign of Asoka. For the same history the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman is a secondary evidence. The inscription was issued three centuries later than the reign of Asoka by an altogether different person. It gives us an insight into the administrative problems of the time of Asoka. The subject matter is neither contemporaneous nor narrated by an eyewitness. therefore it is a secondary source.

Primary sources may be approached in two different ways. They can be used to disputed discovered in the secondary sources or they can be approached “afresh” with the readers own questions in mind. One of the basic reasons for disagreement among historians was their differing evaluation of their evidence. Thus a historian who wishes to satisfy his own ideas, may turn to those particular sources on which views differ in order to see what they actually say.

A close examination of Bahadur Shah’s proclamation at Delhi as Emperor during the Great Rebellling of 1857 would be helpful in evaluating the relative merits of the event. This would be possible only when the researcher has access to primary sources. Hence one should examine as many primary sources as possible with his own questions in mind.

Sources are divided into material and non-material. Archaeological monuments for example may be considered material sources. Material sources can again be classified as written and unwritten sources. Buildings, coins, pictures, furniture, utensils, ornaments etc will constitute the unwritten source material, whereas official records, inscriptions, literature and the like can be considered as written source material, they can further be classified as official records and non-



official records. Many of the volumes of communications and consultations and the several orders issued by the government or competent authorities will form official documents. The non-official written sources are further subdivided as personal and narrative. Diaries, memories, letters etc. constitute personal but non-official written sources. Inscriptions, annals, chronicles, genealogical tables and so on will be considered as non-official but narrative written sources.

Encyclopedia Americana would classify the sources into three namely primary secondary and tertiary. They would define the primary sources as the documents generated by the events themselves, such as archival records (Government, commercial, ecclesiastical and so on) letters, memoranda, speeches etc. Besides the documents produced to record the events immediately, chronicles, diaries, reports, interviews and oral evidence also constitute the primary source, According to its classification, the secondary sources constitute the monographs and the tertiary ones stand for the reference books, which are much more readily available and obtainable in any library.

Availability of sources: It is important to know what primary sources must be consulted and where these are to be found. Primary sources are very scarce and not always available to the scholars. It is a well known fact that not much is known about the events in Tamilnadu between 300 to 600 A.D. during the Kalabra-Interegum due to paucity of material. The history of the Portuguese in Tamilnadu also falls into the same category. Materials are either with private individuals or in foreign countries. They are in Portuguese and Latin Languages. So materials are available but not easily accessible.



Archaeology: Perhaps the most readily available primary sources are non-literary sources namely archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics. Archaeological sources consist of pre-historic remains, monument, works of art, paintings, burial places, stone tools etc. Archaeological of old monuments and sites. These sources are very valuable because they are unbiased. No motives could be attributed to this class of sources. They are concrete proof and reflect the contemporary man's culture and civilization. With the advance of science technology it has become possible to fix up chronology with the help of archacological remains. They are more useful to the practitioners of social and cultural history. If properly interpreted it is one of the best sources.

Epigraphy:

Epigraphy is generally considered primary, for its evidence is contemporary and precise. It contains much less of the personal element than found in other sources. Inscriptions give interesting glimpses into the political, social and economic history of ancient times. The Asokan inscriptions which was deciphered by James Princep have placed Indian epigraphy on a solid foundation. The Aliahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, the Utramerur Inscription of Parantaka I are of much value to historians.

But much caution has to be exercised in dealing with the material the epigraphy affords. The shape of the letters employed in these inscriptions sometimes may be identically similar to the letter of the same language of the present day. So an epigraphist should equip himself with the requisite knowledge to decipher the script and to interpret the language from a scientific perspective.



Legends and exaggerations are often easily recognized. More difficult is the task of making out the truth behind the records of different dynasties engaged in war. Both the parties claim victory in a war, very often with some justification for the claim. In such cases, evidence from other sources must be sought. It is necessary to ascertain the genuineness and reliability of these inscriptions.

Numismatics:

Coins are an important source, for they are commentary upon political, economic and social movements. They enable us to know something about the personality and the personal accomplishments of the kings. For example, the tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta exhibit him in Indian dress, killing a tiger. It is through his Asvamedha type of coin that we come to know that he performed this imperial sacrifice. The very fact that the people had learnt the use of metals and that they minted coins was bound to give an idea about the advanced nature of the civilization of land. They help us to find out the location and in some, cases the date of a particular event or dynasty or literature. The Roman coins found in Arikamedu are helpful to the study of Indo-Roman commercial relations in early history.

Coins help us to corroborate the existing evidence and reconstruct history. Thousands of coins have come to light and a considerable advance has been since the days of Cunningham in the preparation of scientific catalogues of these hoards.

Newspapers are primary sources, Manuscripts are considered more contemporary than printed ones. Jesuit letters, factory records, documents issued by local government and other institutions along with family records form the primary



source. Interviewing the people to know about events in which they were participants or observers is an exercise to get at the primary source.

Literary sources:

There are several categories of literary sources-recorded traditions, chronicles, biographies, foreign accounts and contemporary writings. The classical works in Tamil are the Kural, Silappathikaram and Manimekhalai. In pali the Jatakas, the Pitakas, Mahavamsa and Deepavamsa and in Sanskrit the vedas, epics, puranas and sastras are the literary traditions. The Rajatarangini of Kalhana is a dynastic chronicle of the rulers of Kashmir but much of it is of little historical value. Bana's Harsha Charita, is more a literary work than a historical one.

For the Medieval History of India, sources are abundant. The Mughal rulers maintained a record department and preserved their official papers at different centres. Memoirs, auto-biographies, writings of foreigners such as Thomas Rao, Bernier and Tavernier and other are of much help in corroborating the evidence. The travel accounts of Marco Polo, Alberuni and Ibn Batuta are striking examples in this regard. For the modern period, the sources are unlimited. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French & English in India maintained correspondence with their home governments and their diaries & letters of correspondence, reports, reminiscences & itineraries provide valuable information. Thus the literary archival sources both primary and secondary form the major proportion of research material in History.



Referring to the Index:

The books and records run to a large multitude that it is not found easy to discover. Therefore it is essential to refer the index to inscriptions, guides to records, calendars to periodicals who's who, library catalogue and hand books, In established libraries and organized archives, these aids are maintained for the guidance of the researches.

Use of Auxiliary Sciences:

To facilitate the proper utilization of primary sources for historical research, a number of auxiliary sciences have been developed in the last 150 years, including philology, linguistics, paleography and diplomatics (reproduction of hand written texts) epigraphy and numismatics. More recently the historians have drawn on the techniques of statistics and computer data processing to analyse large quantities of political, economic and biographical information. Data and conclusion from the social sciences are frequently used especially from sociology, cultural anthropology, geography and linguistics.

Interviews:

In recent years, interview is used as a method for collecting data. The scholars interview important persons or people's representatives to ascertain their views on different issues and use their views for a comparative study. Questionnaire is used for this purpose. By this process it is possible to know many things that are not on record. But the risk is that one may not remember all facts and may not reveal all the known facts to the researchers.



Card System:

For recording the evidences card system is normally followed. The historians Use 3 x 5 or 4 x 6 cards of different colours for differentiating the various categories of the material that is noted down. The points of information furnished in a particular record on different items is noted down on cards of different colours for the purpose of classification. Note books are not to be used for writing down the evidences as this makes the task of analyzing more complex. Card system is the most efficient mode for sorting out the material chapter wise. This enable the scholar to write the thesis later with out any difficulty.

It is necessary to note the name of the author in full, title of the work in full, name of the publisher, the place & year of publication and the number of edition. The number of the page of the record or book from which the information is collected and the number of the volume if the document or book runs to more than one volume, are equally essential. When a particular passage contains a significant point on a crucial issue, notes can be taken verbatim Otherwise it is better to take them sparingly rather than copying the extracts as such. They should be indicated by quotation marks and when words are omitted either in the middle or in the end of the sentence that should be indicated by three dots & four dots if the sentence ends. The margin and the author, his point of view, for the purpose of later preparing annotated Bibliography.

Problems Faced by a Scholar:

A scholar encounters a series of problems in the collection of data. First all the activities of man do not leave traces behind them. Instructions are given by word or phone and it is not possible to trace them out. Secondly even when the



traces are left behind, they are either not preserved or even destroyed. Because of political or ideological restrictions or due to difficulties in preservation, all traces are not, maintained. Thirdly with the lapse of long periods and irregularities in preservation, the document becomes brittle in condition and its colour fades away. This renders the reading of traces difficult. Finally the records are not always indexed and catalogued. The production of records is so fast that indexing has not kept pace with it. On accounts of these factors the researchers find it no easy to gather the evidence to gain a succinct picture and to gather the relevant evidences. Therefore, heuristic method forms an important part of research.

Objectivity in Historical Writings

The prime motive of a historian while writing history is to bring forth the truth, which is of course not an easy task. The historian writes about events generally not witnessed by him but some one else saw, heard or reported. To write an authentic history, he has to depend upon original witness, accurate observation and faithful report. Objectivity in historical writing is the most important characteristic of good history. It is a nature or mentality of a historian not to allow prejudice and bias both from the historian and the historical sources. The subjective feelings, ideas, concepts likes and dislikes are liable to enter into anybody's writings. But a historian's outlook should be scientific and objective. It is with that object only Bury calls history "a science, no less, no more."

Before the Greek writers writing history, the discipline of history was a part of literature with legends and mythology. History as a separate branch of knowledge developed when Thucydides brought out the necessity of writing authentic history. Therefore he is called the father of scientific history. However



there was no strict rule or yardstick then to assess the objectivity or subjectivity. The church history proved to be a complete partial history with religious bias.

As Renaissance brought about changes in many fields of life, so also in history, The Germans were the pioneers to stress the essence of objectivity namely to call spade a spade Ranke, the German historian was pained to see history twisted to satisfy the needs of the historians His idea is that history should reveal truth alone and nothing but the truth. He stressed that the actual events should be narrated by the historian without any conceptual conclusion or philosophical speculation. The preconceived notions, according to him, deviate the historians from saying actual truth. So history can be treated as a science when historians dealt with what had actually happened. It means that history must be impartial, impersonal and free from all forms of bias and prejudices.

Need for Objectivity:

Objectivity in historical writings is of much importance due to various reasons.

1. Real history of what had actually happened can be understood only when history is written objectively. A historian is a remembrancer who conveys to the society its past events. The intellectual honesty observed by the historian as a true narrator is important.
2. Secondly history as a science is to reveal the truth as it is because the truth thus derived should stand the test of experimentation ie with corroboration of data collected. But at the same time, since the objects with which history moves (human beings) are capable of changing their ideas, the inference or conclusion made may not be always correct or accurate. So contrary to a scientist a historian can not attain objectivity to its full extent. But objectivity



should be the ultimate goal to a historian. Thirdly if history is to be authentic, it should be written with utmost care because a historian has to select from a vast resources, a truly representative sources for the purpose of interpretation and formulation of conclusions.

Scope for Subjectivity:

It is beyond doubt that objectivity is a must in history, but every body will accept that objectivity is very difficult to attain since two historians never agree on one point. Actually there are as many opinions as the number of heads in the world because, what is written is related to the historian's preference, prejudice, customs and sense of values.

1. The subjective feeling of the historian starts with the first step in the writing of thesis-i.e-selection of topic. While a variety of themes are available in history, the historian select a topic of his own interest.
2. Secondly when the historian starts collection of sources he tends to select sources not according to their relative value but based on predetermined notion or ideological conviction.
3. Having selected the topic and collected sources, thirdly, the historian begins to analyse. He interprets after contemplating the events in his mental screen which is made up of his own values and ideas. His interpretation of facts depends on his mental makeup and so the outcome has to be subjective. Finally the historian being a judge has to weigh the pros and cons of the events and here is also there is room for the like and dislikes of the historian to enter in.



Sources of Subjectivity:

There are different types of bias and prejudice. They are of social, economic, political cultural and religious in nature. To say the truth even very eminent historians like Gibbon and Macaulay did not escape criticism of subjectivity. The Imperialist historians were unfair to India while the India historians of the nationalist era were prejudiced against Britain. Bias enters into history when the individual historian seeks to understand any issue in terms of his own age and values.

Religion:

Religion plays an important role that sometimes makes the historian either to evade truth or deviate from truth. The Imperialist British historians gave a different verdict to the Mughal and Muslim history from the one given by others. The church history stands as a proof of theological interpretation to history deviating from temporal history. To date religion does play a role in inter-state relations and its problems.

Ideology:

Ideological consideration has its influence in the writing of history. When the historian has strong conviction in some ideology like communalism, imperialism and the like, history is used to attempt a philosophical history with particular interpretation to satisfy the pre-conceived notions of the historian.

Racism and Nationalism:

Racism and Nationalism fall under the category of group prejudice. The historians of the medieval period mostly were carried away by such ideologies. Josiah Strong was guided by a sense of racial complex when he described the Anglo-Saxons as the superior people in his book *our country*. V.D.Savarkar, when



he wrote The 1857, the First war of Independence was motivated by patriotic fervor. The imperialistic history describes the rule of British over their colonies as magnanimous, benevolent and noble.

Apart from the above main sources of subjectivity, ignorance, fear, motivation, inaccessibility, inability to study the data (ex.Indus script) keep the historians away from complete truth. Fear for telling the truth mainly prevails in totalitarian countries. Expecting a favour from one's political masters leads to flattery. There were some court historians like Bana and Abul Fazl who in their Harsha Charitha and Aini Akbari respectively had just flattered their rulers and did not mention about their defeats and defects.

While we accept that bias is unavoidable, it does have some strong points. According to Trevelyan, it helps the historian to sympathize with the sentiments and feelings of the people. It also make history imaginative and lively, thereby making it readable. Without historical interpretation and judgement, history will be dull and drab. Historian is like a carpenter who creates fine wooden artistic products out of the wood. This creative imagination makes history an art together with its scientific fervor. But care must be taken not be over-imaginative that will make history a piece of literature or an element of propaganda.

Requisites for Historians to be Objective:

Though we have to accept the fact that historical subjectivity is unavoidable, we can not assert that the cult of objectivity can never be achieved. To emerge as a successful historian, it is essential to cultivate the habits of objectivity, criticism, analysis and balanced approach. Objective history is always appreciated. Whereas history distorted or abused is discarded. There are some essential requisites for a historian to be objective.



1. In the selection of the topic and collection of sources, a balanced approach must be followed. Care should be taken to collect all types of sources both favourable to and against the convictions of the historian.
2. Of the sources collected, only credible, trust worthy and representative materials alone can be incorporated. A critical approach with scientific analysis is desirable. Mastery over all evidences and impartial evaluation of them adds strength to the study.
3. The historian should have a strong historical sense ie., if a problem has to be analyzed, the whole age, characteristics, the circumstances should be studied well to grapple with the real situation.
4. The language he uses should be adequate enough not to allow his subjective feelings so visible.
5. Also for the verification of any facts or findings, sufficient documentation must be furnished.
6. The historian should not be so rigid in his attitude. He must have the needed flexibility so as to alter his views if new ideas are generated with new documentary evidence.

In conclusion, we may say that though subjectivity is unavoidable, objectivity must be the object of any historian.

Thesis Writing

Writing the thesis is an important part of the concluding operation in research. The presentation of historical facts in a scientific manner consists of four important aspects such as 1. framing a formula or arriving at a valid generalization, 2. Exposition 3. Foot-notes and 4. biography, Exposition involves presentation of historical facts in the most attractive and interesting way. It is purely a work of art



and not of sciences because imagination is essential now. The utmost task in exposition is to see that all relevant facts have been arranged in such a manner so as to render the whole work a fine piece of enjoyable literature.

Before undertaking the task of presentation, the scholar should recall his or her objective in undertaking the research and make sure that to what extent the objective has been achieved. The keynote of historical research is to make a original contribution. Originality is achieved not only by careful and exhaustive investigation of the sources but also by scholar's clarity of thought. Constant efforts must be made to check how far this clarity and lucidity have been performed correctly or not. This demands absolute concentration on the subject with the attitude of surpassing the performances of early historians.

Generalizations or Framing a formula:

The main job of framing a formula or generalization is to press all the details of the narrative to yield some significant result. This operation tells us what kind of relationship exists among numerous facts that have been detailed earlier in the narrative. Its main task is the search for the binding connections among facts which form the ultimate conclusion of every science. For example, if we are trying to frame a formula as to how a particular custom or habit has been evolved, we have to take into account the various stages it has passed through.

In other words, the cardinal points of the entire research must be given by way of conclusion in the last chapter of the thesis. This part of activity relates to the drawing of valid generalizations. These are nothing but broad conclusions, a barometer indicating the depth of the study.



Exposition:

To gain a good start for the work, many a historian begins it with some revealing and dramatic event taken from some later part of the work. In the narrative part, it is fundamental to observe the strictest frugality in the use of words. Such words that convey the exact meaning are desirable. Words that may give ambiguous meaning may be avoided. Undesirable qualitative and inexact quantitative terms must be avoided. Sentences as far as possible should be short and simple, sharp and declarative, Every word and every phrase must be carefully chosen. Facts must be so arranged that they are logically linked one with the other and that the reader draws pleasure by their study. One idea leads to another, one paragraph to another, one passage to another and one chapter to another in an organic fashion.

Chapters and paragraphs are to be organized in such a way as to provide enough scope to treat distinct concepts and themes separately. A striking sentence should mark the beginning of a paragraph, while a summary that foretells the approach of the next chapter should find a place in the end of each chapter. From the beginning to the end, the entire work should be readable and objective. The best works of our times are the products of considerable labour, involving writing and re-writing. Even the gifted writers write again and again until they achieve satisfaction in regard to clarity cogency and spontaneity. Impartiality should be one's guiding principle in writing a thesis.

In order to elevate history to the level of literature we have to adopt a suitable style and modify the technique of writing. A dull, dry, drab and matter of fact narrative would not attract readers. An elegant, attractive and easy style would invite even uninterested persons. A terse, pedantic and cumbersome style would



kill the appetite for reading. Therefore, the historian should use apt illustrations, examples, analogies, anecdotes and suitable digressions to make it interesting. But historical narrative should not also be the servant of style.

Imagination plays a vital role in enhancing the interest in History. The historian could use this imaginative faculty to turn history into romance.

Interpretative Method:

What is important in a thesis is the discussion using interpretative method. For instance in a problem like Russo-Japanese war of 1905, it should be examined by raising different questions. What were the developments in Russia and in Japan that brought the two powers to war? Among several causes, which one was the attitudes of other countries? How did they affect the fortunes of one side or the other such questions enable the researcher to confront an issue from different view points. When there are more than one view on a particular issue, they are to be indicated and if a particular view is accepted or a new view presented, the reasons should be furnished. If no stand can be taken, it can be stated that a particular view appears correct or incorrect as the case may be. In that case an explanatory note indicating why it so is to be added.

Interpretative method aims at getting as much as possible out of a particular account. With the help of allied branches of study, like politics, economics and sociology the implications of the problem can be explored and new ideas can be elucidated.

Though the data are properly collected and analyzed, it must be borne in mind that the wrong interpretation would lead to inaccurate conclusions. Hence necessary precautions must be observed during the process of analysis.



Since the scholar is expected to shed the maximum light on the subject, he must be in position to enlighten us on the subject. If he is unable to perform this, nobody else could do this. Hence a scholar should realize his or her responsibility for his task and attempt to avoid the pitfalls and shortcomings.

Drafting the Thesis:

Perfection is to be aimed at while writing a research thesis. As is not an easy task, it is very essential to draft and redraft the work before the final thesis is prepared.

Report Writing:

Research report is the end product of meticulous, painstaking accurate inductive work. In writing a report, the following steps are involved. They are 1. Logical analysis of the subject matter 2. Preparation of the final outline 3. Preparation of the rough draft 4. Redrafting, polishing and embellishing the work 5. Preparation of the bibliography and the final draft.

The logical development is made on the basis of mental corrections and association between the one thing and another by means of analysis. It involves the development of a simple material to the most complex structure. Outline serves as the frame work upon which long written works are constructed. It is a helpful end to the logical organization of the material and a reminder of the points to be incorporated in the report.

In the rough draft the researcher will write down the procedure adopted by him in collecting the data, along with various limitations confronted by him, data-analysis technique adopted by him, broad findings and generalizations besides various suggestions he would like to recommend in connection with the problem.



Redrafting work requires more time than the writing of the rough draft consistent and sustained effort is required to reorganize the rough draft so as to bring it to a proper shape. Meticulous revision carried out at this stage of rewriting makes the difference between a mediocre and fine piece of writing.

The mechanics of writing-grammar, spelling and usage has to be verified. As far as possible, avoid the expressions such as “seems” “it appears”, “there may or may not be”. The scholar should satisfy himself or herself that he/she has not left any source untapped.

Documentation:

A research work must be well documented. Excepting well known statements a researcher's own analyses, observations, remarks influences, judgements, comments and all other new ideas must be supported by proper authorities. Ideas which are likely to generate differences and controversies should be substantiated by proper references to the sources which form the basis of conclusions.

In case the researcher do not agree on a particular point and varying opinions are expressed in this regard, he has to simply indicate proper references to those opinions. If he does not indicate the source, it means he holds such opinion. It also means that he or she has not looked into the material in order to know what opinions others hold on this point. Therefore it is desirable to quote full references to different opinions held on the subject.

When one borrows any matter without any alteration it should be given in quotations. Quotations are given when the scholar feels that to repeat the original will be more appropriate and meaningful. In any case quotations must be kept short and they must as far as possible be merged into the text. Too many



quotations will spoil the originality of the work. In citing and quoting, the author's name must be given. It must be remembered that quoting is for illustration and citing is for possible verification.

Foot Notes or End Notes:

The footnotes or endnotes indicate the source from which the material is taken. It furnishes additional information by way of comment or clarification. Cross-references to another chapter and clarification or explanation of a point can be given in footnote. Less important and supplementary details may also be given. They throw some sidelights on the main work. It serves as the barometer for measuring the intensity of the labour, a scholar has put in. Normally the size of the footnote on a page should not exceed one fourth of its size which is the maximum. The young scholars are judged by their examiners by looking into the footnotes to find out what kind of materials have been consulted and to feel satisfied as to whether all possible sources have been consulted or not.

Bibliography:

A bibliography which should indicate the type of materials used is to be prepared. It is arranged at the end of the work and is classified under several headings. Original or unpublished material usually called primary source comes first. It includes eye-witness accounts, autobiographies, diaries, contemporary record, proceedings, official minutes, diplomatic correspondence, state records etc under literary sources, and inscriptions, coin and seals under archaeological sources.

The published material or secondary sources relates to literature which is relevant to the subject. It should be arranged in the alphabetical order of the authors who have contributed to the thesis. A good research work gives a short



note by way of review or assessment of each of the important manuscripts of original sources. Essential it is to add a critical note, particularly of the important manuscripts of original sources. Essential it is to add a critical note, particularly of the sources consulted. It must be shown how far these sources are authentic and trustworthy.

At the end of the work comes maps, charts, tables and illustration together with a few appendices. Very useful data, digressions, sidelights and supplementary information are all packed in the appendices, which are classified as Appendix A, Appendix B and so on.

Index:

Finally a good index would refer to the page number of important items. Personalities, events, places, happenings and such other details that occur in the body of the thesis in alphabetical order.

Other Formalities:

A research work contains a preface, a foreword, a table of contents and introduction, which will precede the main work. But all these aspects are dealt with after the whole thesis is finished. The preface contains the objective of the work and an acknowledgement of help rendered by Institutions and individuals. The introduction identifies the area of study, sets the scope of the subject and spells out the research questions for which the answers are to be sought. An overview of the thesis and the chapters in which they are dealt with are also provided in about three to four hundred words. The art of writing the thesis is now complete.

Synthesis or Synthetic Operation

The second half of methodology consists of synthetic operations together with a few concluding tasks, just as the first as the first half deals with mostly



analytical operations. Synthesis is concerned with the grouping of facts. In this process, the heterogeneous data are organized into a coherent whole, proceeding from introduction to conclusion divided into chapters and sub-divided into sections. It concerns with the proper and judicious utilization of select data in a systematic way. Synthetic operation may be explained as the grouping of data, arranging them properly offering suitable explanations and interpretation of data as to make and narrative, interesting, impressive and meaningful.

At the beginning of research, it will be necessary to prepare a preliminary form on the basis of available information. After the details of the data collected are studied, mastered and analyzed, the prepared outline should be continually expanded, revised and re-arranged until a final version is obtained.

Grouping of Facts:

The grouping of facts is not an easy task. Historical facts present themselves in a varied degrees of generality. Conflicting or contradicting statements or disputable arguments may challenge the historian. But his responsibility is to reduce this conflicting data in a common degree of generality by ascertaining the variety of the data before him. Hence joining one fact with another such facts should be carefully determined. It must be noted that synthetic operation is the same job which a technician does in order to assemble numerous individual parts together to produce a perfect machine. Thus the collected facts must be grouped in a systematic manner.

After the outline approach is decided, the scholar is to determine what facts are to be included and in what order they are to be listed and what points are to be high-lighted and what not. However the details that can not be inserted into the



text without breaking its continuity, at the same time, found to be important to give a clarification or an explanation are to be reserved for the foot notes.

Arrangements of facts can be effected on a geographical basis or chronological basis or on a topical basis.

Geographical Basis:

The most popular criteria for the arrangement of historical data is that of chronology V.A.Smith's Akkar the Great Moghul is based on the chronological basis. In a chronological kind of arrangement events are depicted in the order of succession but this cuts across the different trends. Supposing a witer is contemplating to bring out the history of the Portuguese in India, he has to start from 1498 and trace up to 1960 that is from the arrival of Vascode Gama to the take over Goa by the govt. of India. Hence one cannot afford to ignore chronological order, because the events will have continuity and what happened in 1520 can not be explained after the explanation of what happened in 1610 because the latter may be a result of the former. The importance of chronology is obvious but that is not the criterion for grouping. In this example if one following chronological order alone then it might read as follows :-

The Portuguese come in 1498, seed in Goa in 1510, fought with the Deccan Kings in 1530, clashed with Shivaji in 1664 and left India in 1960. This will be a chronicle of events but not history in history one must explain the events as to why it happened, how it happened and what was its result etc-ie.-the cause and effect must be clearly brought out.

In our example a proper grouping would be:

- a) Coming of the Portuguese
- b) Portuguese Settlement in Goa.



- c) Their Relation with the Deccan Kingdoms
- d) The Portuguese and Shivaji (or Marathas)
- e) Their Exit from India

Here, the divisions are made based on hallmarks of history rather than on mere chronology.

Topical Arrangements:

When the arrangement is effected on topical basis, different themes can be dealt with distinctly but the order of sequence will be ignored. The first volume of the Cambridge History of India is based on various topics. However in this method there is always a possibility that the historian may lose the fundamental historical essence of change through time.

Thus it becomes clear that each method suffers from serious drawbacks. Each and every method neglects one aspect or the other of history. Therefore the best possible way is to combine the different processes. Keeping the general outline in view, a definite and convenient period should be effected on a chronological basis with place given the needed importance as and when they come across. The details that do not fit in a particular chapter should be taken over to a related chapter. In fact, the secret of a well constructed treatise depends upon integrated organization of needed facts arranged to trace the progress of the theme on a chronological basis with places given the needed importance as and when they come across. The details that do not fit in a particular chapter should be taken over to a related chapter. In fact, the secret of a well constructed treatise depends upon integrated organization of needed facts arranged to trace the progress of the theme on a chronological basis with component of topics and sections. For instance, in writing the history of Czarist Russia the trend of rise, growth and decline can be



kept as the central theme, moving by progression, while the rulers, wars, serfdom, Duma, social unrest, Bolshevism etc., can be discussed as and when they appear in sequence of historical facts.

Constructive Reasoning:

Under synthetic operations comes one more important activity, which is known as constructive reasoning. Its main job is to fill the gaps or the blanks that still exist in a research work. Such blanks are very natural as historical material available to us from different sources are never sufficient to explain every detail.

If a murder takes place or a political assassination like that of John F.Kennedy is carried out, it becomes extremely difficult even for a powerful judicial commission to ascertain all the facts of the case. There may yet remain several shrouded in mystery. If this is so about a current event, it is more so about the past. The more remote the past, the more complicated becomes the issue evading all solutions.

In science when such an occasion occurs, the problem is resolved by repeating the experiment and by resorting to a new observation. But in history such a course is not possible, as the nature of historical facts are entirely different. However, we have one remedy and it is constructive Reasoning.

Constructive Reasoning is the process through which a historian attempt to know what is not known to him even after he completes the study of all available sources. Here, he takes the help of deductive logic to throw light on those darker aspects, which cannot be illuminated in any other way. He starts from those facts which are well-known to his through the records, proceeds to draw valid conclusions and ultimately ends in obtaining new facts. He uses the influential method when all other methods fail him. This is quite a valid method. If the



reasoning he uses is correct, the knowledge he obtains will also be correct and the method he uses will be legitimate. This reasoning is similar to that which is used by a logician and it involves almost the same operation. In other words, it is a deductive method, whereby one draws a valid inference from two valid premises. One of the premises will be a particular proposition about which we are seeking fresh light and which has evaded solution so long. Between the universal and the particular proposition, there is such an inseparable and intimate relationship that on logical grounds it yields valid conclusions.

But reasoning is the most difficult method to empty correctly. There are too many possibilities of committing errors as we try to infer something from a proposition, which is not based on any document but is accepted as true on the basis of human experience. We are not doubting the validity of the generalized proposition but only its relevance to the specific problem we have in now. Therefore constructive reasoning should be employed with utmost caution and should never be resorted to unless absolutely necessary. When it is actually employed, it should be done only after satisfying ourselves that all the precautions in this regard have been fully observed.

Precaution:

1. Reasoning should never be combined with the analysis of the document. Analysis is entirely different from reasoning. The two should not be confused with each other. Analysis is the power of interpretation of given phenomena in a lucid and logical way so as to throw light on all its intricate issues. It is merely the brilliant ability to comment, criticize, examine, explain and pass judgements on a given proposition without attempting to draw forth any new information. The entire discussion



rotates around the known facts and only the power of observation and the ability to elucidate and illustrate are fully brought out. But in reasoning we do altogether a different operation. We inject into the body of the thesis new blood drawn from sources other than our subject. We try to argue and infer from blood drawn from sources other than our subject. We try to argue and infer from areas which are totally foreign to our records. We borrow from others what we lack. Therefore a clear distinction should exist between analysis and reasoning.

2. We must not introduce in the text what is not said by the author. While accepting the fact that in reasoning we employ a general principle, which is not enunciated in our documents, we also note that the particular proposition on which light is sought is not outside the texts. But what is said in the text should not be twisted to suit our convenience or get over the difficulty of having to explain the deficiency in the texts.
3. Facts obtained by direct examination of the document must not be confused with the results obtained by reasoning. Just as reasoning must not be confused with analysis so also what is already available in the sources must not be regarded as information obtained by reasoning. When we establish a fact by reasoning we must disclose the method by which we have obtained it.
4. Unconscious reasoning must not be allowed. There are too many chances of errors in it. Reasoning in the last resort, the final battle, which should be reserved to with full consciousness observing the rules of the game. Or else it should degenerate into an easy method to explain every difficult point which calls for an explanation. Only when an intensive



search of all records to find an answer mails to satisfy us, we should turn towards this method. We would do well to make a point of putting every argument into a logical form.

5. If the reasoning leaves any doubt, no conclusion should be drawn. One should observe here the same caution as the judge in a court of law does before the sentences a convict to death. If there is even the slightest doubt in his mind that the accused may be innocent, he gives the benefit of doubt to such person. So also even if a slight doubt were to lurk in the historian's mind that the reasoning is faulty, he should not draw any conclusion from such a situation.
6. No reasoning should be done if the proposition is merely a conjecture. The historian should not invent what is not already existing. The general principle on which the reasoning rests should incontrovertibly be true, and should never be the figment of one's own imagination. Being confronted with a difficulty, a historian might resort to his own imagination. Being confronted with a difficulty a historian might resort to his own conjecture to base the line of argument. Such a temptation must effectively be checked. He should not attempt to transform his own dogmas into certainty. By constant reflections upon a conjecture is likely to familiarize oneself to the extent where such conjecture find a deep seated bias in one's mind. It becomes difficult at that stage to eliminate the error, and hence this precaution must be noted from the beginning itself, namely what we are going to prove does not already exist in our subconscious mind. This is a frequent mishap with those who devote themselves to long meditation on a small number of texts. Therefore, it is absolutely



essential that the range of our sources must be as wide, as large and as deep as is humanly possible. This calls for a conscious and honest effort to extend the range of our consultation to a very wide area of records.

Types of Reasoning:

There are two types of reasoning,

1. Negative Reasoning and 2. Positive Reasoning

I. Negative Reasoning:

In this, we proceed to infer a point in the absence of any definite evidence in the records. The kind of reasoning that is based upon the absence of any evidence to something asserted or imagined is called negative reasoning. For instance, there was a belief that a panic overtook the people of Europe as the year 1000 A.D. came, for it was feared that the world would end. But in the absence of any reference to it in the contemporary literature, it was concluded that there was no need for any such panic. However this kind of reasoning is risky, for all the events are not recorded and all the documents are not preserved. In ancient Tamil Nadu, the rulers and chieftains left behind them several inscriptions, which dealt with upper class communities.

For want of evidence it is impossible to assert that the minor communities were not there. In totalitarian countries many atrocities and crimes are committed but the traces are destroyed. It is not correct to deny such occurrences on the ground that there are no evidences. Here oral history plays a crucial role.

Positive Reasoning:

It is more complex but of greater use to historians. It is based upon the facts that are supplied by the data and then proceeding to form a logical conclusion, through it is not given in the documents. The historical facts are connected with



each other as in the case of cause and effect. Following the principle of analogy between the developments during different period in history, it is possible to make up what is ignored in the evidence. Here the procedure can be deductive from general to particular or inductive-from particular to general.

When all empires collapsed due to internal disorder and threat and when the Chinese empire of the Manchus collapsed it can be concluded that the latter declined under similar circumstances, even if these circumstance are not given in the documents. However as historical developments have their own peculiarities, it is not possible always to assert that under certain set conditions the same consequences will follow. Despite those limitations reasoning is of considerable help for making up the omissions and for moving into some of the unknown areas of knowledge.

The value of constructive reasoning is great indeed, provided it is used with great caution. It is a double edged sword, which should be employed with utmost care. It is of great help to student India. History where numerous problems relating to the origin of several dynasties and fixing of the chronology of several rulers, confront the historians it is constructive reasoning alone that has assisted in resolving many of the controversies.

Thus synthetic operations include several processes that are required to unify the entire scrutinized material in one connected narrative. This calls for planning and arrangement of facts, which should be properly classified under some logical plan. There is no rigidity in adopting any particular plan but whatever the plan chosen, chronological, geographical, topical or logical, it should be consistently followed. All facts and ideas must be arranged under headings and sub-headings as per the synopsis or outline already prepared. Under each of these headings, the



grouping should be on the basis of related ideas brought together so as to appear logical.

Intellectual, social, political or cultural headings should reflect controlling ideas coming under these headings arranged in a systematic manner. The beginning of each passage should hint at the central idea, which is logically developed and discussed later so as to make the whole passage valuable and interesting.

The entire approach must be critical and analytical, concentrating on the causes and effects of the phenomena. The treatment must be exhaustive so as to fully satisfy all doubts and controversies. The discussion must be such as not to deviate from the relevance of the topic, the main purpose of which should be apparent at every stage. It is better to adopt the argumentative style than expository or descriptive or narrative. This will call for a thorough investigation of the problem, advancement of a view and its substantiation by proper evidences. It depends upon the intellectual caliber of the author.

Foot Notes :

Footnotes form an important part of a research work. They are intended to indicate the source from which the material is taken and to furnish additional information by way of comment or clarification. The purposes of the footnote are:

1. To cite the sources of statements of quotation in the text.
2. To relieve the text of matter which interferes with its flow and tends to distract the reader's attention.
3. To cite other discussions or give additional information on the matter in the text.
4. For cross references.
5. To refer the reader to another part of the thesis or to another foot note.
6. To give the original version of material that has been translated in the text.
7. To elaborate upon or modify a point made in the text. The



footnotes are also the barometer for measuring the intensity of the labour a scholar has put in.

Footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout the chapter and placed at the bottom of the appropriate page. If the references are listed at the end of the paper, then they become endnotes. Footnote numerals with text should come immediately after the part of the sentence to which the footnote refers and should come after punctuation marks except the dash. It should not be put in the middle of a sentence. The number of footnotes needed will vary from chapter to chapter but every important idea in the passage must be supported by an evidence or source. Every quotation has its footnote. Two to four footnotes for each page of the chapter appears to be desirable; but there is no rigid rule about it.

Footnote numbers are put slightly above the line followed by a space called superscript. The names of the authors and editors are given in the normal order, first names first and there is no need to give the last name first. Reference to books will include page number, volume number, month & year of publication. The names of the books or the titles of the journals are put in italics.

Kinds of Footnote:

Footnotes may be either source notes or explanatory notes. The material that goes into a source footnote depends partly upon what information has been given in the text and partly upon whether or not the report includes a separate bibliographical list. If there is a separate bibliographical list, the footnote may leave out details such as place, publisher and date of a book. In the case of explanatory note is given for supplementing reference reading to the text. That is when an author uses a word or phrase which is not ordinarily known or commonly used, he has to explain it in the footnote.



Split-Footnote:

When the author and a work are cited in the body of the writing the note citing require only the details of page, place & year of publication. This is called the split footnote. For example K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's *The Colas* is cited in the body as 'In K.A.Nilakanta Sastri's *The Colas*,' and in the footnote as 'Madras: University of Madras, 1955, p.123.' (place and year of publication with the publisher's name and the page number). Since the author's name and title of the work are stated in the body, there is no need to repeat them. If the author's name alone appears in the body then the title of the book, place and year of publication with page number must be given in the footnote.

Use of Footnotes:

Footnotes are used to explain supplement or expatiate upon a point raised in the text. What is deemed an important aspect of the question but not immediately relevant to the discussion in the body of the text is relegated to the footnotes. Footnotes help to correlate in different parts of the thesis. They are used for the purpose of indicating the source of an idea a quotation. They also help the reader to further pursue the topic.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is the failure to acknowledge borrowed material, Simply it amounts to copying and hence it is immoral illegal and punishable. The scholar presenting other people's ideas in his her report is not plagiarism but to present other people's ideas as one's own is plagiarism.

Quotations in footnotes:

Quotations in footnotes should be as short as possible & rarely used. In general the scholar should not quote too often or too much. Quotations must be



completely accurate. Footnotes that refer to books previously cited in the same book or essay are indicated by certain Latin words abbreviated or in full. This abbreviation is done with a view to save meaning in the same place. That 'place' is the book cited in the footnote immediately preceding. For example let us assume that an author cites K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's A History of South India. As his first reference and the second reference are also from the same book the citation in the footnote should be as follows:

1. K.A Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, Madras:
University of Madras, 1955 p.123.
2. Ibid p. 432

If the footnote number 3 then refer to a different book and foot note number 4. goes back to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's same book then it should be written as K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, op.ciit, (opera citato) meaning in the work already cited.

1. K.A Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, Madras:
University of Madras, 1955 p.27.
2. Ibid p. 32
3. S.Kathirvel, A History of the Maravas, Madurai: Madurai
Publishing House, 1977, p.41
4. K.A Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit.,p.45

For a citation of the article made for the second time immediately, Ibid must be used. If it is intervened by another reference and again the same article is to be cited then it should be loc.cit instead of op.cit. This establishes a distinction between a book and magazine or Journal. However lately the use of op.cit and loc.cit is considered anachronistic and instead the use of short title after the author's name is always preferred both for the book and the article. While citing



newspapers, reference to column and page number should be made. In the case of court decisions, along with the name of the case, a reference to where it could be located should also be given. Government Report should be cited just like the Books.

Common Abbreviations:

A-D	in the year of our lord
Anon.	anonymous
B.C.	Before Christ
ed.	Editor
et al	and others
ibid.	in the same book
i.e	that is
infra	below
ital.	italics
ioc.sit	in the passage already cited
op.cit	in the book already cited
supra	above
vol.	volume

Thus footnotes are generally used as reference guide or short explanations to the points under discussion.

External and Internal Criticism

Historical research contributes to historical knowledge. The method a historian follows to establish the truth is a critical examination of the evidences upon which he relies much. He can not take the sources on their face value. Any document before use must be tested as to its authenticity and value. That the



document or source is genuine & credible should be established beyond any doubt. This part of the scholar's work is called criticism. There are two kinds of criticism namely the External Criticism and the Internal Criticism.

External Criticism:

It has been said that the external criticism is the study of external characteristic of a source, like ascertaining whether it is genuine or forged, whether additions or deletions are made in subsequent times & whether the authorship and the data as given in it are true. The nature of external criticism is thus preliminary as it studies only the outside or the external form of the document. It deals with the critical investigation of authorship, date hand-writing and the source of the documents.

For many of the documents of the ancient and medieval period, the originals have been lost. The original manuscripts were copied from time to time & in this process there was the possibility of mistakes and changes creeping in. As these are likely to distort historical writing, they need to be verified and corrected. To do so they are to be checked with reference to hand-writing, language, signature and other marks in similar documents of the time.

The testing of certain portions of historical material requires the aid of several highly specialized branches of learning like archaeology, epigraphy, paleography etc. The scholar may seek the help of experts in the various subjects.

The external criticism identifies the author of the document & determines its age with Internal criticism.

Internal criticism is applied to examine the internal value of a document whether the contents given in it are reliable or not. It consists of two parts, positive and negative. Positive criticism analyses the contents of the document in order to



arrive at truth. It is better for the researcher to take the literal meaning of the document. The scholar must study thoroughly the text itself. This helps the scholar to understand the author.

Negative criticism is to examine the circumstances in which a person wrote the document – whether he was in a position to ascertain the truth to reveal the real story: whether he was guided by any ulterior motives or bias. Many of the documents are written with inadequate knowledge or with ill-motivated intention or prejudice. In early times the court historians and in modern times, the mercenary writers have written accounts according to their own purpose or other ideas in view. Even when historian are in a position to know the truth, it so happens that they have not revealed the truth due to the fear of consequences.

The foreign travelers, who did not know the language of the people, guided by rumours, gave false accounts, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri made a list of the necessary safeguards historian has to bear constantly in mind while using literary sources. He advised the historian to protect himself from falling a victim to a deliberately falsified record, especially in the modern period. Secondly the historian has to guard against the possibility of his making boastful utterance. of fact. Thirdly he has to be on his guard against exaggeration which is characteristic of court poetry. Professor Sastri asked the historian to be a little more careful when dealing with literature which embodies legends.

Prof. Sastri was very critical of the collected sources and used them only after scrutinizing their authenticity. He pointed out that the pre-Alexandrian evidence are based on hearsay and therefore not reliable. He evaluated the account of Ptolemy and found that it is based mostly on secondary source, and is full of errors. The British administration gave a prejudiced view of Indian culture.



Internal criticism helps to attempt a scientific examination of the relevance of the data and rejection of the wrong information. In fact criticism is of central importunes. In historical research for upon it loc sis the possibility of writing a correct historical account.

Bibliography :

A bibliography means book-list i.e I, list of written sources either published or unpublished consulted in the preparation of the thesis or research paper. After choosing a subject, a tentative bibliography must be prepared using the Library. The Library is the research scholar's laboratory. In due course of his research, an exhaustive bibliography both of primary and secondary sources should be prepared. Primary sources and original unpublished materials, contemporary records, official transactions, minutes, proceedings, private letters, inscriptions and coins. Secondary sources are published material, such as books, articles, and journals.

The bibliography work is a continuous process. It requires periodical addition. Bibliography may refer to all the documents, which have bearing on the dissertation or thesis, irrespective of their being actually referred to or not in the text. It is arranged at the end of the work and is classified under several headings. It may be prepared either on cards or on paper slips arranged in a scientific manner. Uniform size cards generally 3 x 5 inches are used at the end of the thesis will most often include only the works that help in the actual writing – usually those cited in the footnote.

The details recorded should be in the following order:

1. Name of the author
2. Exact title of the book



3. Volume number of the work
4. Place of publication with the name of the publisher
5. Year of publication.

If the work had been republished, the edition number must be stated specifically along with the year of republication, second or third edition as the case might be. As far as possible the latest edition must be taken into consideration. For it may contain fresh material, revised ideas or new interpretations. If there are two authors, the prominent among the two must be given precedence.

Pillay, K.K, Social History of the Tamils vol: 1, Madras: University of Madras 1975 (second edition)

Sastri, K.A.N.& Ramanna, H.S.Historical Method, Madras: Viswanathan & Company, 1956.

In this illustration, Professor Sastri is well known in the historical world and therefore his name must be cited first. In case both the authors are of equal status than the alphabetical order must be followed. If more than two names are to be cited, the well known and the prominent among them must be cited first and instead of the names of all the others, authors, the word “et al” may be used.

If may contribute to a work and there is an editor, then against the author’s name, the editor’s name must be cited with the specific appendage of editor. The abbreviation in brackets (ed.) may be used.

Varieties & Forms of Bibliography:

There are three forms of Bibliography. They are general bibliography, select Bibliography and critical or Annotated Bibliography.



General Bibliography:

It is the most commonly used form of Bibliography and contains the list of books with all the details of the name of the author, volume number, place of publication and year of publication. There is a difference between a tentative bibliography and a general bibliography. After selecting the topic, the scholar prepares a tentative bibliography, which is a combination of all that have direct or indirect relevance to the subject. The general bibliography is the list of books actually consulted by the author.

Select Bibliography:

This is not commonly used in theses and research works but in text books. Select Bibliography is given at the end of each chapter. This list will have direct relevance to the subject matter discussed in chapters. This is intended for the specialist reader or research. A person may not be interested in all the chapters of the book but interested in a particular chapter. He may refer the bibliography of that particular chapter either for enlarging the horizon of knowledge on that particular theme or subject matter, or for forming a critical estimate of that particular chapter or to analyze the errors of omission and commission etc.,

Annotated Bibliography:

This is highly sophisticated technical form of bibliography. It is not used in research works like theses or dissertations. This type of bibliography tends to discuss about the subject matter of the documents or books, an interpretation and evolution. It furnishes besides the subject matter, the bona fides of the author to tell the truth, his bias, if any, the error of omission and commission found in it, defects & merits in language & style. The scholar is free to assert that a particular work is good or bad but he is to explain briefly why he or she considers it so.



Conclusion:

The different sources are to be listed in alphabetical. The title of the publications should normally be recorded in full, together with any subtitles and italicized. Only long titles and the titles of well-known work such as classics should be abbreviated. If you are consulting individual articles in a collection title. Lastly the item in a bibliography need not be numbered unless the numbering serve some purpose e.g reference used in the place of footnotes to the bibliography in the text by numbers.

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