

DJH3B - HISTORIOGRAPHY

Unit - I

Meaning and Nature of History – Definition of History - Scope and purpose – Art or Science- Uses and abuses of History- Lessons of History.

Unit - II

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Reference Books:

Berdyaev N. -The Meaning of History

Burry J.B. -The Idea of Progress

Carr. E.H. - What is History

Rajayyan K.,- History Theory and Method

Shaik Ali,- Historiography

Subramaniam N,- Historiography

Will Durant, - The Lessons of History

Unit - I

Nature of History

1.1 Meaning of History

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

The Greeks were the earliest to give a rational meaning of the word 'history'. In fact the term history itself is derived from the Greek word 'istoria' which means 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 'tarikih' stands for chronology. The Sanskrit word itihasa refers to legend.

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

DEFINITIONS OF HISTORY

Like the legendary Tantalus cup history evades definitions. There are as many definitions of history as there are historians! To define history precisely is difficult but is not impossible, In the words of Schillar "To render its subject more familiar is the first business of definition" Definition is a definite aid to understand the subject clearly, concisely and completely. If properly formulated, it can serve as an effective tool for terse thinking on a subject. In fact, definition, by its very nature, is bound to be flexible, corrigible, relative and at best and hoc. No definitions are final. "Definition is a pair of pins which people prick into a map to mark the beginning and the end of the road they can agree to follow together". Let us consider some such pins with coloured heads.

Philosophy Drawn from Examples

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (C40 – 08 B.C.) one of the earliest Greek writers who introduced the art of historical writing and author of *Persica* in five volumes, defined history as “Philosophy drawn from examples”. In this definition he had laid emphasis on ‘Philosophy’ and ‘examples’. By philosophy he meant the ability to draw or learn a lesson from the study of the past, by ‘examples’ – he meant actual occurrences or events from real life situations and not legendary tales or imaginary cock and bull stories. To put it simply, history is an orderly account of the lessons learnt from real life examples and experiences as recounted and recorded.

Dionysius considered history as the essence of human experience. Is not history the story of the experiences of the human past/ The Greek genius thought that a study of human experience will have universal value. Validity and utility. Also, lesson learnt from the school of experience will serve as example to emulate and foot steps to follow by the contemporaries as well as the posterity. ‘Piety to the past is not for its own sake nor for the sake of the present so secure and enriched, that it will create a better future’.

In this sense, history is the record of experiences of men living in societies. Such experiences may be passive or active. Men require a knowledge of what life has done of them as much as they must know what they themselves did when faced with certain situations or challenges. In other words, history is ‘the story of the experiences of men living in civilized societies’. Lord Acton meant the same when he defined history as ‘a generalized account of the personal actions of men, united in bodies for any public purposes whatever’. All history is contemporary history, declared Croce. History is concerned neither with the past by itself, not with the historian’s thought about it by itself but with the two things in their mutual relations, asserted Collingwood. Thus, the philosophical explanations expounded by later historians were all a commentary on the definition given by Dionysius.

An Account of an Unchanging past

How about the other Greek historical thinkers/ Herodotus, the Father of History, considered history as the record of the results of enquiries into what men had done and achieved so that their memory was not perished from the world. Thucydides, the father of Scientific History, viewed history as the story of things or events worth being remembered. According to him only unique happenings shall constitute history. Aristotle defined history as ‘an account of the unchanging past’. He considered history as unchanging because human nature is unchanging. The intentions, motives and expectations are constant. Hence the recurrence of war and peace, revolution and

restoration, progress and regress, expansion and exploitation down the ages. As Aristotle himself said 'even god cannot change the past'. Polybius, the greatest of the later historians of Ancient Greece, also subscribed to this view.

History Makes Men wise

Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626) the incomparable Renaissance experimental thinker, defined history as "a discipline which makes men wise". According to him history is not a mere collection of facts, nor a catalogue or chronology of events, but a discipline which inculcates wisdom in its readers. Wisdom is not mental alertness but wrong, useful and useless, practical and impractical, eternal and ephemeral. Historical knowledge based on experience, refined by reflection, perfected by perception makes men wise. "Wisdom for a man's self", says Bacon, is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it falls". Crafty men condemn history, simple men admire it and wise men use it for the benefit of mankind-words of wisdom indeed. In history we converse with the wise, as in action with fools! With pardonable modification we may say that the inquiry of historical truth, which is the love making or wooing of it, the knowledge of such truth, which is the praise of it, and the belief of this truth, which is the enjoying of it. The Dutch proverb succinctly summarizes the truth of Bacon's dictum "a donkey does not twice hurt itself on the same stone"!

History is Essence of Biographics

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). The Scottish historian and the author of Hero Worship, defined history as "the essence of innumerable biographies of great men". He considered history as nothing but the life story of great men. He is in fact the originator of the Great men Theory of History. Carlyle considered mighty men as demigods with a clear perception of history. All historical events are the manifestation and realization of thoughts of great men. Those who dare and do shape the destiny of the people and live long in name and fame. Great men play the leadership role in responding to the challenge of the time. In short, the history of the world is the story of great men. However, Carlyle's definition narrows the scope of history and restricts the role of other forces and factors which shape history.

History is Past Politics

John R. Seelye (1834-1895), the originator of the Cambridge School of History, was the author of the oft-repeated definition that "History is past politics and present politics is future history". He believed that the ancient history was of little value and attached more importance to the teaching history was of little value and attached more importance to the teaching and research of modern history. He considered history as a school of statesmanship. He held the view that practical politics was the proper domain and the warp and woof of history. Politics is the raw material out of which history womb of the past carries the seed of the present politics which sprouts into

future history. The purpose of history, is, therefore to impart instruction in the art and craft of politics which will guide rulers to govern their countries.

In this *Life and Times of Stein*, Seeley showed how Prussia was transformed into a modern state by the political genius of Stein. His classical work, *The Expansion of England* traced the history of British imperialist politics and dealt with her conflict with France in the eighteenth century. Seeley traced the development of England as a great political power in his *The Growth of British Policy*. All his works centered round the belief that “without atleast a little knowledge of history no man can take a rational interest in politics”. He also say, “politics are vulgar when they are not liberated by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight to its realations to practical politics”. History Is about men and the historian tells the tale of human collectivities going through active and passive political experiences. Historian’s knowledge is based upon his understanding of the way in which men felt, thought and behaved. In the words of Powick “How incomprehensible history would be if human nature had not remained the same?”.

History is Science

J.B.Bury (1861-1927), an erudite English historian, made the oft-quoted definition that “History is simply a science, no less and no more”, when he delivered his Cambridge inaugural lecture in 1903. Born and brought up in an Age of Science, he laid down certain principles and methods of history. Bury was furious about applying and attributing a cause of every event of similar kind. He revolted against the method of the empirical sciences of nature. He proclaimed that historical thought was a new thing in the world, different from natural science, with a special characted of its own.

Bury thought that history offered to mankind a new view of the world and a new armoury of intellectual weapons. He brought a new intellectual attitude towards history. He established the uniqueness of historical thought. He refused to subscribe to the view that history is a mere reservoir of facts or storehouse of information. He viewed history as an independent discipline to be scientifically studied for its own sake. History must be based on observation, explanation and validation. Bury rejected the idea that history is an art and a branch of literature for the simple reason that “the sanctions of truth and accuracy could not be severe” in art and literature. In his essay on *Darwinnism and History* (1909) Bury attacked the idea that historical events can be explained by reference to general laws. It must be said to his credit that he made history an object of scientific thought. By asserting that history is simply a science Bury had done a yeoman service to ensure the autonomy and dignity of historical thought.

History Unfolds Human Freedom

Lord Acton (1834-1902), successor of Seeley as regius professor of Modern History at Cambridge, came out with the conclusion of that “History is the unfolding of human freedom”. He attempted a secular definition of history. He thought that freedom and freewill alone will bring out the full potential of mankind. Ability and creativity, intellect and innovation flourish only in an atmosphere of unfettered freedom. Liberty and freedom, not the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms, shall therefore be the legitimate concern of history. The American colonies were inspired and united to achieve Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness in 1776. The French people staged a revolution in 1789 to secure Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Since then liberty and freedom became the beacons for those who were enslaved and exploited. According to Lord Acton historical events take place when human freedom was suppressed and they also take shape when free will is given free play.

History is Contemporary

Benetto Croce (1866-1952), the most distinguished Italian historian, is credited with the cryptic aphorism that “all history is contemporary history”. In his inimitable words: “the practical requirements which underlie every historical judgment give to all history the character of ‘contemporary history’ because however remote in time events thus recounted may seem to be, the history in reality refers to present needs and present situations wherein those events vibrate”. What Croce meant was that the history consisted essentially in seeing the past through the eyes of the present and the light of its problems. Croce’s conviction was that the main work of the historian must not merely to record the events but also to evaluate them.

Historians convert past events into history. This is possible because historical events and episodes are rehearsed, reenacted and relived in the minds of historians. Past events are presented as history after a mental metamorphosis of the historian in whose thought history materializes. Hence, history always remains contemporary. In other words, history is what passes through the historian’s mind, since it is his mind which gives history its content, meaning and significance. R.G.Collingwood echoed the thought of Croce when he said that the subject matter of history is “that which can be reenacted in the historian’s mind” Carl Becker, the American historian, reiterated the same idea thus; “... the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he creates them”.

R.G.Collingwood (1889-1943), the celebrated author of *The Idea of History*, following the footsteps of B.Croce, asserted that “all history is the history of thought”. According to his history is the re-enactment in the historian’s mind of the thought whose history he is studying. He goes to the extent of saying that “Of everything other than thought, there can be no history”¹². Collingwood was convinced that history did not consist in a mere recital of facts; It is the reconstitution of the past in the

historian's mind based on empirical evidence. The Process of such reconstitution involves the selection and interpretation of facts; this is what makes them historical facts.

Collingwood elaborated his thought further when he said that history was concerned neither with the past by itself, nor with the historian's thought about it by itself, but with the two things in their mutual relations. His dictum means two things" One, the inquiry conducted by the historian himself; and secondly, the series of past events into which he inquires. A past act is a dead wood unless it is resurrected by the historian by understanding the thought they lay behind it. Therefore, the past which a historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present. Hence, all history is the history of thought. That is the reason why Collingwood asserted that the historian must re-enact in thought what had gone in the mind of his *dramatis personae*, so that the reader in his turn will re-enact what goes on in the mind of the historian. In other words, historian's imaginative understanding of the minds of the people with whom he is dealing with is a precondition to give shape for the thought behind their acts. "Study the historian before you begin to study the facts", instructs E.H.Carr."13. "History is the historian's experience; to write history is the only way of making it", says Prof.Oakeshott"14.

History, "an unending dialogue between the present and the 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"15. He contends that the facts of history are not pure and as such they are always refracted through the mental prism of the recorder. Hence, what is important are not historical facts but the historian who makes use of these facts. To make use of facts the historian needs imaginative understanding in order to know and study the minds of the people with whom he is dealing with and the thought behind their acts. Such an understanding is possible only through the eyes of the present since the historian is the product of his age. Thus, the historian starts with a provisional selection and ordering of facts, which belong to the past, understands them imaginatively and interprets them from the plan of the present, since he is part of the present. "The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead meaningless"16. In short, history is a perennial and perpetual interaction between the historian and his facts an eternal conversation between the present and the past.

History is Experience of Men

G.J.Renier, the dauntless Dutch historian, after surveying several definitions of history ventures his own. According to his history is "the story of the experiences of men living in civilized societies"17. History is story because like a story it is an admixture of theory and of preconceived notions. It is not a mere narrative which is like gold can be used only in the form of an alloy. A narrative is turned into a story when it contributes to the performance of its social function. In other words, history must serve a social purpose. The historian must, therefore, understand the events he narrates and to explain their social significance.

For instance, a matter of fact knowledge of the catalogue of events of Napoleon's life is not sufficient for the purpose of the historian. What is more important is to know the place of these events in Napoleon's life and their effect upon other events. Thus, the task of the historian is not merely to explain the past but to recount the story of the experience of men living in civilized societies. In this sense, the life of the homo sapiens which is said to have covered 3,00,000 Years is not the theme of the historian. His concern is about the life of civilized men during the past 5000 Years. History is not the narration of deeds of Robinson Crusoes who lived entirely for themselves but the story of human actions with social importance, actions which have served some social purpose.

History is interaction between Society and Geography

According to A.L.Rowse "History is essentially the record of the life of men in their geographical and their physical environment. Their social and cultural environment arises from the interaction of the one, with the other, the society and its geographical conditions". Rowe's definition underlines the inevitable interaction between the societal development and geographical condition.

Some Cynical Definitions

There are quite a few cynical definitions of history. "History", said Voltaire, "is no more than accepted fiction" and it is "nothing but a pack of tricks which we play upon the dead"! For Napoleon I History was "an agreed fable". Gibbon's definition is typical: "History is indeed little more than the register of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind". "History is bunk" for Henry Ford. It was a "nightmare" to James Joyce. Mathew Arnold described history as "the Mississippi of falsehoods". To Morley it was "the tragic comedy". "History is full of the dead weight of things which have escaped the control of the mind, yet drive man on with a blind force", said F.M.Powiche. Such one – sided definitions are at best distorted half – truths born out of either prejudice or ignorance or misunderstanding the real nature, Purpose and function of history.

Three Dimensional Definition

The oft-quoted definitions of history considered above reflect the minds and moods of historians. Some of them are significant, some are exhortations, some are sheer distortions and none is definite, precise and final. This is understandable because history by its very nature is dynamic, not static. It implies formation, development and growth of human societies and civilizations which are always in ferment. In fine, the three-dimensional definition of history is that, 1)it is a record of socially significant past events; 2)a narrative – descriptive account of such events and 3)an interpretative evaluation of historic happenings. History proper is confined with the first, whereas historiography is concerned with the second and third dimensions of history.

Characteristics of History

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

First, 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.

Sixthly, history is a science. It is a science because it is a kind of inquiry seeking to find out facts. It endeavours to find out what is not Known and to find things out.

Seventhly, history is a study of change, causes and consequences of change – political, social, economic, artistic, philosophical, scientific and technological. Historians attempt to explain changes in man's ideas, social formations and institutional transformations.

Eighthly, history is for the sake of human self – knowledge. The capacity of man is manifested through his deeds. The test of what man can do is in what man has done. History teaches us what man has done and thus what man is.

Ninthly, history is a process. It is unbroken and continuous. The process is dialectical in nature; something is changing into something else.

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 collect, collate and evaluate data and arrive at meaningful conclusions.

Is History Purposive?

History is concerned with certain kinds of purposive acts. An act may either be deliberate or reflective. Deliberate acts are acts actually done without reflection or purpose. On the other hand, reflective acts are done on purpose. As such they "become the subject matter of history"¹⁸. All purposive action must necessarily be practical action since it is mentally conceived before it is executed. Only practical

activity can be done on purpose. In this sense, reflective – practical – purposive acts form part of historical knowledge.

To illustrate: Politics can be historically studied since it affords a plain instance of purposive action. A politician's policy is a plan of action conceived in advance of its performance and his success as a politician is proportional to his success in carrying out his policy. Similarly, the act of a military commander is a purposive act. He leads his army into his enemy country with a view to defeat it. From the recorded accounts of his acts it is possible to mentally reconstruct his plan of campaign, since his acts were carried out on purpose. Likewise, economic or social activities are undertaken on purpose. As such they are purposive and it is possible to reflectively reconstruct them into intelligible history.

Is History Science of 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 he 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 medicine¹⁹, 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 again assumed importance.

Impact of Science on Historiography

The impact of science on historiography at the end of the eighteenth century was incalculable. When science had 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 through out 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"²⁰. Fascinated by the method of science. J.B.Bury declared at the beginning of the twentieth century that history was "a science, no more and no less" (1903). Since then Bury's dictum gained wide currency. "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, 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 gestate*, 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 since 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 by adopting a national approach, it is a science.

History is a Special Science

The Latin Word *scientia* means organized knowledge. In this sense J.B.Bury is unquestionably right. Five decades after Bury's famous inaugural lecture of 1903 there was a strong reaction against his view of history. R.G, Collingwood drew a sharp line between the world of nature, which was the object of scientific inquiry and the world of human past, which was the target of historical investigation and tried to establish that history was certainly more than a science, a science of some special kind²¹.

According to Collingwood history is not merely an organized knowledge but it is invariably organized in some particular way. Some bodies of knowledge are organized by collecting observations, some others are organized by making observations happen under controlled conditions and yet others by not observing events at all but by making certain assumptions and proceeding with the utmost exactitude to argue out their consequences. Since wars and revolutions are not deliberately produced by historians they can neither be repeated nor observed under laboratory conditions, historical knowledge has to be organized in a particular way. For instance, a meteorologist can study a cyclone and compare it with others. But an historian can not study, in a similar way, the Wars of Roses and compare them with the Wars of Noses! This is obviously because the sciences of observation and

experiment are organized in one way and history is organized in another way. In the organization of history what is known is conditioned by its relation about the related things during the occurrence of such events and not by its relation to what is known about other apparently similar events.

History is not an Exact Science

History is a science but not an exact science like physical or natural sciences.

First, history differs from exact sciences both in its commencement and conclusion. Whereas the exact sciences start with assumptions like “Let ABC be a triangle, and let $AB = AC$, history commences with facts instead of assumption. Thus, unlike the scientist, historian deals with facts as they come across under his observation.

Secondly, scientific conclusions about things have no special habitation in space or time, since they are there everywhere. On the other hand in history each event has a place and date of its own and they are variables and unique. The historian first collects his facts, then interprets them and comes to conclusion from the facts available to him.

Thirdly, unlike a mathematician, the historian’s business is not to invent anything, but to discover something. Hence the finished products of science and history are differently organized.

Fourthly, exact sciences are arranged on relations of logical priority and posteriority. That is one proposition is placed before a second, if understanding of the first is needed in order to understand the second. But in history the scheme is chronological, in which one event is placed before a second if it happened at an earlier time.

Fifthly, Science is experimental and its results could be repeated or reproduced while history is not experimental and historical events could not be repeated. Whereas science deals with physical or natural objects, history is concerned with the experiences of human beings who cannot be reduced to any formula nor subjected to any universally applicable laws. Since historical facts can be arrived at only indirectly through inference they can not be tested by experiment. Moreover, history deals with unorganized facts from which no valid conclusions could be drawn. In short, historical methods of arriving at facts are clean different from that of exact sciences.

sixthly, in history it is not possible to formulate generalizations nor predict the future with certainty. This is mainly due to the fact that the intention or motive behind human conduct cannot be directly observed but can be reached and apprehended through inference and imaginative powers of the mind. In fine, history deals with sequence of unique events, while science is concerned with the routine appearance of things and aims at generalizations and the establishment of regularities governed by laws.

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. For him art was neither a means of sensuous pleasure, nor a representation of natural fact, nor even the construction and enjoyment of systems of formal relations. Croce viewed art as the intuitive vision of individuality. The artist sees and represents this individuality. Art is thus not an activity of the emotions, but a cognitive activity: it is knowledge of the individual. Science, on the contrary, is knowledge of the general. Thus, history is altogether concerned with individual facts.

Croce refused to call history as 'descriptive science' for the simple reason that since it is descriptive history ceases to be a science. The term 'descriptive science' is a **Contradictio in adjecto**. As an artist the historian contemplates on facts and does not recognize them as instances of general laws. Hence the comparison between history and art. Croce goes a step further and says that it is an identify, not a mere comparison, since both history and art are based on the intuition and representation of the individual. "If history is art, it is at least a very peculiar kind of art"²². The artist merely states what he sees; the historian has both to do this and also to assure himself that what he sees is the truth. In short, art in general represents the possible; history narrates that which has really happened. Croce's argument attracted a good deal of attention and still remains the centre of controversy!

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 as an art. Geoffrey Barraclough questioned the itch to equate 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 altar 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"²³.

As the narrative account of the past, history is an art. As a narrator the historian looks at the past from a certain point of view. He expresses his personality in his work like a seasoned artist. Absolute impartiality is impossible in history because the author of history is a narrator and hence an artist. Further, an historian the artist differs from a scientist when he communicates his results. The scientist simply reports whereas the historian conveys the human experience. In history historian's ethical standards and

intellectual integrity play a significant part. Like an artist, the historian also must have the capacity for imaginative sympathy to reconstruct the past, on the basis of records. The manner and style in which the historian gives his narrative is important.

Historians like Gibbon, Carlyle, Macaulay, Trevelyan and others distinguished themselves by the artistic qualities of their work. Like the work of art its wholeness and harmony and truth are inseparable from a concrete and vivid appreciation of its parts. History also displays fine feelings and emotions. Like literature history excites discovery of truths of character and universal values of life. History speaks only when spoken to. To the indolent and the indifferent it is as silent as Sphinx. Like an adept artist unless one puts oneself into other's place history loses its humanity; the subtle differences of outlook and sensibility between ourselves and our ancestors are blurred. Who can say that history is a painting which requires no frame, a precious stone which needs no setting?

Qualifying Requirements

History to qualify itself to be an art must satisfy certain requirements²⁴. First, it must be crystal clear. Language being an inadequate instrument infinite care has to be taken to write history unambiguously. Secondly, it must be correct. Correctness means clarity. Accuracy of facts is a sine qua non of authentic history. Thirdly, it must be tidy. Almost attention shall be paid to the sequence of ideas and to the way in which they are connected. Fourthly, it should avoid super abundance of detail. Brevity is the soul of wit. Events should be allowed to speak for themselves. Fifthly, it must be trustworthy. The historian should know what to select and what to omit. History is an exquisite picture, not a learned periodical. Sixthly, it must be aesthetic. Art is the communication of an aesthetic emotion. His avowed object is to keep the memory of mankind awake. "Knowledge moves on, forever provisional. Knowledge is grouping of brave men in a dark world. Art is a perennial flower"²⁵.

A Half – Way House

History is a half – way house between science and art. History is a science because it investigates into truth; it proceeds from known to unknown; it provides answers to questions; it rests upon reasoning; it employs scientific methodology; and it approaches the subject in a spirit of science. History is an art in the sense that it is a narrative account; it uses imagination to reconstruct the past; it distinguishes itself by its style and manner of presentation; it aims at wholeness and harmony; it displays fine feelings and emotions and it is concerned with human values. History is therefore, a science as well as an art. It is a balanced truth it is a science and when it narrates the truth it becomes an art. History is scientific and artistic. At best it is a half-way house between science and art. In the inimitable words of G.M.Trevelyan. "The discovery of historical facts should be scientific in method. But the exposition of them for the reader partook of the nature of art..."

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 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 the centric, centered round the working of Providence or God. Renaissance 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 discovery. 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 grains of historical facts were liberally mixed with legend, 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 ‘historiology’ 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.Renier²⁶. Sir Charles Omen considered it as “the art of dealing on paper with past events”²⁷.

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 history of 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.

Anatoly Rikitov identifies five distinctive features of historiography²⁸. (1)The object of historical knowledge is the historical reality. (2)The subject – matter of it is individual events, concrete situations and processes and separate structures. (3)The object of historical inquiry is to use the primary texts like historical and archaeological sources. (4)The method of it consists of critical analysis of sources, analysis of material relics, methods of auxiliary historical disciplines and philological analysis (5)The type of historical knowledge is empirical, not theoretical nor philosophical.

SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF HISTORY

EVER EXPANDING SCOPE

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

The Roman historians inherited the Greek tradition and wrote a new kind of history by expanding its scope by narrating the Roman conquest of the world. History was conceived as a form of thought having universal value. “With this larger conception of the field of history comes a more precise conception of history itself”¹.

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, Berkeley, Descartes and Vico were the profounders 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 footsteps 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 causes 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 Hegelian 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 predictable 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 entirety. It is an eclectic approach to a universal human history at its best, never attempted before nor improved since then. In Toynbee the scope of history reached its meridian.

20th century also witnessed 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 integrating different branches of knowledge they fashioned an inclusive, broad – based, heterogeneous historiography.

To sum up, in a restricted sense, the scope of 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.

DIVISION OF HISTORY

Periodisation of history

Is history one or manifold? To answer this question is not easy. It depends on how you look at history. Bauer, for instance, distinguished between narrative history, genetic history and sociological history. Division of history must, however, be such that the parts exclude each other; that it must be adequate and that a division must be divided into parts that have the same generic whole. It must be remembered that division of history into periods is artificial, created for the sake of convenience and

not absolute or inherent in the nature of history. “the division of history into periods is not a fact, but a necessary hypothesis or tool of thought, valid in so far as it is illuminating and dependent for its validity on interpretations”².

Ancient, Medieval and Modern

The division of history into Ancient, Medieval and Modern is the simplest, most obvious and widely accepted. This simplistic division of history was first made by Rausin in his Book *Leodium* (1639). It gained currency and became immensely popular as a result of its advocacy by Keller (1634-1701) of the University of Halle. Such a division of history reflected the mentality of the Humanists, who took pride in the Classical Age and found light and lead in it in contrast to the irrational Christian interlude.

Nobody is certain as to when exactly the Graeco – Roman Classical Age came to an end, when Age yielded place to the Modern Period. Henri Pirenne, the distinguished Dutch historian, characterized these periods by saying that the Classical Period was lived around one sea, the Mediterranean; the Medieval Period round three seas, the Mediterranean, the North Sea and the Baltic Sea; and the Modern period round all the oceans of the world³. It is now generally recognized that the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. is the dividing data between the Ancient and Medieval, as the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Divides the Medieval from the Modern Period. This division into periods applies exclusively to the history of Western Europe. It must be borne in mind that excessive insistence upon the difference should be shunned as history is a continuous process.

Horizontal and Vertical

Metaphors like horizontal and vertical are used to periodisation of history. History is divided horizontally as well as vertically. Chronology is the backbone of horizontal division and subject, content or theme is the mainstay of vertical division. Like the division of history into Ancient, Medieval and Modern, division of history into Horizontal and Vertical also should not be carried too far as they are interchangeable.

Pre –Historic and Historic

From the angle of Chronology, history is also divided into pre-historic period and the historic period. The former is based on archaeological relics and the latter on written records.

History is more than the Whole

The division of history into Ancient, Medieval and Modern; or horizontal and Vertical; or Pre-historic and Historic is at best artificial and arbitrary, though it serves a purpose. History is organic, one and indivisible. It is the story of human experience. Hence, no transcendental virtue can be claimed for division of history into periods. Division is made for the sake of clarity, cogency and convenience of better understanding and appreciation of human happenings. In the words of Renier “A good

pragmatic division of history should present us with parts which, put together, cover more than the whole”⁴.

USES AND ABUSES OF HISTORY

USES OF HISTORY

Can history be of any use to modern man? Unlike man of the past modern man is confronted with multifarious problems like global peace; globalization; search for alternate sources of energy; protection of the environment from pollution; fight against grave illnesses like AIDS and drug abuse; overcoming of social inequality; hunger and poverty, mass unemployment, growing violence and terrorism etc. Will knowledge of the past provide answers to these problems?

Natural sciences such as Physics, Chemistry and Biology are needed for the development of Engineering, Agriculture and Medicine. These sciences are utilitarian because they help solve important practical problems. Is there, therefore, any need to know the past in the age of scientific, technological and communication revolution? Is not the study of history waste of time and squandering of scarce resources? Are not the creations of chairs for history in universities, spreading of historical knowledge through educational institutions and convening of historical congresses non – utilitarian?

Utility of History

The question of utility or value or usefulness of history depends on the meaning and concept of usefulness. Like many other conceptions of science and philosophy the concept of utility of history is not unambiguous. In what way the songs of Shelly, sonnets of Wordsworth, odes of Keats, dramas of Shakespeare or for that matter Einstein’s Theory of Relativity useful to the survival of mankind? The crux of the problem is that man does not want merely to survive but also desires to live a meaningful, purposeful and creative life. Man does not want to live by bread alone. Material production and metaphysical earnings go hand in hand. They are the two sides of the same coin. Along with basic biological needs various social, cultural, spiritual, esthetic, intellectual needs arise in the course of historical evolution. Often they assume a special ethnic colouring. And they acquire or lose utility in different historical ages. Thus the meaning of the concept of usefulness of history depends on satisfying a given need in a particular era, period or age. Since the concept of the utility of history reflects the attitude and approach of individuals institutions and groups to the needs accepted or rejected by them it becomes complex, complicated and controversial.

Thinkers’ Testimony

Nevertheless, many eminent thinkers from antiquity to the present have not only themselves paid much attention to historical knowledge but have also passionately defended and demonstrated the usefulness of history. Herodotus’ History evokes interest, instructs delightfully, imparts information and excites curiosity. Thucydides synthesized historical facts in order to construct general principles based

on morality and ethics. The Roman jurist Cicero said. “Not to know what took place before you were born is to remain for every a child”. To Trevelyan “History’s chief but not the only value is poetic as a great poem is an epic without beginning or end”. David Hume, who considered history as an ‘agreeable entertainment’ observed that “a man acquainted with history may, in some respects, be said to have lived from the beginning of the world”. Lecky opined “He who has learned to understand the true characters and tendency of many succeeding years is not likely to go very far wrong in estimating him own”. Sir Thomas Munro succinctly summarized the use of history when he said “A few pages of history give more insight into the human mind and in an agreeable manner than all the metaphysical volumes ever published”. According to Bertrand Russel history is “enormously important; it gives stability and it gives depth to your thought and to your feeling”.

“The value of history”, Says R.G.Collingwood, “is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is”¹. History is for ‘human self – knowledge’. After all, man should know himself; what it is to be a man, what it is to be the kind of man you are and what it is to be the man you are and nobody else is. Self-Knowledge means knowing what you can do and the clue for what one can do is what man had done. History imparts knowledge about the actions of human beings that have been done in the past.

Promotes Insight

History promotes in us an insight into human nature. We witness in history the march of mankind with all its deeds and misdeeds. Justice and injustice, equality and inequality, truth and falsehood manifest themselves in the character and behavior of the great actors in the kaleidoscopic drama of life. On the arena of history good and evil fight out their everlasting battle. Is it not true that the wise learn from other’s experience whereas fools learn from their own?

Social Memory

History is a social memory; without it society will lapse into societal amnesia. History plays the same role in society as memory plays in the activity of the individual. The person who loses his memory loses self – awareness, his personality disintegrates and he ceases to identify him with himself! So also the society. Historical memory stores a great volume of socially useful information about events of the past and the part the heroes played in history. Thanks to this historical memory humanity is in a state to store and transmit knowledge about events witnessed or heard about. Absence of such memory will paralyze performance and progress. No society can survive without historical consciousness since it provides indelible link between generations. Historical memory is absolutely necessary for a nation’s cultural, socio – ethnic self – determination and to save itself from self-destruction.

Provides Precedents

History provides precedents. It helps to settle various internal and international disputes. Such a settlement is possible only on the basis of historical information. When rulers claim territory of another state, for example, or defend their own

possessions against hostile encroachments necessarily appeal to historical arguments asserting their rights to a given territory or rejecting similar rights of the rival. Medieval towns retrieved their liberty from their lords on the basis of thrones were laid and military alliances were concluded on the strength of genealogical traces. Appeal to the past in search of historical precedents has long been accepted as legitimate political and legal practice.

Time – tested Teacher

History is a time – tested Teacher. It teaches those who even do not study it! It teaches them a lesson for ignoring and disdaining it. Those who act without listening to the voice of history or refuse to heed to its warnings will ultimately regret their attitude to history. History teaches not how to live by it but how to learn from it. Individuals and institutions, political leaders and parties, organizations and groups draw experience from the past. In the words of the Russian historian. V.O.Klyuchevsky “History is power; when it is good to people, they forget about it and ascribe their prosperity to themselves; when it becomes bad for them, they begin to feel its necessity and value its boons”². Those who neglect history in haste will repent at leisure!

Vision and Mission

History gives us an indelible insight into man’s vision and mission, words and deeds, ups and downs. It attempts to reveal the meaning of life and unravel the purpose of living. It is a soaring search into the reality of the past. Down the ages man had built institutions, developed cultures and discovered and invented thousand and one things and came out with ideas galore to make life worth living on this planet. History proves that any devilish or delinquent deviation from this progressive path brings misery and suffering to mankind and serves as a warning to correct itself before it is too late.

History is a true friend, philosopher and guide. It is an invaluable instrument to promote human understanding. It is a record of social, moral and intellectual education of man. As such it dispels darkness and widens the area of enlightenment. Man has left a rich legacy for the education and enjoyment of posterity. Historical knowledge not only strengthens mental discipline but also enables us to know the past and interpret its significance. Any phenomenon of life can be understood only if it is explained historically. No local, national or global issue could be grasped and tackled unless its historical background is known. History is thus a wise voice across the centuries. The rulers who had a good grounding in history had distinguished themselves in history. History, therefore, educates as well as warns through examples.

Dialogue between Present and Past

History helps us to understand the development of the human society with all its ramification in arts, letters, religion, philosophy, administration, adventure of ideas, culture and way of life. Through history alone one can know, understand and appreciate the world as it is. It is the hyphen that connects and the buckle than binds the present with the past and enables us to see how man has discovered better ways of

living and discounted bitter ways of discards and disputes. Is it not true that history is “an unending dialogue between the present and the past”?³

Social Education

History serves and satisfies the need for social education. Knowledge of the past provides a host of examples of socially significant human behaviour. The deeds of historical personages, various historical situations, methods of setting conflicts crystallize into norms of acceptable behaviour approved by society. History preserves past actions and achievements of our ancestors for posterity as an example for imitation or a subject for reflection and extraction of historical experience. Knowledge of history makes the present intelligible since the present is not self-explanatory. The study of history is thus the study of human science. The knowledge alone assists humankind in the pursuit of ever widening frontiers of knowledge and better cultural understanding. In the words of Levi Strauss “Those who ignore history condemn themselves to not knowing the present...”

Inspiring Instruction

History, like poetry and drama, instructs delightfully. It teaches, moves, stirs and pleases human heart. Like literature, it interests the mind, mood and manner of man. History unravels the good things of the mind as it exposes the bad traits of human character. It also excites the interest, curiosity and fancy of man. In the pages of Herodotus, Tacitus, Livy, Macaulay, Trevelyan and Carlyle it reads like a romance. Its themes are ever enchanting.

Principles and Patterns

History offers broad principles and generalizations and exhibits common trends, tendencies and patterns, since human nature being what it is and human needs, ideas and values are common to mankind. Cultural content is common to humanity. All the known civilizations have developed along similar lines. History is a mighty march towards unity and progress, truth and justice, liberty and equality, non-violence and peace.

For Fun

History could be studied for fun. A curiosity about the facts of human history and about the relations between these facts may lead one on his way to communion with the ultimate reality. True, the practice of scholarship for the purpose of seeking communion with ultimate reality is condemned as being a vicious heresy. It is held to be unscientific to seek to acquire knowledge for any non-utilitarian ulterior motive. Studies which help to produce wealth and power are recognized and respected. Nevertheless, the religious significance of the study of history would be minimized. “For me”, asserts A.J. Toynbee, “the study of history would be meaningless if it did not have an ultimately religious significance and religious goal, and the motive that moves me has been, I believe, the motive for studying history that has inspired the historians of the past. I hope that it will be again the motive for the historians of the future”⁴.

Store – House of Experience

History is like a department store where intellectual merchandise of all hues and colours is available. The wise pick up valuable goods. Seekers of knowledge can get what they want at philosophy counter. Those who want to grow higher truth may find them at metaphysics section. Scientists can quench their thirst at the scientific square. Men after mundane greatness and material glory can go to the records of wars, and conquest. “History is a store – house of experience where nothing is wanting, and you get what you deserve”⁵.

Educational Value

Historical knowledge is imparted in educational institutions because it increases powers of memory, imagination, reasoning and insight. It gives students and scholar’s depth of thought, understanding and feeling. It inculcates in them moral and ethical values. Students of history can revel at the fountains of pleasures of reflection. “The value of study is not scientific; its true value is educational”, says Trevelyan. A study of history, besides fetching a degree enables the holder to be usefully employed in various avenues of life.

Embodiment of knowledge

Everything has a history. History is an embodiment of knowledge. As a discipline it covers everything – be it politics, economics, society, culture of religion. History is thus a meeting ground for different disciplines. Infinite richness and variety is the hallmark of history.

A Social Necessity

History is a social necessity since the past dominates human thinking, behaviour and conduct. The present is governed by what happened in the past. Decisions are taken on the basis of previous knowledge. Without a knowledge of history humanity will be in a state of amnesia, adrift from its moorings. It will then be a rudderless ship on the uncharted ocean of time. In fine, a study of history will guard man from falling an easy prey to the self-serving exploitation of history for narrow, exclusive, divisive communal purpose. Hence history is regarded as “an inclusive, a mediating discipline”.

To Understand

History is rational reconstruction of the past. Mark Bloch in his *The Historian’s Craft*. “a manifesto on behalf of the most advanced school of historical writing of the winter war years”, raises the question “what is the use of history?” and answers that it aids understanding in order to act reasonably. Think before you leap; understand before you act. According to Bloch understanding the past is the human and social need for history. Without understanding people will become indigent. If the scientist is the drill master, the historian is the lute maker; the former uses sensitive tools and the later is sensitive to sound. Since man is a willing prisoner of techniques he has to

understand the present by the past. Bloch concludes that the faculty of understanding the living is the master quality of the historian.

Future Focus

History helps us to foresee the future. One of the perennial earnings of mankind is to know about its future. It of course depends on what we are intending to foresee in the future on the basis of the past. Historical project is the manifestation of aim-setting. Since any plan of socio-political-economic transformation is related to something that does not exist; its realization calls for a clear picture of the future. History and history alone offers the ground for foreseeing the future. Since mankind's disillusioned with religion, mythology and oracle it seeks to find objective grounds for satisfying this overriding social urge. Historical similarity, repetition and pattern in the events of the past provide grounds for foreseeing the future.

Estimate

Can history demonstrate its right to exist in the emerging century likely to be controlled and conditioned by super computers? Yes. It can. Universally is going to be the phenomenon of the twenty first century. Age of Imperialism generated contradictions, confrontations and conflicts. But the Age of Universalism requires radical global transformation. Universality is a historical phenomenon.

The historians of antiquity counter posed the Greek and the Roman world to all the rest of mankind. Christian historians, in their attempt to understand history as the fulfillment of a divine plan excluded non-Christian peoples from historical consideration. The Renaissance and the Enlightenment prepared a new conception of the world historical process on the basis of humanistic and scientific spirit. Hegel's philosophy of history, the pinnacle of this universalistic trend, provided the basis of the world historical connection in the absolute spirit. Karl Marx's socialist – communist universally was an attempt in this direction. Thus the quest for universal solution to the global challenge goes on unabated.

It is progressively realized that it is impossible to rationally reconstruct the present of the near future without understanding the historical roots. The past alone will help humanity to remodel the complex and contradictory situation of modern times. The mathematical, natural and engineering sciences have laid the foundation of today's technological revolution. Similarly, scientific study of the past and the formulation of historical laws of change will help mankind to take correct decisions to ensure universal peace and prosperity. This cannot be attained through abstract arguments but through serious scientific historical inquiries. "Unless we understand the historical roots it today it is impossible properly to appreciate and deeply understand the character of the revolutionary transformations taking place in modern times"⁶.

MISUSE OF HISTORY

Meaning of 'Misuse of History'

History is misused as much as it is used. The scope for misusing history is rather inherent in the nature of the subject. Since the historian is concerned with the recent as well as the remote past he is liable to err on the right and wrong sides while recording, reconstructing, writing, narrating and interpreting historical facts and events. It is not possible to just **es eigentlich gewesen** i.e. to “simply to show how it really was”. as Ranke insisted upon”⁷. Historical facts have to pass through the prism of prejudice, predilection and preconceived notions of the historian and during this process they get distorted, at times beyond recognition. In short, history is misused when it is not written objectively”⁸.

Theocratic Writing

History is misused when it is written on the basis of the belief in the divine creation of the Universe⁹. Theocratic history belongs to this category. It is quasi-history at the best and abuse of history at the worst. Quasi-history contains statements about the past and not facts about the past. Such statements are mere assertions and not the fruits of research. Moreover, the events recorded in the theocratic history are not human actions but divine deeds! The gods are conceived on the analogy of human sovereigns, directing the actions of kings and chiefs”¹⁰ The divine characters are depicted as the superhuman rulers of human societies. In theocratic history humanity is not an agent but an instrument to carry out the divine decisions¹¹. In other words, history is abused when it is written on the premise that God is the real head of humanity and the rulers are his agents¹².

Mythological Writing

Like theocratic writing mythological history also deals with supernatural characters, but it is worse than the former. In theocratic history the divine characters are depicted as the super human rulers of human societies¹³. On the contrary in mythology the divine characters are not concerned with human actions at all. The human element has been completely eliminated and the actors are all gods. The divine actions are conceived as having happened in the past but they are not dated events. History is not dateless past¹⁴. Mythological history is totally out-side time – reckonings. The subject – matter is concerned with the actions, reactions and interactions between various gods and goddesses and the sequence of divine deeds described are not temporal. In fine, myth is theogony, not history. The Hebrew Scriptures contain a great deal of theology and myth. Old Testament, like Mesopotamian and Egyptian literature is quasi – historical. Basically the creation legends of the Babylonians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians and the Hindus are the same. “These two forms of quasi-history, theocratic and myth, dominated the whole of the Near East until the rise of Greece”¹⁵.

Apocalyptic Writing

History is misused when religious faith is used to explain historical phenomena. Historical events are accordingly viewed from the angle of belief instead of reason. Christian historiography is an example. It was and still is believed that peoples and countries have been created by God. What was created by God could be

modified, altered or changed by Him. He can bring out development in the character of a person or progress of a people or country already created. And God could be known only through his activities. In the 13th century St. Thomas Aquinas defined God in terms of activity as *actus purus*. Historical process is. Therefore, the working of God's purpose which ought to be the purpose of man. Fixing the birth of Christ at the centre of chronology, history was divided into two halves, viz., before (B.C) and after (A.D) the birth of Christ, each having a particular character of its own: a period of darkness and a period of light, R.G. Collingwood calls this kind of history "apocalyptic history"¹⁶. Eusebius' *Chronicle* and St. Augustine's *City of God* are the best examples of this kind of history. To write history in order to justify a preconceived faith is to misuse it.

Interpretative Writing

Vested interests misuse history to justify their own points of view. They relentlessly go in search of historical materials in defence of their cause or to denounce the cause of their opponents. During the Reformation the Protestants and the Catholics misused history to uphold their respective standpoints. "God's Way will the Netherlands" (1752) was written to justify the existence of the Dutch Republic as a prosperous nation! G.M. Trevelyan, considered to be "incomparably the greatest of the whig background. Historians like Grote, Mommsen, Macaulay, Namier, Gibbon, Carlyle and Meinecke are guilty of such misuse of history. In 1917, the Russian Communists published some secret treaties with a view to discredit the Tsarist regime. In 1973, Indira Gandhi's government buried a Time Capsule, which glorified the Nehru family. In short, to write history from a particular point of view is to misuse history.

Motivated Writing

History is abused when it is written by writers motivated by the ideologies of their societies and ages. Being the product of his society an historian is inevitably influenced by the ideological fervor shared by his social contemporaries. For instance, in the 19th century, when British prosperity, power and self-confidence were at their height, British historians without exception glorified the cult of progress. History appeared to them as progress towards the goal of the perfection of Man's estate of earth. Gibbon wrote about "the pleasing conclusion that every age of the world has increased and still increases the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge and perhaps the virtue of the human race"¹⁸. Acton referred to history as "a progressive science"¹⁹. Dampier asserted that "future ages will see no limit to the growth of man's power over the resources of nature and of his intelligent use of them for the welfare of his race"²⁰. Bury described progress as "the animating and controlling idea of Western Civilization"²¹. Bertrand Russell confessed "I grew up in the full flood of Victorian optimism and something remains with me of the hopefulness than then was easy"²². The belief in the inevitability of progress through the systematic application of science of technology had inspired many a historian to worship the cult of progress. Motivated history is history misused.

Theoretical Writing

History is abused when historians weave theories or patterns and try to explain away historical events. The ancient Egyptians conceived the idea of the three Ages of the World. Viz., the Age of the Gods, the Age of the Heroes and the Age of Men. The Hindus of Yore thought in terms of Yugas. Viz., Treta Yuga, Dwapara Yuga and Kali Yuga. The Greco – Roman historians believed in the circular movement in history. Vico improved upon this idea of historic cycles and considered them as a spiral ascending in curve instead. Toynbee endeavored to present the cyclical view in a different perspective. Since the historian is involved and as a result influenced by his contemporary social situation he is often incapable of transcending it. “The thought of historians, as of other human beings, is molded by the environment of the time and place”²³. As a result, they fail to appreciate the essential nature of the differences between his own society and outlook and those of other periods and countries. The historian forgets for the moment that he is not an individual but a social phenomenon. This lack of perspective leads to the misuse of history.

Patriotic Writing

History is misused when it is written with patriotic fervor or nationalistic odour. Patriotic or nationalistic history is necessarily partial because it exaggerates the virtues of the native nation at the cost of the enemy country. It is patently wrong to flatter national pride and rivalries. “Nationalism... is the workshop of the collective power of a local human community”²⁴. It was the religion of the pre-Christian Greco – Roman world. It was resuscitated in the West during the Renaissance. Modern Western nationalism fanned the fire of fanaticism in the name of patriotism, which proved to be contagious. Man’s mastery over nature through the application of science and technology incalculably increased his greed and coercive power which has been used to further the cause of narrow national interests. Nationalism as a fanatical force has divided humanity into smaller fractions always demanding separate local national sovereignty. The historian’s business is not to extol the virtues incite of his nation but to narrate the **gesta dei**, Since patriotic writing incite the raw passions of the people it is abusing history to justify unjustifiable distortions! In Short, patriotic bias has vitiated historical writing.

Biographical Writing

Biography is not history. History is abused when it deals with individual as the decisive in history. It is based on the view that what matters in history is the achievement of individuals. The historian’s desire to postulate individual genius as the creative force in history is as old as Greek history. The ancient labeled the achievements of the past with the names of epoch – making heroes. Periclean Age, for example. They attributed their epics to Homer, their laws to Lycurgus and institutions to Solon. During Renaissance Plutarch made his mark through his biographies. Later Carlyle propounded his Great Man Theory. i.e.history is nothing but the biography of great men. Dr.Rowse wrote that the Elizabethan system broke down because James I was incapable of understanding it. The English Revolution of the 17th Century was an ‘accidental’ occurrence due to the stupidity of the first two Stuart Kings”²⁵. Few historians thought that “the Bourbons failed to re-establish the monarchy in France after 1870 just because of Henry’s attachment to a little white flag”²⁶.

Even the austere historian like Sir James Neale expressed his admiration for Queen Elizabeth instead of explaining what the Tudor monarchy stood for. Trevelyan, the whig historian, traced the origin of the whig tradition to the reign of Queen Anne. Communism was considered to be the brain-child of Karl Marx and the outbreak of the Bolshewick Revolution to the stupidity of Nicholas II. Similarly the two World Wars were attributed to the wickedness of Wilhelm II and Hitler respectively. A typical expression of this attitude is the remark of Pascal that if the Cleopatra's nose had been longer, the whole history of the world would have been different! The American historian Miss Vedgwood justifies her bias thus. "The behaviour of men as individual is more interesting to me than their behavior as groups or classes. History can be written with a bias as well as another"²⁷. Such a Bad King John and good Queen Bess Theory betrays the bankruptcy of historical scholarship. Biography, however much history it contains, is "constructed on principles that are not only non-historical but anti-historical"²⁸.

Racial Writing

History is misused when it is written from the racist point of view. To write history with a view to uphold the superiority of a race is a conscious violation of historical objectivity. Herder endeavored to show that racial peculiarities were responsible for the differences between different kinds of men. He pointed out that the peculiar nature of the Chinese was responsible for the unique Chinese Civilization. Herder's doctrine of the differentiation of races on the basis of racial characteristics contributed in no small measure to the cause of racial arrogance, and hatred. It was held that the peculiar virtues of the European race rendered it fit to rule the rest of the world. The innate qualities of an English race were believed to have made imperialism a duty. It was thought that the predominance of the Nordic race in America was a necessary condition of American greatness. The Germans believed that their purity was indispensable to the purity of German culture. Ancient Indian Aryans justified their social and intellectual superiority on the basis of Varna. Such a pernicious racial writing is not only a clear case of misuse of history but also "scientifically baseless and politically disastrous"²⁹.

Imaginative Writing

History is distorted when it is written imaginatively. This kind of history is obviously non-historical. John Locke, for instance, depicted a State of Nature in his Treatise on Civil Government (1690) as if it was historical. In such a state people were supposed to have lived peacefully in a friendly and easy way; they ordered their actions and disposed of their possessions and persons as they thought fit, within the bounds of the law of Nature; had equal rights to punish transgressions of the Law "thereby to preserve the innocent and restrain offenders"³⁰, but later entered into a compact with common consent with a right to overthrow the rulers when they failed to protect the basic natural rights of the people. Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws and Rousseau's Social Contract are different versions of principles propounded by Locke. Hobbes wrote his Leviathan in support of royal absolutism based on divine right. Like Plato's Republic these imaginative works were depiction of utopia, not history.

Philosophical Writing

History is misused when it is interpreted philosophically, Philosophical interpretation of history is partial since the subject matter of such a treatment has been shifting and changing through the ages. The ancient Greek philosophers placed mathematics in the centre of their thought since for them knowledge was meant mathematical knowledge. In the middle Ages the central problem of thought was concerned with theology. From the 16th to the 19th centuries the main theme of the philosophers was the relation of the human mind as subject to the natural world of things around it in space as object. 19th century witnessed the emergence of the critical view of history and the present century stands for a comprehensive view of history. For Kant history represented progress towards rationality. Fichte maintains that every concept has a logical structure involving three phases, viz., theses, anti-thesis and synthesis. Hegel propounded the theory of purposive evolution. Marx came out with his materialist interpretation of history. All these philosophers of history looked at history with colored glasses and as such they had abused history.

Inaccurate Writing

History is abused when the historical evidence and facts are not strictly scrutinised and scientifically screened. While writing about the recent or remote past history has to depend on evidences of eye witnesses or reports which may be accurate or partially accurate or inaccurate. Herodotus, for instance, wrote about the deeds of men lest they shall not be forgotten by posterity. While doing so he reported what all he heard without critical thinking. Thucydides improved on Herodotus and consciously rested his history on evidence. And yet their works depended mainly on the testimony of eye witnesses with whom they had personal contact and as such they were liable to errors. History is misused when an ordinary fact of the past is transformed into historical fact. The fact that a vendor of gingerbread at Staybridge Wakes, England, in 1850 was kicked to death by an angry mob, recorded by an eye-witness, was sought to be made a historical fact by Dr. Kitson Clark in his *Ford Lectures in Oxford*³¹. History is distorted when historical events have been pre-selected and predetermined for us by historians who were imbued with a particular bias. Fifth Century Greece, for instance, was viewed from the point of view of Athenian and not from that of the Spartan, Corinthian or Theban, not to mention Persian. The picture of the Russian peasant as devoutly religious was destroyed by the Revolution of 1917. Making a fetishism of documents will lead to abuse of history. In short, history is misused when instead of the historian choosing the subject, the subject chooses the historian! “The history we read, those based on fact is strictly speaking not factual at all, but a series of accepted judgments”³².

Estimate

Thus it is seen that theocratic, mythological, apocalyptic, interpretative, motivated, theoretical, patriotic, imaginative, biographical, philosophical and inaccurate historical writings invariably and inevitably result in the misuse and distortion of history. They are quasi-historical at the best and anti-historical at the worst. An attempt was, however, made in the 19th century by the German historians

to make historical writing as objective as possible. As a result there was a commendable change in the attitude and outlook of historians all over the world who undertook to write history as probable. And yet, prejudices, preconceptions and prejudgments still tend to condition and colour historical writing. However, rigorous teaching and training in historiography, scrupulously self-imposed discipline among the historians, healthy outlook on the part of the political powers that be social control and press criticism will, to a great extent, prevent misuse of history.

LESSONS OF HISTORY

Man Learns From Experience

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

Human Progress

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

Allegiances to Institutions

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

monolithic regime in the U.S.S.R. Mankind has learnt the virtues of multi institutionalism.

Old Order Changeth

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

Self-Government is Best Government

The proud product of the Age of Pericles (461-431 B.C) was democracy. But the biggest blot of Athenian democracy was the execution of Socrates in 399 B.C. The greatest benefactor of mankind fell a victim of democratic injustice! Later Edmund Burke lamented that the French revolutionaries misread the lessons of history to serve their own purpose. Mussolini maintained that blood moves the wheels of history. Since the demise of Socrates mankind had heeded many a warning of history and developed the judiciary, the idea of liberty, the concept of the equality of individual before the law and promotion of popular welfare. Now a nation is justified not only by the material welfare but also by the improvement effected in the capacity and character of the people rendering them fit for self-government. The civilian now is the repository of experiences and expertise without which a skilled democracy cannot function.

Dictatorship is Disastrous

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

Path of Peace

The pages of history are filled with wars, conflicts and feuds between tribes, communities and countries. Fed up with the horrors of wars messengers of mankind come with the message of peace, cooperation and non – violence. Leaders like Buddha, Christ and Gandhi have shown the path of peace. Mankind has learnt a lesson

and has been engaged in the pursuit of finding institutional remedies to wars, conflicts and feuds. the organization of international peace keeping agencies like the League. of Nations and the United Nations Organization have been the outcome of the lessons drawn from the horrors of wars and mass human suffering.

Free From Fetters

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

Safeguard Against Fascism

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

Self-Mastery

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

Defeats Don't Demoralize

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

Means Justify Ends

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

Both Robespierre and Lenin were utterly unselfish leaders with unblemished record. They had dedicated themselves sincerely, devotedly and whole heartedly to working for the welfare of mankind. But they made monumental mistake of thinking that their aims were so good and the attainment of those aims was so important that violence was a justifiable means! What happened? Instead of creating earthly paradises, Robespierre produced the Reign of Terror and Lenin a Totalitarian Regime! Mahatma Gandhi, the Liberator of India, on the other hand, had decisively demonstrated by preaching and practice, that means justify the ends³³.

Man Makes History

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

Hopeful Future

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

History has its own course. Times have their own tides. Periods have their own currents. Epochs have their own irresistibilities. And yet, history marches on and on. Human society has evolved from the Stone Age to the Space Age. Various civilizations have criss-crossed each other and intermingled in innumerable ways and have left a rich heritage to mankind. So, one need not throw his hands in despair and cry 'wolf'! Mankind is resilient enough to learn from history and improve itself. Vital

forces like the instinct to live and let live, the trait of tolerance and striving for mutual improvement will lead mankind towards new peaks of achievements.

UNIT II

SURVEY OF SOURCES

WHAT IS A SOURCE?

Events constitute the material for history. They all happened in the past. The historian can not have a direct knowledge of past events. He therefore looks for their relics. Relics are traces or features surviving from a past age and serving to remind people of them. The Latin word 'vestigium' means trace left by the sole of the foot. The implication is that there is an intimate relation between a trace and that by which it was left.

The traces may either be left unintentionally by men in the course of their activities or they were intended by them to inform posterity of their deeds. Traces appear in bundle. "A trace is nothing but the still perceptible termination or culmination of a sequence of events or of several sequences of events"¹. The trace is itself an event in the sense that events stand behind traces. By acquainting with a trace one can come nearer to the event. This trace is known as source. The researcher in search of events looks for sources that are still there. All are agreed that historical knowledge come from historical sources.

NATURES OF SOURCES

Sources are the historian's raw materials. The remains which the past leaves behind for the posterity to examine are called sources². The historical sources are the remains of man's unique activities in a society³. Sources may be historical or non-historical. Historical sources are those which lead the historian to find out through them sequence of past events that would be of value to the composition of history.

Material Sources

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

Immaterial Sources

Immaterial sources could be found in social institutions, the customs of the people, religious cults and doctrines, ethical principles, traditions, legends and superstitions. Faiths and languages are also immaterial sources. They are subtler, intangible and alive. They form part of accepted history. They are the result of long

sequences of events and they reveal the existence of the sequence and may lead together with other sources.

Written Sources

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

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

KINDS OF SOURCES

Primary and Secondary Sources

Generally historical sources are divided into the primary and the secondary. A primary source is testimony of a witness or a mechanical device like archaeological remains, inscriptions, coins, correspondence, travel accounts etc. Which represent the occurrence of an event. It is the raw material for history. It is more meaningful to the historian. A secondary source, on the other hand is the finished product. It is produced out of the primary source. It is an indirect testimony of someone who was not present at the time of occurrence. "The secondary source is the coherent work of history in the form of article, dissertation or book, which will widen the general historical knowledge"⁴. The secondary source is the stepping-stone towards reaching primary source. So, the researcher is advised to study the secondary material first.

Primary Sources

1. Archaeological, Epigraphical and Numismatical Sources

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

2. Literary Source

Literary source, though embellished and coloured by imagination, serves as a primary circumstantial evidence to understand the social and cultural conditions of the people. Ballads and folksongs, though imaginary and fanciful, are “the barometers for the psychology and philosophy of the age concerned”⁵. Contemporary records such as business and legal papers; personal note books; diaries and memories; stenographic and phonographic matters; records of correspondence, governmental proceeding and newspapers, when their authenticity is tested and an allowance given to personal bias, “can be profitably utilized as research material”⁶

3. Confidential Reports

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

4. Government Orders

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

5.Characteristics of Primary Sources

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

Secondary Sources

1.What are the Secondary Sources?

The researcher starts his work with secondary sources. They are so-called

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

Advantages

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

3. Attributes of Secondary Sources

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

Review of Literature

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

SOURCES FOR HISTORY OF INDIA

Sources for Ancient History

Sources for the ancient Indian history are extremely scarce. The historian is confronted with the paucity of sources. The sources are not only scarce but also varied, diverse and scattered. To make matters worse the sources are in many languages and scripts, Indian and foreign. As a result, even the best portrayal of Ancient India on the basis of available sources will be at best fragmentary⁷.

1. Archaeological Sources

Archaeology supplies the most direct evidence of the past. For prehistory it is the mainstay. For the historical period it helps the historian in many ways. The archaeological finds unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and other places exposed the existence of the Indus-Valley Civilizations of Iran, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The Indus culture is proved to be the starting point of Indian history, thanks to archaeological sources. The confusion of Kanishkan chronology has been removed by archaeological finds. The respective sects. In short, archaeological sources help to trace the artistic evolution of Indian civilization.

2. Epigraphical Sources

A study of epigraphs or inscriptions on stone and copper plates yields invaluable information about the genealogical, geographical, administrative, economic and cultural dimensions of ancient India. The inscriptions of Asoka, “sermons in stone”, Kharavela, Rudradaman I, Samudragupta and Yasodharma of Malwa are of historical importance, the historical introductions to Chola inscriptions and the epigraphs bearing on Chola administration are exceptional epigraphical sources. The Leyden Grant of Raja Raja I and the Tiruvalangadu epigraphical sources. The Leyden Grant of Raja Raja I and the Tiruvalagadu plates of Rajendra Chola provide copious information about the Cholas and their administration.

3. Numismatical Sources

The study of Indian coins and coin images and symbols help to bring back the history of a few ancient Indian dynasties and enrich our knowledge of some others. Numismatical evidence, though subsidiary and corroborative, contains valuable information about the chronological, political, administrative, religious, economic and cultural history of ancient India. The Indo-Greek, Saka, Kushan and Gupta coins and the bilingual coins of the Indo-Greeks, Sakes and Indo-Parthians have “supplied the master-key to the decipherment of Indian inscriptions”. The Gupta coins are noted for their artistic beauty. The Chalukya and Pallava coins contain emblems and legends. The Roman coins found in Arikamedu are proof for the prosperous Indo-Roman commercial connections in the early centuries of the Christian era.

4. Literary Sources

Literary sources are the historian’s mainstay. The indigenous sources – historical, quasi-historical and non-historical-provide valuable historical information. Patanjali’s Mahabhashya, Gargi’s Samhita, Kalidasa’s Paghuvamsa, Dandin’s

Dasakumaracharita and Rajasekhara's Kavyamimansa provide precious historical and geographical data. The texts of the Brahminists, Buddhists and Jains and the Puranas and Ithikas and the dramas of Visakhadatta and Kalidasa are the repositories of Indian tradition. Kautilya's Arthashastra and Kalhana's Rajatarangini are quasi historical works. Bana's Vikramankacharita and Bilhana's Harsha-charita, though 'defectively historical', provide glimpses of the glory of the respective sovereigns. The voluminous Vedic literature, well preserved and contemporary, not only helps to trace the progress of the Aryanisation of India but also to get into grip of the early phases of Indian life and thought. The sangam literature consisting of Thirukurual, the twin epics Silappadikaram and Manimekhalai, the anthologies like Purananuru, the Ahananuru, the Narrinai and Kuruntokai are the veritable historical information about the Sangam polity, society and culture.

The foreign writers, visitors and observers provide valuable testimony to the political and social institutions as well as the life and thought of ancient Indians. The Indica of Megasthenes, though fragmentary and credulous, gives authentic topographical account of the Mauryan metropolis Pataliputra; accurate description of the imperial and municipal administrative system; and a fairly good picture of contemporary social life. The author of the Periplus and distinguished geographers like Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy and Cosmas Indicopleustes throw light on the commercial contact between Indian and the Western world. The Chinese pilgrims-Fahien, Hiuen Tsang and Itsing-are helpful for knowing the condition of Buddhism in India, administrative history, literary history and Indonesian religious history. The Chinese and Tibetan annals assist the historian to know about Indian overseas expansion. Alberuni's Kitab-ul-Hind, an erudite work, throws much light on ancient Indian culture.

Sources for Medieval Indian History

The advent of Islam in India, "produced a bumper crop of genuine historical literature"⁹. The sources of medieval Indian history are varied and abundant. They are directly relevant to the conditions of the times. The Muslim mosques, forts, palaces, gardens, works of art are of historical interest. The Muslim-Mughal paintings and portraits have "helped in the study of social customs and military techniques that were in vogue"¹⁰. Epigraphically and Numismatic sources supplement the study of the period.

As indicated earlier abundance of literary sources are available for the history of the medieval Muslim and Mughal rule in India. Zia-ud-din Barani and Ibn Batuta are the contemporary authorities for the reign of Muhammed bin Tughlak. Barani's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi is the history of the Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Firoz Thughlak. Barani besides narrating the deeds of kings also describes the administrative system, legislation, invasions and expeditions. Barani's work is practically a continuation of the Tabakat – i-Nasiri, general history of the Muslim world. Ibn Batuta, the African traveler, gives an account of the Sultans of Delhi from Kutb-ud-din Aibak to Muhammad bin Tughlak. He throws light on the Sultanate of Madura. Both Barani and Ibn Batuta have painted faithful pictures of their patron Muhammed bin Tughlak. Amir Khusru's Tughlak-nama is useful for the early career

of his patron Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak. The history of Wassaf contains references to India.

A master of Turki prose and a poet, Babar wrote his autobiography giving his impressions about Hindustan. His first impression about the country and the people are not however his best impressions! Humayun-nama of Gulbadan Begam, Babar's daughter, written at the suggestion of Akbar, contains the story of the 'transference' of the prince's illness to his father Humayan and the early days of Akbar. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, or *Institues of Akbar* is a detailed descriptive record of the Maghal empire in the 16th century. His *Akbar-nama* or *History of Akbar* traces in detail and in full the ancestry of Akbar from Timur and deals in detail with Humayun, and the history of Akbar's reign. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's *Tabakai-i-Akbari* or *Annals of Akbar* is the history of India down to 1593, which was largely used by Badauni and Ferishta. *Tarikh-i-Badauni* is a general history of the Islamic world including the account of Akbar's reign down to 1595. Badauni's work is "a necessary corrective to the over-laudatory composition of Abul Fazl"¹¹. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* is important for the Dakhan affairs. The accounts of Fr. Monserrate, Fr. Du. Jarric, the French historian and Ralph Fitch throw light on the visits of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar, Akbar's religious activities and on the twin cities of Agra and Fathpur-Sikri.

The *Tuzik-i-jahangir* or *Memories of Jahangir* gives information on the personal lives of Jahangir and his nobles and is full of political and administrative details. Mutamad Khan's *Ikbalknama-i-Jahangiri* deals with the Timurids upto the accession of Shah Jahan. Kazwiri's *Padshah-nama* and Abdul Hamid Loharis' *Padshah-nama* are the principal sources for the first two decades of Shah Jahan's reign. Wasis' *Padshah-nama* covers the third decade of the emperor's reign. Sadik's *Shah Jahan-nama* and Kambu's *Amal-i-Salih* are accounts of the whole reign of Shah Jahan. Kazim's *Alamgir-nama* covers the first decade of Aurangzib's reign. Mustaid Khan's *Maxsir-i-Alamgiri* is the history of of the Mughal Emperors from Babar to 1733, the year in which the work was completed. An ardent admirer of Aurangzib he was not in agreement with his anti-Hindu policy. Bhimsen's *Nusaha-i-Dirkasha* contains information about social and economic life of Kakhan. Ishwarda' *Fatuhah-i-Alamgiri* narrates the happenings in Rajputana and Malwa during 1657-1698. Shah Nawaz Khan's *Maasir-ul-umara* is a biographical dictionary very raw materials of history"¹². Local histories like the *Basantin-i-Salatin* or the history of Bijapur throw light on the Mughal relations with the Dakhan Sultanates.

European travelers like captain Hawkins, Sir Thomas Roe, Terry, Polsaert, Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci, Dr. Frier, and Dr. Careri have left valuable accounts of the Mughal court and Emperor Jahangir's daily life; political intrigues; the customs and manners of the people; economic condition of the Mughal empire, politics and administration; the oppressive provincial administration; description of Golkonda; the great war of succession, description of Delhi, Agra and other cities and the resources and the administration of the Mughal empire; the Mughal institutions; the greatness of Sivaji; and the demoralized state of the army respectively. Despite inevitable drawbacks, the European travellers' accounts "convey considerable information about

the character of the rulers, nature of their administration and the political, social and economic life of the people”¹³.

Sources for Modern History of India

The Sources are strong and systematic for the modern Indian history. From the very beginning, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the Danes and the English recorded their official transactions in India on state papers. Their well preserved records are very valuable to know about their relations in India. The archives at Lisbon, Goa, Pondicherry and Madras were literally storehouses of precious historical information.

The indigenous sources are available in many places and in different languages. Poona was a great centre of Sanskrit learning during the rule of the Peshwas. The Peshwas, particularly Balaji Rao, gave much attention to public records and to manuscript collection of valuable books. The bakhars are historical accounts in prose. For example Sabhasad Bakhar deals with the life of Sivaji.

Anandaranga Pillai’s voluminous Diary in Tamil covering the period, 1736 to 1760 is “a very valuable source of history for that period, particularly for the Governorship of Dupleix”¹⁴. Abu Dubois’ Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies is self-explanatory. Dr. Francis Buchanan, under instruction from Governor General Richard Wellesley, studied the animals and birds of India. Systematic study of India’s past was promoted by the enthusiastic efforts of history conscious persons like Warren Hastings, Sir William Jones, James Prinsep. Max Muller, Wilson, Cunningham, Marshall and others Lord Curzon’s interest in the preservation of ancient monuments made archaeological research possible. Many other European scholars “led the way in modern Indian historiography”¹⁵. Besides historical works of contemporary value, journals, periodicals and dailies serve as sources of historical information. All these sources must, however, be critically evaluated before they are used for historical writing.

Sources for South Indian History

The History of South India is an integral part of the history of India. The Deccan is one of the oldest inhabited regions of the world. Its prehistoric archaeology and contacts with neighbouring lands constitute an important chapter in the history of world’s civilizations. Lot of source material is available for the ancient history of South India. Inscriptions are the most copious and authentic source of South Indian history. The earliest are in the Brahmi script and they were found in Siddapura, Jatinga-Ramesvara and Brahmagiri in Mysore State; Maski in Raichur district; and Yerragudi and Rajula-Mandagiri in Kurnool District. These inscriptions reveal the extent of the Mauryan empire in the south. The short inscriptions found in natural caves in the Tamil districts, and the early inscriptions of the Satavahana dynasty show the extent of the Jain and Buddhist ascetic orders¹⁶.

Archaeological remains of the places of Kolhapur; Paithan, Kondapur in Bidar; Chandravali and Brahmagiri in Mysore; the temples forts and places in Tamil Nadu and Andhra State; the excavations at Adichanallur; and monuments discovered at Amaravathi; Nagarjunakonda and Pondicherry speak volumes about the South Indian commercial contact with the Roman Empire, the existence of the settlements of the microlithic age, and the monumental achievements of South Indian Kings.

Next to epigraphical and archaeological sources come the numismatic evidences. Ancient coins are rare and contain no dates and less legends. The rectangular silver coins with punch marks were found in South India and they belong to the centuries before Christ. Copper punch marked coins were also known. Later, the principal coinage of the South was struck in gold, not silver. The gold coins of the Rajendra I, and Rajadhiraja I Chola and of Rajaraja I, E.Chalukya, discovered at Dowlesvaram, are of considerable historical value. Chola coins with a design of a tiger seated under a canopy in the centre of the field, the Pandya coins with fish on one side and Chera coins with the bow at the bottom indicate conquests. The pagodas of Vijayanagar kings are well known. The coinage of the Sultanate of Madurai and the Bahmini Sultans followed the contemporary Delhi models.

Both indigenous and foreign literary evidence is an important source of knowledge. The later vedic literature and the epics contain clear hints of the progressive penetration of Aryan influences in the southern lands. The earliest extant stratum of the Sangam Tamil literature exhibits the results of Aryanisation of South Indian. Legends bearing on this blend of cultures are preserved in the southern literatures.

Tamil prabandha class of literature such as the Kalambakam, ula, parani and kovai narrate much history. The verses of the Kovai mention the names of several battles fought by the Pandya kings on the line of Kadungon. Pallava Nandivarmam III is the hero of Nandik-kalambakam, which is "much more trust worthy and of real value on the history of the time"¹⁷. Kalingattupparani of Jayangondar treats the invasion of Kalinga by the Chola forces in the reign of Kulottunga. I. Ottakuttan's triple ulas deal with these successive sovereigns-Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II.

In Kannada, the Pampa-charata and Ranna's Gadayudda shed much light on contemporary Rashtrakuta and Chalukya history. Bilhana's Vikramankadeva – Charitta has limited historical value. Kalainanas provide literary evidence for the history of Vijayanagar.

The Persian historical works composed under the patronage of Muslim monarchs in the Deccan are genuine historical writing. Isami's Futuhsalatin is the only surviving contemporary source on the history of the Bahmani kingdom. Late compositions like Burham-i-maasir of Ali bin Aziz-ullah Taba Tabai of Persia is a history of the Nizam Shahis. Shirazi's Tazkirat-ul-muluk is a contemporary account of some aspects of Bijapur history.

Foreign sources of South India are many and varied. The first direct notice of South India occurs in Megasthenes. He gives an attractively odd account of the Pandyan Kingdom ruled over by Pandaia, a daughter of Herakles. Strabo records the increase in the knowledge of India among the Romans of his time. Pliny the Elder, the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, and Ptolemy represent the further stages in that increasing acquaintance of the Romans with South India.

The celebrated Chinese traveler Yuan Chwang spent many months in the states of Deccan and South India and has made interesting observations on the religious and social conditions of his day. There are records in the Chinese annals of embassies exchanged between China and Pallava court of Kanchi in the 8th century and the Chola court in the 11th. Wang Ta-yuan, a Chinese merchant, visited many countries and wrote the *Tao-i-chi-lio* or *Description of the Barbarians of the Isles*, giving glimpses of ports and noteworthy localities in South India. Fei Hsin's *Hsing-cha-sheng-lan* or *Description of the Star Raft* and Mahuan's *Ying-yai-sheng-lan* or *Description of the Coasts of the Ocean* are valuable for their notices of Ceylon, Cochin and Calicut.

Among the Arab travelers and geographers Ibn Khurdadbeh, Abu Zaid Hassan, Ibn al-Fakih, Aleruni, Ibn Said and Ibn Batuta are important. The most important among Arab writers is Ibn Batuta. He gives an accurate account of his travels and experiences in South India. His work contains much authentic information on the state of politics, religion and society of the time.

Of the many European travelers Marco Polo, the 'prince of medieval travellers', passed through some parts of South India on his way to Persia and has left an astonishing amount of information about his short sojourn. He tells many things about the manners, beliefs and practices of the people of South India. John of Monte Corvino, the Franciscan friar; Friar Odoric of Pordenone; and Friar Jordanus who visited South India soon after Marco Polo represent the other side of the culture contacts between the West and East.

Nicolo Conti who visited Vijayanagar in 1420 gives a good description of the Vijayanagar court and its festivals, its currency and other matters. Abdur Razza, the Persian ambassador, visited Vijayanagar and the record of his mission is "the testimony of a trained official on the state of administration and society at the time"¹⁸.

Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian trader, spent some years in the Deccan and had described the court, the army, and the condition of the people under Bahmani rule. Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna, an Italian soldier knighted by the Portuguese has left a vivid account of Goa and Calicut and other ports of the west coast. His description of the city and empire of Vijayanagar is valuable. The Portuguese Duarte Barbosa, who mastered the Malayalam language wider ground. Other Portuguese writers like Domingos Paes, Fernao Nuniz Caesar Frederick, Ralph Fitch, Nicolas Piementa and Pietro della Valle have left a good crop of foreign evidence on South India¹⁹.

The Sources for the modern history of South India include ecclesiastical correspondence, diaries, government records, reports and journals. The Jesuit records, though essentially religious in nature, yield information about political and social issues. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai in dozen volumes is indispensable for the study of Anglo-French relations in South India. The extensive government records are available in English, French, Portuguese, Danish and Dutch languages. Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi's Anwar-nama and Burhan Ibn Hasan's Tuzak-Walajai describe the history of Wallajah rulers of the Carnatic.

The accounts and observations of the European writers are copious and more useful for the study of Modern South Indian History. Robert Orme's History of Indostan describes the early history of the English East India Company in South India. Marx Wilks' History of Mysore traces the historical developments in Modern South India with reference to Mysore. James Welsh's Military Reminiscences is a detailed account of the British military operations against the rebels of Tamil Nadu and Travancore. Buchanan's A Journey explains the geographical features and social conditions in Madras, Mysore, Canara and Malabar in the 19th century. Dubois, the French missionary wrote about the Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies. Fullarton's Report, Lushington's Diary, and Munro's Report deal in detail the historical and administrative matters of South India.

KINDS OF HISTORY

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History is a magnificent mansion. Trevelyan aptly described it as a dwelling place of all subject. 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, courtiers and their intrigues, wars, treaties etc. Their deeds and misdeeds mattered most. Conquest was a vital factor in the affairs of a country. People were fascinated by the rise and fall of kings and queens, kingdoms and empires. That aspect of human action within or about or through the state came to be treated as political history. Voltare, 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"⁵ Constitutions are nothing but human habits made concrete; they are the methods, the conventions and the practices adopted by men in governing the state. Written constitutions and constitutional conventions are the subject matter of constitutional history. However, it lacks self-sufficiency. For instance, Medieval manor cannot be considered as the constitutional expression of medieval politics, since it was also a socio-economic manifestation of the medieval life. The constitutional historian has, therefore, to go beyond the confines of constitutional history if he is to provide an accurate and satisfying history.

Parliamentary History

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

Legal History

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

Military History

Military history narrates the story of Military Operation. It deals with warfare in every form and aspect; technical; tactical and strategic. It also covers military engineering, 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. A military historian has to collect the past military events through patient research. He has to consult auxiliary disciplines in order to convert events into cogent and coherent military history. He must also draw from psychology to find answers to questions concerning military morale. He has also to narrate experiences of military societies which form regimental history. At present, military history includes land, naval and aerial warfare.

Diplomatic History

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

Social History

Trevelyan, the well known author of the *Social History of England*, defined it as "history with the politics left out"⁶. 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"⁷. Auguste Comte demanded that historical facts should be used as raw materials by social historians. Social history excludes the political, constitutional, parliamentary, legal, diplomatic, military and national aspects of history and includes morals, manners, religion, food, dress, art, culture etc. in its fold. In short, social history is the history of human society in its social aspects. It is also concerned with the origin and development of social institutions. Since social history is concerned with the daily life of the inhabitants in past ages it has received the attention it deserves from the historians. In this sense, social history is concerned with historical societies. It is also dynamic because it deals with social change. "... the more

sociological history becomes and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for two-way traffic”⁸.

Economic History

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

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

Intellectual History

R.G. Collingwood asserts that “History, like theology or natural science, is a special form of thought”⁹. He considered history as the expression of ideas. He ably dealt with the nature, object, method and value of this form of thought. H.E. Barnes says that Intellectual History seeks “to review the transformations of ideas, beliefs and opinions held by the intellectual classes from primitive times to our own”¹⁰. He is of the opinion that prevailing ideas and attitudes in any age are the most important unifying and organizing influence in the development of human culture. Samuel Johnson considered the progress of the human mind as the useful part of history. Schiller opined that “the genuine history of mankind is its history of ideas. It is ideas that distinguish men from other beings”. In the words of Carl G. Gustavson “ideas may be described as the ultimate giver of history, for organized social movements cannot appear and institutions cannot function without ideas. They are the cords which bind the minds of men together sufficiently for joint action to occur”.

Intellectual history is history of human thought. The historian is interested in the development of ideas as well. He is fascinated by the adventure of ideas. A study of the religious and political pamphlets of the past would reveal the irresistible influence of ideas and ideologies on the pamphlet writers and their impact in turn upon political events. History of ideas has engaged the attention of historians. R.G. Collingwood’s *The Idea of History*, H.E. Barnes’ *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, J.H. Robinson’s *An Outline History of the Western European Mind*, Alfred North Whitehead’s *Adventure of Ideas*, Crane Brinton’s *The*

Shaping of the Modern Mind, Bertrant Russell's History of Western Philosophy and Will Durant's Story of Philosophy are some of the outstanding contributions to intellectual history. Das Gupta's History of Indian Philosophy belongs to this category.

Biographical History

Thomas Carlyle was categorical when he wrote the "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 important¹¹. 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"¹². Miss Wedgwood considered the behavior of menas 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"¹³.

Biographers sought to explain historical events in terms of success of failure of historical heroes and heroines. The biographical approach to history received unprecedented impetus since Carlyle came out with his assertion that history was the compound of the biographies of great men¹⁴. A.L.Rowse came to the conclusion that the Elizabethan system broke down because James I was incapable of understanding it. Sir Isiah Berlin expected and exhorted the historians to decry and denounce Genghis Khan and Hitler as bad men¹⁵. Communism is considered to be the brain-child of Karl Marx. Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is attributed to the stupidity of Tzar Nicholas II. The two world wars were said to be due to the individual wickedness of Wilhelm II and Hitler respectively. Lenin, Mao-tse-Tung and Mahatma Gandhi are claimed to be responsible for the liberation of Russia, China and India respectively.

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

It is, therefore, necessary to make a distinction between biography, which treats man as an individual, and history which treats man as part of a whole. Lord Acton cautioned: "Nothing causes more error and unfairness in man's view of history than the interest which is inspired by individuals' characteristics"¹⁶. R.G.Collingwood is

forthright in his criticism. According to him, a biography is constructed on principles that are not only non-historical. Its limits are biological event. Biography, as a form of literature, feeds human emotions and therefore is not history. "At its best, it is poetry; at its worst, an obtrusive egotism; but history it can never be"¹⁷.

Limitations and criticisms apart, biography as a form of history or biographical history has to be recognized. Great men need not be denounced no more than "labels giving names to events". Cult of great men need not be allowed to deflate the greatness of great men. For great men are not always bad men. So they need not be placed outside history. They are not imposters on history emerging "miraculously from the unknown to interrupt the real continuity of history"¹⁸. It is well to remember the ringing words of Hegel: "The great man of the age is the one who put into words the will of his age, tell his age what its will is, and accomplish it. What he does is the heart and essence of his age; he actualizes his age"¹⁹.

National History

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

However, deification of nation states and sacrificing of human lives and honor at the alter of this idol brought disgrace and discredit to the study of national history. It was increasingly realized that nationalism had been the ruin of one civilization after another, beginning with the earliest of them all, the Sumerian. Toynbee rebuked historians for giving their continued allegiance to the sovereign states. "States are not really gods, they are public utilities, like roads and bridges and electricity and water and gas"²⁰.

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

practice. National histories are a precious aspect of the history of mankind"²¹.

Universal History

The idea of Universal history was conspicuous by its absence in ancient Greece—a land of City States. The concept of ecumenical history was created during the Hellenistic period, when the non-Greek peoples became a single political unit, thanks to the conquests of Alexander the Great. However, the Romans conceived

universal history as a history in which the hero was the corporate spirit of the people and the plot was the unification of the world under the people's leadership. Livy considered history as humanistic and the history of Rome as narrated by him was looked upon as universal history. But the Greco-Roman universal history was not really universal because its centre of gravity rested either in Greece or Rome. A new universal attitude towards history was developed as a result of the introduction of Christian ideas. Accordingly, the historical process was considered to be the working out not of man's purposes but of God's. History became universal in its scope. The adoption of a single chronological framework for all historical events dating before and after the birth of Christ became the symbol of this universalism.

The idea of Universal History captured the imagination of the eighteenth century historians. The pursuit of inter-connectedness of events led to the historian's dream of a universal or world history. Immanuel Kant thought that writing universal history was a feasible ideal by unifying historical and philosophical thoughts. Leopold Von Ranke's idea of such a history may be taken as a classical example. He thought it was possible to connect up all the main threads of historical themes and weave them into an universal history. Schiller treated such a history as the history of progress from savage beginnings to modern civilization. Hegel's philosophical history is nothing but a universal history. The plot of his history is the development of freedom as exhibited in an external system of social relations. Though the Positivists swept aside the ideal of universal history,

Local History

At the other end of the spectrum of historical writings is Local History. This kind of history has not received the attention it deserves. It has great potentialities and possibilities. Young research scholars may evince interest in local history and gain experience in the methods of research besides deriving the joy from a knowledge of the past. Local history can be approached from a number of angles. It must, however, be pursued with reference to general history and to larger issues. Or otherwise it will degenerate into 'sterile antiquarianism'. The professional historian may make use of the results of local historical research. For instance, the peculiar constitutions of the Dutch Republic which gave much power to the administrators of small towns made local history of the utmost importance for the understanding of the foreign policy of the Republic²². The study of local history had rejuvenated the history of the French Revolution and liberated it from much irresponsible theorizing. Similar studies will no doubt enrich the history of the freedom struggle in India.

New History

The New History is a post-world war phenomenon. **Edward Eggleton's** (1837-1902) *Transit of Civilization* contains the seeds of new history. **James Harvey Robinson** (1863-1936) borrowed the idea from Eggleton and consciously coined the term New History. This attempt is an attack on old traditional history which is considered to be pedantic, irrelevant and negligent of the human experience. The New History is intentionally present-minded. It is informed by liberal-reformist sentiments. It gives special attention to economic, intellectual and other forces which have a

bearing on social problems. In this attempt 'new historians' make use of the discoveries made by social scientists. Thus, the emphasis is shifted from programmes to the manner in which they are implemented.

Edward P. Cheyney, the author of **Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England in 1901** formulated six general laws of New History: 1) The law of Continuity. It states that all events flow from immediate preceding conditions. 2) **The Law of Impermanence**. According to this law all institutions either adapt or perish. 3) **The Law of Interdependence**. That is no nation can make human gains at the cost of another. 4) **The law of Necessity for Free Consent**. Coercion provokes resistance. 5) **The Law of Democracy**. All other systems except democracy fail. 6) **The Law of Moral Progress**. People are always more moral than their rulers. Other historians like Charles A. Beard, Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., Henri Berr, Lucian Febure and Marc Bloch considerably contributed to the emergence of New History. It is at best an admixture of traditional assumptions and expressions of progressive historians; old wine in new bottle!

Total History

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

Structural History

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

Structuralism is a new way of conceiving of social affairs. It is a method of analyzing a subject like social science, psychology, literature and history. It concentrates on the structure of a system and the relations between its elements, rather than on the function of those elements. Moreover, more than men and events impersonal forces – geographical and geological – shape the rhymes and rhythms of history, mould men's lives and determine their destiny. Structural History seeks to uncover these forces, though such forces are beyond the control of man. Since human

life is multi dimensional multiple explanation is necessary to understand historical reality. Hence the need for structuralist alternate approach to history.

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

Pop- History

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

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

HISTORY AND RELATED STUDIES

HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

Central 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 as 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. G.M.Trevelyan aptly observed that history is a house in which all subjects dwell. Specialization has 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. Plato and Aristotle formulated their political ideas and ideals from a study of contemporary political system of the different Italian States and wrote his *The Prince*. Montesquieu, an admirer of British institutions, wrote his *The Spirit of Laws* on the basis of his study of the political systems of the countries of the West as well as the East. Likewise, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Locke's *Civil Government* and Austin's *Sovereignty* drew heavily on history and in turn exercised a profound influence on the course of history.

The inter-relationship between History and Politics has captured the imagination of quite a few historians whose sayings on the connection between the two has been quoted ad nauseum. Who is not familiar with Seeley's statement that "History without politics has no fruit; Politics without History has no root" Scintly states the intimate inter-connection between the two subjects. Lord Acton picturesquely pointed out that "the science of politics is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history like grains of gold in the sand of a river".

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 Renier²⁶.

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 and acted as a barrier, to a large extent, to close relations between the two fundamental divisions of the country. The broken coastline facilitated ancient Greece to develop her naval power. The Gobi and Mongolian deserts provided security to China. The geography of Egypt has preserved her hoary civilization. The geographical discoveries of the latter Middle Ages altered the course of history. A knowledge of the geography of England is necessary to understand the process of industrialization in that country and the consequent colonization. The impact of geographical climate on culture was recognized by Montesquieu, Buckle and Huntington. Anthro-geography or human geography is concerned with the study of the influence of geographical factors on human behavior.

Though the physical environment is an important factor in human evolution, its influence has been to a great extent overcome by the astonishing achievements of science and technology. Now it is possible to consciously control the influence of

geography on history. Hostile environment could be mitigated by modern means. And yet man is helpless before earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, failure of monsoons or tsunamis, erratic hurricanes. The conquest of nature by science has its limitations. Even today the geographical factor is not negligible. Mineral resources are discovered, not invented. Therefore, Geography and Topography are auxiliary studies to the historian and to the makers of history²⁷. History is indeed conditioned by the geographical factors; but historical process is influenced more by non-geographical forces.

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. An understanding of history is a prerequisite for an appreciation of economic engagements of man, the development of economic institutions and the formulation of economic theories which have a bearing on the working of society. Hence, historical source materials concerning matters economic, found in ancient and medieval documents and inscriptions, can be of great help to scholars of past economics. Similarly, present day historians can not afford to neglect the economic crisis of the thirties and the post-war economic developments all over the world.

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 fact. Marx considered all developments in history as the result of 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 is not all economics. All economically well developed affluent societies are not alike, nor do they behave in the same way. Economic explanation can not give a satisfactory answer to this phenomenon. Socio-Cultural-Political-Philosophical factors are as important as economic forces in determining historical events.

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 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. In other words, sociologists thought scientifically about the same facts about which the historians thought empirically. Whereas the historians were busy discovering and stating the historical facts as they were the sociologists were engaged in interpreting those facts sociologically.

Bury raised the question whether history was a mere reservoir of facts accumulated for the use of sociologists or was it an independent discipline to be studied for its own sake. But he could not give a satisfactory answer. The sociologists,

however, worked on finding general laws of social growth and considered history as primarily a record of social evolution. History acknowledged the contribution made by sociology in so far as it tried to explain the principles of social evolution and causes for social change. When sociology was concerned with the common characteristics between events, history continued to concentrate on the unique features of such events.

E.H.Carr cautioned against the twin dangers sociology was facing, viz., ultra-theoretical and ultra-empirical. That is to say, sociology was facing the danger of losing itself in abstract generalization and deducing universal laws from the unique events recorded by history. The other danger was the attempt to confine sociology to 'technical' problems of enumeration and analysis. The sociologists have singularly failed to recognize that every historical society was unique and it was moulded by specific historical antecedents and conditions. Sociology must, like history, concern itself with the relation between the unique and the general. It must also be concerned with the study of social change and development. “..the more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for two-way traffic”²⁸.

Both History and Sociology are concerned with the causes and consequences of group life of man. History provides concrete data concerning a cross-section of any given society at a particular time as well as the dynamic aspects of social and institutional change. Since history is devoted to describing the behavior of groups in political, religious, military, diplomatic and economic situations “the accuracy and insight of the historian would be materially enhanced by the knowledge of the elementary principles of sociology”²⁹. Thus, it will be seen that both History and Sociology are concerned with the study of man in Society and as such they are complementary to each other. Renier goes a step further and says that “Sociology needs history more than history sociology”³⁰.

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 required 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. Essayists, poets and portrait painters do it in their own way. In short, literature stimulates our attention by portraying human problems and assists the growth of human understanding with which history is concerned.

G.M.Trevelyan was unequivocal in his defense of history as a branch of literature. He declared that “History's chief but not only value is poetic as a great poem as an epic without beginning or end”³¹. History enables the reader to comprehend the historical aspect of literature proper. Trevelyan, who considered history as an epic, asserted that “history and literature cannot be fully comprehended

still less fully enjoyed except in connection with one another". For him the value of history was not scientific but educational. By equating history with literature Trevelyan invited caustic criticism from neo-historians like Barnes, Bury and Ranke. They denied that history was an edifying edition of literature and maintained that history was a distinct discipline by itself. Nevertheless, it is possible, nay necessary, for the historian to give literary flavor to his writing without sacrificing objectivity.

Herodotus and Thucydides, Macaulay and Trevelyan distinguished themselves as captivating historians by their literary style. Gibbon's History is famous for its literary quality. Macaulay's literary criticism will be ever remembered by students of history. Shakespeare and Shaw provided literary garb to historical personalities. Novelists like Sir Walter Scott, Alexander Dumas, Victor Hugo, Leo Tolstoy, Charles Dickens, B.Lytton, to mention to a few, not only made history popular but also enabled their readers to understand history better. The novels of Kalki, Sandilyan, Parthasarathi and Karunanithi familiarized the public with the history of Tamil Nadu.

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 the their immense popularity.

An understanding of the group psychology will enable a historian to determine the role of the masses in various revolutions and communal conflagrations. As a result of the impact of psychology historians have undertaken a study of the consequence of war on the lives of the people. "Social psychology may in some cases be a sine qua non of the intelligent analysis of certain historical problem"³². Thus, history and psychology are interdependent and their mutual illustrative of human action in the past and psychology provides information relating to the nature of motivation, patterns and controls in human actions and beliefs"³³.

The personal life of the historian himself has a direct bearing on the selection of theme for his writing and his judgments. The historian's bias can be traced to certain experiences in his life. Such bias often results in historical distortions and renders objectivity a far cry.

History and Philosophy

Philosophy is an inquiry into the nature 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 ages, for instance, theology was the focus of philosophical speculation. In the seventeenth century it was physical science. Since the advent of Descartes and Kant philosophy was profoundly influenced by “a new habit of thinking historically”³⁴. Philosophers, particularly in Germany and Italy attempted to answer such questions as what is historical thinking? What light does it throw on the problems of philosophy? Consequently, History of Philosophy and Philosophy of History became the two sides of the same coin.

In a sense philosophy is commonsense with leisure to pursue enquiry into reality. It is a leisured investigation and systematization of any problem presented by life”³⁵. A philosopher not merely thinks about an object but also thinks about its own thought about that object. In other words philosophy is “thought about thought” since it is reflective in nature. Past by itself is the concern of the historian. The historian’s thought about the past is the realm of the psychologist. But the philosopher is interested in knowing the mutual relation between the past by itself and the historian’s thought about the past”³⁶. Hence, philosophy is concerned with historical facts, historical interpretation of such facts and in formulating historical laws.

The term ‘philosophy of History’ was invented by Voltaire. What he meant by the term was merely critical history. The same term was coined by Hegel and others in the sense of universal history. The Positivists repeated the term to mean the discovery of uniform laws. Thus, the phrase ‘philosophy of history’ has acquired three different meanings, viz., 1)critical study of history; 2)writing of universal history; and 3)formulating uniform laws of history. Thus, the relationship between history and philosophy has become rather intimate and inseparable.

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 relation 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.

Analyzing the divisive and unifying movements in history Arnold J.Toynbee observes that Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism have not set out to be world religions but have confined their ministry to a single ethnic community. By contrast,

Buddhism, Christianity and Islam in succession have each addressed its gospel to all mankind. However, “Though all the higher religions have liberated human beings from their imprisoning societies, not every one of them has drawn the logical conclusion that its liberating mission extends beyond the limits of the particular society from which it has broken out, and that its mission-field has no limits short of the whole-world”³⁷.

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 judgements 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.

The distinction between good and evil seems to have been drawn by all human beings at all times and places. However, in the application of this distinction to the practical conduct of life, there has been, and still is a very great diversity as between the moral codes of different cultures. Nevertheless, the relativity of diverse ethical codes is subject to an absolute belief that good and evil can be distinguished. Such a distinction is implicit in the power to choose between life and good on the one hand and death and evil on the other. Therefore, the historians is concerned with the morality of society. Not only that. He must also practice utmost honesty at every stage of his enquiry. “The engineer, the physician, the moralist deal with a subject-matter which is practical; one, that is, which concerns things to be done and the way of doing them”³⁸. The way of writing is, therefore, more important than collecting historical facts. “Intellectual honesty is even more important for the historian than for the scientist, for unlike the scientist, the historian cannot submit his conclusions to the test of experiment”³⁹.

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 scientists 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 E.E.Evans-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 science, though similar in some respects, are dissimilar in other respects. There are differences between the history of the historians and the science of the scientists. Arthur Marwick points out the following nine points of difference between history and science: 1)While history is concerned with human beings and human societies in the past, science is engaged with the phenomena of physical universe. 2)Like scientist historian does not conduct controlled experiments in a laboratory. 3)Unlike science historical study is not governed by general laws nor is it subjected to overarching theory. 4)History does not have the power of prediction as in the case of science. 5)Like science history has no direct material pay-off like Television sets on nuclear bombs. 6)Scientist is either right or wrong but not so in the case of historian. 7)Historical studies cannot be quantified as the scientific studies could be expressed mathematically. 8)Similarly, scientific discoveries and mathematical equations cannot be expressed in literary form with elegance as in the case of history. 9)Whereas scientists can be neutral on the results of their experiments, historians cannot be value-neutral. In fine, it may be safely concluded that history is a social science if not an exact science.

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.R.Palmer used comparative statistics in his study of Atlantic Revolution. In the 1960s R.W.Forgel 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 1960s.

The dawn of the millennium and the birth of the 21st century offers unlimited opportunities to use most advanced computing methods and software programmes in the craft of historiography. Now historical information can be digitalized and stored in ‘servers’ which will provide for use any where in the world on the network. These digital devices will make historical research and writing much easier

HISTORY AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES

HISTORY AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES

A historian has to ascertain facts. Accuracy is the 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”⁴⁰. However, in order to ascertain historical

facts the historian has to rely on what has been called the ‘auxiliary sciences’ of history. They are ‘repertories of facts’. Though they are not sciences in their own right, they are recognized as departments of knowledge. The best way to become acquainted with them is to use them. The historian is not required to have mastery over them is to use them. The historian is not required of these sciences and uses them as raw materials for writing history. They are at best able aids to historians craft; some are servants, some allies. Renier prefers the term ‘ancillary disciplines’ instead of auxiliary sciences”⁴¹. In fine, auxiliary sciences or ancillary disciplines are the handmaids of history. The following are some of the salient auxiliary sciences.

Chronology

Chronology is the right eye of history; geography being the left eye! Verily it is the backbone of history since it determines the framework of historical narrative. It helps to arrange the historical events in their time sequence and fixes the intervals that elapsed between them. Chronology was probably invented in early ages for fixing dates for religious ceremonies and for timing agricultural operations. Later it came to be used to narrate the sequences of events. “A sound knowledge of chronology has become indispensable for a student of Indian history, as the dates and eras are so confusing in the records that fixation of correct chronology in respect to several dynasties of ancient Indian history has by itself become great research”⁴².

Location, Distance, Duration and Simultaneity are the four dimensions of chronology. By Location we mean spotting the events on the line of time. Unless we locate the historical facts and events in time and space, we cannot measure distance, nor can we connect one spot with the other. Relation determines the present position with the past; the present is related to the past. Distance means the length of time between historical events and ourselves. Duration refers to the period during which an event or an idea becomes a prominent aspect. With the help of duration it will be possible to balance our judgement and to say how much progress was made during a particular period. Simultaneity refers to parallel developments in the history of different countries. This will help us to compare and contrast different events. For example, when England was basking under the golden sunshine of Elizabeth’s reign India was witnessing the catholic prosperity under Akbar. In short, chronology is a strong string which binds the sequence of historical events. Without it history will collapse into chaos. It is, therefore, the very foundation of the historical edifice. “In the absence of dates, history would be not only blind but also spineless”⁴³. Without chronology the historian is like a fish out of water!

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”⁴⁴.

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”⁴⁵. Though archaeology is described as ‘technology’ in the past tense, it cannot assist in the recovery of political history. Its contribution to chronology is generally vague and conjectural. And yet archaeology remains an admirable auxiliary aid to historical research and writing. Archaeologists and historians are not relic-hunters 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 from textual corruptions.

It is estimated that so far more than 75,000 inscriptions, long and short, have been found in India. Of these, more than 60,000 are found south of the Vindhyas, of which, about 25,000 have been recovered from the Tamil Country”⁴⁶. They constitute one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of the dynastic history of Tamil Nadu. The epigraphs bearing on Chola administration are exceptional records. But for the unsparing efforts of the epigraphists “the history of medieval South India would not have been known in its bare outlines”⁴⁷. It must, however, be borne in mind that it is only in a few cases that inscriptions constitute the mainstay of the historian. Usually the information found in the inscriptions is fragmentary and meager. Often historians have to stumble on the ‘dry bones of history’ available in inscriptions. In many cases they have not enabled the historians to form correct judgments of men and matters. On these counts the value of epigraphy to the writing of history need not be belittled nor underestimated.

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-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”⁴⁸. 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. In India seals were conspicuous by their wide usage in the Indus Valley Civilization, through they defy decipherment. They played a prominent role during the Muslim period. We get invaluable information about the name of the ruler, his title, the extent of his kingdom, the date of the document, the religion or sect he belonged to, the dynasty with which he was connected, the date and era of the issue etc. The seals indicate the level of culture also. The contribution of sigillography to historical research is considerable indeed.

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 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 genuineness of an official document but also its real meaning.

Philology

Philology is the study of languages. History is deeply indebted to philology. In fact, the historical method was invented by early philologists. Philology provides the historian the insight into the languages and helps them to detect the traces of the past which they contain. The history of place names is one of the many fields where historians and philologists labour in collaboration.

Other Auxiliaries

Besides these there are a number of other auxiliary sciences which help history. Linguistics deals with the evolution of language. Paleography can enable the historian to date facts and events which are associated with language and writings. Heraldry describes coat of arms in its own romantic language and lays down the rules observed in their composition. Paleo-botany can decide the age of the fossils. Natural Sciences provide an insight into evolutionary processes. Medical science helps to determine the nature and age of skeletal remains. Photography reveals forgeries as Psychology exposes the motives and intentions of historical personalities. In fine, allied and auxiliary sciences make history more meaningful, useful and significant.

UNIT – III

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 studies from the 17th century, Enlightenment and Romanticism in the 18th and 19th centuries and Historical Synthesis in 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 person or a thing or an event came to be related to persons, things or events. Observation contains explanation and explanation involves generalization. This implies a belief in causation. All predictions are shorthand registers of causal assertions.²²

The term 'cause' is derived from the Latin word 'Causa' which means 'a relation of connectedness between events'. A cause is that which produces an effect. It refers to a thing, event, person that makes something happens. It indicates how a certain result, situation or event happens. It is one of the factors which help to explain

why a historical event took place. It is a tool useful for the performance of the historian's task of narrating the events of the past.

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

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

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

The causes may be patent or immediate or latent or underlying. For example, the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand (June 18, 1914) and the consequent conflict between Austria and Serbia provoked the First World War. Whereas the cold-blooded murder of the Archduke of Austria was the patent cause, commercial rivalries, territorial ambitions, power mongering and mutual fear served as latent causes.

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

Role of Providence

All philosophers of history agree that historical events move towards a specific fulfillment and are concerned with the final cause which determines the purpose. Aristotle held the view that everything is guided in a certain direction from within, by its nature and structure. That is the design is internal. The egg is internally designed to become a chick and the acorn an oak. He did not attribute this change to external

providence. But the later Christian writers made God dwell in history. They firmly believed that the motive force of the historical events in the Divine will. They attempted to prove that history has proceeded according to a definite divine preordained plan. It is the content of the linear theory of history.

Role of Individuals

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

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

Sidney Hook divides heroes of history into two broad categories, viz Eventful Men and Event Making Men.²⁵ The former owe their importance to the positions they hold and happen to be at the centre of historic events. On the other hand, Event Making Men convert the society to their way. They gain control of the situation and drive the society in the direction of their decision. Henry VIII of England and Frederick the Great of Prussia were the eventful men and Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung and Gandhi were the event making men.

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

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

Is it possible to generalize? Lot of material is available about the historic, heroes, past and present. But historians differ in connecting the available knowledge about them and determining their influence upon the course of events. All great men of history have attracted the attention of their contemporaries and whose memory is preserved by historians. They have influenced the world in varying degrees.

Nevertheless, it is not possible to generalize because the past events in which the heroes are situated are not the same.

But one thing is certain. If the hero follows the direction of the march of mankind, of the society to which he belongs, he may hasten the historic process. He may surmount obstacles; guide his contemporaries along a short cut. In this respect, he carries out a social task and exercises a fruitful and lasting influence upon the course of events. He remains an active influence that affects the course of events in the long run. Most successful among heroes of history is one who reads the signs of the age, who distinguishes lasting from fleeting factors and who notices the advent of the appointed time. He indeed is 'the key that fits the lock'. In short, besides other factors the role of individuals in history is not insignificant.

Role of Ideas

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

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

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

The variations of philosophical doctrine belong to the realm of ideas. The different theories advanced to explain historical phenomena and to interpret social change centre round ideas. To cite three instances: 1) the Linear Theory is built on the idea that history proceeds according to a definite plan; 2) the Cyclical Theory relates to the idea of repetitions, 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".²⁷

Karl Marx says that men make history. History is made up of human actions within the world and of nothing else. Equally all history expresses and in a way delimited by the influence of 'the ideas'. The term 'role of ideas' refers to "such dominant trends as can give shape to the aims and actions of successive generations

and which we can see mounting to some kind of culmination”²⁸. The importance of ideas finds expression in the Peloponnesian War, The Annals, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, The Papacy, and the waning of the Middle Age.

Plato asserted that the essence of higher education is the search for ideas. The idea of a thing or event might be the ‘general idea’ of the class to which it belongs; or it might be the law according to which thing operates or an event takes place; or it might be the purpose or ideal towards which the thing or event may develop. The platonic idea is all the three-ideal, law and idea – rolled into one. Ideas are indispensable for generalizations, laws of sequence and ideals of development. Historical events and experiences can be classified and coordinated in terms of law and purpose. Ideas help to discover behind things their relation and meaning, their mode and law of operation, the function and ideal they serve and adumbrate.²⁹

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

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

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

For instance, the notion of transition has exercised a powerful influence on the contemporary age which has been called ‘an age of transition’. No age can fail to be a transition between that which came before and that which must follow. The idea of transition implies something more: a belief that the old possessions including individuals, institutions, ideas and conditions are being abandoned and that the pace of social evolution has been hastened. The pace of change may be faster or slower than in other ages. Whenever political power rests with the class, which is entitled to hold it, society would appear to possess stability. But ages at which classes entitled to

politically impotent can be called ages of transition.³⁰ Mid-Victorian society was stable whereas England in the 1930s was unstable or living in a state of transition. For Marxists the dictatorship of the proletariat would be the only condition in which economic and political power coincide. All ages-past and present-must therefore have been ages of transition.

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

Idealist philosophers and pragmatic methodologists have long since distrusted causality because it can find no adequate expression in terms of rational concepts. The notion of causation is neither a law, nor a canon but a postulate and as such it can either be accepted or rejected. It has no place in the paradise of ontology! The primary task of the historian is to know what actually happened in the past and not to search for causes of events. And yet, he can look for the anterior event that 'guides' him to the subsequent event. It will be helpful to serialize the events. Causation, if properly understood, will be a guide to the discovery of hitherto unknown events. Though engaged in his critical task, the historian's heuristic quest is not necessarily terminated.

Ideas and History

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

CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

Expression of Optimism

Man is optimistic. Despite difficulties and setbacks he hopes to proceed and progress. He learns from the past and improves himself. So also a society. The cultural cumulation of societies is the common possession of posterity. Even an illiterate

villager in a remote corner of Tamil Nadu Knows more about the world today than a Sangam Scholar! That happiness is the privilege of the few is the thing of the past. We have become wiser than our forefathers since we have the ability to learn from other's experiences. Witch-craft, intervention of gods in human affairs, the inevitability of sin, slavery, seclusion of women, religious persecution, racial superiority etc. Have been relegated as excrescencies. Human wisdom is the basis of human progress. As Bacon says "Histories make men wise". According to the Dutch proverb "a donkey does not twice hurt itself on the same stone".

Meaning of Progress

The word 'progress' is derived from the Latin term 'Progradi' which means 'forward walk'. It means forward or onward movement; advance or development. The concept of progress is based on the hypothesis that humanity is moving forward towards a state of perfection. It signifies a movement in a desired and desirable direction. So, progress is not mere change. The sense of direction which one discovers in history will measure progress". According to J.B.Bury, progress is both an interpretation of history and a philosophy of action.³⁹ Among the ideas which have held sway for the last couple of centuries none is more significant than the concept of progress.

Cult of Progress

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

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

In the 19th century Hegel's philosophical interpretation of history reinforced and enriched the concept of human progress. He sharply distinguished history from nature; the former is progressive and the latter is not. The Darwinian Revolution equated evolution with progress. Historians gave a twist to biological revolution and advanced the view that acquired cultural assets could be transmitted to the succeeding generations and such assets formed the basis of social progress. "History is progress through the transmission of acquired skills from one generation to another".⁴¹

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

Determinist view of history looks upon social progress as obedience to certain laws. Vico proclaims that history is a regular alteration between progress and regression. St. Simon looks upon history as a series of oscillations between organic and creative periods. Spengler predicts the decline of the west. Toynbee considers all the surviving civilizations, except the Western, are on the throes of disintegration. These views raise the age-old problem whether man makes history or history makes man! Human beings are not robots, mechanical entities. They are creative human spirits. "History is a creative process, a meaningful pattern, It is brought about by the spirit in man".⁴² Human effort is the method by which human needs are realized and progress made.

Goal of Progress

What exactly is the goal of progress? Is it human happiness? City of God on earth? Realisation of Reason? Expression of geist or World Spirit? Communism through Socialism? World State and World Religion? Pundits ponder and doctors disagree! There is no final answer to the question of the goal of human progress. Progress refers to the progressive development of human potentialities, not perfectibility of man. Perfection in history, as in individual, is not a realizable goal. It is an ideal. The conception of progress assumes that goals can be defined as mankind advances towards them. The validity of the goal can be verified only in the process of attaining them. Without such a conception or progress, society cannot hope to survive. The present generation is willing to sacrifice only in the hope for a better world in the future. Progress consists in the capacity to use the human endowments and the environment. "History is progress through the transmission of acquired skills from one generation to another".⁴³

Individuals and Institutions

Like Siamese Twins individuals and institutions are inseparable. In the past, good times and bad times were associated with good or bad kings. Ancient Hellenic and Victorian historians advocated the Great Men Theory which relegated the role of institutions in shaping history to the background and reduced their importance in shaping the ideas of leaders in structuring the problems they formed and solutions offered.

All men are born into a society which has many institutions. Social customs, relationship and values are enforced through institutions in various ways. A leader, however great or powerful or popular he may be, can motivate and mobilize people only within the limits imposed by the institutions and societal values. And historians too are products of their times. Hence individuals –heroes, historians and philosophers—are not fully free, either physically or mentally, since they have to operate within the restrictive institutional frame work of their respective societies. Adolf Hitler born into Samoan society in 1600 might have been simply an indifferent fisherman! Similarly, Julius Caesar could not start automobile manufacture and Muhammad could not have foisted Zen Buddhism on the Arabs!!⁴⁴

National Character

The problem of national character has been endlessly discussed and debated and it still remains insoluble. Is it an idea, a notion without objective reality? Or is it verifiable by the presence or absence of certain characteristics which explain human actions? Doctors disagree with identifying national traits. For instance what are the national traits of Indians, Chinese, Russians or Germans? In this regard, historians are confronted with three major problems: 1)What exactly is national character?; 2)How to interpret it accurately?; and 3)How objective one can be in collecting and interpreting evidences about them?

It may be possible to identify national character in terms of differences between large groups like Indians or Chinese on the basis of the assemblage of characteristics attached to individuals in a national group. James C. Charles Worth identifies the following chief attributes of national political character in modern times: 1)Particularism; 2)Atomism; 3)Orderliness; 4)Other worldliness; 5)Restraint; 6)A sense of mission; 7)Herrenvolkism; 8)Mysticism; 9)Anthropocentrism; 10)Materialism; 11)Egalitarianism; 12)Traditionalism; 13)Ligicism; 14)Empericism; 15)Experimentalism; and 16)Resoluteness.⁴⁵ Still Charles Worth's list of national traits is debatable.

Continuity and Change

Is history continuity without change or change without continuity? It is perplexing philosophical question; a riddle. History is at times dealt with as if it is concerned only with change. But change is only a microscopic part of the panoramic human past. Each generation makes its world a new. At best it inherits the past with all its legacy-good, bad and indifferent. It may leave a 'thin accretion on the huge reef of humanity's experience'. Understanding the past in proper perspective gives us insight into what is new. In this sense continuity of history gets credence. It enables the historian to view every problem in long-term perspective, since today's roots go deep into the remote past. Institutions and ideas evolve over a period of time. Continuity and change are the obverse and reverse of the coin of history. The concept of progressive change is a 19th century concept. Linkage between continuity and change is more important than periodisation of progress.

Contingency

The term contingency refers to event that happens by chance. Usually continuous chain of cause and effect of historical events has been explained logically. But occasional, extraordinary events like the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi can not be explained causally or logically because chance events involve motives and historians have to hunt for causes for contingencies. If the aforesaid assassination is considered separately causes seem to be conspicuous. But if we ask why Gandhi went ten minutes late to the evening prayer meeting on the fatal day of 30 January 1948, cutting directly across the lawn to the prayer ground instead of walking under the rolls of bougainvillea of Birla's house maidan and why would Nathuram Godse bow with the black Beretta pistol concealed between his palms saying 'Namaste Gandhiji' and pulled the trigger three times another sequence of causes will emerge. It is only the convergence of these two lines of causation that give the assassination its seemingly contingency character. Crossings of such independent chains of cause and effect is called contingency. It may be noted that long-range significance of contingency in history is limited since accidental occurrence does not interrupt major historical sequences.

THEORY O REPETITION

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF

Yes and No

The ancient Hindus and the Greeks believed that history repeated itself and that repetition was necessary and inexorable. They had the vision of history as moving repeatedly round a fixed circular track. The Chinese did not believe that repetition was inevitable but they did believe that repetition ought to be brought about so far as possible by deliberate human effort. The Israelities 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 Muslim vision of history as moving in a straight-line towards an objective is irreconcilable with the ancient Hindu and Greek views. Actually movements of both these logically irreconcilable kinds can be discerned in man's history.³² Thus, the answer to the question 'Does History repeat itself is both yes and no'.

History Repeats Itself

History repeats itself because human nature does not change. History is concerned with human actions, reactions and interactions. In the words of Lord Acton "History is a generalized account of the personal stories of men united in bodies for any public purposes whatever".³³ When the historian portrays men in action he attributes motives to them and finds out causes for their behaviour. This postulate is based upon his knowledge of the way in which men felt, thought and behaved in the past. History would be incomprehensible if human nature and human behaviour had not remained the same.

Human nature seems to be immutable. The historian proceeds on the assumption that human nature has not changed. Human nature is conceived as

something static and permanent. This unchanging human nature and human behaviour is the substratum underlying the course of historical changes and all human activities. History repeats itself because human nature remains unaltered. Historical events are alike because men behaved in the past much the same way as they behave today.

Because history repeats itself the historian attempts to predict the future. It is possible because the laws of human nature are like the laws of nature. Even laws of exact sciences do not claim to predict what will happen in concrete cases.³⁴ The historian, therefore, can with certainty predict the future on the basis of the repetitive nature of history. The repetitive nature of history enables the historian to generalize. 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 man to learn from history. Since historical events occur with some kind of regularity it is possible to formulate laws of history. The Positivist historians like Mommsen and Maitland framed historical laws through generalizing from the historical facts. Historians like Vico, Spengler, Marx and Toynbee applied these laws in their interpretation of history.

History Does Not Repeat Itself

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

The complete repetition of circumstances must remain a surmise or supposition. Hence the concept that history repeats itself is a surmise only. Further, the complete repetition of a set of circumstances is a contradiction in terms. A set of circumstances leaves its traces which will influence succeeding events. In other words, one set of circumstances adds to the next set. So one can not be exactly like another. Therefore, history cannot repeat itself.³⁵

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

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

Because history does not repeat itself, generalization is not possible and the future can not be predicted with certainty. Prediction is not possible because the dramatis personae who enact the drama of history are different in different times. Since they were aware of the last scene of the first performance they will not repeat the same in the second performance. Hence there is no possibility of history repeating itself.

If history does not repeat itself how can man learn anything from history? How can past mistakes be avoided, wrongs corrected and injustices erased? Is it not possible to apply the lesson drawn from one set of events to another set of events? No experience is more common than historical experience. The study made by E.H. Carr has led him to the conclusion that the makers of the Russian Revolution, were profoundly impressed by the lessons of the French Revolution, of 1848 and of the Paris Commune of 1871. 36 But this does not prove that the Russian Revolution was the carbon copy of the French Revolution. The theory that history repeats itself represents a superficial view of history; is not true to reality and seeks to fit historical events into a pre-conceived scheme. Being a cumulative process history does not move in cycles or in spirals and does not repeat itself. "Historians may repeat but not history"!

UNIT – IV

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

MEANING OF PHILOSOPHY

The term 'philosophy' refers to the search for knowledge and understanding of the nature and meaning of the universe and of human life¹. It is an attempt to know the nature of the reality of the universe. It seeks to explain phenomena which cannot be subjected to direct observations. In endeavours to make "a coherent image of the world and an alluring picture of the good"². Philosophy is the pursuit of truth, beauty, goodness and justice – the ultimate realities. It is "a hypothetical interpretation of the unknown"³. Philosophy is a study of realities, general principles, system of theories on the nature of things, doctrine of ideas, causality, natural laws, behaviour pattern, regularities, direction of development, relationship between ideal and actual etc. In short, philosophy is an examination of appearance and reality, shadow and substance in order to understand the nature of the universe and the meaning of human life.

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

The phrase ‘philosophy of history’ means historical explanation of historical happenings. This expression has changed its meaning and sense in its development. There are at least four different meanings of the term ‘philosophy of history’: 1)it relates to the fundamental assumption a historian makes regarding particular historical processes like causation, progress etc; 2)it means historical methodology and the actual process of historical research and writing; 3)it is concerned with high level theorizing about the fundamental currents of history; and 4)it means discovery of general laws governing the course of events narrated by history⁴.

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

Heinrich Rickert claims three meanings to the term ‘philosophy of history’: 1)Universal history; 2)The doctrines of the principles of historical affairs; and 3)The logic of historical science. Logic of historical science refers to the doctrine of the methods and forms of thinking unrelated to concrete empirical material⁵. Though these three meanings seem to be diametrically different they are in fact based on common foundation, viz., the universal principles of historical being.

The meaning and scope philosophy of history has further been developed by the leading contemporary historians. R.G.Collingwood, for example, treated history as a branch of philosophy. He contends that the historian is concerned with the past by itself, the psychologist about the historian’s thought about it by itself and the philosopher about these two things in their mutual relation. In other words, philosophy is concerned neither with the past by itself nor with the historian’s thought by itself, but with the mutual relation between the two⁶.

A.Danto, an exponent of modern analytical philosophy, reduced philosophy of history to the theory of historical knowledge and methodology of history. He distinguishes between substantive and analytical philosophy of history⁷. The substantive philosophy of history has the same subject matter as historical knowledge; differences arise because of timer limits. It treats the ‘whole of history’, including the past, present and the future! It is rather descriptive theory. The analytical philosophy of history, on the other hand, studies events organized and delimited in the context of historical knowing. As it is not possible to write the history of what has not happened, the analytical approach focuses attention on the identification and delimitation of historical knowledge.

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

philosophy of history is a product of logic in the historian. It is indeed “the product of the individual experience and personality of the observer”⁸.

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

BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY ENQUIRY

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

Speculative Philosophy of History

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

Analytical philosophy of History

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

INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Theological Interpretation

Theological interpretation of history is based on speculative philosophy. It is known as teleological theory. It maintains that events and developments are meant of

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 Greaco-Roman conception of the history of one people and one state system and views the march of mankind as a continuum towards the ultimate meaning. For the first time Eusebius of Caesaria (4th cen A.D) created the sketch of a world history that united Biblical history and history of the Greaco-Roman world within one context. It is a remarkable achievement. More remarkable than this is the creation of a certain general historical periodisation. It was done by St.Jerome, the Latin translator and continuer of Eusebius' summary⁹. 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"¹⁰.

Eusebius laid the foundations and St.Augustine raised the superstructure of the theological comprehension of history. Augustine divided history into six periods corresponding to the age structure of man¹¹. The sixth and the concluding period, viz., from Christ and last Judgement is the Epoch Christianity, preparing the transition from the city of Man to the city of God. Divine providence was recognized as the main cause for the succession of periods. "Just as Alexandria had been built by architects but planned by Alexander so human history, though created by people, rested on divine purpose"¹².

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

Secular Interpretation

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

The philosophical problems of history too shape gradually. Having begun with the narration of events, say the Graeco-Persian war and the Peloponnesian war, empirical historiography broadened its base, i.e. its subject-matter. Voltaire, the pioneer of Enlightenment movement set his face firmly against the repetition of the 'stories' contained in earlier works and strengthened the roots of philosophy of history. He considered it more than critical history. He exhorted the historians to think for themselves. It is "a type of historical thinking in which the historian made up his mind for himself instead of repeating whatever stories found in old books"¹³. It is clearly against the theological interpretation of history. Voltaire wanted philosophy of history to stand for certain ideas and functions to which history alone could be relevant, not any Divine will or pre-ordained design.

A host of Enlightenment and Positivist thinkers carried the message of secular interpretation of history to greater heights. Vico, for example, provided philosophical depth to history by proclaiming that man can understand only what he himself has created. In other words, man can comprehend the city of man but not the city of God. An array of intellectuals like Rousseau, Gibbon, Carlyle, Niebuhr, Ranke, Comte, Mill, Kant, Hegel, Buckle, Spengler, Marx, Toynbee used history to draw generalizations to explain the fundamental forces and factors that prompted historical events. Wilhelm Delthey, in particular, was the spokesman of critical philosophy in the 19th century. Croce symbolized secular interpretation of history by treating history as the re-creation of past experience in the mind of the historian. The concept of historical relativism is a distinct 20th century contribution to analytical philosophy of history. Since it seeks to examine the relative positions of historical developments, the 'new history' has enormously enriched historical knowledge. In effect, the secular or analytical interpretation of history is an antidote to the theological or teleological explanation of history¹⁴.

STATGES, AGENST AND LAWS OF HISTORY

Stages in History

Philosophers of history-theological as well as secular-were concerned with the progress of humanity towards a goal. Voltaire, the Father of philosophy of History, wanted to know the steps and stages by which mankind marched from barbarism to civilization. Earlier Eusebius of Caesaria ventured to sketch a kind of world history in stages by integrating Biblical history and history of Graeco-Roman world. St. Augustine divided history into six periods as indicated earlier. The theologians found some purpose or plan in historical events. Their history had a beginning and an end; it began with Adam and ended with Last Judgment. The Hebrews held that the purpose of the plan of history was to lead mankind to a state of freedom and the Christian historians adopted this concept and asserted that the ultimate plan of history was the establishment of the city of God. They identified three stages in the divinely ordained drama of human history, viz., 1)The Age of Bliss; 2)The Age of Depravity; and 3)The kingdom of the Heaven; these stages corresponded the age before man committed sin, the age that followed it, and the age of redemption.¹⁵

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

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

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

Agents of History

Historical process of progress is possible only through some agents. Philosophers of history have attributed human progress to the work of these agencies. Theological or teleological theoreticians who believed in a providentially preordained purpose or plan thought that divine intelligence is responsible for the rise and fall of empires and ebb and flow of cultures. History was interpreted in terms of a principle by which historical events are directed and unified towards an ultimate meaning. Divine Will and Grace of God are the motive forces for historical events and agencies which bring order out of disorder.

Great Men of history serve as agents to fulfill the purpose of history. Charismatic leaders like Buddha, Christ, Mohemmad, Dante, Shakespeare, Luther, Knox, Johnson, Burns, Alexander, Gromwell and Napoleon determine the course of history. This Great Men Theory is attributed to Thomos Carlyle (1795-1882), "the greatest of English portrait painters". He unequivocally stated, ".. universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here"¹⁶. Theological held the view that Providence chooses some human agents for the execution of the Divine Plan.

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

Providence may also use 'a cunning device' as its agent to realize its plan . Hegel, who formulated his philosophy of history on the premise that 'the real is

rational', recognized the role of passion in the reason of things. He asserted that nothing great in the world was ever accomplished without passion. As *Zeitgeist* or the Spirit of the Age uses individuals, institutions, states and societies as its agents, reason tricks passion into the position of its agents. In other words, reason uses passionate men as its instrument to fulfill its purposes. Like Adam Smith's 'hidden hand'. 'Hegel's 'cunning of reason', sets individuals and institutions believe themselves to be fulfilling their own personal desires but in reality they are an unconscious agent in the attainment of the historical universal aims of humanity.

Laws of History

Philosophers of history look at life and events in their own way. Historians hold a systematic view about the course taken in the past by human affairs. In practice, philosophers help historians to formulate sets of rules that will help them in serializing the events through their research. Philosophy of history implies a belief that things occur in the human world with some kind of regularity. Such regularities of occurrence are called 'Laws of History'¹⁷. 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.

1.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.

2.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 dialectical process in 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”¹⁸.

3.The Law of the Appointed Time

Time has its ups and downs. There is an ‘optimum’ moment for certain occurrences. A particular event may take place before or after the most suitable shape for it to fit into has been reached. There may be fluidity or rigidity before the optimum moment is reached. When a community is ready and well prepared change occurs with a minimum of difficulty, friction or conflict. In Western Europe decentralization and regionalism had to give way before a centralized national government. What the Tudors could do at the end of the 15th and during the course of the 16th century in England, Philip II could not do in the Low Countries. The unification of Germany came along after the appointed time. Statesmanship consists to a large extent in the ability to decide whether the appointed time has arrived before carrying out a given policy. He can at best hasten or delay its departure but cannot alter the appointed time ! The law is implied in the use of the expressions like ‘moving with the times’, ‘consonant with the spirit of the law of the Appointed Time’¹⁹.

4.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.

5.The Law of the Class Power

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

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

Each successive class which holds both economic and political power comes nearer to equaling the totality of members of the society to which it belongs. As

education spreads, as working class acquires a greater share in the control of production, democratic societies tend to become classless. But Marxian prediction of a classless communist society is an attempt to prophesy. But historians are not prophets.

6.The Law of Revolutions

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

The Gracci brothers suffered from a mother-fixation; Spartacus from an inferiority complex; Cromwell was a depressive maniac; Robespierre an obsessional narcissist; Danton an exhibitionist with an anal complex; Marat a schizophrenic and Fouch an algolagniac! In the course of a revolution a parental figure is dispossessed and the sense of guilt exacerbated. Every successful revolution, in consequence, contains the thesis of justice and renovation and an antithesis of restoration of the parental power. This law was known to the European contemporaries of the French Revolution since they were looking for the appearance of a one-headed government in France several years before the emergence of Napoleon²⁰.

There are three different methods of viewing and presenting the phenomena of human life²¹. 1)the technique of history deals with the ascertainment and recording of facts; 2)the technique of science is concerned with the elucidation and formulation of general laws; and 3)the technique of the novel and the drama is related to the artistic re-creation of the facts in the form of fiction.

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

MARX AND ENGELS

KARL MARX (1818-1883)

INTRODUCTION

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 socio-economic 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. Industrial 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 unit and take over the means of production and distribution. 6)The ultimate creation of classless communist society⁸.

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)Marxism 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 interpretations of history. 6)The impact of Marxism on intellectuals, scholars, historians and politicians is immense.

His Life and Works

Kare 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. Frederick 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)⁹, Communist Manifesto (1848) and Das Capital received world wide attention.

Marxist Interpretation of History

1. Dialectical Materialism

Inspired by Hegel his followers developed their own designs of dialectical development of history. As noted earlier Ranke concentrated on Protestantism. Marx focused on the history of economic activity. He insisted that material development of mankind was the thread that unified the historical process. Marx incubated the 18th century materialism with Hegelian dialectics and hatched Dialectical Materialism. It was based on the ground realities of the situation. In economic terms every economic system is based on a definite pattern of production-distribution-consumption. Over a period of time each system develops contradictions within itself giving rise to an opposite pattern replaces the first after absorbing the creative potentialities of the parent system. Then the new system exhausts itself and develops contradiction giving birth to a third system and so on. The cycle of Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis of material development moves on till Communism—a stateless state—is attained. Thus, Marx applied the Hegelian concept of dialectic to suit his interpretation of history.

2. Historical Materialism

Historical Materialism is considered to be the curx of Marxism. It is the logical extension of Dialectical Materialism. It is the application of the principles of Dialectical materialism to the study of human society and its history. the distinctive features of historical materialism are two: 1)It provides the interpretations on change in society over a period of time; and 2)It offers the methodology of bringing about social society. Its method materialism explains the laws of evolution of human society. Its method helps to interpret the past in order to understand the present better so that the future could be predicted. In fine, Historical Materialism analysis the historical process, describes the laws of social development, and suggests ways of changing the society¹⁰. This is dynamics of change.

Historical materialism revolves round the economic structure, i.e., owning, producing and exchanging of goods and services. According to Marx history is the history of man's productive activities. On this basis, Marx links five specific modes of production with five different kinds of societies: 1)Primitive Communistic Society; 2)Slave-owning Society; 3)Feudal Society; 4)Capitalist Society; and 5)Socialist Society.

Each historic society carries the seeds of its own destruction as well as the transformation to a higher stage. Class struggle is the driving force of such social transformation. Proletarian revolution is the mid wife which helps the delivery, often painful, of the new society. This societal change is qualitative in nature. This is a very important thesis from the point of view of historiography. Though Bertrand Russel disagrees with this thesis he concedes that “it contains very important elements of truth”¹¹.

Economic Explanation

Marx explained history in terms of economic factors. He sought the autonomy of civic society in its economics. He based his theory on the premises that socio-political change is determined by material developments. Historical events have been shaped and reshaped by economic forces and factors. For instance, manual work gave rise to feudalism and steam power led to Industrial Revolution. Development of science and technology affect the forces of production which in turn change the structure of society. Human progress is nothing but material progress. In short, the course of history is ultimately determined by the economic factors.

3. Class Struggle

Marx maintains that the history of humanity is the history of class struggle.

There is constant conflict between the haves and have nots, the exploiters and the exploited, the rich and the poor. There is no love lost between these mutually antagonistic classes. Class conflict is inherent in the situation. Economic inequality, dialectical determinism, reactionary state and the inbuilt conflict in production forces are the causes for class conflict. An analysis of human history shows that 1) Primitive Communism; 2) Slavery; 3) Feudalism; 4) Capitalism; 5) Socialism; and 6) communism have been the stages in class struggle. Of these Communism- a classless society- lies in the future. Marx predicted that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would put an end to individual ownership of the means of production and usher in communism via socialism.

4. Merits and Demerits and 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 interpretations 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 over looked 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 interpretations 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-economics factors in his economic interpretations of history. “It is anti-historical naturalism”¹⁴. 2)His conception of class-war is neither legitimized nor validated by historical reality. 3)His historical materialism is not supported by verifiable facts. 4)His structure-super-structure model is hypothetical 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”¹⁵. 7)Marxian division of history into main periods is arbitrary. 8)Since Marx’s interpretations of history is eclectic it is difficult to simplify it. 9)His 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”¹⁶.

Marx’s View of History

Kare Marx was not a professional historian; but he wrote as a historian. His views of history are scattered in his writings spread over the period from the 1840s to the 1880s. The fullest early statement on historical development of society is to be found in the German Ideology. There is a lively sketch in Communist Manifesto. His Das Capital is historical in approach.

Marx’s views of history may be stated as follows; 1) There is a fundamental distinction between the basic economic structure of any historical society and the super-structure. Basic social structure is determined by the mode of production of wealth in a given society. Social super-structure refers to the laws, institutions, ideas, literature, religion, art, culture, politics and so on. One is the root and the other is the fruit.

2.History unfolds itself through a series of stages-Asiatic, Antique, Feudal and Bourgeois-and each stage being determined by the prevailing condition under which wealth is produced and distributed. For example, ownership of land is the basis of the feudal state as ownership of capital is the base for the bourgeois state.

3.Class struggle is the motor or motive or mechanism to bring about the development from one stage to another. Change in the model of production of wealth causes change in ‘basis and superstructure’. In the words of Marx: “The history of all hither-to existing societies is the history of the class struggles”.

4.Ending of each stage gives rise to ‘an epoch of social revolution’. Each stage comes to an end as new productive forces come into conflict with existing relations of production. An epoch of social revolution may be explained in terms of changes from feudalism to capitalism to communism.

5.The economic factor is the fundamental factor on which the others are dependent. That is, historical phenomena have much connection with economic matters. This concept is known as the ‘economic interpretation of history’.

6. Systematic and necessary developments of human society in history are long-term developments. The 'role of the individual' and the so-called 'accident in history' are merely incidental, incremental and accidental; supportive and supplementary to the mainstream movements. Marx's view of history is criticized as 'a mechanical determinism'.

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 he ingeniously combined his theory of history with a practical programme. Thus, Marxism is both a theory of history and a practical programme. That is the reason why "he is the most famous revolutionary who ever lived, and the most influential"¹⁷.

Marxist Influence on Historiography

The impact of Marxism on historiography is remarkably impressive. From the middle of the 19th century, there had been a growing tendency to substitute a materialist for an idealist frame work of historical analysis. Between mid 19th century and mid 20th century the following significant developments in historiography could be traced:¹⁹

1. While the political, theological and natural histories declined, there was a perceivable turn towards socio-economic history.

2. The use of 'ideas' as an explanation of history has become exceptional.

3. The question of the relations between the explanation of history has become exceptional.

4. Historians seldom speak of progress as meaningful development of events in definite direction.

5. Positivistic reconstruction of history on the model of natural sciences has been replaced by the study of the economic basis of historical development.

6. Marx's approach to explain the entire span of human history has influenced historiography to a significant extent.

To sum up, the penetration of Marxist ideas-economic interpretation of history, basic structure and super-structure, class interest and class struggle, subjects of historical investigation. Movements associated with his theory-into the writing of history is unassailable. In short, Marx's influence on historians and historiography is based on a)his general theory of the materialist conception of history; and b)his concrete observations relating to 'particular aspects, periods, and problems of the past'.

Estimate

Marx for the first time proposed a scientific explanation of the phenomenon of universality. As shown by him the basis of his interpretation of history is the economic development. Unlike earlier philosophers Marx was not interested in interpreting the world; he was bent on changing it. He successfully showed that a striving to restructure the world that was not based on a deep scientific understanding and explanation of it either remained a utopia or led to catastrophe consequences. Marx's philosophy of history sought to radically tackle the problem of historical knowledge by subordinating it to a practical task of revolutionary reconstruction of the world of the world of socio-historical reality. Marx's materialist conception of history "acquired world-historical significance as the first scientific theory of historical knowledge"²⁰. His attempt to discover the economic unity underlying the historical process as a whole is unparalleled. The credit goes to Marx for highlighting the dominance of the economic forces in the making and moulding of history.

Marx is a much criticized man. His materialistic interpretation of history has been subjected to severe attack. It is pointed out that larger events in political life are determined by the interactions of material conditions and human passions. Economic explanation is inadequate to justify historical phenomena. Psychological movements like the advance of nationalism and the power of ideas over the mind do not come under the influence of economic forces. His economic interpretation is limited to European history only.

Similarly, Marx's six-stage evolution of society is arbitrary and unhistorical. Nor is it universal either. In the Marxian interpretation evolution of societies ceases and the dialectics stops abruptly at the creation of Communism, which is utopian. Classless society may be possible through cooperation among different groups, not necessarily due to class struggle. Dictatorship of the Proletariat need not necessarily be free from corruption as was amply proved in the erstwhile U.S.S.R. Development does not always take place as a result of the clash of opposites, class struggle. For example, the French Revolution was the result of social unrest, not the product of any change in the ownership of the means of production. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Renaissance and the Meiji Revolution of Japan were not owing to any change in the economic structure but on account of other factors.

However, Marx's impact on modern historical thought is profound and unmatched. His interpretation of history is a novel method of explaining social change. His approach is eclectic and holistic. He studies societies as wholes, not in parts. Marx should be credited as the only person who performed the miraculous task

of synthesizing in a critical way the entire legacy of social knowledge since Aristotle²¹. Marx succeeded where his master Hegel failed through his Dialectical Materialism which had its “greatest successes with political and economic history”²². Above all, Marx was a mighty thinker who had concentrated his energies not only on the universal and perennial problems of philosophy of history but also was responsive to the problems of his own time and place and turned his philosophy into an agenda of programme for political action²³.

UNIT - V

SELECTION OF TOPIC FOR RESEARCH

RESEARCH

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

OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH

Research simply mean systematic search for new knowledge. It unlocks the storehouse of knowledge to bring to the surface new facts. The objectives of research may be listed as follows: 1)To find out the truth by applying the time-tested scientific procedures. 2)To gain new insights into the phenomena. 3)To study the unique characteristics of a society, culture, a situation or an individual. 4)To investigate the recurring nature of phenomena with a view to generalize and to formulate laws. 5)To test a hypothesis of causal relationship between events. 6)To contribute to the existing quantum of human knowledge.

REASONS FOR RESEARCH

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

TYPES OF RESEARCH

There are several types of research: 1)Basic research, also known as Pure or Fundamental research, is concerned with some natural phenomenon. It’s aim is to generate knowledge for knowledge’s safe. 2)Applied research is action oriented and it seeks to find a rational solution to practical problem. 3)Quantitative research is based

on measurements to quantify a phenomena. 4) qualitative research is concerned with investigating the underlying causes, motives and desires for human behaviour. 5) Conceptual research seeks to offer abstract philosophical ideas and theories about nature and human nature. 6) Empirical research relies on experiment of observation, not on system or theory. It is used to prove or disprove a given hypothesis, 7) Descriptive research narrates the state of affairs as it exists or existed. 8) Interpretative research goes beyond the descriptive one and interprets evidences and facts. Descriptive-interpretative research is better suited to study historical events.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

What is historical research? Historical research is conducted on the basis of historical data. In a way, all research is historical in nature, since research depends on the findings recorded in the past. But the problem treated in historical research is essentially historical in nature. Since historical facts could not be repeated accurately as can be done under laboratory conditions, historical research necessarily depends on source materials. Only problems as are based on historical records can be taken up for investigation. Historical research is the systematic investigation, evaluation, synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning past events”¹.

Historical research is concerned with establishing the occurrence of unique events. Historical research is not only determines past events but also interprets such events and establishes pattern of relationships². “Historical research is digging into the past in order to re-enact the past in its entirety... to explain the meaning and significance of the past events, to correct the wrong notions... and to elaborate, analyze, synthesize and philosophize ideas in the light of the knowledge we possess”³. The aim of historical research is to apply the method of reflective thinking to unsolved problems by means of discovery of past trends of events, facts or attitudes⁴.

LEVELS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

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

REQUISITES OF A RESEARCHER

Researcher

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

Required Qualities

Mental Qualities

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

Physical qualities

Sound mind and healthy body go well together, Physical endurance is as essential as mental toughness. Since sustained hard work and persistent efforts are required to engage in meaningful research the researcher needs to be healthy if not sturdy. He may have to work for a long period of time. Also he may have to study away to pursue research. He may have to run from pillar to post, visiting libraries, archives, museums, epigraphy offices and so on. So, he requires indefatigable physical stamina, strength and toughness to bear the strain and stress of research. The researcher need not be a weight-lifter or a prize-fighter but he shall have robust health. In short, research must begin in the body of the researcher!

Moral Qualities

The researcher has to be truthful to the subject he has selected for research. He need not be a moral purist like Buddha, Jesus or Gandhi, but he must be loyal to his

field of specialization. No one expects him to be a Socrates but he can be a man of moral courage born out of conviction. Qualities like honesty, integrity and uprightness are non-negotiable. Political-party-ideological neutrality is a necessity. Then only the researcher can remain untainted by bias, prejudice and subjectivity. He must be courageous enough to defend his work and counter negative criticism. He must deliberately desist from plagiarism, replication and duplication of research. Do research yourself; don't depend on ghost-writers or dishonest 'scholars' who work for monetary gains. This is moral dishonesty at its worst. Involve yourself with your work and enjoy doing.

Social qualities

Researcher is a social being. He is not a human ostrich always sticking his mental neck into archival bush. He must get out of archival racks and library shelves and get along well with his colleagues, superiors and co-workers. He has to be an optimist, extrovert and a good mix. He needs to be good in inter-personal relations since he has to deal with people in his department, library, archives, epigraphy centre, study area etc, understand people and act accordingly. Through healthy happy human relations research work itself will receive almost attention; the researcher will be able to make his work productive and achieving. Act, react and interact will people with sympathy and empathy so that you can bear the burden of research lightly.

Psychological Factors

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

Problems faced by Researchers

Almost all the Universities in India offer M.Phil and Ph.D courses in history. In most of the universities the students are asked to take an entrance test and another pre-Ph.D examination as the case may be. In both the examinations the candidates are asked to tackle Research Methodology as one of the subjects. After passing the tests they have to write and submit their thesis for approval. Those who successfully pass the defense test and, or viva voce they are declared eligible for the award of the research degree. From registration to the award of the degree the researcher encounters many expected and unexpected problems.

The following are some of the problems faced by the researcher: 1)Unhelpful Guide. Often the researcher has little option to select his guide. If he is allotted to a

guide who has little experience in research and less helpful the researcher may become a square peg in the round hole. 2)Unsuitable Topic. Selection of a suitable topic itself is a problem to the beginner. If the guide selects a topic and thrust it on the unwilling throat of the researcher then the latter may have to grope about in the dark. Mismatch of topic causes lot of misery to the researcher. 3)Methodological problems. For want of proper training in modern research methodology research scholars are unable to use methods and techniques such as serialization of sources, paradigmatic expression through graphs and different geometric methods, computation of data etc. 4)Inadequate Sources. Scholars who select a topic in ancient or medieval history are faced with the problem of paucity of unexploited source materials, Hence the temptation to choose a problem in modern or contemporary history. 5)Language Problem. Researchers who had their post-graduate course in vernacular medium find it difficult to write the thesis in English. Technical terms, reference materials and secondary sources are not available in their native language. Research results are scaled in international standard and thesis is sent to a foreign examine for second valuation. Standards of linguistic expressions are not uniform. The examiners may not be proficient in the language in which thesis is written. Those who select a topic in ancient or medieval Indian history must have knowledge in related languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Arabic, Urdu etc. 6)Paucity of Finance. Quality research is costly. True, institutions like the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Historical Research, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Universities and State Governments offer grants or scholarships. But all the research students are not fortunate to get this assistance; even if they get it they find the grant inadequate to meet the expenses.

THE RESEARCH GUIDE

Depending his interests, abilities, aptitudes and skills the researcher has to select the topic for research. Before selecting a topic he may seek suggestions from his research guide, but should not ask for a topic. The guide must guide and should not misguide the research scholar! It is often found that the guide in his hurry suggests half-baked, ill-thought out topics. A topic selected in a hurry will cause lot of delay, disappointment and frustration. A researcher who asks for topics is not ready to embark on research. Research topics must emerge “like Pirandello’s six characters in search of an author”⁵.

The guide may show the researcher the way to select a suitable topic for research. With his experience and expertise he may give clues or cues to topics and draw attention to previous work done in a particular area. He may show the map of research and point out the territory ahead. With the help of the guide the researcher must seek and select a suitable research topic. The responsibility of selecting a topic rests squarely on the researcher though. Seek, Ye shall find a suitable topic!

SELECTING A SUITABLE TOPIC

The Criteria for Selection

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

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

Types of Topics

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

Some suggestions

The beginner should be carefully guided to select a suitable subject for research-suitable in terms of the researcher's aptitude, attitude, interest, involvement, physical and mental qualities, availability of time, resources and so on. The novices often have difficulty in locating a research problem even at the Ph.D level. In this regard the following suggestions will be helpful: 1) Be sure that sufficient sources are available for the study of the subject selected 2) Define the topic unambiguously. 3) The subject, besides being interesting, informative and relevant should be narrow enough to permit examination in some depth. 4) Know yourself and your abilities and skills well and select the topic accordingly. 5) You are not expected to discover or to contribute to knowledge but just permit the development of research skills. 6) Avoid subjects that are inherently difficult to study, involving illegal to unethical activities.

Seek and Get

The importance of selecting a suitable topic for research cannot be over-stated. It is indeed crucial to research. It is the starting point. The researcher must choose the topic to suit his objective, interests, abilities, expectations and requirements. The subject selected must be interesting and absorbing enough to sustain his interest as he proceeds along with his research work. Before selecting the topic the researcher must be unambiguous about the purpose of the research project. The researcher who asks for the topic is not ready to undertake research. He needs to study more and enough before selecting the subject himself. The guide may give cues to previous research done in a particular area and show the 'map of research' and point out 'the territory ahead', but should not impose a topic on the hapless researcher! Topics are just waiting for the researcher to search, seek and get a suitable subject.

Plan of Action

Once the preliminary or preparatory work is completed i.e. the topic for research is chosen, a plan of action has to be prepared. An action plan is a time-frame of activities. The plan will cover the entire period of research work commencing from registration of the topic to the submission of the thesis. For M.Phil dissertation the time table may be for three months and for Ph.D thesis it may be for three years. The plan of action will include the time required for 1) identifying the places where sources could be located and tapped; 2) collecting and consulting sources; 3) identifying the places for field study, if necessary; 4) framing budget estimate; 5) formulating a tentative synopsis; and 6) preparing an outline of the proposed research work.

FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESIS

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

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

Purpose of a hypothesis

A hypothesis is a suggested explanation on the basis of existing knowledge. Its purpose is to indicate the direction of the investigation and to suggest what facts are to be collected. It gives focus to research. It guards the researcher from a pointless empirical wandering. "The function of the hypothesis is to direct our research for order among facts"⁷. A hypothesis may offer solution to the problem under study. It gives focus to the research. Without a hypothesis the researcher may collect non-essential, irrelevant and even useless data and may even overlook significant facts. As the gathering of data is time consuming, expensive and trying part of research, the formulation of hypothesis is most crucial.

Working Hypothesis

A hypothesis must be concise, precise, specific and testable. It must be clearly defined in a communicable form. It must be amoral. It must be related to the investigational methods and techniques. It has to be based on a body of existing knowledge. A great deal of thought and time has to go given in formulating hypothesis. The more carefully the hypothesis formulate the easier will be the further investigation.

A working hypothesis can be formulated when 1)the researcher is free from preconceived beliefs and solutions; 2)he concentrates on the nature of the problem so as to enable him to reach relevant facts; 3)he is familiar with the technique of phrasing the hypothesis avoiding vague terms; 4)he reads and re-reads the literature on the subject; 5)he familiarize himself with alternative ways of collecting facts; and 6) he keeps himself away from the temptation to select only interesting matter or an isolated enquiry.

Is it Indispensable?

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

COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

COLLECTION OF SOURCES

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

HISTORICAL METHOD

What is Historical Method?

The past has a great role to play in all societies. In a country like India the past is often the key to the present for the simple reason that institutions are a growth and not a series of disjointed events. The longer the history, the greater is the influence of the past. The past has a causal relation to the present. A proper understanding of historical events, eventful changes and the causes for these changes requires the researcher to take resort to historical method. Historical method is “the induction of principles through research into the past”.¹ Its aim is to apply reflective thinking to solve historical problems. It is directed towards the uniqueness of past facts.

Application of Historical Method

The historical method has to be applied and its application has to be useful and correct. It therefore demands many things of the researcher. To start with, a great deal of historical orientation is necessary. Secondly, it requires historical insight to realize and bring out the causal relations between events. Thirdly, the researcher who delves deep into the past and applies the historical method should be able to work out accurately how, when and why the events grew out of it. Fourthly, this method demands experience in assembling data and in relating them to the influencing conditions and in assessing their significance in the particular context. Fifthly, the application of the historical method demands the use of both an analytical and synthetic view of the facts.

Sixthly, it is essential to make use of this method as much in discovering facts as in interpreting them. Every researcher should of course be objective, but the emphasis on objectivity becomes all the more necessary while using the historical method.² Seventhly, the data collected should be adequate, reliable and relevant. Eighthly, the research scholar must be thoroughly familiar with the general field of his topic. Ninthly, the researcher must be fully aware of the difficulties in understanding

and interpreting the historical events as well as the sources he may be able to mobilize. Tenthly, a great deal of imagination is necessary in using the historical method since a past event cannot be built with no other source than imagination.

CRITICISM

Heuristics or External Criticism

1.Stages in Historical Method

There are four stages in the historical method, viz., 1)Heuristics or External criticism; 2)Hermeneutics or internal criticism; 3)Synthesis; and 4)Exposition. Selection of a suitable topic, preparation of a bibliography and the development of an outline are the preliminary operations of historical research. The remaining phases are Analytical, Synthesis and concluding operations. Analytical operation is divided into external criticism and internal criticism.

2.Historical Criticism

Historical research is based on documents. Documents are “reports of events consisting of impressions made on some human brain by past events and consciously or deliberately recorded for the purpose of transmitting information”.³ The documents should not be accepted at the face value. They need to be evaluated. Their genuineness or authenticity should be established. Then only the researcher can place each bit of information found in the document in its proper perspective and draw conclusions. The evaluation of documents is therefore known as the ‘historical criticism’. The aim of historical criticism is to find out whether a given document or idea is acceptable as authentic or not. In other words, the purpose of historic criticism is to eliminate errors and to know the truth. And this is done through external and internal criticism.

What is External Criticism?

Meaning of External Criticism

The term ‘heuristics’ is derived from the Greek word ‘heuriskein’, which means ‘to find’. That is to find out the authenticity of the document and the veracity of the information found in it. Heuristics is a techniques to detect, trace and located historical evidences. As a technique it is “an art rather than science”.⁴ It has no general rules. It knows few short cuts. “It is, almost entirely, deftness in the handling of specialized guide-books, a strong memory for bibliographical detail, severe self-discipline in the making, classifying and preserving of notes”.⁵ No text book of heuristic exists! However, heuristic art can be acquired by practice.

Preparatory Study

Heuristics is also called external Criticism or Lower Criticism. It is a preparatory study of documentary evidence. External criticism is “the search for

material and the preliminary study of that material to know a few essentials of it".⁶ Material traces of the past can be found in museums, archives, libraries or private collections. Unless the researcher has a solid and broad foundation of accepted history he will have to encounter insurmountable difficulty in locating the original documents. Accepted history gives the clue or cue for locating the sources. Proceeding from accepted history of his own special subject of research will save the scholar a lot of heuristic labour. For instance, a hint found in a biography may provide clues about the places and perhaps even the collection of documents and where the manuscripts are being preserved.

Ascertaining Authenticity

As soon as the documentary trace is found it has to be judged. The researcher will have to decide whether the trace is suitable or not for his research. He must look at every trace or pack of traces and satisfy himself whether it is a good trace, and more important, whether it is an historical trace. Once the trace is detected it must be subjected to severe scrutiny. The authenticity to authenticity is forgery or fake. Objects might be forged for the purpose of selling them to amateur archaeologists; to be sold for gain; with a desire to deceive; and to provide a missing link in a sequence of events the researcher had imaginatively reconstructed. Positively heuristics makes sure that the trace detected is genuine, not spurious. Negatively, it ascertains that the trace is not a fake or forgery.⁷

Tested Techniques

Research workers have over a period of time elaborated techniques of recognition of historical documents. The triple techniques of external criticism are:

1. the touchstone of accepted history.
2. the knowledge of the difficulty of faking and
3. the conformation provided by other objects of admitted

authenticity. Now-a-days these techniques have become so precise that they are reckoned among the sciences. These techniques may not lend the researcher to absolute or formal certainty, but it will definitely lead to what Ranier calls "an empirical satisfactoriness".⁸

To sum up, heuristics external criticism refers to the examination of source material about its authenticity. It precedes evaluation of its worth. At this stage, the research detects traces of past events, examines them and criticizes them. He judges them from the point of view of their authenticity and then he asks whether they are what they purport to be. That is, the trace is looked at from the outside and its value as a material involves. 1) determination of the time when it was written. 2) of the date and place where it originated; and 3) the determination of the authorship.⁹

Functions of External Criticism

The functions of external criticism are many. The establishment of the authorship of the document; the determination of the place of the document; and the

fixation of the time of the document are of course the primary functions of external criticism. It establishes the authenticity of the record and helps to detect forgery. In the case of lithic and copper plate records Paleology can help detecting forgery. For example, "The Mercara Copper Plates that gave the clue to the Ganga dynasty of Karnataka were all found to be spurious"¹⁰

Similarly, if a coin struck in the reign of William and Mary of England were to read 'by the grace of God King and Queen of Great Briton, France and England', the coin is obviously a faked one, for Louis XIV was the king of France at that time.¹¹

Of late textual criticism has become part of heuristics. Textual criticism involves application of certain principles and techniques in order to find out the authenticity of the text. It must be remembered that external criticism is a means to an end not an end by itself, "It is a temporary necessity and not a permanent feature of historical writing".¹²

Hermeneutics or Internal Criticism

1. Meaning of Internal Criticism

Hermeneutics is internal interpretative criticism. It is also called Higher Criticism. It is a science of interpretation. If heuristic deals with the external aspects of a document, hermeneutics deals with the internal aspects of the document. In other words, internal criticism is concerned with the authenticity of the content of the document. It seeks to ascertain whether the content is true or not. Its purpose is to establish the trustworthiness or otherwise of the contents of the document.

2. Application of Internal Criticism

Each trace contains a message. Once the trace is detected the researcher will raise the question whether he can trust the message which the detected trace appears to be carrying. Internal criticism can be applied only where the research workers are dealing with writing, whether in documents or in inscriptions, in monuments, coins, medals or seals. In purpose of finding out whether the message it carries is genuine. It is not a separate operation. It takes place each time a researcher comes across a bundle of traces that forms a document.

3. Scrutiny of Statements

Since a researcher depends entirely upon the records for his information he has to ascertain the authenticity of the content of the documents. For the records might contain both true and false statements. Such statements have to be carefully tested and scrutinized before they are used. Some of the documents might be written with inadequate knowledge or with motivation or prejudice. The court historians might have written with a view to praise their patrons. Similarly, the foreign travelers might have been guided by rumours or hearsay. Rulers, administrators and military commanders would have been influenced by a particular standpoint in their writing. Hence the personal elements which might have entered into the account must be

enquired into. Internal criticism helps the researcher in the process of finding out errors or fallacies of good faith or of accuracy.

Internal criticism is used to detect and determine whether the document contains errors or lies as the external criticism is confined to defect and determine whether the document is the trace of a forgery or not. Internal criticism is individual in its method. The authenticity of the textual content has to be ascertained and assessed on its own merit. It is done by the process of trial and error, the use of accepted history, the application of acquired experience and skill, and the techniques of physical science.

4. Two Types of Errors

Errors of Good Faith

There are two types errors of fallacies, viz., Errors of Good Faith and errors of Accuracy. If the error is deliberate and intentional, it is the question of good faith of the author. It may be due to several reasons.

1) The author may commit this fallacy when he writes to gain practical advantage for himself. The court chroniclers like Barani, Abul Fazl who wrote the history of their periods suffer from this defect.

2) The author might be the victim of circumstances. Social obligations, religious practices or political pressures would have obliged the author to write contrary to his personal convictions.

3) Personal preferences, prejudices and predilections towards events or persons might have influenced the author to deviate from truth. For instance, patriotic historian praises the virtues of his country as the biographer extols his hero.

4) The author when impelled by vanity-private or collective-becomes partial or partisan. Zealot historians attribute to his group or race, or religion or community or country a high and honoured place in the world.

5) Error of faith creeps in when the author intentionally writes to please the public.

6) The author distorts facts when he embellishes his writing with rhetorical distortions. In short, errors of good faith are committed when the author is not sincere, honest and faithful to his trade.¹³

Errors of Accuracy

Similarly, errors of accuracy occur when the source of information is defective. The researchers may be sincere, honest and faithful but the information he gets may be wrong or defective due to reasons beyond his control. He may pass on the information in good faith without knowing that it is not true. Errors of accuracy are committed because 1) the author depends on reports furnished to him by others. 2) he writes under fear, force or illusion. 3) he is habitually incapable of observing things correctly. 4) he is motivated by prejudices. 5) he is affected by external influences

and conditions, time and place; and 6) he does not possess necessary experience and expertise to understand the facts in proper perspective. Errors of accuracy are committed because the historian is not the observer of events and has to necessarily depend on second hand accounts.¹⁵

5. The Critical Approach

The critical approach guards the researcher against the errors of good faith and of accuracy. The content of the document is critically analyzed. Each trace is closely studied and scrutinized. The document is divided into its constituent parts; the different traces contained in it are separated, analyzed and interpreted. Each trace is separately analyzed and tested. In short, traces are tested in the crucible of criticism in order to know the nature of historical facts and to test their authenticity.

6. Kinds of Internal Criticism

Positive Criticism

There are two kinds of internal criticism, viz., 1) Positive criticism and 2) Negative criticism. Positive Criticism refers to the analysis of the content. Its purposes are to know what the author really means by making a particular statement. Its task is to get at the literal and real meaning of the author's statements. In order to know the literal meaning of the document it is essential to know the language of the document. Familiarity of the language, linguistic usage, manner of writing and style, changes in expression etc. are necessary to understand the literal meaning of the text. Similarly, the real meaning submerged or concealed in the mire of words and phrases, simile and symbolism, allusion and analogy, hoax and hyperbole, must be discerned. The real meaning must be sifted from the hidden meaning, as grain from chaff.⁶ In short, internal criticism is intended to extract the real meaning of the content of the document from the welter of words.

Negative Criticism

Negative criticism is concerned with the process of eliminating statements which are patently false, fabricated or forged. Erroneous statements are discounted. Every statement and idea is doubted and scrutinized. No document is taken for granted or believed or believed to be true. It must be kept in mind that no scientific truth is established by testimony nor criticism should be leveled en-bloc.

Presence of few inaccuracies or misstatements of exaggerated accounts do not invalidate the entire work. It is possible that a single statement is a mixture of true and false ideas, accurate and inaccurate narration. Thus, negative criticism inquires not only the good faith of the author but also the accuracy of the statement he makes. Both positive and negative criticism help the researcher to detect and remove errors of good faith and errors of accuracy and arrive at the historical facts. External and internal criticism is of crucial importance in historical research. In fact "it is a pivot on which the whole methodology revolves"¹⁷.

7. Checklist for Internal Criticism

Beginners often get lost in the maze of verbiage of discussion of internal criticism. The evidence may be in the form of a sentence, a paragraph or more. It is important to decide on the proper unit of the evidence. The following checklist of questions will be useful to confirm the veracity of a piece of evidence.

OBJECTIVITY IS HISTORICAL WRITING

MEANING OF OBJECTIVITY

To be objective means not influenced by personal feelings or opinions. Objectivity is the state of being objective. Objectivity in historical writing refers to “dispassionate, disinterested and scientific treatment of all events”.¹ It means unbiased and fair writing. A thesis is a critical analysis of a problem. It should not consist of the reporting of personal experience or opinion of the research scholar. Scholarly writing is an impartial, unbiased and unvarnished presentation of the problem “using a tone of scientific impersonality”.²

Ranke, the Father of Scientific History, analyzed the historical sources critically, followed the principle of unbiased research and sought to write his historical accounts with ‘tranquil objectivity’. His dictum that “To judge history has been attributed the function to judge the past...” still holds good. Being a judge of men and events the historian should handle historical facts, events and developments with utmost impartiality, Hence, the writing of the research scholar must be true, unbiased and scientific.

IMPORTANCE OF OBJECTIVITY

Objectivity in historical writing is of critical importance. It is the essence of historical narration. the credibility of the historical thesis depends on objective presentation. History will degenerate into fiction in the absence of objectivity. Critical study of history is not possible without objectivity. Objective history is rational history. The need for objectivity in historical writing is self-evident.³

1. Impartiality is the soul and spice of historical writing. Real history is possible only when it is written objectively. It is a matter of intellectual honesty and moral standards.

2. History is pursuit of truth. It should reveal the truth of the past. It must be divorced from the passions and prejudices of the present. It must employ systematic methods for the attainment of objectivity. Objectivity ensures accuracy, authenticity and acceptability.

3) History is selective in nature. As historical data are varied the historian is obliged to select facts for the purpose of narration, interpretation and formulation of conclusions. So he must be cautious and careful in handling historical material. He must be as

objective as possible. Objectivity alone will save the historian and his writing from subjectivity syndrome.

SUBJECTIVITY

Subjectivity is antithesis to objectivity. It exists in the mind of the historian and not produced by things outside the mind. It refers to the preconceived ideas, feelings, opinions, notions etc. of the historian. "Subjectivity and bias are not synonymous".⁴ Bias refers to historian's predisposition. It refers to the feeling that strongly favours one side in an analysis of a historical problem or one item in a group or series of facts or events. Bias is the breeding of subjectivity. Bias and subjectivity are like the Siamese Twins.

Subjectivity seems to be inescapable and is inbuilt in the art of writing history. The greatest historians from Thucydides of Toynbee are subjective. Bana's Harsha Charita, St. Augustines the city of God, Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama, Voltaire's Louis XIV, Gibbon's Decline and fall of the Roman Empire, J.S. Mill's History of British India, Grote's pro-Athenian stance, Mitford's pro-Spartan attitude, Mommsen's anti-democratic sentiments, Ranke's religious and philosophical leanings, Lingard's vindication of James II, a Catholic prince, Macaulay's favoured treatment of William III and glorification of the Revolution of 1688, Josiah strong's sense of racial complex in favour of Anglo Saxons, Hegel's selective approach, Marx's materialistic interpretation of history, V.D. Savarkar's motivated First War of Independence, K.P. Jeyaswal's Hindu Polity, K. Rajayyan's The South Indian Rebellion: The First War of Independence (1800-1801) and a host of illustrious historians and their works are vitiated by the virus of subjectivity.

BARRIERS TO OBJECTIVITY

Objectivity in historical writing is a laudable objective and an idyllic ideal. But it is honoured more in breach than its observance. Even historians who preach and proclaim the virtues of objectivity fall a willing victim to subjectivity! The wish for objectivity is strong difficulties in accomplishing objectivity. The following are some of the significant barriers to objectivity:

The Nature of Historical Events

All the historical events are not well preserved. The evidences might have been destroyed. Those who recorded the events might not have observed them well. Even if they had observed the events well, they might have omitted certain information. So, the nature of historical events and the nature of the observation distort objectivity in history.

The Selection of Historical Events

The historian is confronted with a plethora of historical themes. It is humanly impossible to record all that had happened in the past. Even a research scholar is at a loss to select a suitable topic for his research. History has unlimited scope for research. When the researcher is faced with several problems or themes he has to

necessarily select a subject for writing. Subjective element surreptitiously enters into the selection of a subject for research.

The Personality of the Author

Basically the historian is a human being with all his likings and dislikings; prides and prejudices; commitments and considerations. Each historian may have his point of view. Ideological considerations, political commitment, group prejudice, national fervour, patriotic zeal and partisan attitude distort historian's vision.⁵

Mixture of Narration and Explanation

The historian's task is to narrate events of the past as they had happened objectively. But pure-narration of events is self-contradictory. Non-narrative elements become mixed up with the narrative. Any and every narrative explanation, a reference to causes, motives, effects and results. This mixture of non-narrative and narrative elements makes subjective interpretation of history inevitable.

Historical Assumptions

The assumptions made by the historian are responsible for bias and subjectivity in historical writing. For example, Toynbee assumes that the Eastern Society failed because the throne dominated the Church and the western Christian society failed because the church tried to dominate the throne! Similarly, Gibbon concludes: "In the revolution of ten centuries not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation"! Yet, St. Sophia still stands, an everlasting wonder. The society that built it had an astonishing vitality. It survived the fall of the 'Eternal City' by a thousand Years!⁶

Poetic Interest in History

The practical value of a knowledge of history is commonly exaggerated. Men do not appear to learn readily from the mistakes of their ancestors. Historians themselves are seldom known for this wisdom. Practical men distrust 'mere history'. Interest in history is more poetic than practical or scientific. This poetic interest in history acts as a barrier of objectivity. In the words of Mommsen "History is neither written nor made without love or hate". The historian is inevitably an artist of a kind as he composes his narrative, selecting, shaping and colouring. The greatest historians, from Herodotus to Toynbee, have generally been distinguished for their imaginative reach and grasp, not necessarily the soundness of their conclusions.

Error of Understanding

The historian can commit errors of understanding. Poor understanding may be due to want of sufficient sources, lack of interest or love for the age in which the historian lives. Take for instance Thucydides, the Father of Scientific History.

Thucydides, the most objective of the ancient historians, began his history of the Peloponnesian war by stating that nothing of great importance had happened before his time! In his ignorance of all that lay before his age he could not relate the unique glory of Athens.

History is what the Historian Makes

No objective history is possible because the historian has to collect, select and make history. Historical facts are like alloy; they must be purified and used. Objectivity is lost in the process of ‘purifying’ the facts. The historian re-enacts in thought what has gone on in the minds of his dramatis personae. The reader in his turn must re-enact what goes on in the mind of the historian. Objectivity is the first casualty in the process of double re-enactment! “Study the historian before you begin to study the facts”, says E.H.Carr.⁷

G.M.Trevelyan’s finest and mature work ‘England under Queen Anne, is the Whig interpretation of history. St.Augustine looked at history from the point of view of the early Christians; Tillamont from that of a 17th century Frenchmen; Gibbon from that of an 18th century Englishman; Mommsen from that of a 19th century German; and Toynbee from that of a 20th century Britishers!

Commitment to a Cause

The historian must be non-committal and uncommitted. He should not commit himself to a cause nor should he show what he thinks about it. He should not bound or pledge to a particular policy, course of action, individual or group values. An attempt to explain the meaning of an issue or to defend a cause will be a barrier of objectivity. History, if used as propaganda to further one’s socio-political-religious cause, is dangerous. History is not a branch of propaganda. Exaggerating the virtues of one’s Own country and denigrating those of others is ‘inverted subjectivism’.⁸

Perverted History

Perversion or distortion is the worst enemy of objectivity. Ignorance, fear and motivation are the factors that contribute to the writing of perverted history. Ignorance due to in-accessibility to the source material and inability to study the relevant data, fear of authority, and the desire to advance vested interests pollute objectivity in history writing. “The Court historians of the present have reduced history into an instrument”.⁹

PREREQUISITIES FOR OBJECTIVITY

Polybius, who treated the Romans and the Carthaginians alike, underlined the necessity of avoiding likes and dislikes while writing history. A historian is a judge, not an advocate. Like a scientist he must observe everything with utmost impartiality. “The most diligent research can prove or disprove only facts but never opinions”.¹⁰ Some of the prerequisites for objectivity in historical writing are:

1)The historian should leave no stone unturned in gathering the information from all possible sources.

- 2) He should possess a critical spirit for a rigorous scientific analysis of sources.
- 3) He should have a historical sense and perspective to see a character, event or trend in its real setting.
- 4) He should consciously keep his urge or itch for subjectivity under strict control. His conclusions must be supported by sufficient data and his generalizations must be based upon a balanced approach.¹¹
- 5) He must be resilient enough to adjust his views in tune with his 'findings instead of his feeling'; and
- 6) He must present his findings in their historical perspective and in a sober style without sacrificing veracity for gain in effect.¹² Objective history may be will-o'-the-wisp but the will of the historian to be objective should be strong.

SYNTHESIS

Meaning of synthetic Operation

The collection of historical facts on the basis of heuristics and hermeneutic constitutes the analytical operation of historical method. Selection of facts and classification of facts are called synthesis or synthetic operation. The literal meaning of the word 'Synthesis' means combining of separate parts, elements etc. to form a complex whole. In historical research, the term 'synthetic operation' refers to "joining, grouping, arranging, explaining and interpreting the data so as to make the narrative meaningful and interesting".¹ It is a process whereby several ideas are grouped and arranged in a rational and meaningful manner.

Prerequisites of Synthetic Operation

Synthesis is the art of grouping facts. It is concerned with the proper utilization of tested facts. The important prerequisites in synthetic operation are 1) To understand the meaning, significance, relevance and implication of every bit of information collected; 2) To study the works that are related to the theme under investigation; and 3) To infer, interpret and arrange facts in a systematic manner. Every explanation, every cause and every inference has to be supported by an authentic data.²

Principles of Synthetic Operation

Synthetic operation is a unifying action. It classifies groups and coordinates tested facts into an intelligible pattern or framework. It brings out the whole out of parts and particulars. A thesis is a mosaic of facts. Synthetic operation seeks to organize facts and manage research material to raise an impressive superstructure. Certain general principles are followed while combining all relevant data into connected research writing. These principles are intended 1) to group and unify the

valid and determined facts; 2)to develop these facts adequately to explain their significance; and 3)to bring out unity in the narrative.³

HISTORICAL FACTS

Historical research is centered round the discovery of facts; and inventing them. Facts are things that are known to have happened. And the past is known through the activities of historians. There is, therefore, an umbilical connection between the historian and his facts. Both are inseparable. Ranke's resounding injunction to the historians is to track down the facts. He said he was a historian first and a Christian next; such was his passion for historical facts.

History is a corpus of ascertained facts. The positivists popularized the 'cult of facts'. They justified the fatalism of facts and dominance of documents. It must be recognized that basic facts are the same for all; but only historians transform them into historical facts. They collect, select, collate and cogently arrange facts and weave the fabric of history.

Historical facts are raw materials; they are not finished products. Facts are to be processed, polished and put them to effective use. Facts have meanings; many meanings and take different shapes. Historian has to understand the nuances of facts, subject them to severe scrutiny and present them as objective a history as possible. For, history is not a string of facts per se, but narration, explanation and interpretation of facts. Hence there is continuous dialogue between the historian and his facts, a dialogue between equals; and their relationship is reciprocal. E.H.Carr in his inimitable style says that the historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless. He defines history as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past".

Historical facts may be classified into 3 categories. 1)Individual facts. They are isolated, scattered and unconnected. 2)Typical facts. These facts take place in the same uniform way and take place periodically like Sati, infanticide or child marriage. 3)Collective facts. These are facts collectively brought about by men or mob like uprisings, revolts and revolutions. Historians make use of all the three kinds of facts.

Selection of Facts

Selection of fact is as important as collection of data. Collection and selection of facts, though independent, are interdependent functions. Facts are varied. They must be related to the research topic, directly or indirectly. From the point of view of the topic all the facts detected and delineated may not be relevant. Hence the need for selection of relevant facts to be incorporated into the thesis. Irrelevant material must be mercilessly eliminated. Research is not to be lost in the welter of super-abundant but superfluous facts. The heterogeneous materials must be chiseled and shaped into homogeneous historical construction. The researcher should reduce facts to 'a common degree of generality', Systematic selection ensures regularity, symmetry as certainly in reporting. In the task of selection of facts the job of the researcher is not

different from that of an Inspector-General, an ambassador or of the Chief Medical Officer.⁴

Writers like Schiller and Sidgwick have argued that the 'Criterion of relevance' can be applied to all investigations. The historical researcher should have the notion of relevance. The lawyers, for instance, call relevant anything that is helpful to his case in hand. The criterion of relevance has the following implications: 1)It is subjective because what is selected is a part, an extract and the whole matter is not presented; 2)Selection is risky and its relevance can be questioned or disputed; 3)Relevance implies usefulness instead of giving a grasp of the essence of things; 4)The standard of importance adopted for the selection of facts in the researchers own standard of values, as pointed out by Dilthey.⁵

However, no final verdict can be given as to the criterion of relevance. What is relevant to an historian may be irrelevant to the other. Relevance, therefore, "must remain a matter to be settled by each individual historian in each individual's case".⁶ It may be safely said that the facts selected are important to the researcher to the extent they are relevant to his purpose.

Arrangement of Facts

Factual information may be about material objects, actions of men, and their motives and conceptions. Grouping or arranging or classifying facts is a vital step in synthetic operation. Facts are to be grouped according to some definite plan. The selection, the grouping and arrangement of facts are the sequential steps in the process of synthesis. Historical facts may be grouped on the basis of chronology, topic, geography, personality, institution, problem and concept and so on.

1.Chronological Arrangement

Chronology is the very basis of the historical edifice. Without chronology the historian is a fish out of water. It is the backbone of history. Without dates the true casual link would be missed. Indebtedness to predecessors could not be discussed. "The more exact the date of happenings, the surer is the foundation, and the greater the solidity of the superstructure her rears".⁷

The historical material could be arranged on the basis of time sequence. i.e., chronologically, "A history is a recital of events that took place in time, and this must not be forgotten. You will kill interest as surely by leaving out the time sequence as by breaking up the natural cluster of ideas".⁸

Chronological arrangement is the most popular, time-tested and effective way of arranging historical facts. Thucydides was the pioneer in this regard. "Accordance to chronology may avert the necessity of repeating and narrative of the same events under different headings. Moreover, whatever cause may be, it usually is antecedent, though occasionally concurrent, in time to effect, and a strict chronological ordering is more likely to reveal and clarify it than a disregard of the progression of events".⁹

However, historians like Macaulay, Barzan and Graff reproached chronological approach because it produces a history which is unreadable and mixes events great and small indiscriminately. This arrangement is derided as jumble of incidents and parody of life. Nevertheless, chronological arrangement still rules the roost of historical research as it is the most satisfactory approach.

2. Topical Arrangement

Historical facts can also be arranged on the basis of the subject. It is concerned with the content of research. Topical approach involves study spreading over a period. Pure topical arrangement exhausts one topic and proceeds to the next. Sir Louis Namier, who considered the function of the historian to be that of the painter and not of the photographic camera, was the exponent of topical or subject arrangement. He penned his great 18th century studies on the basis of subjects.¹⁰ He treated the past in terms of topics.

Topical arrangement has certain limitations. First, it may seriously distort the objective reality of the past since it groups facts topicwise. Secondly, it does not take into account the significant change that had taken place over a period of time. Thirdly, topical order will deprive history of all coherence. Fourthly, it loses the effect of beholding one mass of facts after another. Despite drawbacks topical arrangement is better suited for arranging historical facts.

3. Other Arrangement

Geographical or regional arrangement of facts is at times considered as an objective form of putting facts in order. But this approach is seldom adopted for arranging historical material because it is not constant. Personality based arrangement is best suited to tackle the problem of personalities. Similarly, institution based arrangement deals with social and economic problems. So also problem based arrangement. Historical facts can also be grouped on the basis of certain key concepts. There is no one all satisfactory arrangement of historical facts. The best method seems to be a judicious combination of the chronological and the topical method.¹¹

ROLE OF REASONING

Positive Reasoning

There are no hard and fast rules and regulations regarding grouping of facts and presenting them in an interesting manner. Constructive reasoning has to play a significant role in synthetic operation. In the absence of adequate data reasoning is required to fill many a gap. Reasoning may be positive or negative.

Positive reasoning draws certain inferences from the facts established. The analogy between the past and the present is adopted in positive reasoning. From the study of a given set of facts it is possible to infer the existence of the other connected facts. A thorough knowledge of particular facts is necessary for positive thinking. It must, however, be ensured that the facts interconnected are found with each other. Positive reasoning, though more complex, is of "greater use to historians".¹²

Negative Reasoning

Negative reasoning, on the other hand, is based on the assumption that the absence of any indication in a document will mean that there was no such fact at all. Negative reasoning is “argument from silence”.¹³ This type of inference is wrong process 1) it is not essential that every fact should have been recorded; 2) it is possible that the fact was recorded but the document in which it was recorded has perhaps been lost; and 3) certain facts are not recorded by the contemporary writer because of fear of authority.

Reasoning – positive or negative – is based on presumptions and assumptions and not on certainties. Hence the researcher must be careful and cautious while drawing inferences on the basis of constructive reasoning. However, when several inferences point in the same direction they confirm each other and end by producing a legitimate certitude. “History fills up some of its gaps by an accumulation of reasonings”.¹⁴ In short, creative reasoning is the most efficient tool for research decisions, interpretation and generalization and governing meaningful recommendations. Clear thinking and clear writing go together. In the words of Whitney “There is high positive correlation between good thinking and effective writing”.¹⁵

CHECKLIST FOR SYNTHESIS

Understanding the thought behind the evidence is crucial to establish the truthfulness of the source. Only by analyzing and comparing a wide range of data can the researcher hope to achieve this understanding. The understanding must involve a sensible selection of source and its synthesis into an account. The following suggestive checklist of 15 elements may be used for effectively synthesizing the data: 1) literal and real meaning of the statement; 2) observation of the detail; 3) reporting of the detail; 4) bias and subjectivity; 5) corroboration, contradiction and measurement; 6) probability, plausibility and certainty; 7) working hypothesis; 8) causation; 9) motivation; 10) individuals and institutions; 11) contingency; 12) facts as values, ideas and objects; 13) inference; 14) relevance; and 15) arrangement. There is no hard and fast rule as to in what form or order these elements are to be used. Nor is there any method to correlate the facts obtained. However, the researcher must be conscious of the elements of synthesis.

EXPOSITION

MENAING OF EXPOSITION

Exposition is the concluding operation. It is the climax stage in historical research. It represents the actual writing of the thesis of history. Exposition means explaining or making clear by giving details. It is the presentation of historical facts in an intelligent, intelligible and interesting way. It is upto the researcher to make his

writing a work of art. Facts must be presented in a fascinating way and imagination plays a key role in exposition. Originality, clarity and lucidity are the hallmarks of exposition.

INTERPRATAION

Higher form of Analysis

Collection of sources and combination of facts do not make history. The narrative must yield significant results. Therefore, the data so laboriously collected, collated, examined, scrutinized, grouped, arranged and elucidated are now subjected to a different kind of evaluation to bring out the relationship among the facts. It goes beyond the stage of description or narration and aims at higher form of analysis and synthesis. It's aim is to get as much as possible out of a particular account and to explain how, why and what effect things happened and what their inter-relation was.

Importance

Interpretation is an important aspect of the research process. It is only through interpretation the researcher can explore and expose the relations and processes that underlay his findings. It is a search for broader meaning of historical facts. Interpretation has two aspects: 1)to establish continuity in research through the linkages of the study; and 2)to establish some exploratory concepts. It also extends beyond the data to include and interpret the results of other researches in the same field. It is a device to understand better the factors that have been observed by the researcher in the course of his study. Further, it provides a theoretical conception which can serve as a guide for further research. Interpretation is considered to be the basic component of the research process because 1)it enables the researcher to understand the principle that works behind his findings and to link up his findings with that of other studies; 2)to establish explanatory concepts that can lead to further studies; and 3)to enable others to appreciate the significance of the research results. However, the value of interpretation depends on a)the abundant availability of sources; b)the condition of the sources; c)the availability and reliability of the witnesses; d)the analysis of evidence in the context of events; e)relevant methodology; and f)disciplinary training of the researcher.¹

An Art

Interpretation is an art. It requires skill, dexterity and imaginative insight on the part of the researcher. It is acquired though patient practice and earned experience. The researcher may also seek guidance from experts in this regard. The techniques of interpretation involves: 1)giving reasonable explanation of the relation of facts with historical understanding; 2)considering extraneous information collected during the study; 3)locating the omissions and commissions in logical argumentation; and 4)weighing all relevant factors affecting the problem before interpreting results.²

Attributes

R.J. Shafer assigns the following attributes to historical interpretation:³ 1) It is digested evidence. That is adequate synthesis of evidence will not be obtained without proper digestion of evidence. 2) Final synthesis is generalization. "All historians practice generalization willy-nilly".⁴ 3) Successful interpretation involves the capacity to judge the quality of other similar interpretations. This will avoid repeating the work that has already been done adequately by others. 4) Interpretation results in emphasis. This refers to the identify or skill devoted to a part of the treatment of the subject. 5) Arrangement or the grouping of evidence is interpretation. Interpretation or judgment promotes communication and understanding. "Certainly there will be little communication if historical evidence is simply printed in sequential blocks of worlds selected by a blindfold man grouping in a bin of notes".⁵ 6) Inference is an important ingredient of interpretation. It is 'informed invention' and a creative process. The researcher "creates attitude toward facts by the processes of selection and combination and by his ascription of motivation and causation".⁶ It is pointed out that greater the inference the further removed the interpretation is from the evidence. This does not mean that the largest possible synthesis should not be attempted.

PLANNING THE WRITING

The writing of the thesis has to be properly planned and organized. The parts must be fitted into the whole. The ideas are to be arranged in a logical order. The thoughts must be treated in a single unified discourse. Distractions and irrelevancies should be scrupulously avoided. The historical material must be so planned as to ensure unity, coherence and flow. One group of facts should logically follow another. Jumbling of facts will mar the unity of the work. Form must match the content. The sections, the chapters, the paragraphs and the sentences must be properly placed. The organization of the thesis is indeed an art and it must be carefully, imaginatively and patiently planned. Research writing plan is the firm foundation on which the mansion of history is raised.

Chapterisation

The mass of material must be given a form. The form should satisfy the requirements of cogency, coherence and completeness. It must ensure unity of presentation. The data must be suitably divided, subdivided and distributed. The techniques of doing this is to chapterise the material in hand. The purpose of a chapter is to present a topic clearly and cogently. Each chapter must be a self-contained unit by itself. The chapters must be equally divided as far as possible. One chapter of five pages and another of fifty pages will mar the unity and balance of treatment. Since a chapter is written on a specific topic or idea each chapter must have organic link with the succeeding one. The sections, sub-sections and paragraphs shall have the same organic connection. In short, intelligent interlocking of chapters will render the thesis really valuable.

Paragraphs

The successful paragraph is a joy to writer and reader, says R.J.Shafer.⁷ Each chapter is divided into paragraphs and each paragraph is a micro-level division of ideas, reflecting the organization of the parts. Each paragraph should begin with a topic sentence, clearly stating the subject to be discussed. The following sentences should be relevant to the theme announced in the opening sentences. That is, the sentences must be well connected with the matter immediately at issue. In other words, the meaning of each sentence should flow from that of the preceding sentence. No abrupt changes should be done within paragraphs. Each paragraph should be concluded with a sentence summarizing its subject matter. The secret of successful paragraph construction consists in transitions between paragraphs and between sentences within paragraphs. In short, the paragraphs are the organic branches and twigs of chapters.

Headings and Subheadings

Headings and subheadings in chapters call the attention of the reader to the material presented and to its organization. They give clarity to research writing. Few or no headings and subheadings in a thesis of hundred to three hundred pages make it difficult to find the points of organization of material. It will be difficult to remember the total pattern of the work.

Providing appropriate headings and subheadings has several advantages. 1) Even the casual reader can see the topography, curves and contours of the organization of the thesis. 2) A friendly critic can help the writer to repair if any before it is too late. 3) The reader is not led to expect more than the thesis will give. 4) The limitations of the research writing are clearly seen. 5) It forces the researcher himself to stay within the framework of thesis organization. 6) Rewriting will be considerably easier.

The Question of Emphasis

The importance of emphasis in exposition is self-evident. The researcher is confronted with the problem of doing 'proportionate justice' in the selection and presentation of events, ideas, persons, institutions, trends, dates etc. are of greater importance than the rest, the question of highlighting them in regard to their cause as well as consequence assumes importance. The relative importance of the problems are to be decided in order to make the exposition of the subject-matter more effective.⁸

The Writing Style

The personality of the researcher is reflected in his style of writing. The research writing is a communication between the researcher and the reader. Hence, attention should be paid for writing the research report. It should be clear in presentation, easy to read and accurate in statements. The following points must be kept in mind at the time of writing the thesis: 1) Clear thinking: Clarity in thinking and clear presentation go together. Hazy thinking will result in poor writing. 2) Command over language. The researcher should have a good command and control over his

language, meticulous attention should be paid to clarity, facts and incisiveness rather than embellishment, drama and persuasion. Faulty sentence structure, illogical paragraphing, poor punctuation, incorrect spelling, inapt quotations and other variations of language usage render an otherwise promising manuscript virtually worthless.

Indiscriminate use of technical terms to exhibit profundity or to appear scientific will deprive the thesis of its utility. Technical terms, wherever employed, should be explained and expanded in terms of plain language. Pedantic style which is intelligible to scholars only should be avoided since the fruits of research should reach wider audience. Whatever may be the style of the writer, the thesis must be easily readable, though readability is not an index of scholarship. Depth of research should not be sacrificed at the altar of attractive style.

3) **Brevity.** Brevity is the spice of the thesis and soul of research reporting. Economy of words must be ensured. Concentration of ideas is necessary. Repetition and superfluousness will obstruct the lucidity of presentation and will interfere with precision and clarity. 4) **Objectivity:** The research writing must not only be readable but also must be reliable. So, it should be written objectively. Like science it must reveal the truth may not be as exact as science but it must be objective. 5) **Short sentences.** A sentence is a set or group of words which makes complete sense. The sentences must be short and sweet. Complex serpentine sentences crammed with jargons will be distractive and dysfunctional. 6) **Avoid colloquialism.** Colloquial or conversational style of writing is inappropriate in research writing. Personal pronouns as I, We, You, Me, My, Our and Us should not be used to express personal experience or opinion. It should be a critical analysis of a problem. Scientific impersonality must be maintained throughout the research exposition.

Serialisation

Serialisation is the heart of exposition. Linking up the events is called serialization. Chronology, causation and imagination are the three methods of serialization of historical events. The following are the principles of serialization: 1) Events may be serialized on the basis of a study of the conclusions and generalizations drawn upon them. 2) The researcher may serialize events by applying to past events data from his own experience. 3) Serialization may be attempted in accordance with a simple and all-embracing formula such as race, environment or geographical determinism. 4) Events may be serialized for generalization. In short, the purpose of serialization is formulation of generalizations. "Its main task is the search for the binding connections among facts which form the ultimate conclusion of every science".⁹

But to draw conclusions from the study of the past events, to build generalizations upon them and to formulate laws of history is the task of the philosopher of history or of the sociologist but not that of an historian. At best, these are for him instruments or tools, they provide a most valuable point of view from which events, origins, analogous motives can be appreciated.

FOOTNOTES

1. What are Footness?

Footness refers to additional piece of information at the bottom of a page in the thesis. It is the citation for the facts or ideas expressed. It is a mechanical aid. Footnotes are the most important component in research documentation. They are inevitable in order to give weight and support to the researcher's own idea or to controvert the ideas of others. They are validatory and explanatory procedures. Footnotes should be used acknowledgement. They should appear only in the body of a thesis, never in an abstract. As the name implies, foot notes are usually found at the foot of a page. Frequent and numerous footnotes are distracting, Therefore it is necessary to decide whether the material being relegated to a footnote is important enough to be incorporated into the main body of the text.²

2. Purpose of Footnotes

Footnotes serve several purposes. They are commonly used to 1) Validate a point, argument or statements; 2) acknowledge facts and ideas borrowed; 3) explain, supplement, or amplify material that is included in the main body of the text; 4) illustrate statements relevant but not important enough to be found in the text; 5) provide cross-references to other sections of the thesis; 6) acknowledge a direct or indirect quotation; 7) explain more fully headings; 8) distinguish one's own contribution from that of another; 9) acquaint the reader with the larger context of the problem. and 10) provide the reader with sufficient information to enable him to consult sources independently. In short, the primary purpose of footnotes is essentiality and completely to clarify, support or illustrate the text. Accuracy, adequacy and relevance are the hallmarks of footnotes.

3. Forms of Footnotes

There are two basic footness forms: 1) Primary reference form; and 2) Secondary reference form. The Primary reference to a book is as follows:

R.Sundaralingam, Indian Nationalism: An Historical Analysis (New Delhi, 1983),

In this reference a raised numeral precedes the note. It serves to link it with its place in the text, where a similar raised numeral is placed at the end of the material covered by the footnote. The book title receives the same treatment as in the bibliography entry.

The secondary reference form, in the other hand, is a short-cut form. It is used to avoid turning back to the primary references. If the references follows closely and without interruptions the form Ibid with the appropriate page may be used. If the reference is to be exactly the same page as the preceding note, ibid is used alone without any page reference. There is no hard and fast rule about the usage of Ibid. However, the usage is not to have more than four or five Ibid references at a time. If short title is used it must be done consistently throughout the entire Thesis.

4) Placement of Footnotes

Footnotes usually include 1) Source of information i.e. the name of the author; 2) title of the source; 3) exact page or pages of the source of reference; 4) date of publications; and 5) publisher and place of publication. There is no universally accepted method for the placement of footnotes. Footnotes may be placed a) at the foot of the page; and b) at the end of a chapter; and c) at the end of the thesis.

Reference to footnotes is invariably made by the use of superscripts in the body of the text where the particular reference is given. The flow of the text will be smooth if the superscript is placed at the end of the sentence in which the reference has been made. With quotations the footnote reference is always placed at the end of the quotation. When footnotes are placed at the foot of the page, they are separated from the text by a fifteen-space solid line, i.e. about 1 1/2 inches. When they are placed at the end of a chapter or thesis, a centered heading FOOTNOTES is required.

5) Facets of Citation

The researcher should exercise great deal of discrimination in selecting the footnotes. He is advised to follow the guiding principles underlying the four facets of citation, viz., what, when, how much and how to cite.

What to cite:

1) Prefer scholarly and authentic editions to causal reprints; 2) Prefer citing published sources; 3) Cite the earliest writer if two or more writers have expressed the same ideas; 4) Avoid citing authority for well known facts or statements; 5) Avoid repeating what is already stated in the text; and 6) If the citation is too long or controversial, relegate it to the appendix.

When to cite:

1) Insert the footnote even at the first draft stage; 2) Exercise judgment in citation before the draft is finalized. 3) every quotation, important fact and idea must be acknowledged fully and precisely; 4) Citation are necessary when there is an important exception to the material quoted or a difference of opinion expressed; and 5) To provide additional information.

How much to cite:

1) Make the citation brief, clear and factual; 2) Restrain the length of the footnotes and conserve space, time and words; 3) Avoid using footnotes for argumentation; 4) Avoid too many footnotes; 5) Avoid mixing the significant and the irrelevant; and 6) Relate the number, form, and kind of citation of the fellow professionals.

Format of Footnotes

There is no uniform format of footnotes. But the practice is to indent the first line of the footnotes as in the same way as paragraphs. For example,

Sathianathaier, R, A Political and Cultural History of India, Madras, 1952,

Footnotes occupying more than one line are single spaced; the first line is indented. A double space separates successive footnotes. Footnotes are usually numbered consecutively throughout a chapter.

Usage in Footnoting

The following are some of the conventional usages in footnoting: 1) In the first footnote referring to each source, it is usual to give the full name of the author in its normal order. 2) In citing the reference details, bibliographic procedures are followed and 3) After the first reference is spelled out in a footnote, it is not necessary to repeat the same.

Points to Remember

As footnotes are an essential component of documentation the researchers shall keep the following points in mind: 1) Make sure a footnote strengthens or validates a point in the thesis. 2) Include footnotes in the first draft itself. 3) Check each footnote for accuracy and for correct format. 4) Be consistent throughout the thesis. 5) Footnotes should be concise 6) All footnotes should be single spaced. 7) All footnotes should be terminated with a full stop. 8) The same bottom margin should be maintained on each page. 9) A footnote may be continued on consecutive pages and 10) Footnotes may be given either at the bottom of the page or at the end of each chapter or at the end of the thesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography is a list of published works and unpublished materials. As indicated earlier working bibliography is prepared while selecting a suitable topic for research. The final bibliography contains a complete list of sources along with the notes on them. In a way it is “a critical estimate of the sources”.⁴ It contains a list of primary and secondary sources. There are different kinds of bibliography. 1) Select Bibliography. It comprises a list of all sources which have been referred to in the text of the footnotes of the thesis. 2) General Bibliography. It is a broader kind of bibliography. It consists of a comprehensive list of books, journals and papers consulted. 3) Reference-cum-Bibliography. It contains those sources cited, together with the more relevant of the works which have been consulted. 4) Annotated Bibliography. It is a list of references followed by a note on the content and usefulness of the reference.

Of these, the ‘select Bibliography’ form of bibliography is the most common form of referencing system. Whichever kind of bibliography is used, the heading should be centered in capitals at the top of the first page without punctuation and should not be underlined. Each page should be numbered. The preliminaries are numbered using small woman numerals like i, ii, iii and so on. All other pages with

the first page of chapter I and including bibliography, appendices, and pages of Tables and Figures are numbered with Arabic numerals.⁵ The bibliography should follow a logical arrangement in alphabetical order. It is usually placed immediately after the last chapter of the thesis. Some writers prefer to place the bibliography after the index.

Each book reference contains the essential information regarding 1)the author; 2)the title; and 3)details concerning the imprint like place of publication and date of publication. In the case of journal article, the place of publication and the publisher are not included. however, the volume number and the inclusive pages which contain the article are given. The surname starts with the left margin. Second and subsequent lines of the same entry are single spaced. In a bibliography, a capital is used to begin all key words in the titles of books and journals. For articles, manuscripts, theses and unpublished papers nouns and the first word of the title. If a reference comprises more than one volume, the entry must the total number of volumes comprising the reference. All sources and authors are to be listed strictly in alphabetical order.

QUOTATIONS

Ways of Quote

There are three ways of using quotations in the text: 1)as an integral part of the sentence; 2)following a colon at the end of the sentence ; and 3)as a separate paragraph in which case quotation marks are not required. The following rules must be kept in mind when quotations used: a)Put double quotation marks at each of the quotations and single quotation marks for the quotation within a quotation; b)When you make changes in quoted material indicate the same in brackets or in foot-note; c)When you insert additional words in a quotation, they must be put in brackets like this [];d) Sic (thus) is used in brackets to indicate that something is thus in the original; and e)Omissions from quotations are shown by three dots(...); and a fourth (...) is added if at the end of the sentence.

2)How to Quote

Quotations are authentic statements. They form part of the text of the thesis. At the initial note-taking stage the researcher might have copied extracts from sources verbatim with the intention of incorporating them later into his written research report. Now he has to choose appropriate quotations from them. Inexperienced researcher is tempted to pad his thesis with a string of quotations. Over-quoting is the symptom of poorly integrated argumentation. Quotations must be relevant, short and closely connected to the idea expounded in the thesis. They must be reproduced from the original texts, not from the secondary sources. Quotations must be cited, 1)When a controversial point is discussed; and 2)When the conclusions have to be substantiated and supported by sources. They must be sparingly used. A quotation once cited should not be repeated. While using a quotation the exact words of the text should be repeated. Without any alteration or omission within quotation marks.

The researcher must know when to quote, what to quote, how to quote and how much to quote. Direct quotations could be used only when the original words of the author are expressed concisely and convincingly. They need to be used for

documentation of a major argument. They may be used when the researcher wishes to comment upon, analyzed or contradict ideas expressed by another writer. They may be used when changes, through paraphrasing, might cause misunderstanding or misrepresentation.

Extreme care must be taken to reproduce quotations. The exact words of an author or publication must be quoted. Interpolations may be used in quoted material. Every interpolation must be enclosed in square brackets to indicate that the words in the original have been changed or that words have been added. Were a quotation is very long it is permissible to omit sections of an original passage by using ellipsis.⁶ The basic form of a quotation is determined by its length. Short quotation is used with double quotation marks at the beginning and the end of the quotation. For long quotation no quotation marks are used, but it should be single spaced and indented three spaces from the left margin.

Tables, Charts and Maps

Tables, charts and maps are used to convey information. They are used when presenting a collection of specific details or when showing the inter-relationship of a number of parts. Table is restricted to information presented in a tabular form. Chart is used to indicate changes over a period of time. Map presents required particulars in detail. Besides these, statistical figures may be employed to indentify “frequency of particular developments, their dispersion into parts, interrelation and intervals between particular events...”

Appendix

Appendix refers to the section that gives extra information at the end of thesis. Supporting evidences must be relegated to an appendix. Evidences and explanations which are likely to clutter up the thesis may be presented as appendices. Otherwise they will render the text cumbersome and will make reading more difficult. Thesis must be readable. Appendices keep the text of the thesis uncluttered without weakening the argument. Interested readers can be directed to consult particular pages of an appendix for further details. Each appendix should be referred to in the body of the thesis. A single appendix should be headed APPENDIX, centered on the page in capitals without punctuation. So also the title of the appendix. Appendices may be placed either between the final chapter and the bibliography or immediately after the bibliography. An index is not required for an unpublished thesis. If a thesis is subsequently published an index is necessary.